The Irish tobacco business 1779-1935

By

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Declaration

I confirm that the content of this thesis is my own original work except where otherwise indicated with reference to secondary sources.

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Abstract

This thesis chronicles the manufacture, retailing and consumption of tobacco in Ireland. Its purpose is to demonstrate that tobacco played an important part in the economic and social life of the country. The tobacco trade evolved from hundreds of local small-scale merchants to one which boasted of having the largest tobacco factory in the world. It shows that a small number adapted to modern manufacturing and marketing methods and how they responded to the threats from overseas competition. The relationship between the state and the tobacco trade centred on the state’s need to protect the revenue it raised from duties placed on the commodity. The considerable body of legislation enacted, allied to the investment made by the state in establishing agencies to secure this revenue speaks loudly of the trade’s importance to the national economy. The threats from smuggling and adulteration and the perceived threat from domestic cultivation cast doubts on the true level of consumption in the early nineteenth century. By equating imports for home consumption as the official level of consumption, the study reveals that tobacco use continued to rise throughout the period despite wars, internal unrest, famine and depopulation. Irish consumer’s mode of consumption and choice of tobacco type differed from British and European customs. Fashion, price, convenience and marketing are shown to have contributed to the changes in the way tobacco was consumed and in who was consuming it. The study looks at the popularity of tobacco amongst the Irish poor contrasting their enjoyment of it with the views of those above them in society who saw it as a waste of meagre resources and thus morally wrong. The gendering of tobacco consumption in the nineteenth century is examined and shows how women were subject to societal mores that sought to separate them from tobacco and its users. The study highlights smoking as being symbolically important in the struggle for women’s equality. As an item of everyday consumption, tobacco was enjoyed at all levels of society which made the tobacco trade an important element in the economy in itself and as an essential source of state revenue.
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Abbreviations

D.A.T.I. Department of agricultural and technical instruction

*ITTJ* *Irish Tobacco Trade Journal*

N.A.I. National Archives of Ireland

N.L.I. National Library of Ireland

P.R.O.N.I. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
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Introduction

Tobacco, sugar and the potato must be considered the earliest and most enduring of the botanical elements which entered Ireland in what Alfred W. Crosby termed, the Colombian exchange, following the discovery of the New World.\(^1\) The initial arrival of tobacco into Europe was conducted along Spanish trade routes from where its use spread to northern Europe, the Mediterranean countries and eastwards to the Ottoman lands and onwards to China and Japan.\(^2\) The European commodification of the tobacco plant used by Native American tribes as part of their sacred and cultural traditions was an increasingly important part of the development of transatlantic trade routes which involved the sending of manufactured goods to Africa, the onward shipping of slaves to the Americas and the return to Europe of goods including tobacco.\(^3\) By the 1630s tobacco consumption and cultivation was practised worldwide and having overcome official objections to its use in most of these regions the commercial value and revenue collection potential of tobacco was recognised by merchants and the state.\(^4\)

In Ireland, tobacco has been consumed since the Elizabethan era. Popular accounts of its introduction by Walter Raleigh during the 1580s are somewhat fanciful as tobacco was known to have been available in England from the 1560s from where it is reasonable to assume that seamen, soldiers and traders would have

introduced it soon after into Ireland.\(^5\) Despite its long term presence in Ireland, the manufacture and consumption of tobacco has not attracted significant academic inquiry.

The purpose of this study is to describe, analyse and explain the development of the tobacco trade and the consumption of its products in Ireland. It questions how important its economic value was to the owners, employees and suppliers and most importantly as a source of revenue to the state. The thesis examines the role of the state in the tobacco industry and questions how its relationship with the trade affected the development of the industry. An analysis of the effect of duty rates, fashion and convenience seeks to answer why modes of consumption changed and what influenced the quantities consumed. The thesis also questions how tobacco was received in Irish society and how this was reflected in contemporary art and literature.

Beginning in 1779, when legislation restricting tobacco growing in Ireland was repealed, this thesis will show that the cultivation, manufacture, sale and consumption of tobacco contributed greatly to the economic and social life of Ireland. Concluding in 1935, when Irish tobacco growers felt state involvement was too invasive, this study hopes to redress the imbalance in Irish social, economic and business histories which up to now has largely ignored the tobacco trade and the regular consumption of its products by a sizable proportion of the population throughout the period.

In 1998 Andy Bielenberg and David Johnson, presented an account of the Irish tobacco industry during the nineteenth century in which they called for further

Their emphasis was largely on the economic value of the industry. They outlined the development of the trade from the many hundreds of local merchants who manufactured and retailed tobacco to one in which a handful of manufacturers catered to a national and international market. They noted the resilient nature of the Irish market to incursions from foreign manufacturers who failed to penetrate the pipe tobacco market but who were successful in the introduction of cigarettes. They argued that the international success of the Belfast firm, Gallaher’s, was aided by the economic infrastructure of Belfast, low labour costs and the city’s commercial connections throughout the British Empire.

Tobacco has featured in the writings of Louis Cullen, Cormac O’Gráda and Joel Mokyr who have focussed largely on the levels of importation and the revenue accruing to the state from the commodity. These accounts noted the impressive import figures but did not progress beyond the port to examine the manufacture and sale of tobacco which was conducted extensively throughout the country. This historiographical lacuna continues in many Irish economic histories where tobacco earns nominal mention. This is startling given that in some cases, particularly in Ulster, tobacco manufacturers were among the larger employers.

The Irish tobacco trade likewise failed to attract the attention of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish writers to describe its industrial processes. This is in contrast to Britain where a number of sources provide accounts of the industry there. However, English descriptions of the trade when used in conjunction with the

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business records of Irish manufacturers, contemporary newspaper articles and factory inspector’s reports, help reveal how the industry in Ireland developed. Of particular note is the work by William Tatham, who in 1800 wrote an authoritative account on the manufacture and retailing of tobacco in England.9 The increasing mechanisation of the industry in England is noted in mid-century accounts by Fairholt and Steinmetz, a period when Irish factory inspectors’ reports record the unsuitability of Irish manufacturers’ premises and the use of manually operated machinery.10 Newspaper reports in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide a more progressive view of Irish tobacco production especially that of the Gallaher factory in Belfast.11

Much more attention has been given to the subject of tobacco by international historians. Jerome Brooks, Sarah Dickson, Jordan Goodman and Matthew Hilton provide wide-ranging overviews of the development of the industry, the modes of consumption and tobacco’s relationship with governments and society.12 Tom Devine’s study of the once all-powerful Glaswegian tobacco merchants who controlled a considerable part of the British market in the mid to late eighteenth century hints at the economic potential for Irish merchants had they been allowed continue direct importation as they did successfully prior to the implementation of

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the seventeenth-century navigation acts. Complementing Devine’s work, Frank Broeze’s article, accounts for the demise of Glasgow and Amsterdam in the tobacco trade and the emergence of London as the dominant European market, a dominance that made direct importation of tobacco to Ireland uneconomical.

B.W.E. Alford’s case study of the Wills family and their role in the development of the British tobacco industry describes how a small Bristol firm rose to become a major international force in the industry with a significant twentieth-century presence in Ireland. James ‘Buck’ Duke also rose from being a local manufacturer in North Carolina to become the most dominant individual in the tobacco industry worldwide. His investment in the development of an efficient cigarette-making machine in the 1880s and the establishment of the monopolistic American Tobacco Company in the 1890s completely changed how the tobacco industry operated on an international scale.

In contrast, the leading Irish firms or their owners have not been the subject of a published monograph. In the 1970s the Dundalk based company P.J. Carroll’s commissioned a company history but this work was never published. The career of the internationally important Irish manufacturer Thomas Gallaher, which was once described as ‘the romance of industry’, has yet to be written, hampered no doubt by the lack of personal notebooks and correspondence.

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17 O. J. Keenan, unpublished manuscript ‘The history of Carroll’s’ (in possession of Jim Murphy, Dundalk).
Goodbody’s tobacco business, once the largest in the Irish Free State, is outlined in a history of the Quaker family’s numerous business ventures.\(^\text{19}\)

An examination of newspapers and pamphlets has been a central feature of this study. Editorials, articles, reader’s correspondence and advertisements in local, national and foreign newspapers have helped to throw light on issues that concerned tobacco in Ireland. Tobacco became entangled in the political events of the day such as the 1779 legislation permitting tobacco cultivation in Ireland which was ridiculed by patriot members of the Irish parliament.\(^\text{20}\) Tobacco will also be shown to have been used to gain popular support by the United Irishmen, Daniel O’Connell’s repeal movement, home rulers and as an economic weapon during the Belfast Boycott of 1921.\(^\text{21}\) Newspapers and pamphlets also provide excellent sources in revealing the trade’s position on matters affecting its business particularly the rate of tobacco duty, smuggling and adulteration.\(^\text{22}\)

Of equal importance are British and Irish state and official papers. Both legislatures hold extensive records of legislation, select committee and commission reports and debates concerning tobacco manufacture, cultivation and duty rates. The imposition of high tobacco duties and the corresponding legislation to secure the revenue from fraud was frequently debated at Westminster and later Dublin with both governments arguing similar points to protect a valuable revenue source.\(^\text{23}\)

\(^{20}\) *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 Apr. 1779.
\(^{23}\) Poor inquiry (Ireland). Appendix (C.)—Parts I. and II. Part I. Reports on the state of the poor, and on the charitable institutions in some of the principal towns; with supplement containing answers to queries. Part II. Report on the city of Dublin, and supplement containing answers to queries; with addenda to appendix (A.), and communications. [35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42] H.C. 1836 xxx 35,221 xxxi.1, xxxii.1, xxxiv.1. 427 643, 657. Report from the Select Committee on Tobacco Trade; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index, H.C. 1844, (565), xii 1. Hereafter *S.C Tobacco*, 1844.
\(^{15}\) Dáil Deb 15 May 1924, vol 7, col 124.
P.J. Carroll’s business ledgers form the most extensive record of a nineteenth-century Irish tobacco company. Consisting of customer ledger books, a personal notebook and a bank deposit book dating from 1833-84, they provide an insight into the company’s evolution from a small trading concern to a manufacturer of increasing national importance.24 In contrast, the business records of the Limerick firm Clune’s dating from 1914-35 show how it failed to adapt to the change in the mode of consumption despite its belated efforts to adjust to modern production and marketing methods.25

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first examines the manner in which tobacco was manufactured and retailed in Ireland. A number of case studies examine small-scale producers who also retailed and wholesaled their tobacco products as part of a general provisions business and a specialist cigar trader who catered to members of the Irish aristocracy. The case studies also show how the successful firms took advantage of new mechanised production and marketing methods to develop their business which is contrasted to those who failed to do so.

From the 1880s women began to outnumber male employees within the industry and chapter one examines the reasons why by the early 1900s they represented the majority of all workers. The emergence of Gallaher’s as an international force from the 1880s is evidenced by the continual expansion of the Belfast factory in the following decades which mirrors the growth of the Guinness brewery in Dublin in the same period.26 The increase in the number of employees in the industry up to the mid-1930s as noted in census records indicates that the

25 Records of John Clune, Tobacco Manufacturer (National Archives of Ireland) BR/LIM 6/2/1.
surviving firms were benefitting from increased consumption. The Irish market came under increasing threat from foreign firms from the late nineteenth century, but the response of the manufacturers was robust in contrast to other industries in Ireland who succumbed to overseas competition.

Despite a reduced population, the Irish tobacco market was considered important enough for foreign firms to gain access. The chapter examines the effect of American and British firms entering the Irish market in the 1890s. Of special significance is the influence of the Imperial Tobacco Company in Ireland following what was known as the tobacco war in 1902 between them and the American Tobacco Company. The advanced Irish companies responded by modernising their production methods and marketing techniques to satisfy national and international demand for their products including the increasingly popular cigarette. Government policies in Dublin and Belfast following the partition of Ireland in 1921 greatly influenced how tobacco firms conducted their business within the new polities which led to increased tensions in the relationship between the trade and the state.27

The state’s relationship with tobacco has always centred on its need to protect this reliable and valuable source of revenue. Chapter two examines the measures taken to prevent fraud in the form of smuggling, domestic cultivation and adulteration. The government responded to these threats with legislation whose provisions were often more keenly felt by the legitimate trade than by those engaged

in fraud. The expense in the establishment of an Irish Coast Guard to combat smuggling was remarkable in a period of limited government intervention in commerce, reflecting tobacco’s importance to the state’s fiscal needs. If the level of smuggling was as great as suggested by members of the tobacco trade how was it subsequently manufactured and retailed to consumers? The study highlights how some in the legitimate trade were likely to have handled illicit tobacco aided and abetted by corrupt officials and members of the wider community.

The success of Irish farmers in cultivating significant amounts of duty free tobacco in the late1820s raised official fears of its potential for fraud. The report of a parliamentary select committee in 1830 includes what became the perennial arguments for and against domestic cultivation in Ireland. These arguments were repeated at Irish Free State inquiries in the 1920s. On both occasions official and commercial concerns overcame those who sought to establish a new industry.

The state also responded to the loss of revenue from adulteration by enacting legislation and establishing what was to become the Government Laboratory whose initial focus was on tobacco adulteration. Ian Miller describes the wider use of adulteration in the dairying, butchering and bakery trades in the growing consumerist economy in Ireland which resulted in increased legislation in the 1860s, a period described as the ‘golden age of adulteration’. Of the threats to the states revenue it would appear that smuggling presented the greatest risk in Ireland but caution must

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28 Sixth report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment and into the management and collection of the excise revenue throughout the United Kingdom. Tobacco and foreign spirits.[6][7] H.C. 1834, xxiv, 237, xxv.1
be exercised as it will never be known how much revenue was lost by the state as a result of these frauds.

The mode of tobacco consumption in Ireland changed from snuff to pipe tobacco to cigarettes during the period of this study. Chapter three examines Irish consumer preferences and contrasts them with British and European patterns in terms of mode and time period. Preferences within modes for different varieties of tobacco further emphasise the distinct nature of Irish consumption habits in comparison to other countries. The thesis notes the Irish poor did not emulate the smoking habits of the elite as their counterparts in Britain did, thus supporting Keith Thomas’s contention of conformity rather than emulation as one reason for consumption.  

Other causes for the change in modes such as economic conditions, duty rates, fashion, convenience and societal mores are investigated to establish what contributed to the change in mode. What type of tobacco was consumed will be shown as an indicator of one’s gender, age and political persuasion especially when branded pipe products appealed to political and traditional sentiments or when mass produced cigarettes spoke to modern women and young men.

The quantity of tobacco that was officially entered for home consumption is deemed to equate to total consumption. The threats outlined in chapter two impinge upon the findings regarding the quantities officially consumed. The chapter examines how international wars, internal conflicts, famines and demographic changes affected tobacco consumption. The upward trend in official consumption was arrested by the 1845-51 famine but tobacco’s importance in the lives of the people is reflected by its early return to pre-famine levels amongst a reduced population.

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32 *Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897, With some notes upon the history of the more important branches of receipt from the year 1660.* [C-8706], H.C. 1898, bxxv, 1. pp 183-99. Hereafter *Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897.*
population. *Per capita* consumption in Ireland is contrasted with British and European figures.\(^{33}\)

The reluctance of Irish businesses to extensively engage in advertising is noted by Hugh Oram.\(^{34}\) Advertising and marketing of tobacco became increasingly important to Irish manufacturers wishing to develop their business following the arrival of overseas competition in the 1890s. The primary role of advertising is to increase consumption of a company’s product but this thesis also examines its role in influencing changes in the mode of consumption and societal attitudes to women smoking.

Tobacco was also consumed in the form of medicine and was also used in horticulture and agriculture. The belief in the medicinal value of tobacco faded in the 1820s but the successful procedures recorded by Irish doctors in later years do show that it was efficacious in some circumstances. Tobacco water was used in agriculture as a pest control in animals and on fruit trees. Those who supported domestic tobacco cultivation also advocated the establishment of nicotine extraction factories to replace the sizeable amounts imported into Ireland.\(^{35}\)

The final chapter focuses on society’s relationship with tobacco. Tobacco was widely available in Ireland from the seventeenth century, but its use by children, women and the poor was often subject to societal disapproval. The freedom enjoyed by women snuff-takers in the eighteenth century was curtailed by the social mores of the nineteenth century which disapproved of women using tobacco and labelled those who did as deviant. The chapter notes the late nineteenth-century debate

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concerning the ‘new woman’ who sought greater social freedom, which for many was epitomised by cigarette smoking.\textsuperscript{36} The debate was reignited in Ireland in the early 1920s where the smoking Irishwoman was further condemned on religious and nationalistic grounds, which reflected the social ethos of the new state.\textsuperscript{37}

The Irish poor’s predilection for tobacco was noted by writers from abroad as early as 1662 when William Petty calculated the considerable outlay spent by them on tobacco and in which he remarked upon the enjoyment they got from it.\textsuperscript{38} Petty’s observations are echoed in the accounts of witnesses to government inquiries on the condition of the Irish poor in the nineteenth century. In these accounts witnesses from the poorest strata of Irish society provide evidence of the importance of tobacco to them as the singular source of pleasure in their impoverished condition and details the level of agency they employed to acquire it. Their statements are verified by quantifiable household accounts from throughout the country that show tobacco was purchased by even those in the most straitened circumstances. Such purchases were viewed by their social superiors as evidence of the poor’s mismanagement of scarce resources and were indicative of their unproductive lives.\textsuperscript{39}

The thesis examines the ideological rift between the better off in society and the poor regarding tobacco use, evidence of which may also be found in the self-

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\footnotesize


\textsuperscript{38} William Petty, \textit{The economic writings of Sir William Petty, together with the observations upon bills of mortality, more probably by Captain John Graunt}, Charles Henry Hull (ed.), (Cambridge,1899) p. 191.

\textsuperscript{39} Poor inquiry (Ireland). Appendix (C.)--Parts I. and II. Part I. Reports on the state of the poor, and on the charitable institutions in some of the principal towns; with supplement containing answers to queries. Part II. Report on the city of Dublin, and supplement containing answers to queries; with addenda to appendix (A.), and communications.[35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42] H.C. 1836 xxx. 35,221 xxxi.1, xxxii.1, xxxiv.1. 427 643, 657.
\end{flushright}
improving tracts of Mary Leadbeater, travelogues and university magazines. Poor Law workhouses are used in this thesis as a location where the middle class values of industriousness and self-restraint clashed with the poor’s tobacco consumption which many conflated with indolence and pleasure seeking. The reasons why the early prohibition on tobacco use in the workhouse were introduced and later relaxed is discussed, as are the newspaper reports showing that tobacco use in workhouses remained a source of ideological tension into the twentieth century.

The consumption of tobacco among the armed forces and the role it played in popularising it amongst the general population is examined. Returning from the many conflicts it engaged in in the nineteenth century the British army is popularly credited with the introduction of new modes of consumption in Britain and Ireland, but that belief, in the case of cigarettes, is contested here. The tolerant attitude towards tobacco consumption in the military is shown to have arisen largely due to the immediate physiological and psychological relief it gave to frontline troops and as a contributor to the *esprit de corps* among troops.

The First World War was a period of enormous importance in the history of tobacco. The state and the tobacco trade’s efforts to obtain and distribute tobacco under wartime conditions became an increasingly difficult logistical challenge. Of particular interest to this thesis is the work of patriotic groups who organised the collection and distribution of tobacco to soldiers from local regiments serving at the front. The effect on consumption in terms of quantity and mode is discussed as is the increasingly more visible smoking among women. The chapter looks at how the

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war affected the fortunes of tobacco manufacturers and retailers as well as the impact the conflict had on the state’s tobacco revenue. Following the war the Irish trade endured a further period of disruption from both sides in the Anglo-Irish War and during the Irish Civil War.

How literary and visual artists included tobacco in their works can present evidence of how it was consumed and who was consuming it. An examination of Irish paintings helps reflect contemporaneous attitudes concerning tobacco use by members of society particularly by the poor and women. The literary works of Wilde, Shaw and Joyce are shown to contain tobacco references that relate to domestic cultivation, local politics and gender equality. The Irish folklore tradition includes a rich source of tobacco related tales which stemming from the rural poor they provide more evidence of the importance of tobacco to them.  

The four chapters in the thesis examine tobacco through the lens of economic, business, and social history revealing its importance and significance to the commercial and social life of the country and its people. The few accounts concerning tobacco in the Irish historical record may be due to its ubiquity in Irish society for an extended period. Tobacco excited public opinion only when fears concerning supply were raised or when increases in duty raised retail prices. The efficiency of the industry in maintaining supply and keeping retail costs low limited the number of such occasions. This low profile in the historiographical record has until now hidden what was an important national industry whose products were of everyday importance to its consumers.

Chapter One

The business of the tobacco trade

This chapter will examine the early manufacture and sale of snuff, pipe and chewing tobacco. During the eighteenth century numerous small manufacturers and merchants traded in these commodities but by the 1870s these enterprises were beginning to be overtaken by a small number of larger manufacturing firms who engaged in a more expansive business using mechanised production methods. The approaches taken by the successful firms will be contrasted with those who did not succeed in the more industrialised environment of the tobacco industry especially after the introduction of cigarette making machines into Ireland by the Gallaher Company of Belfast in the 1890s. This examination, aided by the analysis of the business records of members of the tobacco trade, will provide an insight into the business practises and methods used by late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century local traders and those of the twentieth century with an international presence. The descriptions of Irish production methods have been supplemented by the advertorial type pieces in Irish newspapers from the 1880s which provide a somewhat hagiographical account of manufacturer’s facilities. While British manufacturers led the way in terms of mechanisation and size, production methods were similar on both sides of the Irish Sea.

The growth in the retailing of tobacco was central to its eventual widespread presence throughout the country.¹ The horseback traders and pedlars of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century general merchants who sold their own proprietary tobacco contributed to the widespread availability of tobacco. During the late nineteenth century, manufacturers provided retailers with a

more marketable branded tobacco which often appealed to the political and social values of the consumers. In the larger cities and towns specialist tobacco shops sold a wide range of domestic and more exotic brands of tobacco as well as the accoutrements required by the smoker. Consumers in the rural areas were largely served by general grocers. The advent of mass produced pipe tobacco and cigarettes in the last decades of the nineteenth century resulted in the demise of all but a handful of the specialist tobacconists, their business taken by the local grocery store.²

The manufacturers of tobacco were considerable employers during the course of the nineteenth century. These numbers were thinly spread across the country prior to the consolidation of the industry into larger companies. By examining company documents and census figures, this chapter will examine the number of direct employees and the terms and conditions under which they were employed. The majority of workers in the tobacco industry in the mechanised era were women, which was contrasted with the situation prior to mechanisation when masculine muscle power was needed for production. The changing relationship between the manufacturers and the retailers will be investigated to establish what trading agreements existed and if the arrival of overseas competition altered the way tobacco was retailed in Ireland. The stance taken by Irish manufacturers in what was known as the tobacco war in the first decade of the twentieth century will be examined to show how the Irish tobacco trade responded to the threat from American and particularly British tobacco conglomerates.

I

One of the earliest official references to tobacco being traded in Ireland is to be found in the port books of Bristol in 1600. Susan Flavin and Evan Jones have

noted the import of fifty-eight dozen tobacco pipes and one pound of tobacco from
Bristol to Cork during the course of the year.³ While 696 pipes to one pound of
tobacco is anomalous, it is nevertheless indicative of the emergence of smoking.
Further evidence of tobacco use in Ireland in the late Elizabethan period can be
found in the words of English adventurers such as Edmund Spenser, the author of the
The Faerie Queene, who wrote of smoking with Walter Raleigh in Cork and a
request for tobacco from Sir George Carew to Secretary of State Cecil in 1600.
Raleigh is also credited with being the first to grow tobacco in Ireland on his estates
near Youghal in County Cork. Josias Bodley wrote warmly of the hospitality he
received at Lecale Castle in County Down over the New Year period in 1602-3
where ‘plenty of tobacco’ was available, which suggests that English smoking
practises had arrived into Ireland.⁴

From the seventeenth century, improved roadways contributed to the
development of a tobacco market in Ireland, allowing itinerant chapmen and pedlars
to sell their products.⁵ An excellent example of such a trader is provided in
Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis, an anonymous satire written in Irish around 1615. The
passage describes members of the fictional wild clan of Thomas who happen upon
an English tobacco trader Roibin an Tobac who was known by them to supply good
tobacco. The transaction conducted in broken English by a clansman is concluded
when all of the traders stock is sold to them at two pennies an inch.⁶ While the
English elites in Ireland were influential in introducing and popularising tobacco use

³ Susan Flavin and Evan Jones, (eds.), Bristol’s trade with Ireland and the continent: the evidence of
the exchequer customs accounts (Dublin, 2009), pp 881-934.
⁴ Colm Lennon, Sixteenth century Ireland (Dublin, 2005), p. 230. See also John Pope Hennessy,
Walter Raleigh in Ireland (London, 1883), p.115. 1509 to 1573 in Calendar of the state papers
relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth (1860), p. 6.
in Ireland one can safely assume that the humble seaman, soldier and trader helped considerably in widening its use throughout Ireland as they did in its initial introduction on the continent and in Britain.  

As tobacco was provided by private commercial traders, in contrast to state monopolies in Europe, its role as a precursor for other colonial goods and in the opening up of trade to the interior of the country cannot be ignored. The demand for tea, coffee, spices, silks and buttons created by British settlers and supplemented by the Gaelic Irish, was answered by those who introduced tobacco into the locality.  

The increasing volume of imports since Elizabethan times was marked by periods of exceptional growth such as the final decades of the seventeenth century, which Louis M. Cullen described as the most important period in Irish tobacco consumption. Import figures doubled between 1660 and 1680. Cullen described the 3.9 million pounds imported in 1692 as ‘enormous’. These remarkable figures were followed in the eighteenth century by growth which ‘only doubled’, a position which reflects widespread tobacco usage if not quite market saturation. This view is shared by Thomas Truxes who writes that tobacco was Ireland’s biggest import up to the second decade of the eighteenth century and that the product was consumed widely across all sections of society. He argues that the enormous growth in the twenty years following 1665 was driven by the consumption of the poor. He quotes William Petty, the creator of the Down Survey of 1656–8, who observed in 1672 that tobacco


was to the Irish poor ‘the pleasure of their lives’ and in pursuing it they were spending two-sevenths of their ‘expence in food’ on tobacco.\textsuperscript{10}

The legal importation of tobacco into Ireland was part of the extensive provisions trade conducted between Ireland and the West Indian and American colonies during the seventeenth century. Irish merchant families were active in the Caribbean since the 1630s and by 1670 had the distinction of trading across the colonies of different European powers. The Blakes of Galway gave their city a ‘precocious prominence’ in the early North Atlantic trade which by 1665 saw fifty-seven per cent of Ireland’s tobacco being imported directly, accounting for twenty-one per cent of all Irish imports.\textsuperscript{11}

The imposition of the Navigation Acts from the mid-seventeenth century precluded direct importation of tobacco into Ireland. As a result English merchants would send an English crewed ship and cargo to an Irish provisions port where the cargo would be sold and re-laden with provisions for the West Indies on the English merchant’s account. Upon arrival in the Caribbean the cargo would be sold by agents who would arrange payment in cash, bills of exchange or produce. Fully laden ships would return with tobacco and sugar, whilst an option for a third leg to continental America would see Caribbean goods sold and the ship re-laden with American tobacco for the journey home to an English port before being re-shipped to Ireland.\textsuperscript{12} Irish tobacco prices and levels of consumption did not suffer as a result of these regulations. But the law’s greatest effects were felt by Irish merchants who were denied the chance to develop markets in Europe and the colonies.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13} Cullen, \textit{An economic history of Ireland}, p. 38.
When the Navigation Acts were repealed in 1779 there was little capacity for Irish tobacco merchants to resume direct colonial trade as English- and Scottish-based traders had built up a strong trading relationship during the preceding years and were able to keep their dominant position. The inability of Irish traders to provide fully laden ships on the return journey and the absence of appropriate financial services were also factors which favoured a re-export trade with England.\textsuperscript{14}

The challenges that faced any Irish merchant entering into the transatlantic tobacco trade after 1779 are best described by detailing the advanced level of legal trading conducted by Scottish firms which had its roots in an earlier extensive smuggling trade. Glasgow merchants had, especially from the 1740s, built up a system of trade which employed the use of a company factor or agent to deal directly with the planters in Virginia. They supplied the planters with manufactured goods, seed and credit on extended terms on the understanding that they would sell their tobacco crops to them. By 1758 the imports of tobacco into Glasgow’s ports was greater than the combined total of all other British ports.\textsuperscript{15} This trade declined following American independence and the Napoleonic wars. The switch by Amsterdam tobacco traders to property development then left London, with its fluid credit structure, the dominant tobacco centre.\textsuperscript{16} Further evidence of British dominance of the tobacco trade can be found in the fact that prior to American independence up to ninety per cent of the colonial leaf imported into Britain, as per the Navigation Acts, was re-exported to other markets. After 1782 American tobacco growers exploited the opportunity to establish direct continental trading, but up to

\textsuperscript{14}Truxes, Irish American trade, p. 252.
\textsuperscript{15}T.M. Devine, ‘The golden age of tobacco’ in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds.) Glasgow: beginnings to 1830 (Manchester, 1995), pp 139-83.
\textsuperscript{16}Frank Broeze, ‘The new economic history: navigation acts and the continental tobacco market 1770-90’ in Economic History Review, 4 (1973), pp 668-78. See also T.M. Devine, The tobacco lords: A study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, c. 1740–90 (Edinburgh, 1975) in which their contribution to the development of the tobacco trade is discussed.
the 1840s British markets were responsible for forty-six per cent of the value of Virginia’s tobacco exports.¹⁷

The rescinding of the bulk of the Navigation Acts created unease amongst British manufacturers. These fears were echoed in 1785 by Lord Sheffield who projected that should the import of colonial goods from Ireland into Great Britain increase ‘she would have the capital and the credits of other countries to surpass the mother country’. Sheffield wrote that English merchants would ‘fix houses’ ‘transmit capitals’ and ‘migrate thither themselves’ to take advantage of Ireland’s geographical position and improved commercial situation to the detriment of Britain. Using tobacco as an example he saw Ireland becoming ‘the mart of Europe’ for American produce aided by her western position and her low costs and duties.¹⁸

In time the fears British manufacturers had concerning the granting of free trade to Ireland were lessened by political and economic realities. Employing tobacco again as an example, Sheffield in an about face of his earlier position, argued that the ‘greater part of American tobacco will come to Great Britain’ and he warned, that any attempts by ministers to revoke the remaining sections of the Navigation Act would be unadvisedly rash. Economically he pointed out that the small Irish shipping fleet would not be able to compete with its British counterpart which was large enough to facilitate Irish tobacco needs and to cater for the onward shipment of Irish linen and British tobacco to Northern Europe from Britain.¹⁹

The poundage of tobacco imported into Ireland can be seen to increase from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century (see fig 1.1). Periods of regression or

¹⁹ Ibid., pp 319-20. Also Denis O’ Hearn, The Atlantic economy: Britain, the US and Ireland (Manchester, 2001), pp 74-5.
stagnation may be explained by the difficulties caused by wars against the French 1793-1815 and periods when smuggling was substantial, particularly in the 1820s.\textsuperscript{20}

Fig. 1.1 Irish tobacco imports (Pounds) 1790-1895.

The upward trend of tobacco consumption often conflicted with the economic circumstances of the consumer and the social upheavals which troubled Ireland. While the level of legal tobacco imports fell during the famine years of the late 1840s consumption remained high as the previous table reveals. The high level of legal consumption during such a period of intense hardship indicates that tobacco was a consumable that had become a necessity. The ports of Ballina, County Mayo and Skibereen, in County Cork, two of the most severely affected areas during the famine, recorded tobacco imports in excess of 15,000 pounds and 3,000 pounds during 1847.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20} Sixth report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment and into the management and collection of the excise revenue throughout the United Kingdom. Tobacco and foreign spirits. [6][7] H.C. 1834, xxiv. 237, xxv.1.

\textsuperscript{21} Account of Quantity of Manufactured Tobacco and Snuff imported and exported, 1847-49; Account of Tobacco and Snuff Duty paid, 1847-49 H.C. 1850, (323-1), lii, 527.
The smuggling of tobacco into Ireland in the early years of this study was considerable. The difference between the primary price of the leaf and the rate of duty imposed upon it was considered a huge incentive. As in the legitimate business, tobacco smugglers ceased direct landings in Ireland.\textsuperscript{22} Direct smuggling into Ireland of tobacco from America was hindered by the expenses incurred by the smuggler and the logistical problems entailed in such a venture. The development of \textit{entrepots} in the ports of northern France, the Low Countries, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man over varying periods of time served as distribution centres for the smuggling of tobacco and other goods into Ireland.\textsuperscript{23} Cullen’s views on the difficulties experienced by earlier smugglers are supported by the comments of Sir James Dombrain, the Inspector General of the Irish Coast Guard, to the 1844 House of Commons committee on tobacco 1844.\textsuperscript{24} The impact of smuggling had a considerable effect on the legitimate tobacco trade in Ireland as well as on the revenue of the state and will be addressed more fully in chapter two.

Most of the tobacco used in nineteenth-century Ireland was grown in Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland. Prior to shipment the tobacco leaf would have been cured by plantation owners and once the leaves were dry enough to handle but not so tender to break it was considered to be ‘in case’ and ready for packing. The leaves were packed into hogsheads capable of holding one thousand pounds in weight. The size of the standard hogshead increased over time from four foot in height and thirty inches at the head to four feet six inches and thirty-four inches.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{24}Report from the select committee on tobacco trade; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index., H.C., 1844 (565), xi 1 Evidence of Sir James Dombrain, Inspector General Irish Coast Guard, q 7458-7460.
\textsuperscript{25}See \textit{Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia: From 1662 to 1715, Volume 1} (London, 1727), p. 299 also \textit{American State Papers: documents, legislative and executive of the Congress of
The leaves were packed by placing them in alternating directions, the gaps filled by smaller leaves. When the hogshead was quarter full the contents were compressed to half their bulk and the process continued until the hogshead was filled.\textsuperscript{26}

On importation, the produce was examined by customs officials and duties were paid. If not paid immediately the produce was stored in state or bonded warehouses and released to the manufacturer who paid duty on the amount released. The twelve Irish ports at which tobacco could be landed were enumerated by legislation as Belfast, Newry, Drogheda, Dundalk, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, Derry and Dublin. Under legislation introduced in 1789 the presence of an excise officer was required at the manufactory to ensure the tobacco that was required for the days production was weighed in front of him and the balance was then locked up and could only be re-opened by the officer when more tobacco was required. This procedure was changed in 1840 as manufacturers found that production was often halted whilst waiting for the excise officer to arrive. The new system required a tally to be maintained of produce delivered from the bonded warehouse minus sales to equal stock on hand which was supervised by the excise officer.\textsuperscript{27}

The process of turning raw tobacco leaves into a consumable product was described by Fredrick William Fairholt who visited English tobacco factories in 1859. Fairholt’s description of the process is near-identical to that which was described in 1900 by the \textit{Irish Times} following a visit to Gallaher’s Belfast factory,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} William Tatham, \textit{An historical and practical essay on the culture and commerce of tobacco} (London, 1800), pp 52-3.
\item \textsuperscript{27} 3 & 4 Vic. 1 c. 18 \textit{An act to discontinue the excise survey on tobacco and to provide other regulations in lieu}. Joseph Hatton, \textit{The story of Sir Walter Raleigh, and a day in a tobacco factory} (Liverpool, 1893), p. 55. The Customs Consolidation Acts of 1853 & 1876 further eased the restrictions placed upon manufacturers in this regard.
\end{itemize}
the difference being the greater use of powered machinery at the later date.\textsuperscript{28} Production began after the tobacco was sprayed with water to restore its shape in a process known as liquoring. Then the tobacco leaves, or ‘hands’, were then divided up among workers known as ‘strippers’ who removed the main stalk. An experienced stripper, an occupation that was increasingly done by women, could remove the stalks ‘in a wondrously short time’ without damaging the leaf. This type of tobacco was called ‘hand work’, while that which arrived without the stalk is called ‘strip leaf’. Following the stripping of the leaf it was placed in a trough and wetted thoroughly with water and left overnight. In some cases the product could be adulterated with salt or treacle to disguise bad or damaged tobacco. The following day the tobacco was pressed into cakes which could take ‘several hours’\textsuperscript{29}.

The tobacco was then ready for cutting. The methods used in the eighteenth century involved a machine called a jigger which required a great amount of manual power to operate. This was replaced in the early nineteenth century by a hand engine incorporating a fly wheel which made the process easier. The width of the cut resulted in different types of tobacco. Short cut or shag tobacco was for smoking whilst long cut suited chewers. The cut tobacco was placed on brass plates over fires to remove excess moisture. Some moisture had to remain, in order for the tobacco to remain moist in the cask that was sent to the retailer and this crucial decision was made by an experienced tobacco worker who then removed it and allowed the tobacco to cool. Once cooled, the tobacco was packed in casks and then sent to the retailers.\textsuperscript{30} The process corresponds to that described by William Tatham in 1800 which was largely undertaken without the use of mechanically powered machinery, while the 1850s factory Fairholt describes was mechanised, its products (carottes, a

\textsuperscript{28} Irish Times, 9 May 1900.
\textsuperscript{29} Fairholt, Tobacco; its history and association, p. 305. Irish Times, 9 May 1900.
\textsuperscript{30} Fairholt, Tobacco; its history and association, p. 309.
chewing tobacco, rolls, twists, negrohead, and pigtail) would have been familiar to consumers in the seventeenth century.\(^{31}\) The use of horses and later hydraulic power by larger manufacturers grew as the industry became more mechanised. Goodbody’s opened a new factory in Dublin in 1886 that used engines to drive the spinning and cutting machinery while several enormous presses weighing five tons pressed the finished tobacco into cakes and rolls.\(^{32}\)

The technique of flue curing was developed in the 1860s, which allowed tobacco leaves to be cured using heat from ducts in curing barns and prevented smoke from colouring the leaves.\(^{33}\) Coinciding with the development of flue curing which produced a bright tobacco more suited to cigarettes than the darker variety used by pipe smokers and chewers, the emergence of the cigarette would eventually completely transform the tobacco trade.\(^{34}\) Cigarettes were initially made by hand, with a skilled worker producing 1,500 a day, using wood, cotton wool or glass plugs as a mouthpiece. Packed in denominations of five or sold by weight, the English firm Wills of Bristol pioneered several brands in Britain in the late 1860s followed by the successful introduction of ‘Westward Ho!’ and ‘Three Castles’ in the 1870s.\(^{35}\) Wills had established an agency in Dublin some years before their first recorded company representative began operating in the Munster region in 1854. The company did not enjoy a great deal of success in Ireland in the nineteenth century until ‘Wild Woodbine’ became a hugely successful brand for Wills across the British Isles in the early twentieth century.\(^{36}\)

\(^{31}\) Fairholt, *Tobacco; its history and association*, pp 310-12. See also *S.C Tobacco 1844*. p. xlv for a glossary of tobacco products available in 1844.

\(^{32}\) *Irish Times*, 23 Apr. 1886.


\(^{34}\) J.A. Duval, ‘Burley paid the bills, twentieth century tobacco culture in the central Ohio River Valley’ (PhD dissertation, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, 2007), pp 170-71.


\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 385.
Snuff was produced using the stalks cut away during the leaf stripping process, though some varieties used leaf only and others a mixture of both. The stalk was cut into small pieces, bagged and sent to the snuff mills at Mitcham in Surrey, which according to Fairholt’s 1859 account monopolised the London snuff milling trade. This was in contrast to Irish manufacturers who usually milled their own snuff or sold the tobacco stalks to larger firms in their area. In 1883 Carroll’s supplied Islington Snuff Mills with tobacco. 37 Scotch snuff was regarded as the most pure form of snuff as it consisted of very finely milled tobacco stalks. Brown or black Rappee snuff was made using darker leaves or fibres unsuited to smoking which were then liquored to further darken their appearance. Welsh and Irish high dried snuffs were made using stalks dried to a point where they assumed a scorched flavour. 38 The adulteration of snuff was widespread and Fairholt’s account includes the tale of desiccated ox liver being used in snuff imported into Ireland in the 1840s. 39

The Dublin firm of Lundy Foot were highly regarded throughout Britain and Ireland for the quality of their snuff known as ‘Lundyfoot’ or ‘Irish Blackguard’. Its alleged origin involved a drunken workman who fell asleep during the drying out phase which allowed the snuff to become toasted became repeatedly told in tobacco related literature. 40 To keep up to the demands of the British market the firm had by 1829 established a manufacturing branch in London which can be viewed as a testament to its popularity. 41 The brand became a bench mark for quality and was

37 P.J. Carroll Ledger book 1883-84 County Museum, Dundalk, County Louth. p. 100.
38 George Dodd, Days at the factories: or, the manufacturing industry of Great Britain described (London, 1843), pp 130-2.
40 S.C. Atkinson, Atkinson’s Casket, 8 (Philadelphia,1833), p. 522. See also Henry Miller, Nicotania, or, the smokers and snuff takers companion (London, 1832), pp 22-6.
41 Old Bailey Proceedings Online, Trial of George Keene and Samuel Keene, (t18290910-33) Sep.1829,(http: (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2) Case of alleged theft concerning Lundy Foot
known throughout the British colonies where local snuffs claimed to have qualities similar to the ‘celebrated Lundyfoot.’\textsuperscript{42} Lambkins of Cork were another widely popular Irish snuff maker who also produced a high dried snuff in the 1830s and which was exported to Britain from the mid-century ‘for the relief of the jaded statesman or overworked lawyer.’ \textsuperscript{43}

Prior to becoming fashionable, cigars were produced up to the 1820s by a small number of highly skilled artisans. As the demand for cigars was limited, the production of cigars was operated on a demand basis. Working in transient groups, cigar-makers were led by a chief workman who would arrange a contract for the group with the manufacturer and working under the control of the chief cigar-maker they would produce an agreed amount of cigars in a number of days. The cigar maker, who was better paid than others in the trade, was given the choicest leaves from the hogsheads and skilfully produced wrapped, tied and measured cigars.\textsuperscript{44}

II

In the mid-1830s there were 291 tobacco manufactories operating in Ireland. These producers provided the 11,989 licensed tobacco dealers in Ireland with their products. The corresponding figures for all of England and Wales show that 385 manufactories supplied 159,012 licensed dealers.\textsuperscript{45} From these figures one can assume that the Irish businesses were considerably smaller than their English counterparts. If taken with the 1841 census, which returned 1,107 tobacco workers,

\textsuperscript{42}The Sydney Herald, 24 Oct. 1831 features an advertisement of a former employee of Lundy Foot of Dublin and London who promoted his business by referring to his connection with Lundy Foot.
\textsuperscript{43}The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 16 Feb. 1830., Otago Times, 18 Dec. 1863.
\textsuperscript{44}Faireholt, Tobacco; its history and associations; p. 309.
an average of three to five employees per factory can be deduced.\textsuperscript{46} The factories were largely concentrated in the coastal towns and cities, the Clonmel excise district with twenty manufactories being the exception.\textsuperscript{47} By 1843 the number of licensed manufacturers in Ireland fell to 210 which illustrate the speed at which inefficient businesses were forced from the industry.\textsuperscript{48}

Over the course of the nineteenth century the development of Ireland’s tobacco trade can be traced through the business records of small local enterprises that either focused on expanding their tobacco business or concentrated their energies in other directions. The development of some of the former into businesses of regional and national significance which displaced their local competitors, were in turn overtaken by those who achieved national and international prominence in the trade. Francis Brodigan of Drogheda, County Louth was typical of the general merchant who manufactured and sold tobacco at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Coffee, tea, sugar as well as continental luxuries such as brandy and Malaga wine featured prominently among his merchandise alongside such staples as curry combs, ropes and tobacco pipes. His daybooks, which cover the years 1793-1802, show the increasing value of tobacco to his business.\textsuperscript{49} Brodigan’s tobacco trade involved the manufacture, retailing and wholesaling of the product. The initial tobacco entry on 25 May 1793 concerned the sale of five ounces of pigtail tobacco to ‘Mr Levin’s man’ for 1s.2d. Evidence of the wholesale element of his business can be seen in the orders for tobacco sold in lengths which in one order in June 1795

\textsuperscript{47} 2nd Railway commissioners report. Appendix B no.14 p.97.
\textsuperscript{48} Tobacco—Tobacco and snuff. Copies of memorials on the subject of the tobacco duties; and, return of the licensed dealers in tobacco and snuff in the United Kingdom. H.C. 1846 (699) xxv 669.
\textsuperscript{49} Day-books of Francis Brodigan, merchant, of Drogheda, 1793-7 and 1798-1802 (National Library of Ireland, Mss 9918-9919). Hereafter Day-books of Francis Brodigan.
totalled 479 feet in length. The repeated business of Messrs Owens, Reilly and Shirwin for orders in hundreds of feet further confirms that Brodigan operated a wholesale business.\textsuperscript{50}

By 1800 Brodigan was trading with customers in Drumcondra, County Dublin, Granard in County Longford and Newry in County Down. His manufacturing output also increased as he recorded the amounts of tobacco rolls in press as being 236 in 1793, 305 in 1801 and 436 in 1802. The price of his tobacco also increased. The price in the years 1793-5 ranged from 10½d. to 13d. per foot. The price in January 1798 was 1s.7d. which rose to a high of 2s.4d. by early August of that year. One reason for this price increase may be the disruption to supplies occasioned by the rebellion in the summer of 1798. In support of this claim the daybooks record only two sales of tobacco in June and limited transactions up to December by which time the price had dropped to 2s. when normal trading patterns resumed.\textsuperscript{51}

The manufacture and sale of snuff and the supply of tobacco pipes by the ‘crate’ were also part of his business. One unusual feature in Brodigan’s pricing structure is the absence of any reduction in prices for his wholesale customers who appear to pay the same amount as his retail clients. One of the last entries for the year 1802 concerns the £185 6s.5d. paid in excise duties along with a ten pound tobacco manufacturer’s license fee which is included in Brodigan’s manufacturing account that totals £2,011,19s.11d.\textsuperscript{52} In the early nineteenth century

\textsuperscript{50} Day-books of Francis Brodigan. These three customers represented a considerable portion of Brodigan’s tobacco business from 1794-98.  
\textsuperscript{51} Day-books of Francis Brodigan., June to December 1798.  
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, January, March, December 1802.
Brodigan’s tobacco business could be described as medium scale but his accounts in the second decade do not show any evidence of him continuing to trade in tobacco.\textsuperscript{53}

James Hunt of Francis Street, later, Molesworth Street, Dublin operated a successful firm that specialised in cigars between 1840 and 1857. Hunt was also involved in the horse trading business, a pursuit that brought him in contact with the landed gentry throughout the country. His cigar business records show that his clientele was equally distinguished and included the Lord Lieutenant and members of the aristocracy and gentry. The greatest part of his business catered to the officers of the many regiments stationed in Ireland such as the Royal Scots Greys, the Grenadier Guards and the Dragoon Guards. As such, Hunt’s business was necessarily countrywide but he also catered to the many fashionable gentlemen’s clubs such as the Kildare St. Club, the Leinster Club, the United Services Club in Dublin and the Kingstown Yacht Club.\textsuperscript{54}

As the business expanded, which involved a move from Francis Street to the more fashionable Molesworth Street, the range of cigars also increased. The cheroots, regalias and cabanas sold in 1842 were by 1850 complimented by dos amigos, panatelas and estrellas, indicating that the Irish elites were familiar with the latest smoking fashions. The total yearly sales figures recorded in 1843 amounted to £1,313 which doubled to £2,645 by 1850, though by 1857 sales had fallen to £1,868.\textsuperscript{55} One possible reason for the fall-off in his trade was the absence of many of the regiments who were on active service during the course of the Crimean War in the mid-1850s.

\textsuperscript{53}Cash records of Francis Brodigan, of Drogheda, 1815-19. (N.L.I., Ms. 9920).
\textsuperscript{55}Business Records of James Hunt.
An example of the challenges that faced another medium scale tobacco firm is that of Joseph O’Neill, who bought the Bagenalstown Tobacco Factory in 1860 from John Nowlan who had established the business in 1830. O’Neill returned from the U.S.A. in 1860 and during his time there had witnessed the cultivation of tobacco and learned the manufacturing process. The business was passed on to two sons John and Joe. John, also a chemist, travelled to Germany, Italy, France and Britain to purchase machinery for the factory, while Joe was the company salesman. By the 1880s the O’Neills were producing a very high quality tobacco in their factory which employed sixteen men and had a mix of hand and steam driven machinery. In 1882 their tobacco won first prize at the Dublin Exhibition.56

The departure of John from the trade in 1911 and Joe’s death in 1914 resulted in their sister Margaret taking over the running of the business for two years. Her son John Sheil recalled the manufacturing process when his mother ran the business. The tobacco arrived by rail in hogsheads measuring fifteen feet by eight, it was then opened in front of the excise officer, a Mr Newman, followed by the stripping, soaking and being fed into a ‘rope making machine’ before being pressed for up to one month. The tobacco having spent a month in the press was then cut into lengths for sale. The use of the smaller leaves and stalks were ground down to make snuff a ‘very profitable part of the business.’ Later the firm, under the management of an uncle, failed to respond to the demand for flake tobacco and to the increasing popularity of cigarettes in 1920s Ireland. The loss of business was compounded by internal tensions with the employees and a greater interest by the owners in other business ventures, all of which ultimately led to the closure of the factory in 1927.57

56 Nationalist and Leinster Time. 1 Jan. 1887.
III

One of the more successful Irish tobacco firms to emerge from the early nineteenth century was that of Patrick James (P.J.) Carroll of Dundalk, County Louth. P.J. was the son of James Carroll and his second wife Anne Marmion, who came from a prosperous merchant family in Dundalk, part of the emerging Catholic middle class of the early nineteenth century. Carroll began his career in 1819 working for his cousin James Carroll at his business in Earl Street, Dundalk. He was formally apprenticed in 1821 to a James McAlester, a tobacco and general merchant of 38 Church Street. Within two years McAlester left the tobacco trade and sold the business to his apprentice in 1824 who completed his apprenticeship in 1827.

Initially the tobacco trade was just one part of Carroll’s business. Included amongst the sale of soap and candle and other domestic goods was a coffin which was the first item listed in the earliest extant company ledger from 1833. P.J. also continued his father’s land dealing and agricultural provisions trade which supplemented his small profits from tobacco in the early years of his business. The company ledgers also reveal that the Carroll family continued to trade in non-tobacco goods up to as late as 1867. The sale of candles, soap, coffins, and an iron bedstead are duly recorded, as is the letting out of ‘our front rooms’ unfurnished to

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58 Oliver Keenan, *The history of P.J. Carroll* unpublished manuscript in the possession of Jim Murphy, formerly Managing Director of the company, Dundalk. Appendix 3. ii in chapter on P.J. Carroll. One of Carroll’s daughters who became Sister Mary Alphonsus claimed that James did not treat P.J. too well whilst in his employ, but the two were eventually reconciled. This manuscript is divided into four chapters, each chapter deals with the four Carroll’s who led the company. Pagination begins with 1 in each chapter.
59 *Piggot & Co’s Provincial Directory of Ireland 1824*, p.149.
61 Ibid., Appendix 4 in chapter on P.J. Carroll. One of Carroll’s forms of income included a salary from a Church of Ireland clergyman for whom he acted as a tithe collector.
Captain and Mrs Gaffney at £5 per quarter. Carroll also acquired several properties in Dundalk which he let and the profits from these were ploughed back into his growing tobacco business.

In the 1830s and early 1840s the company’s tobacco trade was largely confined to Dundalk and surrounding areas and consisted mostly of roll tobacco sold in feet as described above. Carroll, like Brodigan, also operated as a wholesaler as sales of 251 feet and sixty-six feet of roll tobacco to a Philip Callan in 1833 attest to. In 1833 Carroll priced his tobacco from 2s.5d. to 2s.8d. The fledgling business appears to have been supported by his mother’s family as the accounts list John, Nicholas and Laurence Marmion as regular customers. The maintenance of his prices at 1833 levels and the growing reputation of his products helped increased regular trading beyond Dundalk to Dungannon, Newry, Carrickmacross, Dunleer and Drogheda and included a growing number of customers in Britain.

In 1841 Carroll was prosperous enough to purchase his premises at 38 Church Street outright from James Connolly for the sum of £400. The tobacco manufacturing process employed by Carroll in the early years was similar to those described above. The modest sized rooms of 38 Church Street housed simple hand presses to produce roll tobacco, snuff and chewing tobacco. In time he expanded the business by purchasing 39 Church Street which became the family home as well as factory.

An examination of the report of the Railway Commissioners in 1837-8 informs us that tobacco produced in Dundalk was for local consumption only and that surrounding towns beyond the 1830s range of Carroll’s trading area had active

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64 Ibid., The arrival of gas into Dundalk, would have heralded the slow demise of his candle business. *P.J. Carroll Ledger book, 1833-1869*, p.100.
67 Ibid., p. 84.
tobacco manufacturers and markets.\textsuperscript{69} As part of its remit the commissioners reported on the tobacco trades production levels and transportation practises throughout Ireland. In three towns close to Dundalk it shows that most of the manufacturers, like Carroll’s, catered for a local market. In Drogheda manufacturers had used thirty six hogsheads of tobacco to supply their customers in the previous year whilst in County Meath, Navan manufacturers received ten tons from Dublin and Drogheda to meet their requirements. In County Down, Newry imported 139,274 pounds with a value of £26,113 in 1836.\textsuperscript{70}

One exception to this localised form of trading was an unnamed manufacturer in Cavan whom the commissioners report as having a considerable business spread over several counties. Trading in seven surrounding counties this dealer imported tobacco through Dublin in amounts which attracted duty of £40,000 per annum. The manufacturer hoped to ship directly into Dundalk from London which would reduce the costs associated with using four hogsheads every eight days which equates to a yearly amount equal to 115 tons of tobacco.\textsuperscript{71}

The decision in 1836 to open a bonded warehouse in Dundalk would have enabled both P.J. and James Carroll to access their tobacco from a nearby warehouse thus cutting down on the transportation costs involved in moving stock from Newry and Drogheda.\textsuperscript{72} In 1837, both James and P.J. Carroll subscribed £250 each towards the setting up of the Dundalk Western Railway. Other subscribers included Philip Callan, an important customer of Carroll, and also his wife’s family the

\textsuperscript{69} 2\textsuperscript{nd} Railway commissioners report. Appendix B No. 4.
\textsuperscript{70} 2\textsuperscript{nd} Railway commissioners report Appendix B No. 4 pp 17, 19, 22. Appendix B No. 9 p. 34.
\textsuperscript{71} 2\textsuperscript{nd} Railway commissioners report Appendix B No. 9 p. 23. The expansion by both P.J. and James Carroll in the 1840s covers the trading area of the above mentioned Cavan trader. Anglo-Celt, 23 Jul. 1910, Reports the death of Hugh P. Kennedy, 1842-1910 whose father once employed over 300 men in his Cavan tobacco business, which strongly suggests that this was the manufacturer in question. Two sons James and Edward moved the business to Dublin.
\textsuperscript{72} 2\textsuperscript{nd} Railway commissioners report Appendix B No.4. p. 22.
The arrival of the railway in Dundalk in 1849 presented both Carroll’s with an opportunity to extend their trading area. However, the coming of the railways also presented a challenge as it permitted other businesses to expand into their competitor’s territory, just as the Carroll’s were doing. These reinvestments in his business were assisted by the development of the bonded warehouse and the railway which would have reduced costs and allowed for an expansion in the company’s trading area.

In 1850, Carroll’s entrepreneurial acumen and that of his cousin James were lauded in the *Dundalk Democrat* as examples of what the country needed to boost the economy of post-famine Ireland. At this stage, James had a more extensive business which reached from Belfast to Kilkenny. His business produced £26,640 to the revenue from the manufacture of 170,000 pounds of tobacco per year. The death of James in 1852, who was described as the ‘most extensive tobacco manufacturer in the north of Ireland,’ resulted in increased business for P.J. who by 1858 employed up to fifty men and boys.

Carroll made regular trips to England to purchase tobacco. An 1852 trip to London provides an example of the expanding nature of his business. He records the journey from Drogheda to London as beginning on Monday morning and arriving in London ‘the following afternoon’ when he immediately purchased forty-two hogsheads that day and a further sixteen the following day. This transaction was brokered by the company G. & H. Davis of Fenchurch Street, London, one of the

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73 *Railway subscription contracts deposited in the Private Bill Office of the House of Commons, session 1837. H.C. 1837 (95) xlvi.1.
74 *Dundalk Democrat*, 23 Feb. 1850.
75 Anthony Marmion, *The ancient and modern history of the maritime ports of Ireland* (London, 1858) p 289. See also *Belfast Newsletter*, 1 Nov. 1852. James who was described as the manufacturer of Dundalk tobacco ‘of worldwide celebrity’ was reported as passing away in October-November 1852.
city’s leading tobacco brokers.\textsuperscript{76} Tobacco brokers were retained by manufacturers to purchase and transport tobacco from the U.S.A. for a fee. Some of the larger brokers brought in tobacco on their own account and sold it locally to the highest bidder. Carroll also visited Liverpool where he agreed terms with the brokers and also organised the warehousing arrangements with local companies such as W.H. Gillart and G. Alexander. Later in the 1850s Carroll conducted regular business with major brokers Parry and Crosbie in Liverpool and Laurie Summervail and Co. of Glasgow.\textsuperscript{77}

Carroll also made regular purchases in Dublin but was not averse to conducting opportunistic purchases of tobacco elsewhere such as at Carrickmacross County Monaghan in 1842. Another source of supply was from Henderson Black of Belfast, with whom Carroll had regular business between 1839 and 1844.\textsuperscript{78} During the course of 1844 Henderson Black shot himself after it became known that he conducted a considerable amount of trade in smuggled tobacco.\textsuperscript{79} It is unknown if Carroll was aware of the origin of the tobacco he received from Black for which he paid the going rate.

\textit{Thoms Directory} for 1852 notes the presence of four banks in Dundalk.\textsuperscript{80} P.J. Carroll banked with three of these including the Bank of Ireland and the Provincial Bank in the 1840s and 1850s.\textsuperscript{81} A surviving Belfast Bank deposit book from 1851 suggests that Carroll had in previous years used this bank more extensively for business purposes as it was situated closest to his premises. The account shows that

\textsuperscript{76} P.J. Carroll, personal notebook 1838-1852, in possession of P.J. Carroll & Co. Leopardstown Dublin. See S.C Tobacco 1844 Evidence of Horatio Nelson Davis, tobacco broker, q 2585-2592.


\textsuperscript{78} P.J. Carroll, personal notebook 1838-1852.

\textsuperscript{79} S.C Tobacco 1844. Evidence of W. Maury q1713 and H.N. Davis q2613.

\textsuperscript{80} Alexander Thom, \textit{Thom’s Irish Almanac and Official Directory, for the year 1852} (Dublin, 1852).

\textsuperscript{81} Keenan, \textit{The history of P.J. Carroll} p. 15 and appendix 13 in chapter on Vincent S. Carroll.
daily lodgements were made in amounts averaging £30 which would have represented some of the counter takings from that day's trading.\textsuperscript{82} The shop at 38 Church Street appears to have also acted as a bank for the extended Carroll family and their rural customers as the day books record acceptance of sums of money for safekeeping and from which withdrawals were conducted as required as well as the issuing of loans in amounts from shillings to £50.\textsuperscript{83}

In 1862, P.J.'s son, James, opened his own tobacco account with his father's business. In 1863 James received stock in excess of £800 from his father’s company which was inclusive of monies owed from an earlier account. James made small part payments sometimes ‘paid in copper’ or ‘gold’ on an irregular basis which then became two monthly payments and by 1865 the account was on a regular monthly footing. James’s account in the following years returned to an irregular payment pattern but he still received stock on a regular basis. From this one can assume that P.J. was planning to secure the future of his own company by supporting his son in his business ventures. Like his father, James conducted a number of other businesses which were advertised frequently in the \textit{Dundalk Democrat}. From an office in Church Street he operated as a shipping agent specialising in transatlantic crossings and sailings to Australia and New Zealand. His main business was situated on Clanbrassil Street which he opened in 1863 and from where he sold tobacco, spirits, wine, farming and household goods.\textsuperscript{84}

Like many middle-class businessmen, James by the 1870s played a prominent role in civic society becoming a town commissioner and chairman of the Harbour Board and a trustee of the Dundalk Union.\textsuperscript{85} He sold his business in 1888

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\textsuperscript{82} P.J. Carroll, \textit{bank deposit book} in possession of P.J. Carroll & Co. Leopardstown Dublin. \\
\textsuperscript{83} Keenan, \textit{The history of P.J. Carroll}, p. 17 in chapter on P.J. Carroll. \\
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Dundalk Democrat}, 2 Feb. 1860, 5 Mar. 1864, 3 Feb. 1888., \textit{Nation}, 3 Sep. 1881. \\
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Dundalk Democrat}, 11 Apr. 1874, 23 May 1885.
\end{flushleft}
and in the same year auctioned off his livestock and farming equipment from his estate, Lisnawilly House. He spent a number of years in Canada before returning to Ireland as an elderly man, and died in 1922.86

Patrick James Carroll died in 1879 leaving his youngest son Vincent Stannus as head of the business.87 Vincent, who had attended the fee paying Clongowes Wood school in Kildare, joined the firm in 1864.88 His plans for the modernisation of the company, which included the purchasing of adjoining property and the installation of modern machinery, were initially rejected by his father. Following Vincent’s threats of emigrating to the U.S.A. his father relented and gave his blessing to the proposed changes. Following his father’s death Vincent proceeded apace with his modernisation plans which included structural changes to the factory and a business trip to the U.S.A., where he purchased up-to-date plug machines and spinning frames.89

The plans facilitated the territorial expansion of the firm, whose customers in the early 1880s were now to be found in Belfast, Dublin and Limerick. Recorded sales for six month periods beginning in February 1883 show returns of £17,087, in August £16,651 and £19,161 in February 1884. The credit terms offered by Carroll’s were extremely generous. John Williams of the Queen’s Arms in Dundalk received a fortnightly order starting on the 18 March 1881 and paid for the entire six months stock in September of that year. Among Williams’ order of the 18 March 1881 was

86 Belfast Newsletter, 3 Feb. 1888, Dundalk Democrat, 11 Feb. 1888. The solicitor engaged in the sale was Michael C. Moynagh James’s brother in law.
87 Freeman’s Journal, 6 May 1879.
88 His male siblings attended the Jesuit school in Tullabeg, County Offaly.
89 Keenan, ‘The history of P.J. Carroll’ p.3 in chapter on Vincent Carroll. Account of Pat McKeown an employee from 1875 who describes the changes undertaken by the new owner.
seven shillings worth of cigarettes, a product that was relatively new to the Irish market and which must have been hand rolled by Carroll employees.  

To meet the increasing demand for its products the company purchased property beside the Church Street premises and constructed a new factory which included a chimney stack ‘close on one hundred feet high.’ The production methods used in Carroll’s by the late 1890s matched those used in Britain. Power for the presses, ovens and cutting equipment was supplied by steam engines manufactured by Manisty’s, a local engineering firm. These engines were complimented by electric generators used to provide lighting for the plant, which was a first for the town of Dundalk. The grounds of the factory included outhouses, stables and even formal gardens whose flowers and shrubs were given freely to adorn local events.

Under Vincent’s management, the business began to produce branded tobacco products. Inspired by the popularity of a pipe smoking character in the Shamrock magazine, who smoked Carroll’s twists, the company introduced a pipe tobacco called ‘Mick McQuaid’. Ulster and Leinster continued to be the company’s major markets in Ireland. Vincent’s attempts to break into Connaught were stymied by a preference there for cheaper tobacco and in the early 1900s by British competitors. The demand for Wills ‘Woodbine’ cigarettes in the early 1900s resulted in Irish manufacturers, with the exception of Gallaher’s, being compelled by

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91 Dundalk Democrat, 14 Oct. 1899.
94 Dundalk Democrat, 29 Jun. 1907.
retailers to supply them with the cigarette along with their own proprietary brands. While this commercial imposition must have rankled with the native firms, it provided a clear signpost for the direction the market would eventually take. In 1905 Carroll’s installed its first cigarette-making machine.

By 1907, the Dundalk factory was described as ‘cramped for room’ due to the doubling in size of its workforce and output in the previous six years. The products listed above were now joined by brands such as ‘Golden Bar’, ‘Target’, ‘Anti-Combine’ plug and ‘Anti-Combine’ cigarettes. The opening of a depot in Glasgow was another reason cited for the increase in productivity, which involved satisfying a weekly demand for three tons of Carroll’s tobacco in Scotland which fully occupied twenty-four spinning frames solely for this market. The total number of employees at this stage was 250 men, women and boys. Vincent Carroll was especially proud of the ‘girls’ in his employment and considered them better than their Belfast counterparts in Gallaher’s and Murray’s tobacco factories.

At the start of the twentieth century the business faced significant challenges. The first was the necessity to expand the factory, for which plans were being made. Secondly the threat posed by international producers threatened not just Carroll’s but all Irish manufacturers. The purchase of the prominent English tobacco manufacturer Ogden’s, by the American Tobacco Company in 1901 was the first salvo in what was popularly called the ‘tobacco war’. In order to resist the entry of the James B. Duke controlled American Tobacco Company into the British market the major

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96 Keenan, \*The history of P.J. Carroll*, pp 19-22 in chapter on Vincent Carroll, the cigarette machine from McDonalds of Glasgow was not a success.
97 Keenan, \*The history of P.J. Carroll*, p. 17 in chapter on Vincent Carroll.
98 \*Dundalk Democrat*, 29 Jun. 1907.
British firms such as Will’s, Player’s and Clarke’s amongst others, combined to form
the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain and Ireland, which was widely
referred to as ‘the combine’.\textsuperscript{100} No Irish company joined with either corporation.

During the course of the tobacco war the Irish tobacco manufacturers were
given the support of many groups and associations. In the first decade of the
twentieth century Ireland was undergoing a period of renewed nationalistic fervour
which was expressed on a spectrum that ranged from advanced separatists to
moderate home rulers. Groups such as the Gaelic League, Sinn Fein and the Irish
Industrial Development Association campaigned to preserve and promote Irish
industry and commerce. These groups were staunch defenders and advocates of Irish
tobacco manufacture and cultivation which they expressed in practical ways. A
Dublin-based Gaelic Athletic Club, Crokes, proposed a boycott of Irish retailers who
agreed to allow Imperial exclusive use of their premises for advertising purposes
during a proposed ‘British Week’ in which the combine’s products alone would be
promoted. The club’s proposal was forwarded to the press and public bodies for
consideration.\textsuperscript{101} The Gaelic League lobbied retailers in Belfast and Dublin to press
the case for Irish tobacco and the thousands of workers involved in it.\textsuperscript{102} An example
of a public body supporting Irish-made products was the decision in 1903 of the
Dundalk Union who sidestepped the requirement to accept the lowest tender, which
was made up of Imperial products, by accepting smaller deliveries from the local
manufacturer, P.J. Carroll, whose products the Union considered to be superior in
quality.\textsuperscript{103} Considerable support for Irish made tobacco was also expressed in the
columns and letter pages of national and local newspapers. Tobacco was prominent

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100} \textit{Irish Times}, 16 Oct. 1901. See also 29 Mar. 1902 for the reaction of Dublin traders.
\item \textsuperscript{101} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 9 May 1911.
\item \textsuperscript{102} \textit{Donegal News}, 13 May 1907.
\item \textsuperscript{103} \textit{Dundalk Democrat}, 21 Mar. 1903.
\end{itemize}
amongst a list of Irish manufactures which readers were reminded of how economic benefits would accrue by doing their patriotic duty and supporting Irish-made goods. The press being beneficiaries of tobacco advertising would also benefit from a vibrant tobacco industry.¹⁰⁴

The British and American companies eventually came to an agreement in 1902. The American Tobacco Company would conduct its affairs in the U.S.A. whilst the Imperial Tobacco Company would trade within the United Kingdom and its empire. A third company, the British-American Tobacco Company, two thirds owned by the American Tobacco Company, one third by Imperial Tobacco, would develop markets in the rest of the world.¹⁰⁵ Following the agreement the Imperial Tobacco Company turned its attention to Ireland where it attempted to seize control of the roll tobacco market by introducing a cheaper product and by incentivising retailers with bonus schemes. The combine’s members manufactured and marketed an inferior roll tobacco and sold it at a reduced price as Irish Roll to the retailers who did not pass on the reduction to their customers. The bonus scheme was based on sales of Imperial products and on an exclusive in-store advertising scheme which was aided by the expertise of Imperial’s window dressers.¹⁰⁶

The superior quality of Irish-made roll tobacco and an element of national and regional loyalty shown by the customers of Carroll’s and other Irish firms resulted in the folding of the Imperial Tobacco Company’s plans after three years. Irish tobacco consumption was dominated by pipe smokers until the 1920s which provided some security for home producers despite their weaker performance against

¹⁰⁶ Freeman’s Journal, 15 Aug. 1905., Limerick Leader, 1 May 1911.
British cigarette makers. Carroll’s earliest proprietary cigarette brands were ‘Emerald Gem’ and a defiantly named ‘Anti-Combine’ cigarette. In advance of the purchase of a cigarette-making machine in 1905 one can only assume that this work was carried out by the nimble fingered ‘girls’ in Carroll’s. In 1907 the company aligned itself with the recently formed Tobacco Traders Council whose role was to protect the interests of the independent manufacturers from foreign opposition and domestic retail groups.

In 1909 a fire consumed most of the factory which resulted in the destruction of the company’s pipe tobacco manufacturing machinery as well as the loss of all its manufactured tobacco. Much of the damage was covered by the firm’s insurers, who paid out £9,000 of the £14,000 claimed. The 250 workers continued in the undamaged cigarette building and in temporary premises. The firm immediately ordered new tobacco presses and applied to the Factory Authorities to seek permission for round-the-clock production to satisfy demand. The Goodbody Company of Dublin reciprocated the offer of help made to them by Carroll’s when their Tullamore factory burned down in 1879 by offering supplies of unmanufactured tobacco and machinery. Local foundries Gaskin’s and Manisty’s speedily manufactured engines and presses which were supplemented by equipment from the old Kennedy factory in Dublin to enable production to be maintained. Carroll’s turned this adverse situation to its advantage by constructing a purpose-

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107 *Irish Times*, 2 May 1911. See also Bielenberg and Johnson, ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland’ p. 12.
108 Keenan, *The history of P.J. Carroll* p. 22 in chapter on Vincent Carroll. These two brands sold only modest amounts.
109 *Dundalk Democrat*, 27 Apr. 1907
built factory equipped with modern machinery that was larger than required at that time and clearly built with an eye to the future.\textsuperscript{113}

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Like P.J. Carroll, Thomas Gallaher, of Derry and later Belfast, followed a similar trajectory but was far more successful. Gallaher was born in 1840 in Templemoyle County Derry into a prosperous family with farming and milling interests. He was apprenticed to a general merchant in Derry where he learnt the tobacco trade. In 1857 he began manufacturing tobacco in Derry and in 1863 moved to Belfast in order to expand his business by taking advantage of the rising population in the most industrialised city in Ireland, which also benefitted from being a busy cross channel port. His business flourished. The final decades of the nineteenth century saw him open and extend his factory in Belfast. In 1881 he employed 600 workers using power driven machinery as well as two factories in London. He also purchased tobacco plantations in the U.S.A. which secured his company’s supply of tobacco leaf.\textsuperscript{114}

In 1887 a factory inspector noted the growth of Gallaher’s business. He was a significant employer paying an average of £8,000 weekly in duty to the revenue. This amount the inspector stated ‘exceeds considerably’ the total revenue generated in duty by the numerous firms in the area who went out of business in recent years.\textsuperscript{115} This observation strengthens the belief that firms who enjoyed the

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\textsuperscript{113} Freeman’s Journal, 15 Jul. 1913 for a description of the new factory opened in 1911. \\
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\textsuperscript{115} Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the year ending 31st October 1887 [C.5328], H.C. 1888 xxvi, 395, p. 21.
\end{flushleft}
advantages of the economies of scale were increasingly more powerful in the industry and were hastening the demise of the smaller ones.

The mid-1890s saw the erection of a ‘large number’ of tobacco factories in the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{116} In 1896 Gallaher built an enormous factory on York Street in Belfast which surpassed all other manufacturers in size. The five-storied building, upon whose flat roof ‘one could easily play a game of cricket or football’, operated in a manner that has already been discussed except that the plant and the use of power driven machinery was on an extent unseen in Ireland’s tobacco trade. Despite the extensive use of machinery in Gallaher’s, the company in 1900 still employed ‘several hundred girls’ hand rolling cigarettes of which the best could produce 2,000 a day. The factory also had machines to make cigarettes capable of producing 200,000 cigarettes per day on the same floor.\textsuperscript{117} No evidence can be found to explain this dichotomy other than the assumption that the labour costs were low.

By 1909 Gallaher’s Belfast factory was extended to accommodate the rising demand for their products especially their ‘Park Drive’ cigarette brand. The new premise on York Street had a broader façade and was one storey higher than the older building where it housed the ‘fancy tobaccos and cigarette making departments’, the demand for which had increased. This expansion it was claimed would lead to another ‘1000 to 1500 hands’ being employed by the firm.\textsuperscript{118}

From the 1880s Gallaher’s conducted a very considerable export trade which grew significantly in the first decade of the twentieth century. As a result of their extensive export trade they were the only Irish firm to produce tobacco ‘in bond’ for the international market, under the supervision of the Customs at their Belfast factory.

\textsuperscript{116} Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the year 1895. Vol.1. H.C. 1896 (C.8067) xix 89.
\textsuperscript{117} Irish Times, 9 May 1900.
\textsuperscript{118} Western People, 30 Oct. 1909.
factory. At the start of the twentieth century the Irish tobacco industry was a net exporter of its goods which doubled in the ten years leading up to the beginning of the First World War. Gallaher’s dominated this export trade with markets in America, Scandinavia and the British colonies. By 1907 Ireland exported 5.7 million pounds of tobacco, of which Gallaher’s and Murray’s of Belfast accounted for 5.3 million pounds.

Having invested in cigarette-making machinery in Belfast in 1902, an increasing range of cigarette brands such as ‘Gold Plate’, ‘Park Drive’ and ‘Nutcracker’ were created by Gallaher’s to challenge the success of the Woodbine brand owned by Wills, the leading member of the British combine, in the Irish market. Tom Gallaher, who served as president of the British based National Association of Tobacco Manufacturers, refused to join the Imperial Tobacco Company. Gallaher viewed the Combine as largely representing English tobacco interests which he viewed as being dominated by the Wills family to whom he had no intention of playing second fiddle to. Gallaher and other independent manufacturers and the retail trade in Britain and Ireland came under attack from the Combine following its agreement with the American Tobacco Company. Despite having been approached by both sides in the tobacco war, Gallaher resisted the offers of an American buyout and remained unafraid of running a business independently.

In reports and interviews Gallaher was particularly defiant in his opposition to the Imperial Tobacco Company following their agreement with James B. Duke,

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120 L.M. Cullen, An economic history of Ireland since 1660, p. 163.
121 Freeman’s Journal, 18 Apr. 1904.
but was realistic enough to know that the tobacco industry had changed forever. He informed the trade that ‘fierce competition would squeeze out a good many’ and that in two years there would be only thirty firms left in Great Britain. He also predicted a ‘suicidal’ price war that would cause a period of zero profit margins for manufacturers which the Americans could endure as they were backed by Standard Oil and other ‘big capitalists.’ Gallaher welcomed fair opposition in business and declared the formation of the Imperial Tobacco Company to be the only option against the American Trust but he implied that Imperial would adopt the tactics of Duke’s American Tobacco Company, which had an eighty-five per cent share of the American market, and as a result dictated the terms of trade to retailers.  

Gallaher was an influential figure in the formation in 1907 of the Tobacco Trades Council at whose inaugural meeting in London he took the chair. The group comprised of manufacturers in Britain and Ireland who had remained outside the Imperial Tobacco Company, and included other prominent Irish firms such as Goodbody’s and Murray’s. Its purpose, Gallaher said, was to ‘abolish unfair cutting and foolish competition’ and to allow many men of smaller capital to control the trade as opposed to monopolies. Gallaher hoped that some of the heads of the firms that made up the Imperial Tobacco Company would ‘fall into line’ which suggests that not all members of Imperial Tobacco were fully committed to the project. The meeting also addressed the issue of the undercutting of prices and government duty on tobacco.

Gallaher was a significant presence in the Belfast economy as a result of his tobacco business and other interests in the shipping and rope-making industries. His decision to build extensive bonded warehouses in Belfast docks was seen as major

125 *Irish Independent*, 23 Apr. 1907.
126 *Irish Independent*, 24 Apr. 1907.
contribution to making the city an internationally important sea port.\textsuperscript{127} As chairman of the Belfast Steamship Company, Gallaher was embroiled in a fight for union recognition in 1907 by Belfast dock workers led by James Larkin. The dispute affected the tobacco firm when Gallaher dismissed a small number of employees who had attended a rally in support of the strikers. The following day all the workshop employees came out in support of their colleagues but they returned to work shortly afterwards. The docks dispute continued for three months aided by strike-breaking workers, the British army and an intransigent Gallaher.\textsuperscript{128}

While Gallaher displayed strong anti-trade union sentiment, the working conditions of his employees were better than those enjoyed in other industries. He presented himself as a strict but fair paternalistic figure to his workers who often felt the ‘poke of his blackthorn stick.’\textsuperscript{129} Gallaher workers became the first in the tobacco industry to have their hours reduced from fifty four to forty seven per week. The firm organised social excursions for their workers which due to the numbers involved were considerable events that were eagerly awaited by his employees.\textsuperscript{130} These employees were drawn from all sides of the religious divide in the northern capital to work for Gallaher who laid down strict rulings regarding the banning of conversations concerning the topics of religion and politics by his employees. Such was Gallaher’s strong feeling on the matter that on one occasion Gallaher saw off a sectarian agitator by showing his revolver to a senior policeman and advising him that they better deal with the troublemaker or he would.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{127} Northern Whig, 23 Apr. 1923.
\textsuperscript{128} John Gray, \textit{City in revolt; James Larkin and the Belfast dock strike of 1907} (Belfast, 1985), pp 63-6.
\textsuperscript{130} Belfast Newsletter, 24 Jul. 1890.
\textsuperscript{131} Northern Whig, 23 Apr. 1923. See also David Johnson, ‘Gallaher, Thomas’, Paudric J. Dempsey, ‘Gallaher, Thomas’.
The claims of the non-sectarian nature of the Gallaher workforce during Tom Gallaher’s ownership are supported by the figures from the 1901 and 1911 census which show the religious affiliation of tobacco workers in the province of Ulster. The 1901 census shows that 945 people with a declared religious affiliation worked in the tobacco industry of which 566 were Roman Catholic, the 1911 census shows that 632 Roman Catholics were part of a workforce numbering 1,430.\(^\text{132}\) The above figures do show a decline in Catholic workers in the tobacco industry from sixty per cent down to forty four percent in that decade. However both these figures exceed the percentage of Catholics in the general population of Belfast which had fallen to twenty four per cent in 1911 and show that Gallaher’s stood in stark contrast to shipbuilding where the percentage of Harland and Wolff’s Catholic employees amounted to just seven per cent in the first decade of the twentieth century.\(^\text{133}\)

While these figures relate to the whole of Ulster the size of the Gallaher enterprise would place the majority of the census’s tobacco workers in his employ and thus showing the claim of a non-sectarian employment policy to have some substance. A nominal survey of the Gallaher workforce in the decade 1897-1907 does show that Gallaher did offer employment across the religious divide. The employment register also lists the addresses of the employees which supports further evidence of a non-sectarian hiring policy in the confessionally segregated city of Belfast.\(^\text{134}\)

Wage rates paid to the manual workers reveal women, who were mostly employed as strippers and spinners, earned between 4s and 6s per week, whilst men

\(^{132}\) Census of Ireland, 1901. Part I. Area, houses and population: also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion, and education of the people. Vol III. Province of Ulster. No. 1 County of Antrim. [Cd 1123], H.C. 1902, cxxvi., cxxvi. Census of Ireland, 1911. Area, houses and population: Also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion, and education of the people. Province of Ulster. [Cd 6051], H.C. 1912-13, cxvi. 1.


\(^{134}\) Employment register for Gallaher’s 1897-1907(P.R.O.N.I. T3305/1).
in specialist roles earned 14s per week. Two columns in the register note the starting date of employment and a finishing date with a reason given for leaving. Throughout the decade considerable numbers left of their ‘own accord’ citing bad health, illness in the family and as a result of marriage for women employees. Discipline in the factory was strictly enforced as is evidenced by the recorded dismissals of employees for major breaches such as drunkenness, fighting, non-attendance and stealing. Surprisingly harsh punishment such as the dismissal of long term workers for singing and laughing are noted as well as the one worded comment describing dismissed workers as stupid or incompetent. A small number of people did not last a full day in the factory as they did not like the factory’s environment and the records show one worker, Kate Gilmore, was ‘maimed’ on her only day in Gallaher’s employ.\textsuperscript{135}

Gallaher, who had sold tobacco from a barrow in Derry fifty years previously, was now one of the leading manufacturers in the British Isles and was in a stronger position than most to resist the advances of both the American and British tobacco monopolists to control the tobacco trade.\textsuperscript{136} His self-contained business allowed him total control from the raw leaf from his plantations in Kentucky and Virginia, which he visited regularly, to the finished product.\textsuperscript{137} His modern production plants in Belfast and London were supported by distribution depots throughout the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{138}

The tobacco war changed forever the way companies conducted their business. The reduction in the number of local manufacturers continued apace

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{135} Employment register for Gallaher’s 1897-1907.
\item \textsuperscript{136} David Johnson, ‘Gallaher, Thomas’
\item \textsuperscript{137} Evening Express and Evening Mail, 3 Oct. 1902 announced Gallaher’s intention to open ‘an extensive plant’ in Richmond Virginia despite the recent agreement between the Imperial Tobacco Company and the American Tobacco Company ending the tobacco war.
\item \textsuperscript{138} Bielenberg and Johnson, ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland’, p. 15.
\end{itemize}
following its conclusion and in many cases it involved larger Irish firms acquiring smaller competitors thus strengthening their hand against the ongoing predatory advances of the Imperial combine. The export markets developed by Gallaher’s and to a lesser extent by Carroll’s in Scotland showed that the larger progressive Irish firms defended themselves by becoming more modernised and by competing for business in their competitors home market. As Gallaher predicted, the tobacco war contributed to the decline of the smaller local producers. Other factors in the decline of the manufacturing base was their reliance on the loyalty of the local pipe tobacco trade in a declining population, failure to mechanise and an unwillingness to develop a cigarette brand.  

VI

One of Gallaher’s and Carroll’s competitors in Munster was Clune’s Tobacco Company. John Clune established his tobacco company in Limerick in 1872, with offices in William Street and a factory in Denmark Street. Unlike companies earlier in the century Clune’s concentrated exclusively on the manufacture and sale of its own tobacco products. Their records show that it conducted business outside of its Limerick heartland extending as far as Athenry in Galway, Ballyhooly in Cork and westwards to Miltown Malbay in Clare. The firm received orders on a fortnightly and monthly basis which were of a modest nature dealing with orders of £50 and less. The small scale nature of the business is exemplified by the 1914 order from a Mr Casey in Rearcross, County Tipperary, for £2 worth of tobacco divided into twenty pieces. Further evidence of the difficult trading conditions for the company in

the early decades of the twentieth century is the lack of repeat orders from customers further afield in Athy and Birr alongside a reliance on local mid-west trade.\textsuperscript{140}

Despite these difficulties, Clune’s purchased equipment to improve its business. In 1909 tobacco presses and snuff mills were purchased from British manufacturers. But this mechanisation, while catering to current needs, did not necessarily reflect future developments. At the same time Gallaher’s in Belfast and Carroll’s were using cigarette-making machines.\textsuperscript{141} In that year an article in the \textit{Sunday Independent} reported that Clune’s used the same modern machinery and production processes as the largest manufacturers but on a smaller scale. The article made reference to the factory as being ‘compact’ and not ‘very large’ and also to the employment of ‘well trained girls’ to hand roll the company’s ‘Goldsmith’ cigarette brand.\textsuperscript{142} This would suggest that Clune’s invested in machinery that produced pipe tobacco which was soon to be overtaken by the cigarette made by machines at a rate that the ‘well trained girls’ of Clune’s could never achieve.

Clune’s ledgers offer an insight into the costs involved in the tobacco industry and by extension its contribution to the local and national economy. The prices quoted for the tobacco press was £55 and the snuff mill, capable of producing 300 pounds per day, cost £120. The company ordered waxed paper, wire ties, cash registers, labels, machine belts and typewriters from English companies in the late 1920s and early 1930s. National and local suppliers also tended to Clune’s requirements such as ropes and sacks from Belfast, and book matches and packaging from Dublin. Limerick firms such as the Shannon Foundry and J.J. O’Toole’s also

\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Records of John Clune, Tobacco Manufacturer}. (N.A.I., BR/LIM 6/1/1). Hereafter \textit{Clune}. See also \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 Nov. 1911, advertisement for an agent to cover Leinster for ‘Limerick’s largest tobacco, snuff and cigarette manufacturers’.

\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Clune}, (N.A.I., BR/LIM. 6/1/2-6/2/1). Cigarette making machines were installed in Gallaher’s in 1895 and in Carroll’s by 1905. B.W.E. Alford, \textit{W. D. & H. O. Wills pp 223-4, 314.

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Sunday Independent}, 3 Oct. 1909.
provided machinery, twine and hemp in this period. The company was forward thinking in using advertising to advance its sales. In the mid-1930s it retained Kenny’s Advertising Agency to plan its advertising campaign which was conducted in twenty newspapers nationwide.\textsuperscript{143}

Entries from the late 1920s and early 1930s show that one of the company’s representatives, Joseph Casey, incurred annual travelling and accommodation expenses which ranged from £215 to £279 in the years from 1927 to 1935. Casey’s territory covered counties Clare, Kerry, Waterford and parts of Limerick. As an example of his weekly expenses, the first week in November 1935 shows that his hotel expenses amounted to £2 11s.; petrol was 19s.10d and oil 1s.11d. His total expenses for the week of his ‘Scariff run’ in County Clare were £4 0.3d being balanced by his collection of £705 19s. 5d.\textsuperscript{144}

The cost of carriage and freight for the company’s goods was spread amongst the Great Southern Railway, two independent van men Wallis and Glynn and by ‘canal’ and ‘boat.’ The total cost in 1927 for these services amounted to £816 15s. 9d. Ominously for the company these costs, which reflect trading activity, dropped on a yearly basis from 1930 until the last entry in the ledger in 1935 which showed Clune’s transportation costs had fallen to £631.\textsuperscript{145} Other transportation costs included the maintenance of company vehicles such as Mr Casey’s which required fifteen visits to the garage during 1935.

The major expenses borne by Clune’s were those concerning wages and revenue bills. Wages in the period 1928 to 1935 were recorded as shop salaries which ranged from £617 5s. 4d. to £3844 19s 10d. in total per year for an unspecified number of workers. Shop wages for five named workers who operated a

\textsuperscript{143} Clune (N.A.I., BR/LIM 6/2/1).
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
two-day week whose total yearly wages ranged from £155 2s to £175 1s.11d. Factory wages were static ranging between £2,175 11s. 2d. and £2,404 14s. 9d. for a workforce ‘of sixty’. Further evidence of short time working practises in local factories is given in a report issued by the Limerick Advisory Committee for Juvenile Employment which stated that Spillane’s and Clune’s both employ a ‘lot of girls’ albeit intermittently and for short periods. As well as providing much needed employment in Limerick, Clune’s contributed to a wide and eclectic mix of causes in the city. Sports meetings, regattas, band recitals all received support from Clune’s as did disaster relief funds, the Republican Graves committee and the many religious houses and charities in the locality.

In this period Clune’s continued to buy leaf tobacco from Michael McNamara of Dublin to produce their own tobacco products, which included ‘Sarsfield Mixture’, ‘Thomond Plug’ and ‘Excel Twist’. Details of bonuses paid to Clune’s from Player’s, Clarke’s, Will’s and Carroll’s confirm that the firm was operating a wholesale business as does an 1935 advertisement in the Cork Examiner in which they stated that they were the ‘oldest wholesale manufacturer in Munster’. While their staff were ‘presently working overtime’ to meet demand for their pipe smoking products, the future of tobacco lay in cigarettes, a product Clune’s did not seriously invest in judging by the predominance of plug tobacco in their advertisements.

The sums Clune’s paid to the Revenue (see fig.1.2) were considerable in the early 1930s but do not indicate signs of growth. Averaged taxes amounted to £67,000 with a considerable drop to £52,000 in 1935. These figures were based on

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146 Clune (N.A.I., BR/LIM 6/2/1). Cork Examiner, 1 Jun. 1927., article concerning Limerick manufacturing and numbers employed in tobacco.  
147 Limerick Leader, 7 May 1927.  
148 Clune (N.A.I., BR/LIM 6/2/1).  
149 Cork Examiner, 8 Aug. 1935.
company sales which in 1929 peaked at £97,000 and fell to £80,000 in 1935 a figure which suggest the above claim regarding the company workforce working overtime to meet demand as being an exercise in marketing rather than reality.

Fig. 1.2 Amounts paid to the revenue by Clune’s of Limerick, 1928-35.

Source: Business records John Clune and Son pp 544-60. (N.A.I. LIM/6/2/1).

John Spillane established his tobacco business at High Street Limerick in 1829. The Spillane family continued to run the business successfully and moved to larger premises on Sarsfield Street in 1915. Their most successful brand was a plug tobacco called ‘Garryowen Plug’, which by 1929 accounted for eighty per cent of the firm’s business. The eighty-strong workforce also manufactured a similar product for the Northern Irish market which was sold as ‘Long Square’, recognition that the brand name ‘Garryowen’ may have been too nationalistic for that market. Spillane’s had earlier launched a brand of cigarettes also named ‘Garryowen’ and which were sold at 6d. for ten in the 1920s and 30s. Another opportunity to expand the family business came about as a result of the 1929 closure of Goodbody’s tobacco business in Dublin. Spillane’s not only brought the plant machinery to Limerick but also hired members of Goodbody’s management team and also opened

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150 Cork Examiner, 1 Jun. 1929.
151 Cork Examiner, 1 Jun. 1929.
a Dublin depot. The extra fifty individuals employed were a sign ‘that big things are going on here’ a company spokesman stated.

The economic hardship of the 1930s produced differing responses to ensure company survival. Clune’s adapted by entering the wholesale business while Spillane’s adopted a different approach to overcome the difficulties local manufacturers faced. In 1932 Spillane’s latest venture to remain in business was the acquisition of the franchise for ‘Craven A’ cigarettes. Carrera’s, the brand’s British owner, fitted cigarette-making machinery to produce ‘Craven A’ and some of the English firms other products at the Limerick factory. The purpose of the arrangement was to allow Carrera’s to avoid the high duty payable on foreign tobacco products in the Free State. Despite the efforts of local firms like Clune’s and Spillane’s to create new business by buying out Irish firms or acting as franchisees for overseas manufacturers, the rise of P.J. Carroll in Ireland and the international success of Gallaher’s from the 1890s onwards was a trend that saw the consolidation of the industry into a smaller number of larger concerns.

VII

The growth in the number of workers in the Irish tobacco industry trebled in the period 1841-1911, (See fig.1.3). Men, women and children of both sexes were employed in the tobacco industry. The geographic spread of the number of employees was steadily reduced and by the twentieth century production centred on Belfast, Dundalk, Limerick and Dublin. The figures vary from province to province.
province but there is an upward trend nationally including an increase of 252 during the post-famine decade of the 1850s. The number of tobacco workers in Connacht can be seen to have declined in each successive census from 1841. In 1871 a sharp decline began in Munster which resulted in the loss of 344 jobs by 1891, and despite a recovery at the beginning of the twentieth century, by 1911 there were 364 fewer people were working in the industry in the province. From 1871 to 1891 the number of workers declined by 395 countrywide. The combined loss of 384 in Munster and Connacht contrasts with the increase of 517 workers in Ulster which overlaps with a period of expansion in Gallaher’s Belfast factory. With the exception of 1891, Leinster figures show continual growth from 1841 when 180 were employed which increased to 775 in 1911.

The decrease nationally in the number of employees coincided with a period when prices for tillage and dairy produce slumped.158 The upward trend in consumption was reversed in the 1870s only returning to exceed the 1860s figures by the late 1880s.159 Despite the fall in trade the Treasury noted the modest rise in returns, due to the increase in ‘recent years’ of the number of ‘finer kinds of tobacco

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159 Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897, pp 196-198.
in Ireland’ without the reduction of revenue from roll and ‘coarser’ products aided by the 5d. increase in duty in 1878.\(^{160}\)

The ratio of men to women employed in the industry changed completely from the 1840s to the end of the century but particularly so from the 1870s (see fig. 1.4). The collapse in the number of tobacco workers in Munster which had been male dominated can be contrasted with the growth of the industry in Ulster where there was an increase in the number of female workers, especially in the first decade of the twentieth century. This increase in female participation resulted in women workers accounting for sixty per cent of Irish tobacco employees by 1911 in comparison to the nine per cent of female workers in 1841. The case of Ulster is especially striking as only sixteen women were recorded as being employed in tobacco in 1871 but by 1911 this had increased to 896, which can only be attributed to the increased mechanisation of the industry in Belfast.\(^{161}\) Dr Charles Purdon in evidence to the 1876 Factory and Workshops Commission noted that some tobacco manufacturers in Belfast employed women only and that their appearance was more ‘respectable’ and that they possessed a ‘superior education’ to the ‘street Arabs’ previously employed in the trade.\(^{162}\)

\(^{160}\) *Imperial revenue (collection and expenditure). Copy of memorandum by the Treasury on the subject of (1) the amounts contributed, so far as can be ascertained, by the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland respectively to e revenue collected by imperial officers at intervals since the union of the British and Irish Exchequers; (2) the expenditures out of the amounts so contributed upon local services in Great Britain and Ireland respectively; (3) the expenditure out of the amounts so contributed on imperial services.* H.C 1894 (313) lii 149 p. 9.


\(^{162}\) *Factory and Workshops Acts Commission. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the factory and workshops acts, with a view to their consolidation and amendment; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index.* Vol. II. Minutes of evidence. [C.1443-I] H.C. 1876 xxx 1 pp 842-843 q17652-17657.
Fig. 1.4. Number of women employed in the tobacco trade in Ireland, by province, 1841-1911.


The first perceived distinguishing feature women had over men was the nimbleness and dexterity of their hands which gave them a distinct advantage over their male colleagues especially in the production of cigarettes. Secondly in an era when wages did not represent an undue burden to large firms, the employment of even cheaper labour in the form of female operatives was an added saving to the company.\textsuperscript{163} W.E. Alford in his major study on the British tobacco firm Wills of Bristol describes a tapering system in which women were paid at three quarters to a half of the rate received by their fellow unskilled male co-workers.\textsuperscript{164} With the growth of powered machinery doing the heavy lifting formerly done by men and the increase in the production of cigarettes made by women the industry at the lower levels of production required fewer male workers.

The increase in women employees in tobacco manufacturing resulted from an increase in tobacco consumption, spurred on by the rise of cigarette smoking which were produced cheaply by women and ultimately by cost efficient machinery operated by women. The demise of the local manufacturer whose premises were

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., p. 285.
often small and unsuitable for greater levels of production was replaced by substantial purpose-built factories. These factories, Gallaher’s in Belfast being the prime example, were designed to incorporate all the requirements of contemporary factory acts legislation as well as meeting production demands. By the mid-1890s tobacco factories visited by the lady assistant commissioners inquiring into women’s working conditions found very little at fault, citing one tobacco manufacturer as having unsuitable sanitary facilities, but added the proviso that the employees ‘all lived close by.’

The working conditions in these factories in the era before the use of power-driven machinery were quite primitive. The premises occupied by P.J. Carroll in 1824 only measured fourteen-by-twenty feet. In 1843, the commission investigating children’s employment found certain premises in Belfast and Newry were not purpose built and in one case was the adapted former home of a local merchant. These buildings in the above cases were in use as tobacco manufactories for at least twenty years and if space did not allow for increased production then the working hours were extended to accommodate increased demand. Due to the nature of the product, tobacco manufacture required dry conditions and as such the workers benefitted from this and the use of stoves during the winter. In general the commissioners report shows that tobacco workers had relatively warm, dry, ventilated and airy conditions and that due to the absence of power machinery in the 1840s the accident rate was quite low. However the commissioners were concerned

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166 Ogra Dun Dealgan, Dundalk: a tradition in industry, p. 23.
about the manufacture of snuff. The inspector observed the process as involving two men and two boys who ground down the tobacco using rotating shafts in a giant mortar and pestle like device, which had the effect of throwing excessive amounts of dust into the air.\footnote{Children’s Employment Commission, (1843) Appendix II p. 37.}

The legislation governing the employment of children, beginning with the 1802 Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, followed in 1819 by the Children in Cotton Mills Act and Hobhouse’s Act in 1830 were largely ignored in Ireland. The acts were in the opinion of Desmond S. Greer and James W. Nicholson extended to Ireland to prevent any advantage accruing to Irish manufacturers rather than the welfare of Irish workers.\footnote{Desmond S. Greer and James W. Nicholson, The factory acts in Ireland, 1802-1914 (Dublin, 2003), pp 4-7.} The accounts of children working in Irish tobacco manufactories in the 1840s were noted by the inspectors in 1843. The male children working in Belfast and Newry ranged from five to seventeen years of age. In Anderson’s tobacco manufactory in Belfast the children were directly hired and paid by the proprietor who was exceptional in that other firms allowed the adult workers to sub-contract the children and pay their parents directly. The wages averaged around 3s. 6d. per week for strippers down to 1s.6d. for wheel turners who worked twelve hour days with Christmas Day and Easter Monday being the only holidays given. These conditions were largely similar in the various firms visited by the commission inspectors.\footnote{Children’s Employment Commission, (1843), Appendix II pp n 29, 36.} Thomas Martin, the commission’s inspector in the north of Ireland, was of the view that the dry warm conditions and the provision by some employers of stirabout and potatoes for meals and occasional gifts of clothing and footwear to some of the favoured juvenile employees were advantageous to children. The wages and conditions ‘better them temporarily’, Martin wrote, that the skill level
in the industry was low and not required in other businesses from which one can fairly assume that older children were dismissed upon reaching adulthood. The children employed in the trade were from the most impoverished areas and were clothed in rags but he considered them better off than ‘children out of employ.’

But there were other aspects of the work which were considered injurious. Martin found the children to be ‘far from robust’ were of ‘low stature’ and of poor complexion, which he believed stemmed from the sedentary nature of the stripper’s work and lack of direct sunlight. Their employers informed the commission that the children were regular users of tobacco, particularly chewing tobacco. Part of the remit of the commission required it to establish the level of education attained by the children and also to inquire into the moral behaviour of the young workers. The children interviewed were largely illiterate, some could read a little and only a few could write, those few skills learned at Sunday school. Attendance at church on Sunday, their only day off, and other religious observances was mixed, Mr Giveen, of Neill’s tobacco manufactory in Belfast, believed that they rarely attended either church or Sunday school.

Later in the century the conditions in Irish tobacco factories for adults and children alike were roundly condemned in an 1868 report by government inspectors. Since the passing of the Factory Extension Act (1867), tobacco producers were among a group of industries that had to comply with factory legislation. The report compared the improvements undertaken by a Liverpool manufacturer, who improved the ventilation of its premises and replaced child spinners with steam powered wheels, to factories in Ireland that were ‘unfit for human habitation’. A Dublin-based inspector found children ‘of all ages’ from the ‘very lowest and poorest classes’

171 | Children’s Employment Commission, (1843), Appendix II p. 29.
172 | Ibid., Appendix II pp 29, 43.
working up to nine hours without a break for food or rest. The inspector also reported the by then illegal practice of children working past midnight on a Sunday morning. The 1868 report also noted the contribution of a Belfast surgeon who found that the child tobacco spinners were uneducated, ‘sickly looking’ ‘small and badly nourished’ and that they suffered from vertigo, headaches and nausea due to the small and badly ventilated places in which they worked. The factories in Belfast, with one or two exceptions he wrote ‘do not deserve the name’ of factory.\textsuperscript{173}

The inspector for Ulster and County Louth, W. Dawkin Cramp, gave a broad statistical overview in which he stated that no women worked in tobacco in his district and out of 100 employees twenty were adults, forty were aged thirteen to eighteen and the remainder eight to thirteen. The adults, known as spinning masters, worked on piece work and paid the boys for their labour which the inspector said could be ‘performed by cleverly trained dogs or monkeys.’ The low level of skill required resulted in poor wages that attracted ‘rogues, beggars and street Arabs’ whose commitment to their employer was of a ‘here today gone tomorrow’ nature. This initially presented problems for the employers under the 1867 Act as they were compelled to keep a work record of juvenile employees. Subsequently the employers and their young employees benefitted from the act as each boy was granted ‘importance and status’ which ‘checked their roving disposition.’\textsuperscript{174} Some employers felt the act would introduce a more reliable and trustworthy workforce into the trade. Those who benefitted least from the legislation were those whom it was calculated to protect. Boys under twelve years of age were dismissed by the spinning masters as they were legally allowed to work ‘half time’ only.\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{173} Reports of the inspectors of factories to Her Majesty’s principal secretary of state for the Home Department for the half year ending 31st October 1868. [4093-I], H.C. 1868-69. xiv. 123. p. 175.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., p. 260.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.
The impact of the 1867 act was noted by Dr Charles Purdon, a Belfast physician who reported to the Factory and Workshops Commission in 1876 that the tobacco employers were now hiring a ‘superior class of boy’ and also noted that some manufacturers were taking on women only, whose appearance was much more respectable and their standard of education better than what was previously in the tobacco trade.\footnote{Factory and Workshops Acts Commission. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the factory and workshops acts, with a view to their consolidation and amendment; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Vol. II. Minutes of evidence. [C.1443-1], H.C. 1876 xxx, 1. p. 841. q17,652-17657.} In 1882 a court heard a case in which young boys were charged with withdrawing their labour at Carroll’s factory without notice as part of an industrial dispute over wages. The report described the boys as physically small and between eleven and thirteen years of age.\footnote{Dundalk Democrat, 25 Feb. 1882.} In 1890, the Gallaher Company sought ‘respectable girls’ ‘aged fourteen’ who were needed immediately for ‘light and constant work’.\footnote{Belfast Newsletter, 20 May 1890.} Six years earlier Gallaher’s had been fined £5 10s. and costs for ‘employing male young persons after hours’.\footnote{Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops to Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the year ending 31st October 1884. [C 4369], H. C. 1884-5, xv 93 p. 143.} The increasing amount of legislation concerning child workers effectively resulted in the elimination of workers aged under twelve years. Yet in the 1890s thirty-five per cent of workers in the tobacco trade were still under eighteen years of age. The figures returned in the 1896 Factory and Workshops report shows that no Irish tobacco firm employed anyone under sixteen and of those employed in Irish tobacco 384 were under eighteen.\footnote{Ibid., pp 169, 249-250.} Of the 26,500 employed in the United Kingdom’s tobacco trade in 1895 the percentage of workers under fourteen years of age was less than half of one per cent.\footnote{Factories and workshops. Annual report of the chief inspector of factories and workshops for the year 1896, [C.8561], H.C. 1896 xvii. 215 p. 140.
There is no evidence in the factory reports during the nineteenth century to show that the tobacco trade presented any significant dangers to those working in it. Between the 1830s and 1860s very few accidents were reported which may be due to the lower risks attached to manually powered operations. As the industry began to employ a greater use of power-driven machinery the coterminous development of workplace legislation ensured a greater level of safety for tobacco workers. In the 1898 Factory and Workshops report, the tobacco industry recorded an accident rate of less than one per cent in comparison with other industries such as engineering with twenty-two per cent and shipbuilding with sixteen per cent.\footnote{Philip Ollerenshaw 'Industry 1820-1914’ in L. Kennedy and P. Ollerenshaw (eds.), \textit{An economic history of Ulster 1820-1940} (Manchester,1985), pp 62-108.} By the twentieth century the tobacco trade was one of the safest places to work in and judging by the low level of prosecutions it was one of the most legislatively compliant industries in Ireland.

Tobacco workers thus began to enjoy the benefits of improved working facilities and their employers attracted a more committed workforce due to the Factory and Workshop acts passed in the period 1870-1901, which governed working conditions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These acts were largely directed at women and child workers but had the effect of improving the conditions for men also.\footnote{*} The legislation did not address the issue of wages and in this regard women were not treated equally. The degree of difference is shown in the Board of Trade report of 1912-13 which detailed the earnings of full-time workpeople in 1906 across all industries. Men could expect to be paid an average of 26s.4d. per fifty four hour week whilst women averaged 12s. 6d. In the tobacco trade men earned on average 30s.6d. and ‘lads and boys.’ 9s.9d. for a forty-nine hour
week. Women, who in 1906 formed seventy-three per cent of the tobacco workforce in the United Kingdom, were paid 11s.5d. as adults while girls were paid 6s.6d. per week.\footnote{Earnings and hours enquiry. Report of an enquiry by the Board of Trade into the earnings and hours of labour of workpeople of the United Kingdom. VIII.—Paper, printing, &c. trades; pottery, brick, glass and chemical trades; food, drink and tobacco trades; and miscellaneous trades in 1906. [Cd. 6556] H.C. 1912-13 cviii 289 pp iii,iv, xxviii, 163,166.}

These figures were average wages drawn from the highest rates paid in London to provincial areas such as Dundalk and show that nationally women were paid slightly over one third of the men’s rate. The presence of so many low paid women in the tobacco workforce meant that the average wage for all tobacco employees was 13s. well below the average of 19s in the food and drink sector.\footnote{Ibid., pp 162-3.} In 1912 the \textit{Irish Times} reported female tobacco strippers in P.J. Carroll’s were paid 4s. per week and were seeking 5s. per week which stands in stark contrast with the national average of 12s.6d. The company had instituted a piece-work scheme, where the workers would be paid an agreed amount for each unit of work produced, which the owners claimed would allow employees to earn far more than the 5s. demanded. A number of the women refused to accept the new scheme and went on strike which split the workforce and caused considerable unrest in the town. It eventually came to an end with the return of the striking women to piece-work.\footnote{Irish Times, 12 Jan. 1912, 5 Feb. 1912.} In 1918, a fourteen year old girl, Bridget Bellew, started in Carroll’s where she earned five shillings ‘working on filler’ and from where she progressed to working as a stripper on piecework where she could earn 31s a week if she completed her full quota. She left in 1929 following her marriage; the company having a policy not to employ married women.\footnote{Charles Flynn, ‘Dundalk 1900-1960: an oral history’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2000), p. 112.}
By analysing newspaper advertisements for cigarettes from the 1870s onward one can identify how the tobacco trade in Ireland was to develop. The advertisements trace the transition from hand-made to machine-made cigarettes, the arrival of overseas competition who introduced new marketing techniques and the adoption of these methods by the progressive Irish firms. The advertisements also show that local manufacturers concentrated on pipe tobacco. This strategy was successful in resisting foreign competition up to the 1920s but their reliance on pipe tobacco and failure to develop viable cigarette brands contributed to their demise.\textsuperscript{188}

Compared to Britain cigarette smoking in Ireland was slower to take off as it was in other European countries. By the 1920s pipe tobacco remained the preferred choice of tobacco users.\textsuperscript{189} Wills dominated the Irish cigarette market up to the 1920s holding forty per cent of the market with leading brands such as Woodbine, despite a considerable range of native brands available to the Irish smoker.\textsuperscript{190} These brands were manufactured by a steadily depleting number of Irish manufacturers. The seventeen manufacturers who survived to see the birth of the Irish Free State in 1922 would be further reduced in the following years by their absorption into bigger Irish firms or closure. By 1930 Dublin accounted for seven, Cork and Limerick three, and one each in Dundalk, Bagenalstown, Buncrana and Dungarvan.\textsuperscript{191} Surviving for as

\textsuperscript{189} Ans Nicolaides-Bouman and Nicholas Wald, (eds.), International smoking statistics: A collection of historical data from 22 economically developed countries (London, 1993). Freeman’s Journal, 10 May 1923. A statement by Irish manufacturers noted that only in the last 10 years have cigarettes been consumed outside of the large urban areas.
\textsuperscript{190} Bielenberg and Johnson, The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland, pp 14-15.
\textsuperscript{191} Cork Examiner, 20 Aug. 1930. If the manufacturer referred to in Bagenalstown is O’Neills then this list is inaccurate.
long as they did was a considerable achievement, but the change of pace within the industry, the preference by smokers for mass produced cigarettes as opposed to local pipe tobacco and economies of scale all proved too much for the family firms of Goodbody’s, Lambkins and Clune’s.\(^{192}\) These local businesses who once withstood the advances of the American and English combines eventually succumbed to the larger Irish firms such as Carroll’s and the Irish-based branches of the Imperial Tobacco Company who understood that the future lay in branded cigarettes that could be produced economically in massive numbers and sold widely throughout the country aided by intensive advertising.

Prior to the advent of mass produced branded tobacco products consumer’s choice was limited by the small scale, localised nature of the tobacco trade. In the larger urban areas the choice was augmented by specialist tobacconist shops which supplied a wide range of tobacco products and the associated paraphernalia such as pipes, dampers, knives etc. The specialist knowledge they acquired allowed them to produce pipe tobacco blends, cigars and snuffs suited to the taste and pocket of their clientele.

One such trader was Londoner James J. Fox who arrived in Dublin in the 1860s ‘with a flair for cigars’ to work for Ryan and Jones in College Green and afterwards for Maddens of Grafton Street, whose business he took over following the death of Madden in 1878. Combining Madden’s high reputation for pipe tobacco blends with his own expertise in cigars Fox attracted an elite clientele which also benefitted from the upmarket smoking accoutrements provided. Attracting customers from the nearby banking district and Trinity College, Fox’s turnover averaged £3,000 per annum during James’s lifetime. This equates to about £60 per week of

\(^{192}\) *Evening Herald*, 15 Aug. 1912, Goodbody’s roll and plug departments closed in 1912 with the loss of three hundred jobs, Goodbody’s stated that they had been operating at a loss for a number of years. Their snuff and cigar business survived until 1929.
which £4 10s. went on rent and wages for a porter and an apprentice came to £1. The balance was used to purchase stock, reinvest in the business and provide for his income.\textsuperscript{193}

The shop catered to their customers six days a week from eight thirty in the morning to ten o’clock at night all year round with the exception of Good Friday and Christmas Day. Turnover increased during the early years of the twentieth century reaching £6,000 in 1913 aided by the import of American cigarettes and the development of a small export trade by Walter Fox who took over the business in 1916. Allowing for wartime inflation turnover increased during the First World War reaching £14,000 by 1917 despite the loss of a week’s trading in 1916 due to the Easter Rising recorded in the company ledger simply as ‘Rebellion.’\textsuperscript{194} The First World War was a period of enormous expansion in the tobacco trade which will be addressed in chapter four.

By contrast Tom Clarke, the 1916 revolutionary leader, traded to a more modest clientele in premises on Amiens Street and later Great Britain Street. His letters to his wife Kathleen in May 1908 offer an insight into how a small trader conducted his business. He informed his wife, that his takings for the week ending 8 May were up 4s. on the previous week’s total to £10 6s. and that he was still increasing stock as he took in three different brands of cigarettes that week. He also stated the conditions under which the tobacco firms supplied him. One of these conditions was that ‘Murrays’ and ‘the other manufacturers’ set the retail prices and any trader selling below that price would not receive further supplies. His letter on the following day outlined the profit margin on an unnamed brand of cut plug which he purchased at 3s.10d. a pound and sold it on for 4d. an ounce which equates to 5s.

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid p.7.
4d. a pound, a profit of 1s. 6d. Later that month in a letter to his wife he told her that their monthly takings over three months were up from £32 12s. to £42 18s. which if such progress continued, he wrote, they would be ‘on the pigs back.’

Beyond Dublin were the remote rural shops that catered for customers whose shopping requirements would be considerably less sophisticated. A telling description by Horace Plunkett, the founder of the co-operative movement, shows that one such enterprise was only distinguished from the other premises in the vicinity by the presence of three clay tobacco pipes in the window, signifying its role as a retail outlet. Upon entering the shop one would have to adjust to the semi darkness and having done so one could see the meagre range of goods on offer, including tobacco, which equated to the shopping requirements of the local inhabitants. The expansion of the grocery trade in rural areas during the final decades of the nineteenth century led to a considerable number of establishments, as described above, engaging in a trade that often was a supplementary income to farming. Despite the quality of these outlets it is significant that tobacco was a constituent part of the service provided, however unsatisfactory, and the existence of these shops increased the availability of tobacco even further.

IX

The First World War presented challenges and opportunities to the tobacco trade in Ireland. Murray’s of Belfast gained from the shipment of tobacco to the front but lost a considerable number of their workers to the Royal Irish Rifles in the

195 Tom Clarke to Kathleen Clarke, 8, 9, 18, May 1908 (N.L.I., Tom & Kathleen Clarke papers 1890-1972, MS 49,351/1-9). James Quinn, ‘Clarke, Thomas James’ in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), Dictionary of Irish biography, (Cambridge, 2012).
196 Liam Kennedy, ‘Retail markets in rural Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century’, in Irish Economic and Social History v (1978), pp 46-63.
summer of 1916. How war benefitted Irish tobacco firms is shown in the performance of P.J. Carroll and Company. The company despatched 30,000 Silk Cut cigarettes to a Dundalk based artillery regiment at the front along with 30 pounds of tobacco in the early months of the war. Personal negotiation by J.M. Carroll with the Tobacco Control Board in London secured orders that necessitated the introduction of night shifts such as the single order for four million cigarettes in 1915. The new factory, which was seen as too big before the war, was augmented by the purchase of nearby properties to extend it and additional machines were ordered in 1918 and 1919 to meet the growing demand for cigarettes. Carroll’s home market increased and the cross channel trade especially in Scotland was particularly buoyant. One Dundalk soldier wrote of his delight when Carroll’s products were highly praised by soldiers from other regiments saying it was ‘grand to know we had a firm in Dundalk that could produce such an article’. Limerick firms also donated tobacco to Irish regiments and Spillane’s commenced a War Office contract with two consignments of 6,000 pounds in May 1915.

The establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 brought new challenges to the tobacco trade particularly in the debate concerning protectionism. The Fiscal Inquiry of 1923 found Irish industry divided between smaller industries calling for protection and larger entities such as brewers, distillers and banking favouring the free trade status quo. The 1920s Cumann na nGaedheal government’s position in the debate concerning protectionism and free trade was best summed up by finance

198 JTTJ, Jul. 1916.
199 Dundalk Democrat, 28 Nov. 1914.
203 Killarney Echo and South Kerry Chronicle, 8 May 1915.
204 Ireland. Dept. of Industry and Commerce, Reports of the Fiscal Inquiry Committee 1923 (Dublin, 1923), pp 34-5, 43.
minister Ernest Blythe who expressed the view that the government had ‘no doctrinaire attitude’ towards tariffs and recommended a limited form in which to experiment in their use.  

Prior to the introduction of customs barriers by the Free State in April 1923 Liam Cosgrave attempted to clear up the confusion concerning the new regulations. He stated that tobacco exported from Belfast to the south would be done so in bond and the Free State would impose a tariff in the same manner as Britain would with Irish whiskey exported in bond. However tobacco companies with an export trade such as Carroll’s suffered as a result of the new customs regulations which increased the price of their exports. Smaller tobacco firms benefitted initially from a protective tariff but came under threat from the arrival of ‘tariff jumping’ factories in Dublin. Carroll’s was amongst the first to learn in February 1923 of the imposition of a tariff by the Dublin government. The tariff would seriously affect its export business as half of its trade was in Northern Ireland and Britain, and would have increased their prices from 3 to 5s. a pound. The company immediately responded by opening a factory in Liverpool later that year to avoid British tariffs.

Elements of the Imperial Company were also quick to respond by establishing factories in Dublin in order to circumvent Irish tariffs on foreign manufactured tobacco. In 1923, Wills, the producer of the largest selling cigarette in Ireland, opened a factory in an old distillery in Marrowbone Lane and there it produced 594 million Woodbines in its first year. The company later moved to a purpose-built premise in 1929. In 1924, Player’s established a factory in Glasnevin

206 Cork Examiner, 13 Mar. 1923.  
and five years later opened larger premises in the city. Ulster firms also headed south. Murray’s in 1925 and later Gallaher’s commenced production at their East Wall factory in 1929.

The resultant increase in employment can be viewed as one of the more successful aspects of the economy in the early years of the state. By 1927 the industry’s output was valued at £5 million. It was also a considerable employer with over 2,170 employees whose wage bill totalled in excess of £286,000. The progress in the industry stalled in 1932 when Gallaher’s new factory in Dublin was closed with the loss of three hundred jobs. The imposition in the budget of a protectionist duty of an additional 7d. per pound on tobacco produced by companies not operating in the Free State before 1922 was deemed by Gallaher’s to be discriminatory.

The ensuing political row saw the Labour Party and Cumann na nGaedhal attack the policies of Seán Lemass who as Fianna Fail minister for Industry and Commerce stoutly defended the government’s protectionist position. The gap in the market left by Gallaher’s proved advantageous to Carroll’s, which somewhat endorsed Lemass’s position. The company profits rose considerably in the following years and in the opinion of a long standing employee, state intervention had greatly helped: ‘Dev put Carroll’s on the map….that time was boom times for Carroll’s.’

This boom time had been preceded by a period of steady growth and expansion for Carroll’s. The 1920s saw the opening of depots in Dublin and Cork as

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208 B.W.E. Alford, W. D. & H. O. Wills p.386, See also Sunday Independent, 6 May 1923. Irish Independent, 23 Apr. 1923. Clones U.D.C. offered Player’s a site in the town on which to build their factory.
210 Irish Independent, 3 Nov. 1928.
211 Irish Independent, 4 Jun. 1932.
212 Irish Independent, 2, 4 Jun. 1932.
well as the factory in Liverpool. Significant extensions to the Dundalk factory, the
purchase of additional leaf storage space in a five-storey former distillery and the
introduction of modern office machinery made Carroll’s the dominant native
manufacturer in the Free State.\textsuperscript{214} In 1929 Carroll’s made its first purchase of an Irish
competitor when it acquired the Goodbody Company.\textsuperscript{215} The effective elimination of
Gallaher’s from the southern market by the Free State was accompanied by the
opening in 1934 of a factory in Newry, to produce the ‘Sweet Afton’ cigarette for the
Northern Irish and British markets. In the same year the company offered shares to
the public. Benefitting from audited results which showed a steep rise in profits in
the early 1930s applications for shares were heavily over-subscribed and the sale was
closed within a few minutes of their release in October 1934.\textsuperscript{216} Carroll’s were the
last family firm of note in the Irish tobacco trade. In the following years the public
company acquired the brands formerly owned by Spillane’s, Murray’s and
Ruddell’s.

Political influences in Ulster also affected Gallaher’s following Tom
Gallaher’s death in 1927. In 1929 his family sold the business to a London based
investment company.\textsuperscript{217} The company continued to grow and this necessitated an
expansion in its production capacity. The board of the company favoured expanding
its London factory due to the ‘obvious arguments’ in favour of siting it in Britain
which accounted for ninety per cent of its sales. A major concern for the board was
its fear of attacks on its Belfast factory and shipments from Belfast by advanced
nationalists. The chairman of the board received assurances from the Stormont
government that it would provide ‘every protection’ to enable the firm to carry out

\textsuperscript{214}Irish Independent, 5 Oct. 1934. Keenan, The history of P.J. Carroll, pp 10-14, 25 in chapter on
J.M. Carroll.
\textsuperscript{215}Ibid., p. 24.
\textsuperscript{216}The history of P.J. Carroll, pp 32-3 in chapter on J.M. Carroll.
\textsuperscript{217}Belfast Newsletter, 19 Jan. 1929.
its business ‘without loss, interference or embarrassment’, at no cost to the firm, thus indicating the economic importance of the firm to the Northern Irish economy.

X

The tobacco trade in Ireland has been shown to be part of an international trading network from the seventeenth century. The Navigation Acts did not affect the rise in consumption or result in higher prices for consumers in Ireland but did prevent the development of a re-export trade such as that conducted by Glasgow and London merchants. The successful transatlantic trading by Irish merchants, noted by Cullen, prior to the Navigation Acts and the leading international position achieved by Tom Gallaher from the 1880s, hints that Ireland could have become ‘the mart of Europe’ as once feared by Lord Sheffield.

Factory inspector’s reports reveal the small-scale nature of tobacco manufacturing in Ireland for most of the nineteenth century. The majority of these failed to adapt sufficiently to modern production and marketing processes. Carroll’s, Goodbody’s and particularly Gallaher’s, who had re-invested in their business and who adjusted to modern manufacturing methods, were thus in a better position to resist the incursion into the Irish market of British and American conglomerates from the start of the twentieth century.

Irish manufacturers successfully held their own in the pipe tobacco trade but the growing cigarette market in Ireland was dominated by British firms into the 1930s. While the Irish tobacco market was small, British and Northern Irish firms considered it important enough to open factories in Dublin following the establishment of customs barriers in 1923. Stricter protectionist policies by the first

218 J.G. Michaels of Gallaher’s Belfast, to Edward De Stein chairman of Gallaher’s with copies to Viscount Craigavon. Development of Gallaher’s tobacco factory (P.R.O.N.I CAB/9/F/131/1).
Fianna Fail government in the 1930s resulted in the departure of Gallaher’s from the southern Irish market which created the foundation for the success of Carroll’s.

The general upward trend in the consumption of tobacco was accompanied by an increase in workers in the industry. The removal of young children from the industry as result of legislation and mechanisation was followed by the increased use of women in the industry who were paid less than their male colleagues. From the 1880s the industry in Ireland was dominated by the presence of Tom Gallaher who successfully built a major international business from humble beginnings. Gallaher’s were one of a few Irish businesses with an international presence but both it and its founder have not attracted serious academic enquiry.

Tobacco has been shown to have contributed beneficially to the economy of Ireland beyond the income generated by taxes at the ports. The transformation of the industry from small local manually-powered operations into one which could boast of having the largest privately owned factory in the world has not until now attracted academic interest. The chapter has shown that the trade in Ireland successfully met the demands of consumers at home and abroad by adapting to the changes in consumption modes and manufacturing processes overcoming international wars, internal conflicts, famine and massive depopulation in order to do so. The Irish market was of importance to foreign manufacturers as is revealed by American and British attempts to seize control of it in the early twentieth century and by the establishment of factories by them in the early years of the Free State. The trade also suffered threats from illicit tobacco which will be addressed in the following chapter.
Chapter Two

The threats to the state’s tobacco revenue

This chapter will examine the close relationship that existed between the tobacco trade and the state; it was one that centred on the state’s requirement to protect the revenue that accrued from the consumption of tobacco. The state imposed extremely high rates of duty upon tobacco which sometimes exceeded 900 per cent the value of the product.¹ In order to secure this revenue the state generated a considerable body of legislation which regulated the domestic cultivation, importation, manufacture and sale of tobacco in the form of snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco. Much of the legislation was a response to the fiscal threat posed by smugglers, whose activities in the early period of this study represented a considerable drain on the state’s finances. Throughout the period the greater part of the tobacco consumed in Ireland came from the states of Virginia and Kentucky and for the state it represented a substantial revenue requiring relatively little expense and administration. The cultivation of tobacco in Ireland was the subject of changing legislation that was influenced by political as much as economic matters. Domestic cultivation became a matter for parliamentary enquiry in 1830 and during the formative years of the Irish Free State tobacco growing attracted similar legislative attention. Later, in the mid-nineteenth century, adulteration was viewed by some as a greater danger to the treasury than smuggling and resulted in the enactment of several bills and the development of a specialist laboratory to counteract it.²

¹ Sixth report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Establishment and into the management and collection of the excise revenue throughout the United Kingdom. Tobacco and foreign spirits. [6][7] H.C. 1834 xxiv (237), xxv, 1 p. 4. Hereafter Excise Inquiry 1834
Louis M. Cullen has noted the enormous increase in smuggling in the eighteenth century. The increasing fiscal demands of the state saw it target colonial goods such as tea and tobacco and foist upon them and other luxury goods a ‘mass of prohibitive tariffs’ which made smuggling attractive. Cullen later noted the reduced variety of goods smuggled following the 1784 reduction in tea duties and the replacement in Ireland of foreign spirits by a growing demand for Irish whiskey, both legal and illicit. From the mid-1780s tobacco became the predominant article smuggled into Ireland. The Scottish economist John McCulloch considered the high levels of duty on tobacco to be an incentive to smugglers, whom he argued, provided three times more tobacco than the amount officially imported for consumption during the 1820-30s.\(^3\)

The duty on tobacco was a significant contributor to the state’s income gathered by the Revenue Commissioners, on behalf of the Treasury, through its agents in the excise and customs departments. Customs officials attached to the Board of Customs were responsible for supervising the entry of tobacco into nominated ports, to record imports and collect the duty when released from the state warehouse. From that point a board of Excise officials surveyed the movement of the tobacco until its sale to the consumer. Excise officials in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were also responsible for collecting taxes relating to manufacturing licenses, tobacco presses and tables such as those noted earlier in the business records of Francis Brodigan of Drogheda.\(^4\) The excise department became

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\(^4\) *Day-books of Francis Brodigan*. Jan. 1802.
part of the Inland Revenue in 1849 but in 1909 it was amalgamated with customs to form the Customs and Excise.\(^5\)

The revenue produced from tobacco enabled the state to finance its immediate requirements, especially in periods of great need such as wartime when consumers were burdened with exceptional increases in duty. The sharp rises in duty during and after the Napoleonic Wars and the enormous increase during the First World War indicate that tobacco was a reliable source of finance in periods of extreme need. The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw the greatest number of duty variations. Between these two great conflicts duty rates remained constant over an eighty year period ranging between 36d. and 42d. While many in the trade considered these rates excessive, the early 1820s rate of 48d. was not exceeded until 1915.\(^6\)

Fig. 2.1 State revenue from tobacco duties 1790-1918 (£s).

Source: Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897 with some notes upon the history of the more important branches of receipt from the year 1660. [C.8706] H.C. 1898 lxxxv. 1 pp 193-95. Imperial Revenue (Collection and expenditure) (Great Britain and Ireland) annually 1898-1918.

\(^5\) Custom and Excise amalgamation committee: Report of the committee on the amalgamation of the customs and excise departments [Cd 5834], H.C. 1911, xv.313, 15.

\(^6\) Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1790 to 1896-7. Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1897-8 to 1906-07 [Cd 3198], H.C. 1906, csiv, 619.
The state remained resolute in continuing with high duty rates encouraged by the largely continuous rise in revenue as shown in fig. 2.1 notwithstanding the protestations from manufacturers who claimed it encouraged fraud and hindered the development of the industry.

The ships used by smugglers were generally smaller than other trading vessels and the nature of their business meant they were involved in an inward trade only, thus increasing freight costs. Their use of isolated areas without port facilities for landing meant that they were in greater danger of being lost at sea or at risk of discovery by the authorities whilst lying off the coast. The distance from the main markets often required an overland journey which increased the levels of expense and the danger of seizure. The development of entrepot centres in the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands and Dutch and French ports enabled a more secure and economic form of smuggling. These large entrepot centres allowed larger cargoes to be delivered there and sent onward in smaller loads to where required, which in Ireland mainly meant the eastern seaboard, especially north of Dublin city.7

The response of the state to combat smuggling initially lay in legislation which by its enactment acknowledged the fact that smuggled tobacco was entering the country. The remedy proposed was to regulate the legitimate trade by monitoring the movement of tobacco at manufacturing and retail levels. In 1780 the Irish parliament passed an act that contained many of the features which were included in the more restrictive permit and survey system.8 The purpose of the permit and survey system was to prevent smuggling by compelling the legitimate trade to record all movements of tobacco from its arrival at the docks to its purchase by consumers.

7 L.M. Cullen, ‘The smuggling trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century’ pp 149-75.
8 19 & 20 Geo. III, c.12. [Ire] An Act for continuing and amending several laws relating to His Majesty’s revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.
The act introduced in Britain by William Pitt in 1789 required manufacturers to receive a permit from the customs official at the dock and excise officials would be responsible for the surveying of the tobacco from that point on.\textsuperscript{9} The legislation, which came into force in Ireland after the Act of Union, was all encompassing, disruptive to the manufacturing process and included a multitude of penalties for dealing with transgressors.\textsuperscript{10} A former excise officer, a Mr Lethem, summed up the weakness of the act at the 1834 excise inquiry by stating that officers ‘by attempting whatever is impracticable nullifies the enactment altogether’. Francis Amey, a Belfast excise official, informed the committee that more frequent weighing of stock was required but this would be a huge inconvenience to the manufacturers. His Galway counterpart Norman Ashe claimed tobacco was landed and manufactured without the officer knowing and that the permit and survey system had ‘the least effect on tobacco.’\textsuperscript{11}

Smuggling increased following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The primary factor was the extraordinarily high level of duty on tobacco which enabled smugglers to lose entire shipments and still make an overall profit on those that evaded confiscation. The profit motive was aided by the apparent ease with which smugglers were able to land their illicit cargo into the numerous inlets and creeks around the Irish coast. The second approach by the state to tackle smuggling in Ireland was the establishment in Ireland in 1819 of the Preventative Water Guard, a forerunner of the Coast Guard on similar lines to the one established in Britain in 1809. Prior to the

\textsuperscript{9} 29 Geo. III. c .68. \textit{An act for repealing the duties on tobacco and snuff and for granting new duties, in lieu thereof.}

\textsuperscript{10} 1834 \textit{Excise Inquiry} 1834, see pp 5-12 for an outline of the regulations concerning the tobacco trade in which the commissioners were ‘struck by the multiplicity and complexity of them’ and that they had doubts about the practicability of carrying them into execution’. \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 3 Jul. 1827. H. Grattan M.P. informed the House of Commons of abuses committed against honest traders by the excise.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Excise Inquiry} 1834, evidence of Letham, Amey and Ashe, appendix 34, 35, 42.
Preventative Water Guard the coasts were protected by the Preventative Force which was largely a land based, ‘thinely scattered’ and poorly organised force of up to six hundred men. The role was to prevent smuggling by disrupting the initial landing of contraband and the interception of smuggled goods enroute to the interior. James Dombraine, a former Royal Navy officer, was appointed to establish the new service and he commenced with an experimental period on the Cork coast before extending the service to include the greater part of the coastline by 1824, which necessitated the establishment of 160 stations, with up to twelve men and an officer at each station. Dombraine discovered that the extent of tobacco smuggling was enormous and that smugglers had the ability to adapt their methods to counteract any of his or the government’s tactical innovations.

The government were conscious of the potential revenue losses when deciding to establish the Coast Guard. One official, J.S. Reynolds, writing to the secretary of the Treasury in 1820, stated that seventy cargoes totalling 3.6 million pounds, which he concluded was a ‘low estimate’, were smuggled into the eastern seaboard in the previous year which deprived the state of £728,000 in revenue. Such levels of illicit trading would have had negative consequences to those involved in the legitimate trade as well as the state. The government was in constant receipt of petitions from the tobacco trade across the United Kingdom pleading for a reduction in the high duties which they claimed damaged their business and encouraged smuggling. The principles outlined in these memorials were supported

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12 S.C. Tobacco 1844, evidence of James Dombraine q7246-7248. Dombraine’s force was referred to in official and newspaper reports by a variety of similar sounding names, for ease of understanding it will be referred to from here as the Coast Guard the name it eventually assumed.
14 Tenth report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland; &c. Ports of Ireland, preventive coast guard, quarantine, &c. H.C 1824 (446) xi, 391. Letter, Mr Reynolds to Mr Lushington 30 Aug. 1820, appendix 25. Hereafter Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, See also speech to the House of Commons by Charles Poulett Thompson M.P. Hansard H.C Deb 25 Mar. 1830 Third Series vol. 23 c 883.
by the findings of parliamentary inquiries which included reports of the enormous illegal shipments into Ireland. Independent economic commentators produced pamphlets supporting the calls for duties to be lowered, basing their arguments on the disparity of the figures that showed that the legal consumption in 1836 was just over half of what it was in the 1790s despite the population doubling in the same period.\(^\text{15}\)

That tobacco was a significant contributor to the national purse and that this revenue was seriously threatened by smugglers is confirmed by the level of investment by the state in this era of limited government. The acquisition of property along the coast, the construction of accommodation for the crews, whose number grew to 1,821 men plus 200 seasonal extras by 1824, their equipping with arms and uniforms and the provision of suitable vessels, represented a considerable initial expense for the government.\(^\text{16}\) The remunerations of officers and crew were generous, an inspecting commander received £200 per annum plus expenses while crewmen earned between £5 and £15 per annum supplemented by a daily allowance up to 4s. per day worked.\(^\text{17}\) The service attracted many of the officers and men of the navy whose careers were shortened as a result of the decommissioning of ships following the defeat of France in 1815.\(^\text{18}\)

To the expense generated by the establishment of the Coast Guard must also be added the ongoing costs of maintaining the separate departments of customs and

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\(^{15}\) Anon, *Tobacco Question* (London?, 1837).

\(^{16}\) *Commissioners of Inquiry 1824*, appendix 46. Account of expenditure for the Coast Guard in 1822. Salaries amounted to £92,000 and new buildings, boats etc. came to £14,000. The overall total including the expense of revenue cutters at sea came to £156,000. appendix 54. The provision of residences at each station for boatmen cost £300 which each boatman paid £5 per annum in rent.

\(^{17}\) *Commissioners of Inquiry 1824*, evidence of James Dombraine, appendix 53. See A.L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 1900), pp 51-3 which by way of comparison shows fine weavers earning twelve shillings a week in 1823 and Roscommon masons earning two shilling and sixpence daily in 1831.

excise, among whose duties included the operation of the aforementioned permit and survey system. The navy and local militias assisted in policing smugglers which would have also involved additional costs. The magnitude of these costs weighed heavily in the deliberations of members of various government commissions as well as those charged with the responsibility of collecting the state’s revenue.¹⁹

Dombraine was questioned at the 1824 commission concerning the rates of pay, the cost of constructing stations, the ad hoc nature of hiring extra boatmen and the future requirements of the service in terms of manpower and additional stations.²⁰ Two decades later Dombraine experienced a similar line of questioning regarding the minutiae of his organisation’s costs when he replied to questions relating to extra men, sick pay and the fluctuating size of his force.²¹ By 1844 costs had been reduced from £156,000 in 1822 to £132,467.²² Far more was spent in Ireland than in Scotland. In Scotland, £26,154 was spent on the Coast Guard. A far greater amount, £353,544, was spent on the English Coast Guard which reflects the larger force required to protect state revenue in England from smugglers whose range of contraband was considerably wider than the single commodity, tobacco, entered illegally into Ireland.²³

Despite a continuous campaign by the tobacco trade throughout the 1820-30s for a sizeable reduction in duties, which in their opinion would eliminate smuggling and reduce the expenditure on its prevention, the government was not moved to do so. Sir Henry Parnell M.P. was a lifelong campaigner for financial reform, who in an 1830 publication on the subject claimed that duty was only paid on one quarter of the

¹⁹ Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, p.20.
²⁰ Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, evidence of James Dombraine appendix 53, 54.
²³ S.C. Tobacco 1844 appendix 8, the figures include the expense of revenue cruizers entered separately.
tobacco consumed in Ireland, the balance being supplied by the smuggler.\textsuperscript{24} In 1837 these views formed the basis of a motion in Parliament to reduce the duty on tobacco as a means to end smuggling. Thomas Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed that tobacco smuggling was a serious problem but did not agree that Parnell and his associates’ figures were correct. He argued that from 1827 legal tobacco consumption and the corresponding revenue had risen in both Britain and Ireland. He informed the house that in 1786, 10,200,000 pounds had been consumed in both countries which had increased to over 23 million pounds in 1837.\textsuperscript{25}

The weakness in Spring Rice’s argument was that he did not believe the increase in population was so great as to cause such an increase in legitimate consumption, but was, he believed, a result of less illicit consumption brought about by the government’s measures against smuggling. The doubling of the population in Ireland in that period was not alluded to in his speech and if he had assumed a modest per capita annual consumption of one pound, the amount would have approached eight million pounds as compared to the official figure of five million.\textsuperscript{26} Parnell and other commentators calculated the consumption in Ireland in the 1830s to be in the region of sixteen to twenty million pounds per year. McCulloch wrote that the government collected ‘an exorbitant duty upon a fourth part of the tobacco consumed in Ireland, the other three quarters supplied by the smugglers.’ If his calculation is correct, this would put Irish consumption nearer to twenty million

\textsuperscript{24} Henry Parnell, \textit{Of financial reform}, (London, 1830) p. 49.
\textsuperscript{25} HC Deb 04 Apr. 1837 vol 37 cc765-8.
\textsuperscript{26} HC Deb 04 Apr. 1837 vol 37 cc763-8. Cormac Ó Gráda , \textit{Ireland a new economic history 1780-1939} (Oxford, 1994), p.6. Ó Gráda while sceptical of the veracity of the early nineteenth century censuses suggests population figures of four million in the 1790s, 6.8 million in 1821 and 8.2 million on the ’eve of the famine’. \textit{S.C Tobacco} 1844 evidence of John Lloyd q297, per capita consumption in Ireland in 1794 equalled 38 ounces, the UK figure in 1844 was 13 ounces compared to a European average of 45 ounces.
pounds. In 1835 £726,000 was raised in revenue from the legal importation of 4.8 million pounds of tobacco. However, based on McCulloch’s figures, fifteen million pounds were entered illegally resulting in a loss of £2.1 million to the exchequer. This represented an enormous figure in a period when the tithes in Ireland raised £555,000 while the entire Irish revenue amounted to £3.7 million.

Prior to the Coast Guard’s establishment only nine vessels carrying smuggled tobacco had been seized between 1800 and 1819, in the first five years of the Coast Guard’s existence twenty-two ships had been seized. The use of informants in Ireland contributed to this success as did the intelligence gathered by spies in Ireland and the Netherlands which was used to disrupt the activities of the smugglers. The government’s view that smuggling was on the wane and that high levels of duty could be maintained would have being strengthened by the actions of the Coast Guard. The Coast Guard did enjoy early successes if one measures it by the number of seizures it made in the early 1820s. (see fig. 2.2). A total of 1,768,818 pounds of

Fig: 2.2. Tobacco seizures (Pounds) in Ireland, 1816-25.

Source: Tobacco and snuff. Returns and accounts of the quantity of tobacco and snuff seized and condemned by the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland and Ireland, 1815-21. H.C.1822 (468) xxi, 389. Tobacco (Ireland.) Accounts relating to seized tobacco in the King’s warehouses, Dublin; 1822-1825. H.C. 1825 (122) xii, 175.

27 J.R. M‘Culloch, A dictionary, practical, theoretical, and historical, of commerce and commercial navigation: p.1164.
28 Anon, Tobacco Question, p. 5.
29 Commissioners of Inquiry 1824. p. 21.
30 Peter McGuire, to the Lord Lieutenant. 8 Jun. 1823 (N.A.I., CSO/RP/1823/979).
tobacco was seized by the authorities between 1821 and 1823 which while hugely encouraging to those battling smuggling, it also served to highlight the magnitude of the problem.

The low point in duty paid tobacco consumption occurred in 1820 when only 2,500,000 pounds was imported, from this point on the importation of duty paid tobacco increased to a point that equalled a ‘standard of consumption’ which the Inspector General of the Coast Guard James Dombraine equated to 6 million pounds, a level of consumption that existed when the coast of Ireland was fully protected by the navy during the Napoleonic Wars.31

The reports returned by local customs officers countrywide informed their superiors that by 1824 many of them were satisfied that smuggling had being eradicated entirely or that it was considerably reduced within their areas of control. This presumption was strengthened by the greater amounts of tobacco seized by the Coast Guard on land as well as at sea (see fig. 2.2), which included an enormously encouraging figure of 847,000 pounds seized in 1821.32 The government’s view that smuggling was on the wane and that high levels of duty could be maintained would have being strengthened by the actions of the Coast Guard.

The early nineteenth century decrease in official imports which prompted the state to respond with the establishment of the Coast Guard is shown in fig. 2.3. The fall in poundage would have resulted in a significant loss of revenue had not the wartime government increased the duty from 1s. per pound in 1800 to 3s. 2d. 1816 and to a punitive 4s. in 1820. The duty paid in 1809 on just under six and a half million pounds a year.

31 S.C Tobacco 1844, evidence of James Dombraine q.7353-7355. The figure quoted by Dombraine as being the standard was six million pounds a year.
32 Tobacco and snuff. Returns and accounts of the quantity of tobacco and snuff seized and condemned by the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland and Ireland, 1815-21, H.C.1822 (468) xxi, 389. Tobacco (Ireland.) Accounts relating to seized tobacco in the King’s warehouses, Dublin: 1822-1825. H.C. 1825 (122) xii, 175.
pounds raised £451,278 compared with the £516,446 gathered from a mere two and a half million pounds in 1820 (see fig. 2.4). The reduction in the navy’s fleet, the inefficiencies in the preventative force, and the enormous difference between the cost price for tobacco and the duty imposed upon it would have produced conditions from which smugglers and their land based associates would have amassed huge profits.

The rise in legal tobacco consumption continued up to the period of the 1845-51 famine after which it returned to pre-famine levels within a decade. The calls from H. Parnell, J.R. McCulloch and the tobacco trade for a reduction in the duty went unheeded by the Treasury who shared Dombraine’s confidence that Ireland when fully encircled by the Coast Guard would ensure that ‘the present duty may be
easily maintained. Parliamentary commissions in this period did not share the government’s or Dombraine’s position. The 1824 report, while praising the efforts of the Coast Guard and calling for its retention, was amongst the first that favoured a reduction in duty as the solution to smuggling. The importance of tobacco to the state’s coffers can thus be inferred by its willingness to entertain short term thinking exemplified by maintaining expensive measures to protect its tobacco revenue stemming from its reluctance to consider reducing duty.

Those involved in smuggling continued to ply their trade into the 1830s when they began to develop new methods to thwart the efforts of the customs, excise and Coast Guard establishments. The Irish coast in the early nineteenth century was poorly protected by the then preventative guard and evidence shows that smugglers used heavily armed vessels to deliver their cargoes. One example is that of the *Phoebe*. In September 1809, the *Phoebe* and two other vessels, landed 900 boxes of tobacco which were sold at nine and a half guineas per box and supplemented by illicit cargoes from the two other ships, the *Violet* and the *John*. The following month Galway merchants informed the customs authorities that this shipment was having an adverse effect on their trade. More tellingly they stated that the smuggler’s vessels were each equipped with up to sixteen guns on board and that ‘they intended to continue their illicit trade by vessels of considerable force and to a great extent.’

In 1810, two Irish Customs cruisers acting on intelligence from London seized the *Phoebe* in Plymouth and following a trial in Dublin the ship was confiscated, the
officers and crew of the cruizers enjoying a share of the proceeds of its sale. The deadly intent and violent nature of smuggling was revealed in reports such as the incident off the County Clare coast in which a stranded smuggler’s cargo was being transferred to another vessel. They were then engaged by a local militia who were driven off, with the loss of one life, by the smugglers who then set fire to the munitions store on the ship and escaped with their cargo and crew, an action which demonstrated the ability of smugglers to tackle a local militia and to absorb the loss of a ship.

The collusion of coastal communities with smugglers was essential to the continuance of the practice of smuggling. Reports show that considerable numbers of local people from all classes were actively involved in smuggling. The employment of up to 1,000 people to attend the unloading of contraband in Antrim and the provision of 100 horses for a period of up to six hours at a landing in Wicklow attest to the fact that considerable planning and cooperation with locals was required. The hopes expressed that those lower down the social scale in such ventures would turn King’s evidence came to nothing particularly in the case of Henderson Black, a smuggler who it was claimed smuggled as much as was paid in duty in Ireland.

Henderson Black, a Justice of the Peace, was a tobacco merchant who operated from modest premises in Anne Street Belfast. Black occupied a position of

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36 Ibid., p.139.
38 Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, W. Lloyd to James Dombraine, appendix 52. An indication that members of the landed gentry were involved arose in County Kerry in which Colonel Crosbie, of Ballyheigue Castle, and governor of that county, whom a former water guard officer believed to be a smuggler, came under increased suspicion when a cave was discovered on the lawn of his residence in clear view of any inhabitants. Also see ibid appendix 53 where Dombraine states that landlords received money to allow smuggling transaction to take place upon their estates.
40 Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, p. 296. S.C Tobacco 1844, evidence of H.N. Davis, q. 2618.
considerable local importance and was held in high esteem by his community to such an extent that he was often asked to adjudicate on matters between locals.\textsuperscript{41} This respect shown to Black stemmed from the employment he gave to locals in the smuggling of tobacco. Those involved with Black in this trade were described as being of ‘very good standing’ and did not view smuggling as a source of embarrassment or criminality. Their sympathies and allegiances were entirely with the smugglers. In return, as well as providing employment, Black repaid their loyalty by paying any fines or expenses incurred by those who were apprehended by the authorities whilst working on his behalf.\textsuperscript{42}

The methods used by smugglers including Black were revealed in the evidence given to the 1844 select committee on the tobacco trade by Horatio Nelson Davis, one of the largest tobacco brokers in London whose account was corroborated by smugglers. Davis, whose firm had historically paid over £1,500,000 in duty, told the committee that 22,800,000 pounds of tobacco paid duty in the United Kingdom in the preceding year but by his reckoning up to 25,000,000 pounds did not. His calculations were based on the premise that legal consumption figures did not reflect the increase in population. More tellingly he detailed specific instances of consistent and substantial levels of smuggling in Britain and Ireland of which he had personal knowledge.\textsuperscript{43}

Davis informed the committee of two letters he had received from Ireland, one from a legitimate trader, the other from a smuggler whom Davis claims introduced as much smuggled tobacco as is legally imported. The former wrote that

\textsuperscript{41} Deputy lieutenants and magistrates (Ireland) Return of the names and residences of deputy lieutenants and magistrates in the commission of the Peace in Ireland; Distinguishing those in holy orders, barristers &c on 31st December 1835 H.C. 1836 (318) xliii, 299 43. Lists Black as a magistrate.
\textsuperscript{42} S.C. Tobacco 1844, evidence of William Maury q.1713-1723.
\textsuperscript{43} S.C Tobacco 1844, evidence of H.N. Davis q. 2597-2606.
apart from him and three others whom he named, every other manufacturer, in a list of locations he provided, was involved in using smuggled tobacco. The correspondent outlined a ruse performed by Black ‘who got up a county wedding’ at Torr Head in Antrim to which the Coast Guard were invited and during which he ‘landed all.’ The degree of smuggling in Ireland, the anonymous trader stated, ‘cuts him up badly’ and ‘nothing but a reduction of duty can ever or will ever stop it.’

The second communication was presented as an abstract of a letter from an author who requested to remain anonymous if read to a third party. The writer felt that the duty was ‘injudiciously high’ at a level of 1,800 per cent of the value of the product and that it ‘holds out too great a temptation to evade its payment.’ He criticised the Coast Guard for being ineffectual despite its great cost to the country and that it did not ‘by any means form the greatest obstacle’ to those engaging in tobacco smuggling. He concluded that no ‘alteration or improvement could be suggested’ that would cause a decrease in smuggling other than a reduction in the duty.

Witnesses before the select committee corroborated Davis’s statements by detailing his dealings with Black. One witness admitted to seeing him hundreds of times and attended meetings with Black and his collaborators during which he claimed to have absented himself on occasions having being advised by Black ‘that you wouldn’t want to hear anything about it’, meaning the smuggling arrangements. Those arrangements required the witness to legitimately send three hundred hogsheads from London to Flushing in the Netherlands, during 1843 to avail of the drawback system. This system allowed tobacco re-exported from the United Kingdom to avail of a rebate of the duties which were originally paid on entry.

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44 S.C Tobacco 1844, q. 2618.
45 S.C Tobacco 1844, q. 2624.
Black would then have them baled and re-shipped to Ireland without paying the duty. The witness described the landing of these bales into sea caves from which they would be recovered at a later date.\(^{46}\)

Black’s final smuggling run was discovered leaving him subject to penalties of up to £4,000. The magnitude of the fine suggests that the expected cargo was considerable and would require a large number of men to execute the landing. The day before his trial Black shot himself. Even in death he still inspired loyalty amongst his followers as the state could not produce witnesses despite the large body of men required for the landing. The trial concluded with the fining of two local farmers £200 on whose land the tobacco was seized even though it was locally held that these men had no part to play in the venture.\(^{47}\)

The assertions made by Davis and the anonymous and indemnified witnesses to the 1844 select committee ran totally contrary to the evidence of the recently knighted Sir James Dombraine.\(^{48}\) The Irish Coast Guard then numbered of 1,500 land-based men complimented by eighteen cruizers manned by 400 men. Smuggling, he believed, had ceased entirely on the outward coast and the small area of the northern coast left exposed could not facilitate the enormous figures of contraband claimed to be consumed in Ireland.\(^{49}\) The manner in which tobacco was now smuggled outside of these areas had changed from the running of large shipments to one of concealment, sometimes of manufactured tobacco, in vessels carrying a legitimate cargo including steam packets and coasting ships particularly those

\(^{46}\) *S.C Tobacco* 1844, evidence of witness ‘A’ q 2774-2788, 2863-2869. Some witnesses to the committee were granted immunity for previous misdemeanours and also given the privilege to remain anonymous. See also *Nation*, 26 Oct. 1844 for an overview of the various methods used by smugglers and the amounts that H.N. Davis calculated were lost to the revenue on these occasions.

\(^{47}\) *S.C Tobacco* 1844, evidence of William Maury, q.1714-1723.

\(^{48}\) Symes, Edmond P., ‘Sir James Dombraine and the Coastguard,’ pp 56-70.

\(^{49}\) *S.C Tobacco* 1844, evidence of James Dombraine q.7298-7302.
arriving from Liverpool.\textsuperscript{50} Dombraine supported this statement by stating that he had not seen a bale of smuggled tobacco since the late 1830s whereas prior to that ‘he had seen thousands.’\textsuperscript{51} He was questioned at length concerning the high number of seizures of small quantities by the Coast Guard and the customs which on the one hand could corroborate the evidence of Davis’s anonymous Irish smuggler that the Coast Guard was ineffectual or on the other hand support Dombraine’s claim that smuggling on the outward coast had ceased entirely and that in general the extent of smuggling was not as great as ‘generally supposed.’\textsuperscript{52} His estimate was that between ten and fifteen per cent of tobacco consumed in Ireland was smuggled.\textsuperscript{53}

The integrity of the force commanded by Dombraine was seriously undermined by the claims concerning payments of £200 to officers and the pre-arranged placement of token seizures by smugglers to allow officers to report successful operations to their superiors. The Coast Guard had prided itself on the upright nature of its officers and men and from its inception had no occasion to discipline its members for acts of collusion.\textsuperscript{54} While this is undeniably true, Dombraine was being somewhat remiss when he failed to mention an inquiry into corrupt practises in the Letterkenny station in Donegal which was held five months earlier in which his officers had been accused of collusion by the local excise officers.\textsuperscript{55}

By the 1820s, the distribution of smuggled tobacco had become sophisticated. A scheme was developed whereby tickets were purchased locally in advance of a landing which entitled the holder to a share of the smuggled cargo. A

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., q.7421, 7340, 7409.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., q.7332-7334.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{S.C Tobacco} 1844 evidence of James Dombraine q.7326-7327
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., q.7356-7357.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., q.7389-7399.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Kerry Evening Post}, 15 May 1844.
local agent would sell tickets initially to tobacco merchants, general merchants and landed proprietors and later to the less well-off including farmers and artisans, who would often form themselves into ‘combines’ to purchase a part share in a tobacco bale. Any remaining tickets went on public sale in local businesses, a fact Dombraine was personally witness to. The cargo would arrive at the appointed landing area and then be transferred by smaller boats to shore, those without a boat would be charged 5s. for transporting a bale. The smugglers would then sail to another destination and repeat the process until the entire cargo was delivered. The advantages to the smuggler were that his risks were considerably reduced as the unloading was undertaken very quickly and if he was caught at any stage after the first delivery, his cargo was considerably lessened and the tickets were purchased knowing the risks of seizure. The landside participants having purchased quantities sufficient to their requirements would remove their consignment quickly and into ‘local consumption’ due to their knowledge of the area and the tobacco needs of the people.\textsuperscript{56}

The respective heads of the customs and excise departments clashed over who was responsible for the high level of smuggling in the United Kingdom. The excise department blamed the inability of the coast guard to intercept the smugglers at sea whilst the Customs department and indeed the tobacco trade pointed to the inefficiencies of the excise officials whose integrity was often called into question.\textsuperscript{57}

Both services at the local level never interfered with the other’s operations and at a

\textsuperscript{56} Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, evidence of Valentine O’ Connor, appendix 56, Letter Mr Reynolds to Mr Lushington 30 Aug. 1820, Appendix 25 in which the ambiguous legal position regarding the sale of smugglers tickets is discussed.

\textsuperscript{57} Excise Inquiry 1834 For a contrasting interpretation for the prevalence of smuggling see appendix 24 Sir John Mortlock, Commissioner of Excise and appendix 39 Mr R.B. Dean Chairman of the Board of Customs. Report from the Select Committee on the Growth and Cultivation of Tobacco H.C.1830 (565) x 547 pp 86-88. The Solicitor of Excise for Ireland stated he could not vouch for the honesty of local excise officers. Hereafter S.C. Cultivation 1830.
more personal level a greater number of captures at sea by the Coast Guard would have reduced the opportunity of the excise men to receive reward money for seizures they made on land.

From the evidence given to the various commissions and judging by the quantities involved it must readily be assumed that a considerable number of Ireland’s licensed manufacturers were heavily involved in producing tobacco sourced from smugglers. Those licensed manufacturers using smuggled tobacco would have been tempted by the smugglers price per pound compared to the 3s. for the legal commodity. The lack of trust in the integrity of local excise officials expressed by witnesses at parliamentary inquiries strongly suggests that manufacturers could have used this level of corruption to their advantage. The small scale of many of the ‘petty manufacturers’ among the several hundred manufacturers in the 1820s was considered by some legitimate traders to be merely a front for those more busily engaged in smuggling. While there may have been some illegal manufacturing in isolated rural areas it would have been limited. Licensed manufacturers based in towns with existing premises would have greater means to incorporate smuggled produce amongst their legitimate stock.

Those manufacturers and retailers who did not engage with smuggled tobacco had extreme difficulty competing with the illicit trade. The enormous amounts smuggled could only be processed by those who were also involved in the legitimate trade. The degree of involvement with smugglers included those who took in enough smuggled product to allow them to continue in business, or those such as

58 S.C. Cultivation 1830, evidence of Thomas Brodigan p. 18. See Commissioners of Customs. General report on the report of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry in regard to Customs-House frauds [C 502], H.C. 1843, xxix, 157 which reported on the level of corruption in the revenue service in the United Kingdom.
59 Commissioners of Inquiry 1824, evidence of James Foot appendix 55, Valentine O’Connor appendix 56 wherein he comments on Irish manufacturers using smuggled tobacco. Henderson Black operated from modest premises on Anne St, Belfast.
Henderson Black, whose trade was based entirely around smuggling. The illicit market in tobacco was governed by the laws of economics in much the same way as the legal trade. As in the legitimate trade, those operating outside of it that had greater capital resources would have benefitted from the economies of scale in terms of costs both legal and illicit. Black and other successful smugglers would have influenced the price and increased the distribution of tobacco. The immediate beneficiaries were the retailer and the consumer, the loser was the state.

A report in 1843 in *Freeman’s Journal* pointed to contraband as one of the causes of failing manufacturers and sellers. A meeting of tobacco operatives who supported the Repeal movement cited the Act of Union in 1800 and smuggling as the main cause of their trade’s and the country’s misfortune. The number of licensed manufacturers in Dublin and their employees fell from fifty with 500 employees in 1814 to seventeen giving partial employment with reduced wages to 120 workers in 1843. The arrival of smuggled manufactured tobacco of the poorest and cheapest quality was cited as one of the reasons for the decline in the Dublin tobacco trade. As the trade in the 1830s and 1840s was suffused with manufacturers using contraband tobacco, thereby nullifying any advantage gained from smuggling between competitors, it would appear that the inefficiencies of individual traders was the cause of their demise and not smuggling.

The increasing encirclement of the coastline by the coast guard and the Royal Navy forced the smugglers to develop new methods of trafficking described as petty smuggling and concealment. Petty smuggling was practised by individuals, particularly seamen, who would secrete tobacco about their person hoping to sell it

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60 As mentioned above P.J. Carroll was a client of Henderson Black as well as legitimate traders in England and Ireland.
61 *Freeman’s Journal* 10 May 1843.
onshore. Concealment in the structure of the vessel and in its ostensible cargo became a more frequent method of handling contraband from the 1830s.

The increase in steam ships provided a greater challenge to excise rummaging crews. In 1845, newspaper reports of an Irish crewed smuggler detained at Liverpool carrying twenty-one tons of tobacco from the Netherlands, which was the largest seizure in twenty three years at the port, suggests the exceptional nature of the seizure implies that smaller scale smuggling was now the norm.\(^\text{62}\) The emergence of steamships in the 1820s led to an increase in cross-channel traffic which specialised in the livestock trade, which included the annual export of 5-600,000 beasts and 60-90 million eggs in the 1830s and 1840s. The opportunities to conceal contraband for the return journey must have being considerable.\(^\text{63}\) From this period on the yearly reports from the excise department show that prosecutions were pursued against individuals for trifling amounts which resulted in meagre fines and sometimes unwelcome publicity in the newspapers.\(^\text{64}\)

Cullen suggests that smuggling can also be seen as contributing to the development of a tobacco using culture. The lower price of smuggled tobacco aided its distribution across the country amongst all classes in society, especially amongst the poor who became its greatest advocate. The smugglers by their enterprise developed a market for the product from which the state ultimately benefitted as the pleasurable and addictive qualities of tobacco took hold of the population and continued after mass smuggling declined in the late 1830s. However high the state

\(^\text{62}\) *Cork Examiner*, 3 Mar. 1845. *Nenagh Guardian*, 24 Aug. 1853. The seizure of 41 bales of tobacco was described as extensive, as shown above smugglers often left far greater amounts as token finds for excise men in the 1820s. The seizure being described as extensive can be seen as a relative indicator that large scale smuggling was the exception.


\(^\text{64}\) *Cork Examiner*, 28 Sep. 1842. A report of the trial of Viscount Kilworth, the son of Earl Mountcashel, who was convicted and fined twenty shillings in court for smuggling a small quantity of cigars.
duty on tobacco became the smugglers can claim that they acted as a deterrent to the state imposing even higher tariffs as the threat of renewed smuggling may have resulted in diminishing returns for the treasury.\footnote{Cullen, ‘The smuggling trade in Ireland in the eighteenth century’ p. 150.}

II

The growing of tobacco in Ireland and Britain from its introduction in the late Elizabethan period to the early twentieth century was subject to shifting legislative requirements. During the Stuart period, the need to protect the viability of the tobacco crop in the English colony of Virginia was the motivating force behind the prohibition on domestic cultivation. In 1620, James I entered into an agreement with the Virginia Company to prohibit tobacco cultivation in Britain and Ireland in return for twice the duty it had previously paid. This royal support for colonial tobacco continued under Charles I who declared that the colony ‘was built wholly on smoke.’\footnote{Goodman, Tobacco in history p. 149.} The same motivation was in evidence during the 1650s when Cromwellian soldiers were sent to destroy tobacco crops across England.\footnote{A. R. Williams ‘The Gloucestershire tobacco trade’ in The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 79, (1971), pp. 145-152.}

Following the restoration, Charles II introduced legislation banning its cultivation in England and Ireland that included stiffer penalties for growers of tobacco, which was an indication that English farmers still cultivated the plant. But in 1779 this legislation was repealed allowing Irish though not British cultivation.\footnote{The repealing act, 19 Geo. III, c. 35, was one of a few measures designed to appease calls for more liberal trading laws in Ireland.} The permission to cultivate was part of a number of economic concessions granted to Ireland during the American War of Independence when the demands of the patriot group and the Irish Volunteers were partly met.\footnote{Thomas Bartlett, Ireland: A history (Cambridge, 2010), pp 181-3.} The legislators saw the act as one designed to improve the economy of Ireland but included the proviso that the
concession was granted on the understanding that it would not injure Britain’s commercial interests.\textsuperscript{70}

The 1779 act permitted the cultivation of tobacco in Ireland and its export to Britain under the same regulations as those which governed plantation tobacco. However the low rate of the import duty on American tobacco made it uneconomical to cultivate it in Ireland.\textsuperscript{71} Tobacco export figures from 1772 to 1811 show that Irish manufacturers produced Irish Roll and snuff made from imported American tobacco which was re-exported to Britain (see fig.2.5). The figures show that the export of manufactured tobacco to Britain from Ireland was somewhat erratic but signalled a greater potential for expansion if locally grown tobacco was used.\textsuperscript{72} The duty on

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Exports of Irish manufactured tobacco, (Pounds) 1772-1811.}
\end{figure}

American tobacco rose from 1s.3d. in 1779 to 4s. in 1819. This was reduced to 3s. in 1824 which was still high enough to allow Irish tobacco to compete with it on the domestic market as no duty applied to home-grown tobacco sold in Ireland.\textsuperscript{73}

English interest in growing tobacco was also negligible and there appeared to be no demand for the repeal of the law there until 1816 when Earl Grey, speaking in

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{70} 19 Geo. III, c. 35. An English act which sought to encourage the manufactures of Ireland that would not ‘materially interfere with the commercial interests of Great Britain’.
\textsuperscript{71} Import duties amounted to one shilling a pound.
\textsuperscript{72} (Ireland.) Report from Committee on Accounts and Papers Relating to the Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland. H.C. 1810-11 (262) v, 122.
\textsuperscript{73} Returns relative to the duty paid on tobacco (1789-1828) H.C. 1829, (340) xv, 369.
\end{footnotesize}
the House of Lords, suggested its removal.74 Returning to the subject in 1827, he claimed that the tobacco imports from the U.S.A amounted to 40,000,000 pounds in 1825 and 28,000,000 pounds in 1826 and believed that English farmers should be allowed to at least experiment with the crop.75 Viscount Goderich and Lord Lauderdale supported this view. Goderich argued that the prohibition was enacted to protect the fledgling English colonies ‘when in our possession’ which no longer pertained.76

Following the Act of Union in 1800, opposition to domestic cultivation stemmed from what was seen as an inequity in the law of the United Kingdom which saw Ireland alone being permitted to grow tobacco. Petitions and representations submitted to parliament by West Country M.Ps sought an assimilation of the laws as they believed that the suitability of the local soil and their tobacco growing heritage would greatly advance the local economy.77 The reasons for allowing Irish cultivation in 1779 was not alluded to, but the proviso in the act concerning threats to Britain’s commercial interests now had a relevancy. There was also concern about the absence of duty on Irish tobacco when sold in Ireland which was viewed as a subsidy and ran contrary to the laissez faire principles of the era. The concerns of government regarding Irish tobacco supplanting the now highly taxed imported produce of the U.S.A. were perceived as representing an immediate and ongoing threat to the state’s finances.78

Tobacco cultivation commenced in earnest in Ireland in the late 1820s and by 1829 official figures showed that 461 acres were under the crop, largely in County

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74 Hansard HC Deb 17 May 1816 First Series, Volume 34, cc.579-580. A select committee viewed domestic cultivation as a threat to the revenue and recommended no change in the legislation.
75 Freeman’s Journal, 2 Jul. 1827.
76 Freeman’s Journal, 30 Jun. 1827.
Wexford, but also in Kilkenny, Meath and Waterford.\textsuperscript{79} In 1828, Wexford growers sent a deputation to London seeking reassurances regarding the issue of duty and returned having received ministerial encouragement for their enterprise.\textsuperscript{80} Newspapers wrote encouraging reports on tobacco farming. The \textit{Belfast Newsletter} reported that in Wexford the ‘rage for tobacco almost exceeds belief.’ The number of growers had increased and some farmers had uprooted potato crops in favour of tobacco. Profits on an acre ranged between £100 and £150. The costs of tobacco plants and of the pots to protect them from frost were minimal. The newspaper went on to say that had the process of saving the plant been more widely understood more growers might have been attracted to it.\textsuperscript{81} Observers also noted another problem that faced the inexperienced tobacco growers which was the inadequate provision provided by them for curing the harvested crop.\textsuperscript{82}

One of the most prominent advocates of domestic tobacco cultivation was Thomas Brodigan of Piltown, Drogheda. Brodigan, had witnessed the growing and manufacture of tobacco in America and in Europe and had written and presented extensively on the subject as well as producing his own experimental crops.\textsuperscript{83} From Brodigan’s instructional book, published in England, we learn of the costs he incurred in the production and curing of an English acre of tobacco, which is 5/8ths the size of an Irish one, on his Meath estate. The entire process which included ploughing, harrowing, weeding, manuring and curing came to £17 6s. 6d. including a tithe of 3s. 6d. Of the total cost, £11 6s. represented the wages paid to workers under

\textsuperscript{79} Tobacco. A return of the number of acres of land in cultivation for the produce of tobacco in Ireland, stating the number of acres in each township, in the year 1829, and the number of years such cultivation has been continued. H.C 1830 (453), xvii, 93.

\textsuperscript{80} Freeman’s Journal, 13 May 1829.

\textsuperscript{81} Belfast Newsletter, 31 Jul. 1829.

\textsuperscript{82} Freeman’s Journal, 10 Sep. 1829.

\textsuperscript{83} Thomas Brodigan, \textit{A botanical, historical and practical treatise on the tobacco plant} (London, 1830).

fifteen years of age who were employed from planting to harvesting. Older stronger 
men were used for periods requiring heavy ‘spade work’. Brodigan calculated that 
six workers per acre were required constantly for six months to cultivate the crop. 
The lowest price at which a crop of average produce could be sold at was 4d. a 
pound, from a crop of 1,200 pounds per acre, which would not allow for a profit to 
the grower.

During the 1829 season Brodigan had sold his crop consisting of good and 
poorer quality tobacco for the ‘merchantable price’ of 19d. to 20d. a pound. 
American produce was sold at 4d. per pound before the duty of 3s. was added while 
better quality tobacco attracted 6 to 8d. per pound, thus indicating the need to keep 
Irish tobacco free from duty. On the question of quality Brodigan believed that the 
best of the Irish crop was equal to the average American product, admitting that Irish 
consumers had a strong preference for the finer Virginia product. But he hoped that 
with more experience in curing and the introduction of artificial heat in the curing 
process Irish tobacco quality would improve.

The capital required for a crop such as tobacco was funded from the private 
resources of growers like Brodigan. Drawing down loans from banks was a practice 
rarely entered into at that time. In 1830, Drogheda was one of only three towns with 
a population over 10,000 that did not have a bank. The nearest banks which could 
be approached by Brodigan and his neighbours were in Dublin and the ‘agricultural 
classes’ in his district ‘seldom indulge’ in ‘that kind of accommodation.’ Francis 
Davis, of Enniscorthy, County Wexford, held a contrary view, believing the growth

84 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan pp 7-10. S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of 
Nicholas Ellis p. 48.
86 S.C. Cultivation 1830 Evidence of Thomas Brodigan pp 10-12.
87 Ó Gráda , Ireland a new economic history, p. 140.
88 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan p. 22.
of provincial banks in Ireland were sources of capital for new ventures such as tobacco growing. Pre-famine banking in Ireland is described by Ó Gráda as relying ‘almost exclusively on an upper and middle class clientele’ thus supporting Brodigan’s contention that small landholders entered into tobacco cultivation employing their own capital. Brodigan, anticipating a Treasury proposal for an advance payment of duty believed such a course would further limit cultivation to ‘the opulent’. The speculative foray into tobacco was thus funded by the grower who having overcome climatic challenges and the assaults of various insects could expect a return of his money ‘eventually’.

In Wexford, an agent for Lord Portsmouth’s estate in Enniscorthy, Nicholas Ellis, produced contrasting results from his 203 acre crop. One acre produced a successful crop of 2,800 pounds due to the care used which was in contrast to the yield of only 70 pounds produced where less attention was paid. Ellis calculated it cost £56 to produce an acre of tobacco, which was considerably more than the costs incurred on Brodigan’s County Meath estate. Manual labour and manure costing £20 respectively and a sizeable tithe of £6 was more expensive on the Wexford estate than that shown by Brodigan in his calculations. Ellis also claimed the local workers in the area had made ‘very considerable’ improvement in their living conditions arising from the benefits of the elongated working periods brought about by tobacco growing.

In the 1820s and 1830s, supporters of tobacco cultivation presented two principal arguments for allowing cultivation to continue. Firstly, tobacco growing

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89 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Francis Davis p. 127.
90 Ó Gráda, Ireland a new economic history, p. 141.
91 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan p. 22.
92 S.C. Cultivation 1830, p. 18.
93 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Nicholas Ellis p. 47.
would result in longer periods of employment in the agricultural year for the labouring classes thus improving their economic position and making them more law abiding in a period of heightened agrarian tension. The recently elected Daniel O’Connell supported this view; he saw tobacco as a source of employment for women and children during the periods of the agricultural year when work was in short supply between the potato and wheat harvests. The cultivation debate was seized upon by anti-Act of Union politicians in Ireland eager to demonstrate that the addition of extra taxes upon tobacco or the prohibition of cultivation as further evidence of the economic mishandling of Ireland by Westminster. The debate touched on a sectarian note when O’Connell condemned Church of Ireland clergy for demanding tithe payments on tobacco crops which he felt was contrary to the law. Secondly advocates emphasised the potential for Irish tobacco to replace the importation of American tobacco in time.

In 1829-30, various petitions were sent to parliament, reflecting divergent views in England on the question of domestic cultivation. Some sought an extension of the 1779 act to the rest of the United Kingdom. On the other hand manufacturers sought the complete prohibition of cultivation in the country or failing that a duty on Irish grown tobacco or a reduction in duty on imported tobacco. In 1830, O’Connell was aware of a proposal for an excise tax ‘that would crush it in its infancy’ and called for local committees to be set up to examine the ‘best mode for affording protection’ to domestic tobacco. O’Connell’s fears were soon realised. In

94 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Francis Davis p.116. Davis reported improvements such as enhancements to their dwellings, the provision of bed clothes and tea drinking. The threatening nature of large bodies of impoverished men seeking assistance from those better off had ceased since the commencement of tobacco growing.

95 Tralee Mercury, 17 Apr. 1830. 12 Dec. 1829.

96 Tralee Mercury, 17 Apr. 1830.


98 Tralee Mercury, 12 Dec. 1829.
March the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Goulburn, announced the government’s intention to introduce a tax on Irish grown tobacco of 1s.8d. per pound.\textsuperscript{99} This proposal dominated the deliberations of a select committee, formed in the same month to consider the legislation concerning domestic tobacco cultivation within the United Kingdom.

The committee was told that such a high duty would end the cultivation of tobacco in Ireland. Brodigan pointed out that Wexford growers were already subject to an onerous tithe of £9 per acre which made American tobacco more competitive. Thus Brodigan seemed to favour retaining the import duty on foreign tobacco and a much lower home duty on the Irish crop than that which the government had proposed. The price difference he felt would be enough to entice consumers to change from Virginian tobacco to the \textit{nicotiana rustica} grown in Ireland, thereby allowing farmers the opportunity to improve their skills in cultivating tobacco to a higher standard.\textsuperscript{100}

The absence of witnesses supporting English farmers’ demands to be allowed to grow tobacco suggests that they had withdrawn from the debate. English manufacturers however presented strong arguments against domestic cultivation, which, with the withdrawal of the English farmers, meant Irish produce. Their description of the continuing perilous state of their industry owing to smuggling, illicit cultivation, fraud and corruption since the end of the Napoleonic Wars would be further seriously challenged by the arrival of cheaply produced Irish tobacco and even more so if the tobacco avoided duties by smuggling or fraud.

Alexander Hatfield of Taddy & Company, London, informed the committee that his firm had paid five million pounds to the revenue over thirty years. In the

\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Belfast Newsletter}, 26 Mar. 1830.  
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{S.C. Cultivation} 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan, p. 13.
years following the Napoleonic Wars, the company had suffered continuous losses in its smoking tobacco products in order to keep the more profitable snuff business going. The company had suffered greatly as a result of fraudulent trading and the cultivation of tobacco in Ireland was but another method in which wide scale fraud would continue. His opinion on preventing fraud emanating from domestic cultivation was that there were no controls which could prevent it. Despite his company’s losses, he claimed paradoxically to have spent £40,000 to £50,000 on buildings and machinery in an industry where he described manufacturers as ‘dropping off one at a time’.

An instance of the fraudulent trading then practiced was described by a tobacco dealer who raised the spectre of what could arise if cultivation was to continue in Ireland. It concerned the unexpected arrival of an Irishman at his premises who offered him ‘one or two tons’ of Irish grown tobacco at 1s. a pound, 2s. less than inferior American tobacco, including free delivery. The veracity of this evidence cannot be ascertained but its effect in reinforcing the perception that the Irish tobacco trade was intractably corrupt was not contested. Other schemes to deprive the state of revenue would, the dealer declared, involve ‘the lower orders picking their own’ and that a proposed acreable tax offered a ‘considerable facility’ for evasion.

British manufacturers were concerned that the inexperience of Irish growers could present difficulties in supplying the market, while climatic conditions could ruin a crop leaving the grower with a tax bill the state could never collect. A more pertinent fear was the potential for large producers to dictate prices as their cultivation increased. However genuine the fears held by manufacturers concerning the state’s revenue, climatic conditions and the practical ability of the farmers,

101 S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Alexander Hatfield, pp 31-4.
102 Ibid., Evidence of Alfred Ceal, pp 34-7.
103 Ibid., Evidence of Robert Currey, p. 43.
Hatfield’s evidence shows that his main concern was a belief that ‘wherever it will be grown it will be manufactured’ and in the case of Ireland ‘where there is now one there will be ten’ manufacturers.\textsuperscript{104}

The overriding interest of the state in this debate was the protection of its revenue from tobacco. Proposals regarding the administration of the collection of taxes and the prevention of fraud were examined by the committee. The practice of relying on the honour of the grower, as used in the harvesting of hops, was suggested but the greater value of tobacco was seen as too great a temptation.\textsuperscript{105} The establishment of government warehouses such as those used at the tobacco ports had been recommended earlier that year in an outline of a bill proposed to the Treasury by Brodigan. The warehouses, built with public funds, the expense involved being recouped by charging for storage, would receive the tobacco and the duty would be charged when it was transferred to the manufacturer in much the same method as foreign tobacco was removed from the bonded warehouses. The manner in which the duties on spirits were collected from various districts was cited as an example of how the proposed scheme could be conveniently operated.\textsuperscript{106} This suggestion, based on distilling practises, would have effectively treated home grown tobacco in the same manner as imported tobacco and presented solutions to those who speculated on the fraudulent use of Irish grown tobacco. English manufacturers contested Brodigan’s proposal emphasising the great loss to the revenue by pilferage from the fields by the lower orders, the difficulties involved in the supervision of the harvest by the excise officers and the belief of some witnesses that a collusion of dishonest officials and farmers to defraud the state would occur.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., Evidence of Alexander Hatfield, pp 31-4.
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{S.C. Cultivation} 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan pp 12-14.
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{S.C. Cultivation} 1830, Evidence of Thomas Brodigan, p. 15.
The Treasury’s opinion was that increased Irish tobacco cultivation would present a threat to the state’s revenue. Reports submitted to the Local Commissioners of Excise and the reports of the Commissioner of Excise, Thomas Harrison, to the Board of Excise were submitted to the committee. The reports, stemming from a survey conducted in 1829 by officials into the cultivation of tobacco in Enniscorthy and Waterford, largely agreed that domestic cultivation posed a danger to the revenue of the state. Senior excise officials endorsed the concerns of English manufacturers regarding pilferage from fields, illicit growing in remote areas and the lack of integrity in local excise officers. The reduction in trade of one tobacco trader in Enniscorthy whose output fell from twelve to three hogsheads per year was cited as an example of the effect of these frauds on existing trade and the State’s revenue.

An insight into how senior excise officials viewed the feasibility of collecting revenue from home grown tobacco was given in evidence by W. K. Dehany, who for two years acted as Solicitor of Excise in Ireland. Dehany stated that the preference of the excise was for the adoption of a rate per pound from licensed growers who would plant a minimum of an acre and provide suitable premises on site for securing the harvested crop. In anticipation of tobacco cultivation being continued in Ireland he drafted excise regulations which he felt would secure the revenue. Included was a stipulation for tobacco growers to notify the excise officer in advance of the situation and extent of his proposed crop, a list of secure premises for storing the tobacco on his land, all cured tobacco to be weighed, packed and marked in the presence of an excise officer and then removed to a storehouse and placed under revenue locks. The excise officer was required to be present when the

tobacco was to be released to a licensed manufacturer in packages of not less than half a hundredweight. Tobacco that was grown in plots of less than an acre would be destroyed. The adoption of the American practice of harvesting the whole plant at one time, as opposed to the Irish method of taking ripened leaves as they came on, would be a more secure method of collecting the duty as it minimised the movement of stock and the opportunity for fraud.\textsuperscript{109}

The arguments in favour of continuing cultivation in Ireland were subject to intense scrutiny. The difficulties concerning the climate and soil, the provision of bonded warehouses, the extra excise officers to staff them were all raised as objections to the continuance of Irish tobacco cultivation or the extension of the law to Britain. The benefits to the Irish economy as advanced by the supporters of domestic cultivation were questioned by Dehany in his report. In his interviews with Irish growers he found varying accounts as to the cost and the amount of labourers required per acre and the rate of duty the crop would bear. He also found that few had considered the effect of the loss of the import duty to the revenue occasioned by domestic growth. As an example of the confusion surrounding the financial outlay in tobacco cultivation Dehany found the expenses figure of £26 per acre submitted by an earlier witness Mr Davis, to be inaccurate. He calculated the expenses to amount to £47 which with severe adjustments he could not get below £33.\textsuperscript{110} Dehany also formed the opinion that ‘none but persons of sufficient capital’ could afford the great expense of manure required or endure the effects of bad weather causing the loss of the crop.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{109} S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of W.K. Dehany, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., Report of W.K. Dehany to the Board of Excise and submitted as evidence to the committee, p.96.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 1830, Evidence of W.K. Dehany, p. 98.
The committee presented its findings in June 1830. The committee found that Irish tobacco was of an inferior quality to its American equivalent though cultivators expected that it would improve. The disadvantages of the climate and the proposed rate of 1s.8d. would prevent it competing against foreign tobacco at 3s. per pound. The high rate of duty would also encourage, despite the greatest vigilance, the defrauding of the revenue and would also result in an increase in the excise establishment. The committee also agreed with Dehany’s analysis of the dangers posed by home grown tobacco to the drawback system. The effect of the increase in domestic cultivation would be the considerable loss of revenue from foreign tobacco. The committee recommended that when the ‘circumstances of the country allowed’ a reduction in the duty of all tobacco would result in a lesser degree of fraud and smuggling and that such a reduction would be detrimental to the home growers as the difference in price would be considerably reduced. The committee’s final recommendation was the prohibition of tobacco cultivation in Ireland from January 1831.\textsuperscript{112}

The dissolution of parliament following the death of George IV delayed the enactment of the bill, which repealed the 1779 act, until January 1832. The legislation reinstated the 1672 act of Charles II which prohibited tobacco growing in the United Kingdom. One aspect of the trade that had not been discussed was the effect the continuance of Irish growing would have on the price of the stock then in bond which in some cases was as much as three years supply. The inquiry learned that the price would continue to fall and that the tobacco trade was currently in suspension as consumers and manufacturers awaited the outcome of the decision

\textsuperscript{112} S.C. Cultivation 1830, pp 3-5.
whether to permit or prohibit tobacco growing in the United Kingdom. \textsuperscript{113} A further bill was enacted to regulate the tobacco grown in Ireland before January 1832, which required permits to be issued to holders of Irish tobacco and that all subsequent movements were to be conducted under the supervision of excise officials. The act stipulated that Irish grown tobacco could only be consumed in Ireland with unsold stock to be destroyed by the excise before a certain time. \textsuperscript{114}

The hopes entertained by Irish tobacco growers were dashed by the resolutions of the committee and the ensuing legislation. They had shown that a form of tobacco could be grown in Ireland and they believed that given time and greater experience Irish crops could approach the quality of the Virginian product. Their arguments presented to the committee centred on the immediate benefits to the labouring classes and the potential boon to the economy the crop would generate. The Irish case was weakened by the presentation of costings per acre and the number of labourers required which varied greatly from one to another and the inconsistencies in their responses regarding the mode and amount of future taxation. The Board of Excise report showed that even roods and perches of land were given over to tobacco and that some cultivators grew it clandestinely which added to the perception that Irish tobacco cultivation would develop ‘merely for the purpose of fraud.’ \textsuperscript{115}

The support given by senior revenue officials to the prohibition cause indicated a reluctance to alter the status quo. The proposed set of regulations drawn up by Dehany, if enacted, would have created a complex set of procedures that

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., Evidence of William Purnell p. 54.
\textsuperscript{114} 2 Will. IV, c. 13. An act to repeal an act of the nineteenth year of King of George the Third, for repealing so much of the several acts as prohibit the growth and produce of tobacco in Ireland and to permit the importation of tobacco of the growth and produce of that Kingdom into Great Britain. 2 Will. IV, c. 20. An act to provide for the sale, manufacture and consumption of tobacco grown in Ireland before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.
\textsuperscript{115} S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of Alexander Hatfield p. 31.
would have required a considerable level of supervision by local excise officers and a greater level of expense due to the increase in the excise establishment. Dehany in his evidence spoke of the extreme difficulties in Ireland concerning the general collection of taxes and the potential for fraud in tobacco growing and his statement regarding his lack of trust in some of his officials would have cast further doubt into the committee’s minds as to the efficacy of collecting domestic tobacco revenue.\textsuperscript{116} The committee agreed with the strongly held views of traders and government officials that Irish tobacco could not compete with American tobacco without the effective subsidy of a low rate of duty or in the matter of quality. The committee recommended a reduction in the duty on imported tobacco which the government ignored.\textsuperscript{117} Such an action would have completely killed off any hope of Irish consumers using home grown tobacco in preference to the Virginian leaf.

Irish politicians endeavoured to make the best of this lost cause. Daniel O’Connell and other Irish M.P.s ensured the insertion of a clause into the repealing act to allow ‘tobacco on hand’ to remain free of duty but he savagely attacked the Board of Excise whose officials ‘have rendered nugatory this express provision of the law’ by threatening to seize all Irish tobacco when the law comes into effect. In an address to the National Union he described the excise officials ‘as a low mean sort of Englishmen’ whose purpose was to ‘crush and ruin every branch of trade and commerce in Ireland.’\textsuperscript{118}

In June 1833, Irish growers, assisted by Thomas Spring Rice, M.P. for Cambridge and previously, Limerick, agreed with the Treasury on a price range from 13d. to 18d. per pound at which the government would buy the remaining Irish

\textsuperscript{116} S.C. Cultivation 1830, Evidence of W.K. Dehany p. 88.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., pp 3-5.
\textsuperscript{118} Freeman’s Journal, 24, 31, Dec. 1831.
crop. In September 1833 it was widely reported that excise officials were to purchase excess tobacco over the coming weeks at venues throughout Ireland and that the government would apply to use it for the navy. Any person in possession of Irish tobacco after 1 January 1834 would be fined £100. Ironically among the last beneficiaries of the above clause were English manufacturers who as late as June 1833 held an ‘extensive’ stock of Irish tobacco and who sought an extension to the time limit imposed by the act on an item they once considered an inferior product. In Ireland excise officials purchased any remaining product and burned it. In June 1833 the official excise figure for Irish tobacco on hand was 1,152,808 pounds which equated to twenty-five per cent of the tobacco imported into Ireland that year, which shows how far home cultivation had developed in terms of quantity.

Ultimately the reason Irish tobacco cultivation was prohibited can be gleaned from a statement of Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stated that the ease of taxing foreign tobacco using the existing excise establishment was preferable to the uncertainties surrounding the revenue collection of Irish tobacco. The significant threat to the established tobacco trade in Britain must have also been a major consideration in the repeal of the act. The number of petitions from across England would have represented a considerable level of political pressure on the government. Thus a combination of English political expediency, the threat to English trade and a preference for the status quo combined to extinguish an industry that had shown the potential to produce extensive crops and given time could have approached the quality of foreign tobacco.

120 Belfast Newsletter, 6 Sep. 1833.
121 Freeman’s Journal, 3 Jun. 1833.
122 The Times, 9 Sep. 1833.
123 Chute’s Western Herald, 26 Dec. 1833.
124 J.H. Barrow, (ed.), The mirror of parliament for the ... session of the ... parliament of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1831), p. 792.
The cultivation of Irish tobacco was occasionally mentioned in the subsequent decades by politicians and commentators. In 1850, the Earl of Mayo, at a protectionist meeting in Dublin, expressed his anger at the loss of the right to grow tobacco. An 1870 edition of *Punch* stated that if tobacco cultivation was allowed ‘the fire of Irish sedition would end in smoke’, which echoed the sentiments of growers in the 1820s regarding the benefits of employment created by tobacco cultivation.125

The matter was raised in parliament in 1865, 1870 and 1877, but the findings of the 1830 committee and Lord Althorp’s views were still considered sufficient to continue the prohibition.126 Questions in parliament concerning cultivation throughout the United Kingdom invariably drew the response that the protection of the revenue accruing from tobacco was the government’s paramount concern and as time moved on the narrative that the Irish crop had been a failure became a reason to discourage any change in the legislation.127

But in the 1880s, the government announced a change in policy which allowed landholders to commence growing tobacco on an experimental basis. The experiments were conducted under strict conditions laid down by the Inland Revenue which included a statutory declaration witnessed by a magistrate from the grower.128 As debates continued in Westminster, including a plea from the Limerick peer Thomas Wyndham Quin, earl of Dunraven, to allow experimental crops, Tom Gallaher gave a pragmatic evaluation of whether the crop could be successfully grown in the United Kingdom. Gallaher, who had his own plantations in America, warned of the dangers that the cold weather had for Irish-grown crops, that its cultivation was very labour intensive from planting to harvesting, requiring

expensive manuring and that few areas in Ireland had soil suitable for its growth, the
exception been the area around Gorey in County Wexford. He noted that while some
American farmers made profits of £50 to £60 per acre many only realised £8 to
£15.\textsuperscript{129} Irish newspapers, while admiring the entrepreneurial spirit of the growers,
were largely negative towards the venture noting that the failure of the 1886
experimental crop in the mild climate of Kent, which augured poorly for its
cultivation in Ireland. The improved conveyance of transatlantic produce and the
difficulties in growing tobacco of the required flavour were also cited as reasons for
farmers to ignore ‘the agitation’ for tobacco growing.\textsuperscript{130}

Despite such warnings two Dublin-based growers described satisfactory
attempts at growing tobacco in 1887, albeit one experienced difficulties in the curing
process due to ignorance, whilst the other sold his crop of 206 pounds to P.J. Carroll
for 6d. per pound.\textsuperscript{131} The establishment in 1888 of a British and Irish association
dedicated to domestic tobacco cultivation failed to generate interest in Ireland, and it
was not until Sir Nugent Everard of County Meath began his experiments in the
1890s that public awareness of Irish tobacco was revived.\textsuperscript{132} In the final decades of
the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century domestic tobacco growing
would once again become an issue for parliament and later the new Irish Free State.

Everard conducted experiments in cooperation with Horace Plunkett’s Irish
Agricultural Organisation Society and later with the newly established Department
began in 1901 using ten growers in ten counties, whose purpose was to develop a
suitable process for domestic cultivation. In 1902, D.A.T.I. conducted its own

\textsuperscript{131} John Edward Beale, English tobacco culture: being a description of the first English and Irish
tobacco crops of 1886 (London, 1887), pp 92-96.
\textsuperscript{132} Belfast Newsletter 19 Jan. 1888.
experiments at the Munster Institute in Cork using the services of a French expert, M. Lecornet. However, the Cork experiments ended in failure due to Lecornet’s poor curing methods. In 1903, D.A.T.I. set up an advisory committee as a result of parliamentary pressure from William Redmond M.P. which included Everard and Plunkett. That year, Everard received D.A.T.I. funding for a curing shed on his estate and then sent his son, Richard, to the U.S.A. to learn more about the industry. D.A.T.I. also provided Irish growers with the expert assistance of Professor J.N. Harper of Kentucky University, who declared the 1904 Randalstown crop to be of ‘the highest quality’ and that the Irish climate was ‘almost perfectly suited’ for tobacco. In 1905, G.N. Keller, a Kentuckian, was hired by D.A.T.I. to supervise all Irish experiments, a task for which his ‘energy was unbounded’.

In providing experts and financial support the government could thus claim to be encouraging the recent developments though they ran contrary to its free trade principles. As commercial tobacco growing was still prohibited by law, the government and in particular the Treasury saw themselves as being somewhat hindered in granting the concessions relating to duty desired by the growers. In 1904, the government relaxed the regulations and permitted a rebate of one third to licensed growers for five years and extended the period of experimentation to 1908. Further progress was achieved in 1907 with the passing of a private members bill sponsored by William Redmond and which, after some parliamentary horse-trading, uniquely received the support of Nationalist and Unionist M.P.s in the commons.

133 Correspondence concerning the termination of the appointment of M. Lercornet, 1901-03 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series | AG/2, 2005/82/166).
135 Los Angeles Herald, 1 Jan. 1905.
137 Hansard, HC Deb. 6 Mar. 1907. 4th series, vol. 1, Col. 778. Reply to question from John Murphy M.P. concerning government investment in tobacco growing experiments.
The Irish Tobacco Act permitted the growth of tobacco in Ireland by licensed growers subject to any future directives of the Inland Revenue Board. Among their first actions was to impose excise duties ranging between 2s.10d. and 3s.10d. per lb, though the rebate of one third would still apply.

The government stressed that the 1908 and 1909 legislative changes were enacted to facilitate experimentation and not the establishment of an industry. The replacement of the rebate with an acreage grant, an inadequate excise allowance of 2d in the pound and the ‘crushing duty’, were in the opinion of Everard, ‘contrary to the spirit’ of the 1907 act. The growers’ treatment was seized upon by the Irish newspapers as yet another example of the government stymying Irish industry as they had with the woollen, cattle and tobacco trade in the past. The government’s financial support of the experimental schemes in the early 1900s was nevertheless evidence that the state was contributing to the development of tobacco farming in Ireland. In 1910, a Small Growers Scheme provided state funding for existing growers and gave grants to Everard and Dunraven to assist at the curing and marketing stages of production. This did not satisfy the Irish press, who considered the government’s involvement to be minimal and that the 1909 budget increase on tobacco, which one commentator stated added 14s. per year to ‘every poor labourers tobacco costs’, as being more reflective of the government’s position.

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138 Irish Times 18 Apr. 1908. The act included differing duties for those at an experimental stage and those who were deemed to be growing for profit. See Irish Times 16 Mar. 1908 for letter from Redmond to Walter Long, leader of the Irish Unionist Party, concerning negotiations on the bill.  
139 Hansard, 4th series, vol. 188, cols 551-552. 7 May 1908.  
141 Fermanagh Herald, 6 Jun. 1908, Kildare Observer, 1 Aug. 1908.  
142 Journal, Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction, 2 (1911) 2 (1912).  
Away from the world of politics, tobacco cultivation continued in Ireland. The 1908 and 1909 crops were deemed satisfactory and quantities grown averaged an encouraging 1,000 pounds per acre.¹⁴⁴ By 1910, the quality of the tobacco was attracting very favourable comments from British and American experts regarding its flavour, colour and mildness a sentiment echoed by Irish manufacturers such as Carroll’s a few years later.¹⁴⁵

The replacement of the Small Growers’ Scheme with a re-handling scheme involved the siting of re-handling centres on Dunraven’s and Everards’s estates in Limerick and Meath, a smaller centre of twenty-five acres opened in County Wexford. As re-handlers, Dunraven and Everard were given £25 per acre for ten years beginning in 1914. Their role in the government-funded scheme was to find growers, provide an expert for each fifty acres, build and equip a re-handling station suitable for 1,000 acres and find a market for the crop.¹⁴⁶ Whilst both Dunraven and Everard experienced difficulties owing to the inexperience of the workforce and the absence of a critical mass in terms of quantity, the yearly harvest figures continued to improve (see fig. 2.6).

Fig. 2.6. Quantities of Irish grown tobacco, (Pounds) 1905-10.

Source: Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1896-1910. Fifty-eight number. [Cd 5481], H.C. 1911, xcviii, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Evidence of Sir Nugent T. Everard to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series | AG/2, 2005/68/50).
Outside of these commitments Everard and Dunraven pursued their private commercial interests. Everard established the Irish Cigar Company and later in 1907 entered the pipe trade by forming the Irish Tobacco Co. Ltd to make plug tobacco. In 1912 Dunraven opened a cigarette manufacturing factory on his Limerick estate which made cigarettes for the Adare Cigarette Company. In 1917, the first of two fires at Dunraven’s tobacco business resulted in the destruction of expensive machinery and four buildings at the processing plant. Two years later the cigarette factory buildings were gutted in a fire in circumstances that were never fully determined. The fires at Adare were just two of the challenges faced by the industry during the course of and after the First World War.¹⁴⁷

The exceptional circumstances occasioned by the war saw the value of money fall. The government guaranteed price for food crops resulted in the entire loss of the Wexford growers and others elsewhere. The reduced numbers of tobacco farmers therefore meant that the fixed costs were spread across fewer growers as supplementary grants were for additional growers not for an increase by existing producers. The costs of an acre of tobacco grew to £50, which government grants could not entirely meet. Following the war Irish producers faced competition from Indian growers who benefitted from the government policy of imperial preference which allowed admittance of low tariff goods, including tobacco, from low labour cost India.¹⁴⁸ The above difficulties were also accompanied by the excise restrictions which aside from the financial aspects included prohibitive practices of giving forty-

¹⁴⁸ Everard, to President Cosgrave (N.A.I., TAOIS 92/2/1979).
eight hours’ advance notice of harvesting, regardless of the weather, to excise officers.\textsuperscript{149}

Following the establishment of the Irish Free State and during the course of the Irish Civil War tobacco growing continued to be subject to government scrutiny. The first Free State minister of agriculture, Patrick J. Hogan, established a commission to examine all aspects of Irish agriculture including tobacco. The commission’s approach resembled the 1830 enquiry as it interviewed growers, manufacturers and tobacco experts. Those defending Irish cultivation repeated the arguments of ninety years earlier concerning the economic advantages such as increased employment among the poorer classes and the increase of a native manufacturing industry which offered the state the potential to reduce imports. Those objecting to the state support of Irish tobacco cultivation were the representatives of the remaining seventeen Irish manufacturers whose main concerns centred on the public’s perception of the quality of Irish tobacco.\textsuperscript{150}

R.H. Goodbody of T.P. & R. Goodbody, the Dublin based manufacturer, told the commission that he had grown tobacco and, though making a small profit, found it was of poor quality and would allow only five per cent of it to be used in his products. Goodbody found that the tobacco was deficient in gum, thin in texture, would not carry water and was almost impossible to colour. He stated that he found Rhodesian and Indian tobacco to be of better quality. He inferred that Irish tobacco would not suit the developing taste in Ireland for milder tobacco and cigarettes and

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149 Evidence of Sir Nugent T. Everard to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series | AG/2, 2005/68/50).

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that the Irish consumer would not smoke inferior tobacco despite its cheaper price. For these reasons Goodbody felt Irish tobacco could not be successfully marketed without the addition of a state subsidy.\footnote{Evidence of R.H. Goodbody to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series AG/2, 2005/68/50).}

The managing director of P.J. Carroll, J.M. Carroll, agreed with Goodbody’s evidence. He described American tobacco as being at the ‘peak of its perfection’ and that his customers expected similar quality with every purchase. Carroll was at pains to demonstrate that he supported Irish industry and that his firm ‘gets everything it can in Ireland’ but Irish tobacco, he claimed, had not improved since the 1820s. He agreed when asked by Thomas Johnson T.D. if Irish smokers were prejudiced against domestic tobacco resulting from it being perceived as a heavy smoke.\footnote{Evidence of J. M. Carroll to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series AG/2, 2005/68/50).}

Echoing views from the 1830 inquiry Carroll felt the money and energy spent on home-grown Irish tobacco could be more profitably spent elsewhere.\footnote{Irish Independent, 30 Jan. 1923.}

Everard responded to these statements by presenting the economic benefits mentioned heretofore. In proving the quality of Irish tobacco he produced a letter from 1912 which he had received from Carroll’s father Vincent, whom J.M. Carroll had earlier described ‘as the best judge of tobacco he ever knew.. In the letter Vincent Carroll wrote that the ‘flavour was nearly perfect; colour was quite as good as the South Kentucky leaf.’ Everard also produced samples of his own tobacco to demonstrate that it coloured well, in an attempt to dispel the widely held belief that Irish produce was deficient in that regard. Everard also strongly contradicted the manufacturers claim that the working man was a critical smoker. He felt that if presented with an economical option the poorer classes would opt for it. Everard suggested to the commission that waste or poor quality tobacco instead of being
burned by the excise could be used to manufacture agricultural pesticides for tillage and livestock use which he felt would enable the establishment of a valuable downstream industry in Ireland.\textsuperscript{154}

The commission returned an interim report in April 1923 which was appended to the final report of June 1924. It reported that tobacco cultivation was suitable for smallholders, that it employed more labour than any other field crop and that it produced a yield, that when stored properly, did not perish. It noted the conflicting evidence of manufacturers and growers regarding the percentage of Irish-grown tobacco that could be used successfully in brands. The commissioners stated that in terms of quality Irish grown tobacco would never compete with American produce. The real threat to Irish growers was from cheaper foreign produce produced by cheap labour that was grown in a more advantageous climate.

The commission did not make recommendations in the interim report but offered ‘guidance’ to the minister in relation to tobacco cultivation. They calculated that if Irish manufacturers substituted twenty-five per cent of the 7,500,000 pounds of imported tobacco with Irish-grown tobacco, 2,500 acres would need to be planted in Ireland to meet the demand. The remission of excise duties to growers would allow a reduction of 3d. an ounce to consumers, favouring those who enjoy a stronger tobacco, while also incentivising the manufacturers. The loss to the revenue would amount to £270 per acre. The commission suggested that growers be exempt from all excise duties and regulations which then hindered their enterprise.\textsuperscript{155}

During the turbulent years of the early 1920s growers continued to apply political pressure. Irish tobacco growers negotiated with Michael Collins T.D., in his role as president of the National Land Bank, who facilitated a loan for them to

\textsuperscript{154} Evidence of Sir Nugent T. Everard to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922 (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series AG/2, 2005/68/50).

\textsuperscript{155} Freeman’s Journal, 2 Jun. 1923.
continue their enterprise. In the new political landscape Everard was confident that
minister for Agriculture, Patrick Hogan, and the finance minister, Ernest Blythe,
‘would not let us down.’ Despite the sympathetic utterances of ministers and the
recommendations of the 1922 commission regarding tobacco growing, the dominant
voice was that of Free State President, William Cosgrave, who held an extremely
negative opinion of the venture. Cosgrave’s views mirrored the official line of the
1830 commission in that he felt the industry would not survive without a significant
subsidy and a resultant loss to the state’s revenue. Dáil debates from the period show
that while individual T.D.s from the tobacco growing areas supported the growers,
the views of Cosgrave, and Blythe’s 1924 budget, effectively deflated the optimism
in all but the most enthusiastic growers.

The 1924 budget removed the state subsidy which had remained in force
following independence and ended the preference enjoyed by unmanufactured
colonial tobacco which in effect gave the Irish grower a protection of 1s.6d. per
pound. Blythe told the Dáil in May 1924, ‘I do not believe that Irish tobacco will
ever live’ as he felt the ‘rough class of tobacco’ produced could never survive
without a tariff unlike other industries he was prepared to support. The Dáil,
including the Farmers’ Party, agreed with the resolution of the Financial Resolutions
Committee and passed the measure. A Meath T.D., P.J. Mulvany, succeeded in
securing another select committee on tobacco growing in 1926 despite the strong
reservations of finance minister Blythe, whose frustration can be gleaned from a

156 Meath Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1926.
157 Evidence of Sir Nugent T. Everard to Commission for Agriculture inquiry 1922. (N.A.I.
Department of Agriculture: Final commission on agriculture series AG/2, 2005/68/50). Drogheda
158 Ernest Blythe, Dáil Éireann Debate Vol. 7 col. 449 25 Apr. 4 1924.
159 Ernest Blythe, Dáil Éireann Debate Vol. 7 col. 124 15 May 1924.
comment he made in the Dáil that the growers were ‘more expert in propaganda than tobacco growing.’\textsuperscript{160}

The 1926 committee gave some encouragement to growers and recommended a reduction in duty from 6s.8d. to 5s. per pound for home-grown produce. However, with the exception of Goodbody’s, no other manufacturer assisted the committee in its deliberations on what rate of remission would encourage them to use Irish grown tobacco. Whatever hopes were engendered in the growers were quickly dashed by Blythe who found the committee’s findings to be ‘unacceptable.’ In a letter to the Meath Tobacco Growers Association, he advised them not to be encouraged by prescient newspaper reports indicating that there would be a reduction in duties which he said was ‘hardly justifiable’ and that he held out ‘very little hope that any additional preference would be given to Irish home grown tobacco.’\textsuperscript{161}

Two years later the government came to an agreement with Everard to provide £28,000 in compensation for his investment in attempting to establish ‘a sound agricultural industry.’\textsuperscript{162} The indefatigable Everard who had led the campaign for domestic cultivation for over a quarter of a century appears to have accepted defeat when writing to the newspapers in 1928. He stated that the refusal of the government to implement the findings of the 1926 committee caused the effectual suppression of the industry as much as the actions of the British government in 1830.\textsuperscript{163} Everard died in July 1929, followed by his son Major Richard Everard

\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Meath Chronicle}, 17 Apr. 1926.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Irish Independent}, 10 Mar. 1928.
eleven days later, and with his passing the momentum behind the domestic cultivation movement faltered.\textsuperscript{164}

However home cultivation remained a political issue. In 1930 Eamonn de Valera, the leader of the opposition Fianna Fáil party, was amongst a number of T.D.s who called for a committee of inquiry into the excise regulations concerning tobacco growing. Ministers Blythe and Hogan reminded the Dáil of the experiments conducted over the past forty years and that like ‘growing oranges or tea’ it was a failure.\textsuperscript{165} Hogan reminded Fianna Fáil T.D.s that all the information they required was in the public domain and that another committee would be futile. Deputies Reilly, Goulding and De Valera pointed out the strong case for Irish cheroot and cigar tobacco, the use of nicotine as a sheep dip and the potential to increase poultry stock to provide manure for the crop, which they felt had not being considered. The more sympathetic handling of tobacco in other European jurisdictions was also another matter that had not being looked into and was one avenue which opposition members felt would prove productive.\textsuperscript{166} The motion was lost as the house split along party lines.

When Fianna Fail entered government in 1932 its first minister for finance, Seán McEntee, abolished the tax liability on home grown tobacco. Supporters of Irish tobacco expressed great delight at the development despite the fact that it came too late for that season’s sowing. Blythe failed in an amendment which he stated was ‘an opportunity of getting out of this farcical performance of pretending to encourage the growth of tobacco here.’\textsuperscript{167} The 1934 Tobacco Act represented a considerable increase in the state’s involvement with the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco.

\textsuperscript{165} Cork Examiner, 11 Dec. 1930.
\textsuperscript{166} Meath Chronicle, 11 Dec. 1930, 17 Jan. 1931.
The act regulated the process from the provision of seed to the final manufactured product. Prior to the passing of the bill the government received submissions from manufacturers and retail organisations outlining their recommendations, some of which were adopted in the legislation.

Thomas Manahan of Spillane & Company repeating the earlier suspicions of English manufacturers at the 1830 inquiry fearing that local growers and buyers would engage in ‘pirate manufacture’ and that theft of crops would cause a reduction in state revenue. He estimated a concealment of ten per cent of the crop would lead to a loss of £50,000 per year to the state. He also predicted, without providing evidence, that compulsory blending would cause a ten per cent reduction in consumption. The Dublin and Provincial Tobacconists’ Association presented a more positive outlook urging the minister to establish an industry-wide advisory committee and favoured increasing the amount of Irish grown tobacco used in manufacture by five per cent yearly.\footnote{Provincial Tobacconists’ Association, to Department for Industry and Commerce, 16 Jun. 1934 (N.A.I., Tobacco industry file INDC/IND/25/29) Spillane’s & Co., 22 Jun. 1934 to Department for Industry and Commerce, (N.A.I. Tobacco industry file INDC/IND/25/29).}

P.J. Carroll’s argued that consumer tastes should also be considered a determining factor as Irish smoker’s preferred high quality Virginian leaf. Carroll’s were of the opinion that Irish leaf should be confined solely to the pipe market and only introduced in a gradual manner by small yearly increases. Manufacturers, Carroll’s warned, would be compelled to finance a scheme that would cause them to introduce an inferior tobacco into their products which the consumer did not want. Carroll’s stated the proposed general allotment of Irish tobacco by the minister based on the previous year’s returns did not differentiate between cigarette and pipe tobacco outputs, which would have ‘fatal results for the cigarette trade.’ In particular its successful Sweet Afton cigarette brand would be greatly affected by the inclusion...
of low quality Irish tobacco unlike their competitors whom they stated already used poorer quality tobacco amongst which the native leaf would be less noticeable.\textsuperscript{169}

The 1934 act stated the movement of produce could only be legally conducted between licensed seedsmen, growers, curers, re-handlers and manufacturers in an attempt to prevent the ‘pirate manufacture’ envisioned by Spillane’s. The government took heed of Carroll’s advice of slowly introducing Irish tobacco into the market by limiting the licenses to experienced growers who were allowed to plant a maximum two acre crop and restricted the national crop to 1,000 acres. The proposal by the Dublin and Provincial Tobacconists’ Association to establish an advisory committee was approved but only included manufacturers. The regulations covering cultivation even went as far as to specify the variety and amount of plants to be grown by individual farmers as well as the recording of the method and process used. The statute included the rates of pay of employees at re-handling stations and required the proprietors to maintain an extensive amount of records.\textsuperscript{170}

Manufacturers were compelled to use the entire native crop and this was to be achieved by the allocation by the minister of ‘specified packages’ to ‘particular manufacturers.’ This tobacco was to be used by the manufacturers within a time specified by the minister for Industry and Commerce with the agreement of the department of Agriculture. The price paid for the removal of this largely unwanted product from the bonded warehouse was set at a price similar to that paid for

\textsuperscript{169} P.J. Carroll & Co. 22 May 1934, 15 Jun. 1934 to Department of Agriculture, (N.A.I., Department of Agriculture: Tobacco sub-series AG2/3 2005/82/200).

\textsuperscript{170} An act to make further and better provision for the regulation and control of the growing of tobacco in Saorstat Eireann and the manufacture and sale of such tobacco, and for divers matters relating to or connected with tobacco, whether home-grown or imported. [13th Sep. 1934.]

Commonly referred to as the Tobacco Act (1934).
imported tobacco in that year, which meant producers could never remotely calculate what their crops would realise.\textsuperscript{171} The provisions of the act were in total contrast to the statement made by the minister for Agriculture, Dr James Ryan, at Fianna Fáil’s Ard Fheis a year before, where he declared the experimental stage was over and a target of 10,000 acres under tobacco in 1934 was to be set. The turnaround by the government was, in the opinion of growers, ‘a more effective means of killing off the industry’ than any action undertaken by the British government in previous years.\textsuperscript{172}

Those who raised objections to the domestic cultivation of tobacco in 1830 and in the 1920s and 30s employed similar arguments. The pressing need for revenue by the state and its satisfaction with the current method of collecting such returns outweighed any proposal that speculated on future economic benefits. During the select committee inquiry in 1830 the English manufacturers exploited the government’s fears regarding fraud, though their overriding concern was the establishment of a more powerful Irish tobacco manufacturing industry.

The strong opinions of senior Cumann na nGaedhael ministers in the 1920s ensured minimal support for domestic cultivation. Irish manufacturers cited the poor quality of native tobacco and their customers’ preference for Virginia leaf. The Fianna Fáil plan to manage the process from seed choice to final production was commendable in that it may have helped in identifying correct procedures for future crops. The fatal weakness in the scheme was the uncertainty surrounding crop prices and the degree of bureaucracy involved which discouraged growers. The decreasing number of acres under tobacco thus reduced the requirement of Irish manufacturers to use what they regarded as substandard tobacco in their products.

\textsuperscript{171}\textit{Tobacco Act} (1934), see also \textit{Irish Times}, 20 Jun. 1934 for a comprehensive report on the passing of the act.
\textsuperscript{172}\textit{Irish Press}, 23 Mar. 1934.
III

The other major concern to the state was the adulteration of tobacco manufactured in Ireland. An adulterant was any substance added, either accidentally or more commonly intentionally, to a food or beverage that is unwanted by or hazardous to the consumer. Adulterants were used to increase quantity by bulking up or watering down, to cut costs by replacing more expensive ingredients with cheaper substitutes, or improve an item’s aesthetic appeal by changing its appearance, taste, smell, or texture.\textsuperscript{173} The adulteration of tobacco products by manufacturers and retailers represented another threat to the finances of the state through the loss of revenue from sales and in the expense of attempting to curtail the activity by the use of an extensive excise establishment.

The adulteration of snuff was widely practised throughout the United Kingdom. In the formative years of the government laboratory between 1842 and the late 1850s the percentage of samples examined and discovered to be adulterated ranged from thirty-seven per cent to seventy-seven per cent. Chromate of lead, peat moss, ochre, vegetable mould and sand were all used to adulterate product. The addition of these cheaper substances, which were not subject to any tax or duty reduced the tobacco content and thus defrauded the state and the consumer. Manufacturers ‘felt justified’ in using the sand in their snuff which was included in the taxable weight of the raw tobacco upon importation.\textsuperscript{174}

Some witnesses to state inquiries expressed the belief that adulteration of tobacco represented a greater threat to the state’s revenue than smuggling and that

\textsuperscript{173} Arthur Hill Hassall, Adulterations detected: or, plain instructions for the discovery of frauds in food and medicine (London, 1857), p.10-11.
\textsuperscript{174} First report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue [2199], H.C 1857, Session 1 iv, 65 appendix 7 pp xiii-xiv.
the solution to the problem lay, as in the case of smuggling, in a reduction of the duty.\textsuperscript{175}

The mid nineteenth century is regarded by some commentators as the golden age of food and drink adulteration. Consumables such as tea, coffee, bread and beer were subject to a range of adulterants aimed at increasing weight, adding colour and altering taste.\textsuperscript{176} Tobacco adulterators used a wide variety of plants, such as coltsfoot, rhubarb, cabbage and liquids like limewater and even common sand to add weight and colour to the product. Similar to the legislation covering smuggling, the regulations concerning adulteration were numerous but often poorly framed and improperly policed.\textsuperscript{177} Resulting from continuous pressure from manufacturers regarding high duty rates that encouraged adulteration, the government introduced legislation in 1840 commonly referred to as Baring’s Act, after the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Francis Baring.\textsuperscript{178} A clause in this act, designed to placate the manufacturers, allowed for the use of any additive other than the leaves of trees, plants and herbs. The act created a period of unbridled, but legal, adulteration especially in the use of saccharine. B.W.E. Alford noted in his study of the Wills tobacco family that some tobaccos ‘were more in the nature of confectionary than tobacco’.\textsuperscript{179} The high level of adulteration in the following two years saw a fall in the

\textsuperscript{175} S.C Tobacco 1844, evidence of W.B. Carrick q 782 and J. Wharam q 1014-15.
\textsuperscript{177} The relevant legislation 29 Geo.3 c 68 s.84 and 1&2 Geo. 4 c.109 s 104 stated that any mixture of a heavy substance exceeding two per cent in tobacco and 4 per cent in snuff would be considered proof of adulteration and result in forfeiture of the goods and a fine. It also prohibited possession of a list of articles that could be used as adulterates.
\textsuperscript{178} 3 & 4 Vic. 1 c. 18 An act to discontinue the excise survey on tobacco and to provide other regulations in lieu. Also referred to as the Mixing Act 1840.
\textsuperscript{179} Arthur Edmund Tanner, Tobacco, from the grower to the smoker (London, 1912) pp 10-11.
B.W.E. Alford, W. D. & H. O. Wills, pp 82-3.
amount of revenue collected by the state and Barings Act was repealed two years later by the Pure Tobacco Act.\textsuperscript{180}

The manufacturers strongly opposed the new legislation which permitted only tobacco and water in the production process, though alkaline salts and lime water could be added to make snuff. Penalties for adulteration included forfeiture of stock and a fine of £200.\textsuperscript{181} The manufacturers’ objection was that dishonest members of the trade would continue to adulterate, as the scientific methods used to discover such frauds was widely believed to be ineffectual. The hopes of the honest trader were ‘dependent upon the power of analysis to detect adulteration’ which if not sufficient would make the ‘present law as inefficient as any preceding one.’\textsuperscript{182}

In 1843, the hopes of the honest traders were put to the test when London tobacconists sent six samples, of which one was not adulterated, to a chemist for analysis. The samples were returned with the result that adulterations to the extent of two per cent were found despite the deliberate insertion of up to fifteen per cent of non-tobacco matter. The test was conducted using an independent chemist as the Board of Excise refused to allow its chemist to participate in the experiment.\textsuperscript{183} Alexander Gardener, the independent chemist, expressed the view that it would be very difficult to convict anyone for adulterating tobacco based on this experiment.\textsuperscript{184} George Philips, an excise officer who had taught himself chemistry, was appointed in 1842 by the Board as an analyst whose sole function was to investigate suspected cases of adulterated tobacco, a task he performed single-

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\textsuperscript{180} 5 & 6 Vic. 1 c. 93 \textit{An act to amend an act of the fourth year of her present majesty to discontinue the present excise survey on tobacco and to provide other regulations in lieu.} Hereafter, \textit{Pure Tobacco Act} 1842.  \\
\textsuperscript{181} Pure Tobacco Act 1842.  \\
\textsuperscript{182} Tanner, Tobacco, from the grower to the smoker pp 12-13.  \\
\textsuperscript{183} S.C Tobacco 1844 evidence John Rogers q. 2155-2168. Rogers was secretary to a group of London tobacconists.  \\
\textsuperscript{184} S.C Tobacco 1844 evidence Alexander Gardener q. 2292-2294.  \\
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handedly for a number of years. But there were still concerns that the government analysis was inadequate and would not stand legal scrutiny.

The excise establishment, which was roundly criticised at the 1844 inquiry by manufacturers diligently, pursued their duties in respect of adulteration. Those traders who stood accused of adulterating were then faced with the choice of contesting or compromising their case. By contesting the case tobacconists were caught in a quandary. If they were found guilty they were fined and suffered the ignominy of being adulterators but if acquitted they had to pay costs, and endure the increased attention thereafter from excise officials. Faced with the above choice ‘thousands’ of traders opted for compromise and paid the penalty immediately.

The veracity of the analytical tests conducted by the excise was challenged in courts throughout the United Kingdom. The excise analysts tested for sugar content using a fermentation test. However the low level of sugar occurring naturally in tobacco as determined by the excise analysts was considered spurious by eminent chemists who also questioned the credentials of the autodidactic George Phillips.

One Irish expert, Professor W.R. Sullivan, chemist to the Museum of Irish Industry, contradicted Phillips’s evidence at a Dublin trial. He argued tobacco’s sugar content was too variable to allow for consideration of what constituted normal. The age and size of the leaf as well as the propensity for tobacco to absorb all nutrients from the soil produced differing levels of sugar in individual plants thus nullifying the fermentation test which he ‘had no faith in’. The defendants in this case were

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185 S.C Tobacco 1844 evidence George Philips q. 7767-7774. This office eventually became that of the Government Chemist.

186 S.C Tobacco 1844 p. xiv. See J.C. Robinson, The mechanic’s magazine, museum, register, journal and gazette (London, 1844), pp 363-6 which excoriates the reports of the excise analysts and their professional competence.

187 Leinster Express, 3 Nov. 1849.

188 Andrew Ure, Recent improvements in arts, manufactures, and mines; being a supplement to his dictionary (New York, 1845), pp 255-256. Ure also cast aspersions on Phillips’ character by intimating the rewards for convictions ‘were a powerful inducement.’
acquitted as the magistrate gave them the benefit of the doubt stemming from his ‘ignorance of the chemical facts of the case’.\(^{189}\) Phillips was on surer ground at Parsonstown, Kings County, Petty Sessions, when he pronounced a roll of imported tobacco contained seventy-five per cent of the herb Endive, contradicting a Dublin chemist who declared the roll to be of one unknown substance.\(^{190}\)

The post-famine development of Irish consumerism was blighted by the adulteration of food, particularly in the dairy, butchering and baking trades. The government responded to this threat to public health with the enactment of further anti-adulteration legislation in 1860 and the appointment of qualified analysts to police the food supply.\(^{191}\) Food, drink and tobacco adulteration in Ireland was presented in the nationalist press as being due to English influences, and, if tobacco products were adulterated it was not to the same levels practised in England.\(^{192}\)

*Freeman’s Journal*, referring to another Parsonstown case in which the defendants were fined £50 despite the magistrate’s and the prosecutor’s opinion that they were ‘not privy to the adulteration’, believed that it would serve as a warning to Irish manufacturers and retailers not to use foreign adulterated tobacco regardless of its price. The tobacco in question had originated in England and the newspaper declared that only a limited quantity of Irish manufactured tobacco was adulterated.\(^{193}\)

The increased surveillance of Irish tobacco manufacturers and retailers soon disavowed the notion that the source of adulterated tobacco in Ireland was solely foreign. The yearly report from the Inland Revenue in 1856 showed tobacco adulteration.

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\(^{189}\) *Freeman’s Journal*, 14, 26 Oct. 1853., *Kerry Evening Post*, 8 Jan. 1876. While the techniques of the state analysts improved over time, an Enniskillen magistrate threw out a case brought by the Inland Revenue against a local manufacturer due to the imperfect analysis performed by them.

\(^{190}\) *Leinster Express*, 6 May, 1854.

\(^{191}\) Ian Miller, *Reforming food in post-famine Ireland: Medicine, science and improvement, 1845-1922* (Manchester, 2014), pp 105-8. 23 & 4 Vic. c.84 *An act for the prevention of the adulteration of articles of food or drink.*


\(^{193}\) *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 May 1854., *Leinster Express*, 20 May 1854. The fine was mitigated to £25 by the excise commissioners and the defendants would pursue a Limerick supplier for that amount.
adulteration was widely practised, particularly in Ulster. The discovery of an establishment to process chicory as a tobacco substitute and the novel and ingenious method of employing aloes to disguise the additional sugar used in adulteration indicates that Irish perpetrators had significant chemical knowledge. But in other cases the adulteration was simple. In the 1860s, American Cavendish and Negrohead, a sweetened form of tobacco, became popular in Ireland. Some Irish manufacturers illegally added liquorice to imitate the expensive imported product and in time the government developed a technique to recognise liquorice and began to prosecute manufacturers who did so.

The Inland Revenue chemists and the adulterators were locked in an ongoing struggle where successful analytical procedures were challenged by chemists in the employ of fraudulent and sometimes innocent manufacturers. By monitoring wholesale and retail prices excise officers were able to determine whether smuggled or adulterated products were being sold. The introduction of below price Irish roll tobacco onto the English market in 1867-8 alerted the authorities who sent a team of investigators to Ireland. They traced the tobacco to six manufacturers from whom 28,000 pounds of adulterated tobacco was seized as well as quantities of their produce in Britain. Crown prosecutors engaged independent chemists as well as the state analysts to ensure a successful conviction. The seizures in Ireland were the largest in recent years and ran contrary to the declining trend of adulterated tobacco

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195 Eighth report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue. [3403], H.C. 1864, xxx, 423 appendix xiv.

detected in Britain since the early 1860s. The publicity surrounding the case led to a widespread belief in Britain that Irish tobacco was highly adulterated which affected sales there and caused a reduction in tobacco employment in Ireland.

Fig. 2.7 Tobacco adulteration seizures in Ireland 1864-77.

However this perception that Ireland was exceptional cannot be supported when compared to the number of adulteration convictions throughout the United Kingdom. As fig. 2.7 illustrates there were twenty-six seizures in Ireland in the year ending 5 January 1868. All were from Dublin manufacturers using aniseed in cigarettes which involved insignificant amounts of lost revenue which resulted in only one manufacturer been brought to court. Of the three peaks only the 1869 figure represented a quantity of tobacco that would have constituted a serious loss to the revenue. In contrast the highest number of prosecutions in Britain occurred in 1869 when 91 tobacconists were charged.

There is a sense that similar to the earlier positioning of Ireland as a haven for smugglers’ it had also acquired a comparable reputation in Britain for adulteration. Such a reputation may have originated from 1868-9 which was an

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197 Twelfth report of the commissioners of Her Majesty's inland revenue on the Inland Revenue. [4094], H.C.1868-69, xviii, 607 p. 12.
198 Reports of the inspectors of factories to Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for the Home Department for the half year ending 31st October 1868 [4093-I], H.C 1868-69, xix, 123 p. 260.
199 Tobacco; Return of the several seizures made, and of the prosecutions for breach of the laws relating to tobacco, between 5 January 1864 and 5 January 1877, distinguishing those in Great Britain from those in Ireland; &c. (in continuation of parliamentary paper, no. 286, of session 1864). H.C.1877 (414), bix, 417 Hereafter Return of seizures and prosecutions for breach of laws relating to tobacco, 1864-76.
exceptional period in terms of poundage seized from a small number of manufacturers who exported their fraudulent goods to Britain. A somewhat prejudiced level of surprise was expressed in an 1878 Inland Revenue report which stated that the popular Irish roll tobacco on sale at a low price in Britain, which attracted the excise department’s attention, was found to be free from illicit additives.\textsuperscript{200} The reports from the principal of the Inland Revenue Laboratories in the late 1870s show that the increased number of inspections of manufacturers and retailers by qualified officers was having a positive effect in policing adulteration. The number of samples found contaminated were decreasing and the adulterations that were discovered were small scale and relatively harmless to public health.\textsuperscript{201}

The increasing efficiencies of the excise officers in procuring prosecutions were often frustrated by the leniency of the penalties handed down.\textsuperscript{202} The level of inconsistency in sentencing by the courts throughout Britain and Ireland was also remarkable. In 1867, M. & F. O’Farrell of Dublin were fined £25 for adulterating three pounds of tobacco whilst Patrick Corbett of Mallow who had 432 pounds of adulterated tobacco seized received a caution and had his stock restored. The largest financial penalty in the United Kingdom between 1864 and 1876 was incurred by the above O’Farrell Company in 1868 who had c.14,000 pounds of tobacco seized resulting in a fine of £550. Greater fines, imprisonment with hard labour and the adoption of the French method of fixing warnings on the premises of convicted adulterators and the ongoing placement of notices in the local press were

\textsuperscript{200}Twentieth report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue, for the year ended 31st March 1877 [C.1896], H.C. 1878, xxvi, 593 appendix xxvi.
\textsuperscript{201} Twenty-first report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue, for the year ended 31st March 1878 [C.2158] H.C.1878 xxxvi 717 appendix xxv-xxvii.
\textsuperscript{202} Irish Times, 14 Oct. 1868. A report of the minimum fine handed down to a tobacco dealer who also received the backing of the magistrates to appeal to the Inland Revenue for a further reduction. Cork Examiner, 12 Oct. 1883, a Dublin manufacturer was fined £25 for using gum Arabic, the maximum penalty being £200.
suggested in a newspaper editorial as stronger deterrents to Irish practitioners of adulteration.\textsuperscript{203}

Legitimate Irish manufacturers and retailers whose trade was threatened by adulterated products responded by advertising their merchandise as being free of all additives and impurities, an action that tended to confirm that adulteration was an issue in Ireland and which also increased public scepticism of tobacco’s provenance. In 1876 one Cork trader warned consumers of cigars in the market that were filled with straw paper and moistened with tobacco juice in contrast to the guaranteed American and Cuban varieties available from his shop.\textsuperscript{204} The same retailer opportunistically advertised his American-made cigarettes and tobacco which after examination by government analysts were pronounced ‘pure and unadulterated.’\textsuperscript{205}

In 1877 the ongoing value of the work undertaken by the government analysts was calculated in financial terms. It was calculated that if one per cent of the 47 million pounds of tobacco imported annually was adulterated it would constitute a loss of £70,000 to the exchequer.\textsuperscript{206} The use of salts, oil and water in tobacco production were the only additives permitted by law.\textsuperscript{207} The heavy hand of some manufacturers in their use of these additives were eventually regulated by a series of acts which listed the type of salts permitted, the prohibition of all oils other than olive oil and essential oil and the limiting of moisture to thirty-five percent or less of the product.\textsuperscript{208}

\textsuperscript{203} \textit{Irish Times}, 26 Aug. 1868. 23 Apr. 1869. The editorial stated the paltry fines could be recouped in a few days by the perpetrator.
\textsuperscript{204} \textit{Irish Times}, 15 Aug. 1876. J. O’Sullivan was the trader in question. \textit{Return of seizures and prosecutions for reach of laws relating to tobacco, 1864-76} p. 60. In 1877 O’Sullivan was fined £20 for adulterating a miniscule amount of tobacco.
\textsuperscript{206} Twentieth report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue, for the year ended 31st March 1877. [C.1896], H.C 1878, xxvi, 593 appendix xxix.
\textsuperscript{207} 5 & 6 Vic. c. 93 \textit{An act to amend an act of the fourth year of her present majesty, to discontinue the present excise on tobacco, and to provide other regulations in lieu thereof.}
\textsuperscript{208} 50 & 51 Vic c 15. \textit{Customs and Inland Revenue Act} 1887.
The 1887 act which regulated moisture content levels was preceded by a reduction in duty. George Goshen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believed it would alter the retail price and hoped that the legislation would encourage manufacturers to produce a more genuine product. In the decade leading up to the 1887 Tobacco Act, the annual increase in tobacco cleared for consumption averaged 220,000 pounds per year. In the two years following the act, increases in excess of one million pounds were viewed as ‘gratifying evidence’ of the success of the ‘watering clause’ in the legislation.\(^{209}\)

The ‘watering clause’ proved to be troublesome for Irish roll makers as the cylindrical shape was difficult to moisten uniformly and their pleas for special consideration did not move the Treasury to change its position other than to allow for a period of settling in.\(^{210}\) The fewer detections of adulterations in the late nineteenth century was aided by the replacement of small inefficient firms, tempted by economic necessity to engage in adulteration, with a fewer number of mechanised firms producing standardised and branded products.\(^{211}\)

IV

The state’s relationship with the tobacco trade has been shown to have centred on the need to control this valuable source of revenue. The enormous differential in the primary cost of the leaf and the duty placed upon it encouraged the temptation to engage in attempts to defraud the state. The legitimate tobacco trade also suffered due to the activities of smugglers and adulterators. Their appeals and those of economic commentators for a reduction in the duty rates were ignored by the government. The state’s response to these

\(^{209}\) Thirty-second report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Inland Revenue for the year ended 31st March 1889 [C.5843], H.C. 1889, xxxviii, 379 appendix xxxix.

\(^{210}\) Hansard HC Deb 8 Sep. 1887 vol.320 cc 1650-1. Hansard HC Deb 12 Sep. 1887 vol.321 c 277. Twelve Irish manufacturers received cautions regarding moisture content in the weeks following the passing of the act.

\(^{211}\) Forty-third report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Inland Revenue. [Cd.347], H.C. 1900, xviii, 363 p. 46. 25 manufacturing licenses were issued in Ireland.
threats resulted in expensive solutions in the form of the Coast Guard and the state laboratory whilst continuing to impose high rates of duty.

The continuous rise in revenue satisfied the government’s acute need for finance, but in the view of many, sacrificed potential future gains by not lowering the rates. While chancellors of the Exchequer may have been sympathetic to the pleas of the tobacco trade, their pressing need for current expenditure was greatly helped by tobacco revenue. The continuous rise in revenue, especially in wartime when rates were raised sharply, taught the Treasury that tobacco consumer’s price tolerance was fairly elastic.

This tolerance was stretched too far on occasions when high duties tempted many into providing contraband produce. The high duties encouraged criminality in sections of society that in others ways were law-abiding. Many manufacturers used contraband tobacco in their products as the enormous quantities smuggled could not have been surreptitiously processed. In the 1830s, the state responded to the perceived threat from Irish tobacco cultivation by prohibiting it. The positioning of this as evidence of British mishandling of Ireland’s economy by nationalists is weakened when similar objections by the Free State government and native manufacturers were used a century later. The financial outlay by the state in response to the threats against its tobacco revenue, the establishment of parliamentary inquiries and the body of legislation concerned with tobacco point to a trade that was of great importance to the state.
Chapter Three

Consumption: quantities and modes.

Tobacco can claim to be the most egalitarian of the goods imported into Ireland following the settlement of English colonies in the Americas and the Indian subcontinent. In comparison to sugar, tea and coffee, tobacco arrived earliest and was disseminated more widely. It was consumed by all in society and remained enormously popular throughout the period. The pleasurable and addictive qualities of tobacco aided its spectacular growth in the seventeenth century.¹ Cullen notes its trajectory plateaued out by 1700, but the above qualities supplemented by differing modes of consumption amongst all social classes ensured its transition from a novel to an everyday pleasure.²

This chapter will examine the consumption of tobacco in the form of snuff, pipe tobacco, cigars and cigarettes in Ireland. Tobacco’s medical and agricultural uses will also be examined. Changing modes of consumption will be considered to establish whether fashion, convenience, price or social status were the deciding factors in popularity or decline of products. The general upward trend of tobacco consumption often conflicted with the economic circumstances of most Irish people and with the social upheavals that troubled Ireland during the period. Witnesses from the earliest parliamentary commissions repeatedly highlighted how the ‘lower orders’ despite their economic circumstances, were fervent consumers of tobacco.³

The tobacco consumption habits of the various social groupings based on class, gender and age will be examined to show how tobacco use in terms of time, expense

³ Tenth report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland; & c. Ports of Ireland, preventive coast guard, quarantine, & c. H.C 1824 (446) xi, 391 p. 770.
and the motivation for smoking, chewing and inhaling tobacco was an indication of one’s position in society. Notwithstanding the large amount of smuggling and adulteration, official importation and production figures are still a useful means of tracking the amount of tobacco consumed in Ireland.

The use of advertising especially from the 1880s, when the most enterprising companies began producing branded goods, will be examined to assess how tobacco might have been consumed and how its influence attracted consumers to new products such as the cigarette. The marketing of tobacco became increasingly pervasive across the country from this period. Newspapers, magazines and journals complete with tobacco advertisements were distributed across the country on a well-developed road and rail system to an ever-more literate population. Outdoor and shop interior advertising using enamel signage, panels on public transport, showcards and shop window displays became features of everyday life which coincided with or created an increase in tobacco consumption.

John Gamble wrote of tobacco that ‘it was a gift from nature which levelled the conditions of men from the king on his throne, to the lord in his castle to the peasant on his mountain.’ The wider consumption habits of Irish elites strengthen the argument that tobacco was a good, unlike other exotic foods and ingredients, that all could partake of. In the household account books and inventories of the middling and upper classes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ one can see that their food and drink reflected a cultural connection with Britain and its growing empire. Clarkson and Crawford describe the demise of Gaelic culinary practices which were based largely on pastoral products. These were replaced at elite level by a wider variety of foodstuffs and drinks influenced by English and European

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methods. Arthur Young noted that elite dining in Ireland was very similar to that practised in the great houses of England. While sugar, tea, coffee, herbs, spices, pickles, mustards and oils from British colonies adorned the tables of the better off, the country ‘divided gastronomically’ into those who had a varied diet and those who ate potatoes. However tobacco continued to be one consumable within reach of all.

The potato eventually rivalled tobacco in terms of its widespread availability and consumption particularly amongst the impoverished cotter and landless labourer classes. Tobacco however was exceptional as it was the most regularly purchased article not necessary for the maintenance of life in the self-sufficient world of the Irish poor.

I

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries snuff was the preferred method of consuming tobacco in Ireland and Scotland. This was in contrast to England where pipe-smoking was the dominant mode of consumption until the early eighteenth century. The Irish preference for snuffing was noted by the writer James Howell, who in 1646 commented on its ability to reinvigorate ploughmen and serving maids and that as much tobacco is used in this way as is smoked in pipes in

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6 Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland; with general observations on the present state of that kingdom: made in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778. And brought down to the end of 1779 Volume 2* (London, 1780), pp 230, 237.
7 Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and famine*, p. 29.
9 *Poor inquiry (Ireland). Appendix (C.)--Parts I. and II. Part I. Reports on the state of the poor, and on the charitable institutions in some of the principal towns; with supplement containing answers to queries. Part II. Report on the city of Dublin, and supplement containing answers to queries; with addenda to Appendix (A.), and communications.* [35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42] H.C. 1836, xxx, 35, 221 xxxi.1, xxxii.1, xxxiv.1, 427 643, 657. Hereafter *Poor Inquiry* 1836.
England.\textsuperscript{10} This was corroborated by the tobacophile Giles Everard in his 1659 book defending the use of tobacco, where he wrote that ‘the Irish are altogether for snuff to purge their brains’.\textsuperscript{11} A century later the practice was still the dominant form of tobacco use. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, in a letter from Armagh in 1769, warned his followers not to take snuff and noted that the Irish were like ‘no other nation in Europe in such vile bondage to this silly, nasty, dirty custom.’\textsuperscript{12}

The increase in elite snuff-taking following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 was attributed to the period spent in exile at the French court.\textsuperscript{13} During the early eighteenth century snuff-taking displaced pipe smoking in England which some historians attribute to an event in 1702. In that year an enormous booty of snuff that was seized by an Anglo-Dutch fleet at Vigo, Spain, which helped considerably in reducing the price of snuff on the market. This low priced snuff was pivotal in making snuff ‘as common here as in any other part of Europe.’\textsuperscript{14} During the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), English elites aped French fashions in food, dress, the arts and tobacco use, and from that point snuff-taking remained popular right up to the end of George III’s reign in 1820.\textsuperscript{15}

The desire for respectability, the development of highly stylised snuff-taking rituals by elites and the convenience and comparative ease of snuff consumption in

\textsuperscript{11}Giles Everard, \textit{Panacea, or, the universal medicine: being a discovery of the wonderfull vertues of tobacco taken in a pipe, with its operation and use both in physick and chirurgery} (London, 1659), p. unpaginated.
\textsuperscript{12}Robert Southey, \textit{The life of Wesley and the rise and progress of Methodism} (London, 1858), p. 128.
\textsuperscript{13}William Andrew Chatto, \textit{A paper:--of tobacco: treating of the rise, progress, pleasures, and advantages of smoking, with anecdotes of distinguished smokers, mens. on pipes and tobacco-boxes, and a tritical essay on snuff} (London, 1839), p. 55.
\textsuperscript{15}Dr Murray, \textit{A general history of the tobacco plant: intended as an authoritative reference to its discovery, dissemination, and reception as a luxury} (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1836), pp 68-9.
comparison to pipe smoking helped popularise the habit.\textsuperscript{16} The sharing of snuff at social occasions amongst the elites permitted the refined display of personal jewellery at close quarters as well as the highly ornamental and bejewelled snuff boxes which were considered markers of individual style and respectability.\textsuperscript{17} Familiarity with the techniques of taking snuff, which were developed by French consumers and augmented locally, indicated that one was conversant with the latest trends and once acquired might provide a means of entry and acceptance in polite social circles. One practical advantage enjoyed by snuff over the pipe was that it required only the snuff box to hold the tobacco, in comparison to the number of instruments and pipes required by the smoker.\textsuperscript{18}

Snuff was also widely consumed by ladies at the highest levels of society. Queen Charlotte, (1744-1818), the consort of George III, was a snuff taker whose prodigious use of the powder earned her the nickname of ‘snuffy Charlotte.’\textsuperscript{19} There were many perceived medicinal qualities of snuff. A Dublin newspaper in 1756 advertised the arrival of cephalic and ophthalmic tobacco which when used as a snuff was a ‘remedy for most disorders incident to mankind’ and went on to claim it could restore sight, cure toothaches, headaches and act as a prophylactic against bad airs at sea and on land.\textsuperscript{20} Cephalic snuff was a proprietorial concoction of pulverised tobacco and medicinal plants produced locally and sold as a cure for disorders of the head, eyes, drowsiness and dizziness.\textsuperscript{21} The belief in snuff’s efficacy was reinforced when it was sold and advertised in conjunction with the medicines of the day and also as an ingredient in the acclaimed treatment in 1781, of a patient who was bitten

\textsuperscript{16} Gately, \textit{Tobacco: a cultural history of how an exotic plant seduced civilisation} p. 123.
\textsuperscript{17} Shepherd, \textit{Snuff yesterday and today} unpaginated.
\textsuperscript{18} Goodman, \textit{Tobacco in history} pp 82-4.
\textsuperscript{19} Emily C. Friedman, \textit{Reading smell in eighteenth-century fiction} (Lanham, 2016), pp 39, 48.
\textsuperscript{20} Francis Cecil Doherty, \textit{A study in eighteenth-century advertising methods: the anodyne necklace} (Lampeter, 1992), pp 355-6 quoting the \textit{Universal Advertiser}, 3 Jul. 1756.
\textsuperscript{21} John K’eogh, \textit{Botanologia universalis Hibernica: or, a general Irish herbal} (Cork, 1735), p. 70.
by a rabid dog.\textsuperscript{22} In 1842 ‘Grimstone’s Eye Snuff’ was endorsed by a Mr Wallace of Carrickmacross, County Monaghan, for having cured an acquaintance of debilitating headaches and blindness, all ‘doctors and medicine having been useless.’\textsuperscript{23} In tandem with the decline of snuff consumption the therapeutic benefits of snuff became more modest in the advertisements of the late nineteenth century. The once life-changing abilities of snuff were now reduced to relieving colds.\textsuperscript{24} Its popularity was also boosted by its association with the leading intellects of the day and the belief that it aided creative and artistic abilities. An unnamed but celebrated Irish writer when asked where he got his ideas from said that they came to him when he stepped into Lundy Foot’s shop.\textsuperscript{25}

The snuff box as an article of material culture developed beyond its role as a container for the powder. As well as an expression of a gentleman’s or lady’s individual style it also became an acceptable present or token of friendship among elites. Arthur Wellesley, the duke of Wellington, recorded delivering a snuff box ‘enriched with diamonds’ containing the image of the Prince Regent to a Bavarian prince and receiving one in return.\textsuperscript{26} The Congress of Vienna in 1815 saw Wellington’s compatriot, Lord Castlereagh, receive twenty-four snuff boxes valued at £1,000 each in recognition of his services to the congress.\textsuperscript{27} The custom of presenting snuff boxes at Vienna to foreign diplomats, popularly described as a ‘mischief’, cost the British government an enormous £22,000.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{22} Finn’s Leinster Journal, 6 Jan. 1781., Freeman’s Journal, 23 Aug. 1816.
\textsuperscript{23} Dublin University Magazine, Jan. 1842.
\textsuperscript{24} Freeman’s Journal, 2 Mar. 1887.
\textsuperscript{25} The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal, ii (1821), p. 338.
\textsuperscript{26} John Gurwood, Arthur Wellesley The dispatches of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington, K.G. during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France; from 1799 to 1818. Compiled from official and authentic documents, (London, 1838), p. 271.
\textsuperscript{27} John Watson Foster, The practice of diplomacy as illustrated in the foreign relations of the United States (Boston, 1906), p. 141.
\textsuperscript{28} Freeman’s Journal, 22 Apr. 1815.
The consumption of snuff amongst the Irish poor was a much more utilitarian affair. Snuff was generally consumed from humbler receptacles made of tin, wood or papier mache.\(^{29}\) From the late eighteenth century the impoverished consumer of snuff benefitted from the ability of Irish snuff manufacturers such as Lambkins of Cork and Lundy Foot of Dublin to produce a high quality variant known as ‘Irish high dried’ at prices that were ‘excessively cheap.’\(^{30}\) Despite the quality and the price offered by Lundy Foot, his successors in 1844 lamented the decline of snuff taking which they attributed to it being out of fashion.\(^{31}\)

Snuff’s fall from favour in the 1820s has often been attributed to the rejection of French fashions in the aftermath of two decades of war between France and the United Kingdom. Other causes given for its lessening popularity was that snuff consumption resulted in a considerable amount of sneezing which often left residues on the clothing of the consumer which alongside its physical remains on noses and upper lips had now become unacceptable in polite society. One magazine listed a range of difficulties, for male and female snuff takers, including the act of kissing.\(^{32}\) Rather than reasons of patriotism or personal hygiene the higher rate of duty on snuff may have been more significant in its decline in Ireland. From 1805, the range of snuff duties was less or slightly above that paid on the lowest grade of unmanufactured tobacco, thus making the longer lasting pipe tobacco more economically and socially appealing (see fig.3.1). The great availability of smuggled tobacco might also have hastened the decline of snuff.

\(^{29}\) The Irish Monthly Magazine of Politics and Literature, iii (Dublin, 1834), p. 262. Goodman, Tobacco in history p. 75.

\(^{30}\) Benson Earle Hill A pinch of snuff, anecdotes of snuff taking, with the moral and physical effects of snuff, by dean Snift of Brazen-nose (London,1840), pp 24-5.

\(^{31}\) S.C Tobacco 1844. Evidence of Simon Foot 7109-7114, 7146.

\(^{32}\) The Literary Panorama, xv (1814), pp 431-33.
Fig. 3.1. Customs duties on snuff and unmanufactured tobacco in Ireland, 1790-1820.

Source: *Returns relative to the duty paid on tobacco for home consumption, 1790-1826*, H.C. 1826 (226), xxii.

The fall in the demand for snuff in Ireland is reflected in the amounts upon which duty on snuff was paid between 1789 and 1826 (see fig 3.2). The figures show that duty paid on snuff imports were very erratic ranging from poundage’s in triple digits in the first decade of the nineteenth century to 19,090 pounds in 1819. Between 1790 and 1826 the amounts exceeded 1,000 pounds on only nine occasions. The greatest level of consistency and volume occurs in the early 1820s when figures exceeded 10,000 pounds. When contrasted with English returns, the level of consumption there surpassed that of Ireland’s until a brief period immediately after the Napoleonic wars, when the English returned to pipe smoking.

Fig. 3.2 Number of pounds of snuff paying customs duty in England and Ireland 1790-1826.

Source: *Account of Number of Pounds Weight of Tobacco and Snuff charged with Duty, 1790-1826*, H.C. 1826 (226), , xxii 231.
The low demand for snuff in Ireland is also reflected in the amounts of smuggled snuff seized by the state, see (fig. 3.3). From 1790 to 1826 Irish customs and excise officials seized 4,468 pounds of snuff in comparison to 152,754 pounds seized in England. The demand for snuff in Scotland while stronger than in Ireland was also in decline, returning a figure of 41,220 pounds seized in that period.\textsuperscript{33}

Snuff consumption in Britain and Ireland continued to fall despite the brief 1820s rally in Ireland. In the 1830s duty on snuff for home consumption across the United Kingdom raised yearly revenues ranging from £50 to £60.\textsuperscript{34} Between 1840 and the end of the century snuff for home consumption raised revenues between £15 and £203 per annum.\textsuperscript{35} From 1840 until the end of the century snuff imported for home consumption in the United Kingdom rarely exceeded 1,000 pounds per annum.

\textsuperscript{33} Tobacco and snuff. Accounts of the number of pounds of tobacco and snuff seized by customs, excise, &c. in England, Scotland, and Ireland: 1789-1825; and net proceeds of sale of all seizures, during the same period 2 H.C. 1826, (412), xxii, 225.

\textsuperscript{34} Tobacco and snuff. Accounts of the quantity of tobacco, segars and snuff, paid duty upon in the last year; also, the quantity imported in the years 1835 and 1836 H.C. 1836, (239), iv, 811.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
in 1876 a miniscule seventy-six pounds was recorded.\textsuperscript{36} Such poor returns from an article clearly out of favour with consumers were not aided by the extraordinarily high duty rates, which at the upper level in the years 1840-63 were 75d. per pound, reduced in 1863 to 54d. and raised again in 1878 to 58d. By comparison unmanufactured tobacco rates in this period ranged between 37d. to 46d. per pound.\textsuperscript{37}

One exceptional event in 1886 showed clearly that snuff consumption was no longer considered fashionable or commercially viable. The Revenue Commissioners in Dublin ordered that twenty-four tons of snuff, on which no duty had been paid, be dumped in Dublin Bay, clearly indicating that manufacturers had let stocks accumulate and that the Revenue determined that it would never be released from bond as the duty far exceeded the primary price paid by the manufacturers.\textsuperscript{38} The meagre amounts raised in duties and the quantities seized from smugglers in Ireland point to a product that was no longer in vogue although the product was still manufactured and sold in Ireland into the twentieth-century.\textsuperscript{39}

II

The change in the mode of consumption from snuff to pipe tobacco occurred earlier in Ireland than in the rest of the United Kingdom. The minimal and generally diminishing amounts of snuff imported during the nineteenth century are in contrast to the ever increasing trend in tobacco imports which are testament to the popularity of the pipe in the era before mass-produced cigarettes. Despite wars, civil unrest,

\textsuperscript{36} Tobacco. Copies of statements of the gross receipts and net produce in respect of the duty on tobacco and snuff for each year from 1841 to 1880, both inclusive; distinguishing the amounts received under the heads of --1. Unmanufactured tobacco; 2. Manufactured tobacco; 3. Snuff; and specifying the several rates of duty at which those amounts were collected; and, of the quantity and value of tobacco classified as above imported in each year during the same period. H.C. 1881 (104), lxxiii, 711.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{38} Freeman's Journal, 16 Mar. 1886.
\textsuperscript{39} Freeman's Journal, 22 May 1911., Anglo Celt 27 Nov. 1926., Irish Independent, 7 Jun 1935.
famines and a declining population, tobacco imports maintained an upward course (see fig. 3.4). Between 1815 and 1822 the quantity of tobacco imported for home consumption declined, but this was not due to a fall off in demand but widespread smuggling. There was also a fall off in the famine years in the late 1840s but thereafter consumption resumed its upward path. The American Civil War saw ‘loyal states’ take up tobacco growing which along with European supplies and the considerable quantities of stock held by British and Irish manufacturers saw Irish imports increase during the 1860s.

Fig. 3.4 Quantities of unmanufactured tobacco entered for home consumption in Ireland, 1800-97.

As the rituals surrounding snuff taking had once marked out the elite, the choice of pipe chosen, the quality of the accoutrements used, the type of tobacco and where it was purchased also served as an indicator of one’s social standing. It was considered desirable for a ‘professed gentleman’ to have a large and varied stock of pipe tobacco with which he could treat guests and display a sophisticated and liberal character. The type of pipe and accessories used by the pipe smoker also marked out his social status. The poorest in society used a short clay pipe popularly known

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40 Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1790 to 1896-7, pp 183-99.
42 Chatto, A paper:--of tobacco, p. 121.
as a dudeen or in Irish *duidín*. This pipe was a short stemmed, small bowl clay pipe which allowed the user to conduct physical labour whilst smoking (see fig 3.5).

Fig. 3.5. Gardener at Belmont House, Co Carlow, smoking a dudeen pipe c.1900.

Pipe manufacturing of all varieties was carried on throughout the country. The village of Knockcroghery, County Roscommon, was a noted centre for the manufacture of clay pipes, due to its proximity to a suitable clay deposit. In 1844, its eight kilns were producing 500 gross or 72,000 per week.\(^\text{43}\) Evidence of the dudeen’s popularity amongst the Irish labouring classes is clearly shown in popular literature and periodicals and in caricatures in contemporary magazines, often in a racialised form, most notoriously in the images created by *Punch* caricaturists. In 1882, a high level of demand led a Cork company to advertise positions for an additional 200 pipe makers.\(^\text{44}\)

There is strong evidence from archaeological excavations undertaken in centres of Irish immigration that the practice of using dudeen-type pipes accompanied its owner in their migration strengthening the bond between pipe and

\(^{43}\) *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland: adapted to the new poor-law, franchise, municipal and ecclesiastical arrangements, and compiled with a special reference to the lines of railroad and canal communication, as existing in 1814-45*, vol. 2 (Dublin, 1846), p.576. The value per gross was one shilling.

\(^{44}\) *Cork Examiner*, 11 Jan. 1882.
smoker and also reinforcing the racial stereotype. The humble dudgeon pipe remained the primary mode of tobacco consumption of the Irish poor, but by 1919 the business at Knockcroghery was reported as ‘nearly extinct.’ In June 1921 the entire village and the pipe factory were burned to the ground by crown forces.

More sophisticated pipes were used by wealthier smokers. In 1827 a popular English year-book displayed two novelty Irish-made pipes which it claimed were popular among the labouring classes in Dublin and Clonmel (see fig 3.6). The pipes resembling bellows, fiddles and ‘other whimsical forms’ were made of mahogany, iron, brass and tin. They had a cover for the bowl which suggests outdoor use and could be disassembled to fit into a pocket. The cost of the pipes was sixpence which would suggest that if used at all, it was by the better paid skilled urban artisans.

Fig. 3.6 Unusual Irish-made pipes, c. late 1820s.


The meerschaum pipe was favoured by those higher up the social ladder. The meerschaum was a clay pipe made from clay sourced in Turkey which was fashioned into countless designs across Europe. The uniqueness of its construction using amber mouthpieces and with its larger bowl to accommodate more tobacco allowed the user to express individual taste and wealth. The price paid for meerschaums bowls at the London exhibition of 1851 was up to 45s. The amber mouth pieces were priced at 33s. which was in contrast to the ‘remarkably cheap’ clay pipes priced at 6d. per hundred also on display there.48 James McLoughlin, of Francis Street, Dublin, was the only Irish pipe manufacturer who exhibited at the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853, where he displayed ordinary pipes, whilst a Viennese manufacturer exhibited meerschaum pipes.49 The advent of the briar pipe in the 1860s, priced at 3s. a bowl, saw it occupy the middle ground between the meerschaum and the dudeen.50 Made from the roots of a Mediterranean shrub, the Dublin firm Kapp, who in the 1870s were then the only Irish manufacturers of the briar pipe, popularised it by making them in the front window of their Grafton St. premises.51

The typical nineteenth-century Irish pipe smoker smoked a dark heavy Virginian tobacco type. The tobacco was manufactured by spinning it into different varieties such as roll, pigtail, negrohead and the lighter coloured Cavendish. Having been spun these were then pressed into rolls or cakes. Irish roll was further divided into Limerick and later Dundalk roll as a preference for lighter tobacco increased

48 Great Britain, Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, Reports by the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided (London, 1852), p. 673.
49 Royal Dublin Society, Official catalogue of the great industrial exhibition: (Dublin, 1853), pp 85, 111.
51 Anon, Tobacco Whiffs for the Smoking Carriage (London, 1874) p. 28. Freeman's Journal 26 Sep. 1864 wrote that Mr Keevil introduced the briar pipe to Ireland. Irish Times, 22 Dec. 1876. 7 Nov. 1903. Kapp later evolved into Kapp and Peterson who developed an international reputation as a result of significant advances made by them in pipe design during the 1890s which enhanced the smoking experience of pipe smokers worldwide.
later in the century.\textsuperscript{52} Irish roll tobacco was the most popular type of tobacco especially amongst the poorer classes. The 1844 select committee inquiry was told that the country people who were hired to attend at shooting parties often preferred to be paid in tobacco rather than money.\textsuperscript{53}

An extreme example of the attachment by the Irish poor to tobacco was the case of Michael Crevan, who gave up his place in the Loughrea workhouse, County Galway, in December 1847 ‘as a consequence of his being prevented from smoking tobacco’ and whose emaciated remains were found by the roadside in the following weeks.\textsuperscript{54} Irish roll also found favour among the labouring classes in certain parts of Britain where cut or shag tobacco was the dominant variety.\textsuperscript{55} The strong Limerick variety was deemed responsible for the death of a Lancashire youth who swallowed the juice of the quid he was chewing. The post mortem, which was reported on both sides of the Atlantic, claimed that Limerick Roll was ‘exceedingly strong tobacco’ the juice of which was a ‘narcotic poison’.\textsuperscript{56}

The more expensive Cavendish tobacco made from specially processed Virginian or Burley leaves were formed into cakes and afterwards cut into flake tobacco which attracted a duty that was always considerably higher than other varieties, effectively limiting its consumers to middle and upper class smokers. The 1863 Manufactured Tobacco Act, in an effort to encourage home manufacture of Cavendish, reduced the duty from 9s. 6d. to 4s. per pound, which was 6d. more than the duty paid on rolls, shag and pigtail, commonly used by most smokers. Opponents

\textsuperscript{52} Hilton, Smoking in British popular culture 1800-2000: perfect pleasures (Manchester, 2000), p. 50.
\textsuperscript{53} S.C. Tobacco 1844, evidence of Simon Foot, q7146-7148.
\textsuperscript{54} Papers relating to proceedings for relief of distress, and state of unions and workhouses in Ireland, 1848, 1-919 955 999, 1847-8 , lv.313, lv.liv.l1 54 55 56. pp 234-5.
\textsuperscript{55} Hilton, Smoking in British popular culture, pp 50-1. Tweddell’s miscellany of literature and advertisement (Middlesbrough, 1871), p. 2. Features advertisement for Hedley’s a Middlesbrough tobacconist who manufactured Limerick Roll.
of the bill viewed the reduction as a boon to the wealthier smokers in society and
called for a similar reduction in the tobacco smoked by the poorer classes, but were
ignored.57

Gentlemen smokers consumed their more expensive blends and mixtures in
crafted pipes in the comfort of a designated room in their residence or at their club,
thus avoiding the social disapproval that may have followed from smoking in public
or in the presence of ladies during periods in the nineteenth century. There was a
growing increase in public smoking, especially of more pungent products. In 1827
The Rotunda Lying-in Hospital banned cigar smoking in its recreational gardens
which were mostly frequented by the better off.58 Cigar Divans and smoking rooms
responded to this need by providing tobacco and cigars as well as light refreshments,
board games and newspapers in well-appointed smoking rooms.59 Some theatre
owners did not approve of smoking in their venues. In 1849 the management of the
Opera House in Cork was praised for banning the ‘disgraceful practice of smoking in
the house.’ However in 1865 a court case taken against two smokers was informed
of the ongoing problems with smoking in the theatre.60

At the other end of the social scale, both men and women, smoked strong
pungent tobacco from small bowled clay pipes, their impoverished urban or rural
environment presenting them with little option but to smoke more publically. Public
smoking by members of the poorer classes was viewed as deviant or subversive
behavior by the middle and upper classes who also noted the rudimentary pipes used,
thus the space and the smoking material marked one’s social position.61 The

57 Cork Examiner, 2 Mar. 1863.
58 Freeman’s Journal, 7 Jul. 1827.
59 Belfast Newsletter, 23 May 1851.
rationale for smoking was also contemporarily constructed to convey the message that the property owning and professional classes chose to smoke for pleasure in contrast to the poor who needed it as a prop.62

The reduction in the number of small scale local manufacturers and their replacement by larger regional or national firms in the latter half of the nineteenth century also had an effect on consumption. The local loyalty enjoyed by small scale manufacturers was first tested in the 1860s by English firms such as Copes of Liverpool who tempted Irish smokers with branded two ounce packets which were distributed countrywide by a Dublin agent.63 Small Irish producers who sold their own tobacco in packages and canisters, such as Dublin producer Mylod’s, responded with their own packaged ‘celebrated’ or ‘special’ mixtures, but the allegiance between local smoker and producer was further eroded by the financial clout of the larger Irish concerns who produced branded tobacco of a consistent quality often in re-sealable containers and supported by advertisements in local and national newspapers.64

The slow decline of the pipe in Ireland was not predicated on a price advantage in favour of the emerging cigarette. Ounce for ounce, medium priced cigarettes were fifty percent more expensive at the beginning of the twentieth century than pipe tobacco, which may have contributed to the cigarette’s slower uptake in Ireland.65 The increased use of cigarette–making machines created the economies of scale necessary to reverse this price difference and when combined with more sophisticated marketing of cigarettes, their convenience and the emerging

63 Freeman’s Journal, 1 May 1861.
post-war female market, cigarettes were responsible for the world-wide exponential growth that heralded the golden age of tobacco.

III

In Ireland pipe smoking had an earlier rival for the affections of wealthy tobacco consumers in the form of the cigar. Cigar smoking has been popularly presented as having arrived into Britain and Ireland as a result of its adoption by British officers during the Peninsular Wars (1808-12). Cigars enjoyed limited use outside of Spain prior to 1800, where the cigarro, pajillas and cheroot were popular amongst all classes. During the wars this form of smoking was seen and sampled by British and Irish soldiers.

An analysis of Irish newspaper advertisements and articles reveals little evidence of cigar manufacture or consumption in Ireland prior to the 1820s. The advice given in one newspaper column in 1824, that claret and cigars do not complement each other, hints that cigar smoking was becoming fashionable amongst the elite. One of the earliest newspaper advertisements for cigars was that of Francis Cassin, who in 1827 sold cigars and ‘every description of smoking apparatus’ from his Grafton Street premises. From that point onwards there are an increasing number of advertisements of tobacconists dealing in cigars, including premium Havana cigars, mostly in the larger towns. The duty on cigars was prohibitive at 18s. per pound, which was a major factor in limiting consumption

66 Hilton, Smoking in British popular culture, p. 51.
67 Charles Esdaile, Peninsular eyewitnesses: the experience of war in Spain and Portugal 1808-1813 (Barnsley, 2008), p. 188.
68 Freeman’s Journal, 6 Jul. 1824.
69 Freeman’s Journal, 15 Aug. 1827.
below the level of the elite. Although the duty was halved to 9s. in 1826 it still kept the cigar out of the reach of all but those of reasonable means.\textsuperscript{71}

Attempts to calculate the precise levels of cigar consumption in Ireland are hindered by the manner in which the yearly accounts compiled from the 1820s were constructed. Cigars, or segars as they were called, were designated in the accounts alongside manufactured tobacco and a total poundage was presented for both. These aggregated figures from the 1830s show that Ireland imported miniscule amounts under this heading when compared to England, the greatest differential occurring in 1835 when English imports were \$957,000 \text{ pounds} and Irish figures reached only 839 pounds. As Irish unmanufactured tobacco imports, both legal and illicit, were considerable, the market for manufactured tobacco would have been small. It would therefore be reasonable to suggest that the total figure for Ireland related to cigars. This assumption is supported by figures from 1837 and 1838 when cigars are recorded separately showing English imports of cigars were 310,000 pounds and 503,000 pounds respectively in comparison to Irish figures of 2,300 pounds and 831 pounds. The Irish manufacturers stock-in-hand for cigars show amounts just over 1,600 pounds in each of the above years which confirms low rates of consumption but also indicates that a small amount of cigar production was undertaken in Ireland.\textsuperscript{72}

The halving of duty in 1826 did not encourage cigar smoking amongst the Irish lower classes to any noteworthy degree. This created a major contrast between consumption habits in Ireland and Britain, where cigar smoking by elites was emulated by ‘tailors trotters, young medical students and….pawnbrokers’, smoking

\textsuperscript{71} Tobacco, segars and snuff. Accounts of the quantity of tobacco, segars and snuff paid duty upon in 1838; quantities imported, sent out from, and remaining in stock, &c., H.C. 1839 (280) xlv, 443.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid. Thom’s Directory 1850 shows less than a dozen importers and dealers of cigars in Dublin.
cheaper varieties.\textsuperscript{73} Cigar advertisements in Irish newspapers show an absence of cheap brands, the vendors concentrating their attention on premium product’s particularly those from Cuba. The addresses of these Dublin shops which sold cigars were largely centred on the area between Dublin Castle and Trinity College which was the financial and administrative quarter of the city and workplace of the city’s middle and upper classes. British cigar exporters also recognised that the Irish cigar market was essentially confined to the upper echelons of society who valued premium products and like their Irish competitors concentrated their efforts in that sector.\textsuperscript{74}

The smallness of the premium cigar market and the lack of a critical mass in the lower priced market did not encourage Irish manufacturers to invest in cheap cigars. The concept of Irish manufactured cigars was considered ‘vulgar’ until the 1880s, when a Dublin manufacturer declared its intention to produce cigars.\textsuperscript{75} Kennedy’s, of Amiens Street, commenced cigar production in 1881 but does not appear to have had much commercial success with its award winning cigar products.\textsuperscript{76} The absence of advertising in the intervening years suggests that the venture was not seriously entered into. The firm closed in 1903.\textsuperscript{77} In 1929 Goodbody’s Tobacco Company, the only cigar manufacture of significance in Ireland, was taken over by P.J. Carroll. The new owners produced minimal amounts of cigars, which effectively ended Irish cigar manufacture for a number of decades.\textsuperscript{78}

Despite its small size the cigar market managed to produce profitable businesses for a select number of retailers such as the unnamed Dublin proprietor

\textsuperscript{73} Chatto, \textit{A paper:--of tobacco} p. 123.
\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Irish Times}, 3 Oct. 1881.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Record of the Irish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1882} (Dublin, 1882), pp 45, 63. They were also commended for reviving the cigar-making industry in Ireland.
who auctioned a stock of 40,000 Havana cigars in 1905.\textsuperscript{79} The commercial success of Fox’s of Grafton Street, who specialised in cigars, can be measured by the their purchasing of family homes of ever increasing size in more fashionable areas which suggest that cigars were profitable despite being a niche market in Ireland.\textsuperscript{80}

Pipe tobacco was never seriously challenged by cigars in Ireland. Tobacco consumption in Ireland adhered to later anthropological theories which promulgated the view that ‘pipe smoking suited sedentary societies and cigars suited ambulatory societies’ which can also be interpreted as a rural-urban divide. The agrarian nature of Irish society in contrast to Britain’s industrialised one clung to the pipe and failed to embrace the pleasures of the cigar. However a greater challenge to the pipe’s dominance lay ahead in the form of the ‘impatient societies’ favoured mode of consumption, the cigarette.\textsuperscript{81}

IV

Cigarettes, as with cigars, were developed in its recognisably modern form in Spain during the seventeenth century. The \textit{papelate} as they were called crossed the Pyrenees into France, where from the mid-1840s they were manufactured as cigarettes using Virginian tobacco by the state tobacco company. From France the cigarette spread across Europe and became very popular in the Middle East where by the 1850s a quarter of all tobacco consumed was in the form of a cigarette.\textsuperscript{82} The evidence suggests that the popular accounts of it being introduced into Britain and Ireland by returning soldiers from the Crimean War (1853-56) are somewhat

\textsuperscript{79} Irish Times, 27 Feb. 1905.
\textsuperscript{80} Ferguson, Fox’s of Grafton Street 1881-1981, pp 4-5.
fanciful. These early cigarettes were crudely made from dark tobacco more suited to pipe smoking which prevented it from gaining the popularity it would eventually garner.

The cigarette was certainly familiar to Irish newspaper readers in the 1840s who could read accounts including one report of the establishment by the French government of a state cigarette factory. In the 1850s a racehorse called ‘Cigarette’, owned at one stage by Lord Clonmel, contested races in Ireland and Britain with moderate success. Her nomenclature thus helped create greater awareness of the existence of cigarettes among the sporting public. An 1858 auction of goods held in Cork included sixteen cases of cigarettes which were part of a lot from a business that was ‘greatly overstocked’, which suggests that cigarettes were available for sale in Ireland. The increasing number of cigarette advertisements and articles in the national press from the 1860s indicate that awareness of cigarettes was universal even if their consumption was not. A preference for cigarettes made from the more expensive Latakia and other near eastern tobacco types could easily explain the low consumption figures at this time. These cigarettes were too expensive for the vast majority of Irish smokers. The conservative cigar and premium pipe tobacco consumers of the middle and elite classes remained attached to these forms, shunning the ‘effeminate’ cigarette.

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84 Goodman, *Tobacco in history* p. 98. Peter Boyle, *Tobacco: science, policy and public health* (Oxford, 2010), p.1. The author’s claim that cigarettes were introduced following the Crimean War is typical of this popular belief in tobacco literature especially in smoking and health features.
87 *Cork Examiner*, 19 Nov. 1858.
88 *Cork Examiner*, 10 Jun. 1862.
However from the 1880s cigarette consumption in Ireland gained ground. The growth in cigarette production was noted in an 1888 newspaper article which recorded a visit to an unnamed Dublin factory and noted the ‘enormous increase’ in cigarette consumption. The firm’s reputation for quality had helped drive domestic and British sales of the product. Such claims regarding the performance of Irish firms can be deemed fanciful as the small but growing Irish cigarette market was dominated by British and American brands, while more exotic varieties from Russia, Turkey and Egypt still commanded a loyalty among selective cigarette users in Ireland.

In the 1890s Ireland witnessed a variety of marketing strategies employed by Irish and foreign firms attempting to capture a share in a growing tobacco market. In this decade Irish consumption figures exceeded nine million pounds despite a much reduced population whose per capita consumption exceeded that of Britain’s. In 1892 an American firm priding itself on its handmade Virginian cigarettes secured retail and wholesale agents in Dublin. A London firm, Hignett’s, appealed to gentlemen who made their own cigarettes to purchase their ‘Golden Butterfly’ brand of ‘roll your own tobacco’ while Dublin tobacconists Preston’s of College Green, provided premium cigarettes to potential upmarket customers by offering the ‘Prestonian’ at prices that only a few could contemplate. Provincial tobacconists advertised American cigarettes from Kimballs, Allen and Ginter, Kinney Bros. and Dukes as well as Egyptian cigarettes. Throughout the 1890s Shiel’s, a Mullingar based tobacconist, offered their provincial customers a wide range of domestic and

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92 *Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897*.  
94 *Westmeath Examiner*, 23 Jul. 1892.
foreign cigarette brands. When they opened their business in 1890 they sold Egyptian, Turkish and Russian brands and also British brands manufactured by Cope’s, Wills, and Players. Those with a taste for American blends could choose from a range of brands. The shop also offered Irish-made cigarettes from Gallaher’s, Murray’s and Kennedy’s.\textsuperscript{95} Although pipe tobacco was the favoured mode of consumption in rural areas, cigarettes were increasingly being advertised in provincial newspapers from the 1890s.\textsuperscript{96}

The future of cigarettes lay in mass produced machine-made cigarettes at prices the purveyors of exotic handmade products could never remotely hope to challenge. While it has been noted that Ireland, in common with other European countries, made a slower transition from the pipe to the cigarette than Britain, the change in the mode of consumption commenced slowly at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1888, Wills of Bristol launched the ‘Woodbine’ brand selling at a packet of five for 1d. The brand became a firm favourite among the working classes throughout the United Kingdom, including the lower ranks of the British armed forces. The success of the brand on both sides of the Irish Sea was based on its retail price supported by a considerable advertising and marketing campaign which included a growing enthusiasm for collecting the cigarette cards used as stiffeners for the packets.\textsuperscript{97} The brand came to dominate the largely urban-based Irish cigarette trade and during the early 1920s its market share exceeded forty per cent of Irish cigarette sales.\textsuperscript{98} The Irish cigarette smoker also availed of other English brands such as Wills ‘Gold Flake’, ‘Player’s ‘Navy Cut’ and ‘Weights’, Carreras ‘Black Cat’, Ogden’s ‘Guinea Gold’ and a profusion of relatively short-

\textsuperscript{95} Westmeath Examiner, 27 Dec. 1890.
\textsuperscript{96} Anglo-Celt, 5 Nov. 1892., Southern Star, 18 Jul. 1896., Western People, 13 Nov. 1897.
\textsuperscript{97} Howard Cox, The global cigarette; pp 49-50.
\textsuperscript{98} B.W.E. Alford, W.D. and H.O. Wills, pp 385-6.
lived brands from Irish producers. The smaller Irish firms produced mostly handmade cigarettes employing Irish names and themes such as ‘Corkonian’, ‘Cora’, ‘Donore Castle’, ‘Irish Monarchs’ and ‘Bendigo.’

The James B. Duke controlled American Tobacco Company launched its cigarettes onto the Irish market in the 1890s through one of its subsidiaries, Kinney Bros. of New York. ‘Sweet Caporal’ was introduced in 1892 and in the following year their ‘Straight Cut’ brand entered the Irish market. Another American Tobacco Company brand ‘Cameo’ first arrived in Ireland in 1892. It was very widely advertised nationwide over many years as ‘the leading American cigarette’ with sales of eight hundred million per annum and claiming to be ‘sold everywhere.’

The availability and the range of brands of cigarettes in Ireland can be found in the advertisements of most local newspapers.

In response to foreign and domestic competition Tom Gallaher increased cigarette production at his Belfast factory, producing the hand-made ‘Golden Spangled’ brand which became widely available throughout Ireland in the late 1880s. He also introduced other cigarettes such as ‘Windfall’, ‘Gold Plate’ and ‘Day Star’ and the enormously successful, machine-made, ‘Park Drive’ brand launched in 1902. This was developed to compete with Wills ‘Woodbine’ and Player’s ‘Weights’ brands in Ireland and Britain. Being machine made, all these brands were inexpensive to make, retailing at five for a penny or three pence for a packet of ten up to the 1920s. They were advertised as a value-for-money brand for working class men. Further inducements were coupon and lottery schemes where consumers could

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99 Irish Tobacco Trade Journal, Oct. 1899. Goodbody’s employed 100 girls making the first three of the Irish brands named above.

100 Freeman’s Journal, 5 Sep. 1892. 12 Jul. 1893.

win a money prize or collect coupons to receive personal and household goods.\textsuperscript{102} By 1905 all the major cigarette brands that would compete against one another in the Irish market over the coming decades were on the market. The only exception was ‘Sweet Afton’, launched by Carroll’s in 1919, which became increasingly popular from the late 1920s.\textsuperscript{103}

All of these cigarettes were made from flue-cured bright Virginia tobacco which was more suitable for cigarette use.\textsuperscript{104} The smoking of cigarettes involved a different technique than that of pipe and cigar smoking. Darker tobaccos used for cigars and pipes were more alkaline where the slower absorption of nicotine occurred in the linings of the mouth, whereas cigarettes were more acidic therefore allowing the rapid absorption of nicotine when drawn into the lungs.\textsuperscript{105} Nicotine had perceived beneficial effects such as being an aid to concentration, improved memory and decreasing appetite and aggression.\textsuperscript{106} Such perceived benefits delivered more quickly by cigarettes made them more amenable to urban workers toiling in factories and offices where time was controlled and smoking space limited. The rapid physiological response, the ease of use and the economic advantages of cigarettes made them ideal deliverers of nicotine in the increasing industrialised and urbanised societies of the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{107}

Increasingly greater outputs of machine-made cigarettes heralded the product’s arrival amongst the growing panoply of branded mass-produced goods.

\textsuperscript{102} Killarney Echo and South Kerry Chronicle, 8 Apr. 1911. In an example of confused marketing methods Murray’s of Belfast offered smokers of their ‘Polo’ cigarettes a pipe stopper and scraper as an incentive.
\textsuperscript{103} B.W.E. Alford, W. D. and H. O. Wills, p. 386.
\textsuperscript{104} Hahn, Making Tobacco Bright pp 6, 108.
\textsuperscript{105} Kozlowski, et al, Cigarettes, nicotine, and health, pp 54-5.
\textsuperscript{107} Kozlowski et al, Cigarettes, nicotine, and health, p. 20.
available in Ireland. By the end of the nineteenth century the purchasing habits of consumers had changed. Instead of consuming locally-produced tobacco, often recommended by peers and shopkeepers, smokers by the 1890s were typically consuming a national or international brand, increasingly influenced by powerful advertising images. The consumption of cigarettes signalled the demise of individualistic tobacco use. The opportunities to concoct one’s own blend, as could be achieved with snuff and pipe tobacco, were being eroded in the world of mass produced cigarettes.

The Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and much more significantly the First World War had an enormous effect on the worldwide rise in cigarette consumption. The cigarette was more suited to the conditions of trench warfare. It was readymade, easy to carry, required only a match or a light from a comrade and was smoked more easily in adverse weather than the pipe. Tobacco and particularly cigarettes, which were viewed by some as a deviant pastime and a moral and physical danger to society, was now being enthusiastically collected and sent to combatants by a host of groups formerly opposed to tobacco. The incessant demand for tobacco at the front was exaggeratedly summed up by a soldier from the Salford Pals who described how Paddy Boylan from ‘one of the Irish regiments’ captured a German dugout single-handedly in order to get their tobacco supplies. The collapse of the anti-tobacco movements’ arguments which had paled in the light of the horrors of industrialised warfare, the slackening of social and moral codes for female smokers and massive tobacco advertisement campaigns by firms vying to be the ‘Tommies’ favourite

109 Bielenberg and Johnson ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland 1800-1914,’ p. 11.
110 Allan Brandt, The cigarette century: the rise, fall, and deadly persistence of the product that defined America (New York, 2009), pp 50-4.
111 ITTJ, Jan. 1916.
resulted in the cigarette becoming increasingly popular in Ireland during and after the war.\textsuperscript{112}

The post-war increase in cigarette consumption continued despite the 110 per cent increase in tobacco retail prices since 1914 fuelled by the 122 per cent increase in duty in the same period.\textsuperscript{113} The discrepancy in prices, which saw Irish smokers pay 1d. more for the same brand as British smokers, angered some commentators but did not stop the rise in consumption.\textsuperscript{114} Despite increasing consumption, the production of tobacco and cigarettes by native Irish manufacturers fell in the immediate post-war years. The Irish Industrial Development Association in its annual report hoped that Irish consumers would realise that independent Irish firms were fighting for their existence against powerful British companies who were preventing their Irish competitors from reaching their customers, alluding to possible exclusivity deals with retailers.\textsuperscript{115} The importance of the Irish market to British companies was demonstrated when they established factories in Dublin following the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922. Wills, who dominated the cigarette market with their ‘Woodbine’ brand, were responsible for the importation of fifty million cigarettes per week and along with other Imperial companies desired to maintain a presence in Ireland despite the political unrest.\textsuperscript{116}

Although pipe tobacco was still the dominant mode of tobacco use in Ireland down to the 1920s it was yearly losing its paramount position to the cigarette.\textsuperscript{117} In 1926 a government commission was informed that the consumption of cigarettes

\textsuperscript{113} Irish Times, 7 Jan. 1920.
\textsuperscript{114} Irish Times, 20 Feb. 1920.
\textsuperscript{115} Irish Times, 13 Mar. 1920., 31 May 1920. Irish Women Workers Union officials warned of layoffs in the trade if Irish consumers did not use Irish tobacco.
\textsuperscript{116} Irish Times, 30 Apr. 1923.
\textsuperscript{117} Irish Times, 7 Oct. 1933. 6 Aug. 1936.
now equalled 39.5 per cent of the total tobacco market and that pipe smoking was decreasing. In 1928 the annual general meeting of shareholders of Dublin pipe manufacturers, Kapp and Peterson noted the decline in pipe smoking and the preference for young men to smoke cigarettes.118

In quantitative terms the census of production figures between 1926 and 1935 show cigarette manufacture rising from 3.1 million pounds in 1926 to 4.5 million in 1931 and in 1935, 5.1 million pounds. The total amount of tobacco manufactured in Ireland for pipe smoking and for cigarettes 1920-35 is shown in fig 3.7.

![Fig. 3.7. Irish pipe tobacco consumption versus cigarette (Pounds) 1920-35.](image)

In monetary terms, the 1931 Census of Production shows that the total selling value of tobacco was c. £5.7 million of which cigarettes represented c. £3.4 million. In 1935 this had increased to c. £3.9 million, a year in which cigarettes sales passed the two-and-a-half billion sticks mark.119

There is other corresponding evidence in 1933 when Taylor’s of Dublin petitioned the High Court to reduce the company’s capital by allowing them to return shares. The petition stated the firm’s business was mainly in the decreasing pipe tobacco sector which was suffering greatly from the ‘enormous increase in cigarette

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118 *Irish Times*, 19 May, Nov. 3 1928. 21 May 1932.
consumption’ and was no longer in need of large liquid assets. The court allowed the reduction having being informed that the firm failed to produce a marketable cigarette as they could not compete with the ‘big combines.’

While Ireland lagged behind Britain in its adoption of the cigarette it was surprisingly ahead of some European societies. Analyses of European figures show that cigarette consumption in Britain exceeded fifty per cent of total tobacco consumption in 1920. By contrast Germany reached this figure in 1955, Belgium in 1961 and the Netherlands as late as 1972. The figures reveal that Irish consumers abandoned the pipe earlier than in European countries and more closely mirrored trends in Britain. This runs contrary to the industrial-agrarian, impatient-sedentary society’s model described by anthropologists.

The increasing preference for cigarettes was due to a number of factors including price, convenience, consumption by women, marketing and a desire to be fashionable or modern. The extensive and prolonged press advertising for Wills ‘Gold Flake’ tobacco, in the decade up to 1935, shows that the manufacturer was conscious that the consumer of this mid-range brand was price sensitive. The 1925 price of 6d. for a packet of ten remained the same until May 1935, while the price of a packet of twenty was reduced from 12d. to 11½d. in 1933. A fives packet was introduced during the economically depressed early 1930s which sold at 3d. giving smokers the option of smoking less of their preferred cigarette rather than smoking a cheaper brand. The advertising campaign also addressed some of the concerns Irish smokers may have felt about consuming products from an Irish-based, but non-native company, particularly when one of its competitors (Carroll’s ‘Sweet Afton’)

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121 Goodman, Tobacco in history, p. 94.
held all the Irish-Ireland attributes that tended to sway some consumer’s choice of cigarette. An 1934 Wills advertisement condensed many of these issues by using Gaelic phraseology and fonts while its strap-line informed the public in English that ‘Gold Flake’ was made in _Saorstat Eireann_ by Irish labour.\(^{124}\)

The same advertisement also featured a glamorous woman smoking and clearly enjoying the brand. Cigarette smoking by women had become more noticeable and fashionable for women to do in the period following World War One. The worldwide increase in cigarette consumption was aided by the large numbers of female smokers in America and Britain and was no different in Ireland.\(^{125}\) One Dublin tobacconist held the opinion that since the war, women’s cigarette consumption had gone up twofold; his female customers averaged at ‘least ten per day’ and one bought 100 on a daily basis.\(^{126}\) While accurate figures concerning cigarette consumption among women do not exist, the growing debate in the Irish newspapers arguing the pros and cons of female cigarette smoking suggests that the numbers had increased.\(^{127}\)

To others in society the cigarette represented modernity and glamour. The movie industry had in its pre-talkie days used cigarettes as signifiers of the villainous and the vampish in their productions, which angered the tobacco manufacturers. The protestations and the financial power of tobacco companies, especially American ones, brought about a more glamorous image for male and female smokers to emulate.\(^{128}\) The growing number of cinemas in Ireland and travelling fit-up

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\(^{124}\) _Sunday Independent_, 15 Jul. 1934.

\(^{125}\) _Belfast Newsletter_, 9 Mar. 1928. 6 Sep. 1929.

\(^{126}\) _Irish Independent_ 24 Mar. 1927.

\(^{127}\) _Mary Immaculate Training College Annual_, vol. 1, 1927 pp 36-41. The students of the college organised ‘the Mary Immaculate Modest Dress and Deportment Crusade’ which warned students of the dangers mentioned above including smoking. _Evening Herald_, 8 Sep. 1931.

companies brought images of Hollywood stars lighting and smoking cigarettes in a sophisticated and sensuous manner to every town in Ireland, bestowing greater social capital on the cigarette.\textsuperscript{129}

\textbf{V}

It is sometimes presumed that consumption fell when additional duties were added to the price of tobacco. The duty rates on tobacco represented the largest component of the retail price on all tobacco products and fell on few occasions between 1779 and 1935. The state’s requirements in times of war saw considerable increases in tobacco duty especially during the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War. The financial strain on the Exchequer during and after the wars with France saw tobacco duty increase from 6d. to 4s. per pound in a series of seven increments from 1793 to 1819. Between these conflicts in the period from 1826 to 1915, the duty on unmanufactured tobacco, the largest variety imported, ranged between 3s. and 3s. 8d.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century saw the greatest number and range of duty rate changes on unmanufactured tobacco. The figures show that Irish consumption did not necessarily fall when duty rates increased or rise when rates were lowered (see table 3.1). The duty rate increases in 1796, 1802 and 1811 resulted in greater consumption occasioning additional revenue for the state.\textsuperscript{130} The 1805 duty reduction produced lower consumption figures in the following three years. However, the heavy increases in 1814 and 1816 saw consumption figures fall in Ireland, especially in 1821, when the duty rate reached 48 pence per pound. In contrast the official consumption levels in England and Scotland in this period maintained a largely upward path.\textsuperscript{131} The supply of tobacco from America during the

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897} pp 193-5.
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom, from 1800 to 1897} pp 196-8.
wars with France does not appear to have been greatly affected and consumption in this period was not supplemented by smuggling in comparison to its later extent thanks to the wartime strength of the Royal Navy.\textsuperscript{132}

The disruption to trade brought about by the 1798 rebellion and a 1799 duty increase of 4d. saw consumption plummet to under half of the 1797 figure of 9,041,411 pounds. It took almost a century for legitimate tobacco imports to return to such heights again. The tripling of duty between 1800 and 1819 resulted in a generally stable pattern of official consumption averaging 5.4 million pounds per year. The tipping point occurred in 1819 when duty rates of 4s. per pound precipitated a reduction in the yearly figure to 3.3 million pounds, the nadir occurring in 1821, when 2.5 million pounds was recorded. Despite the objections of members of the trade and the grumblings of the consumer the state continued to increase duties. The increases, despite the fall in legal imports, answered acute financial problems for the state (see fig 3.8). The long term development of the industry was sacrificed in favour of the State’s immediate requirements.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & 1794 & 1796 & 1799 & 1802 & 1805 & 1811 & 1814 & 1816 & 1821 \\
\hline
Rate in pence & 6 & 8 & 10 & 17 & 11 & 26 & 32 & 38 & 48 \\
\hline
Consumption (pounds in millions) & 5.04 & 5.90 & 4.48 & 4.85 & 5.34 & 6.27 & 5.96 & 4.84 & 2.58 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Effect of duty rate changes on consumption in Ireland, 1793-1821.}
\end{table}

Source: \textit{Account of Number of Pounds Weight of Tobacco and Snuff charged with Duty, 1790-1826}. H.C 1826, (226), xxii 231.

The legitimate trade’s stance, concerning smuggling brought on by excessive duty and supported by leading economic commentators, was ignored.

The true level of consumption was the subject of intense debate. The widely held popular belief was that official consumption figures fell well below that of actual

\textsuperscript{132} \textit{S.C Tobacco} 1844, evidence of James Dombraine, q.7353-7355.
consumption, the shortfall was being made up in smuggled tobacco. The government, content with increasing revenue accrued from duty increases, ignored the fall in consumption amongst a growing population (see fig. 3.9).

Fig. 3.9 State revenue from tobacco imported into Ireland 1800-26.

The increase in duties, the economic downturn following the Napoleonic Wars and the reduction in the strength of the Royal Navy patrolling the coast were all factors that encouraged smuggling on an enormous scale. The remainder of the century saw more modest rate changes ranging from 36d. to 42d (see fig 3.10).

Fig. 3.10 Duty rate changes on unmanufactured tobacco in Ireland, 1789-1918 in pence per pound.

The consumption rate rose steadily upwards for the remainder of the century and by 1892 had returned to 9 million pounds in a now much reduced population. There was however

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133 J.R. M'Culloch A dictionary, practical, theoretical, and historical, of commerce and commercial navigation, p.1164.
one period during the 1845-51 famine when rising consumption faltered. In 1847 poundage fell to 5.1 million pounds from its thirty year high of 5.9 million pounds in 1846. The poundage fell below 5 million pounds in 1849 and hovered at the 4 million mark until 1856 when it reached 5.1 million pounds. It was only in 1859 that pre-famine levels were regained in 1859 when 5.9 million pounds was recorded. This was not an isolated phenomenon as tea consumption also fell. In contrast to tobacco, tea’s decline was not as pronounced, was of a shorter duration and, once it resumed its upward path, its growth was greater than tobacco (see fig. 3.11).

Fig 3.11. Tobacco and tea consumption 1845-60 (pounds).

It is estimated that the Irish population grew from four million in the 1790s to just over eight million by 1841. The official figure of 9 million pounds of tobacco recorded in 1798 was thus consumed at a per capita rate of over two pounds per person. The reduced figures thereafter amongst an increased population was one of the principal arguments of those who felt smugglers were responsible for making up the shortfall in official consumption. This argument was strengthened by the fact that as the century wore on tobacco consumption rose steadily amongst a falling

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population in a period when large scale smuggling was no longer in operation. The uncertainty surrounding the early nineteenth century censuses also contributes to the uncertainty of per capita consumption at least until after the 1841 census which many commentators profess to be the beginning of a more reliable system of census taking.  

Analysing the effect of demographic changes on tobacco consumption is therefore fraught with difficulty. The amounts smuggled into the country can never be definitively known and however eminent the economic commentators were, their calculations are subject to criticism. One opponent to the view that smuggling was conducted on the enormous scale suggested is B.W.E. Alford, who in his study of the Wills tobacco company, cited the difficulties posed in concealing such amounts in the manufacturing process from excise officials and the size and frequency of the shipping fleet required for transportation. He believed that adulteration was a greater danger than smuggling. Nevertheless other figures provide a conservative calculation for per capita consumption in nineteenth-century Ireland.

The economic condition of most people improved after the famine aided by wage increases. Skilled Irish workers’ wages increased over the last half of the century and came within ten per cent of their British equivalents. Unskilled Irish urban and rural workers’ wages equated to seventy-five per cent of their cross channel counterparts. From the 1840s there were fewer and comparatively modest levels of retail prices increases which tended not to effect consumer demand negatively. A comparison of prices between Louth traders, Francis Brodigan, of Drogheda and P.J. Carroll, show that Brodigan’s roll tobacco prices in the 1790s

136 B.W.E. Alford, W. D. and H. O. Wills, pp 19, 76, 84.
ranged between 11d. to 2s.2d. per foot while P.J. Carroll sold it at 2s 5d. in the 1840s. In 1883 Carroll’s sold ‘Target’, a branded roll tobacco, at 3s.6d. per foot.\textsuperscript{138} The advent of the mass-produced penny cigarette had the effect of curtailing price increases throughout the whole industry thereby permitting a relatively better off population to increase consumption.\textsuperscript{139}

Andy Bielenberg and David Johnson argue that \textit{per capita} consumption of tobacco in Britain and Ireland from 1800 to 1914 reveal exceptionally low figures for Ireland particularly in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The very low figure of 0.38 pounds per head recorded in 1820-1 strikingly illustrates the facile government belief that illicit consumption was not significant and warns readers that such records offer a continuous but imperfect record of official as opposed to actual consumption. Irish \textit{per capita} consumption (see fig. 3.12) decreased by over half between 1800 and 1820 while the population was experiencing rapid growth. Following the famine, tobacco showed rapid \textit{per capita} growth in a much reduced population.

British consumption is seen to be higher than Irish levels throughout the greater part of the century. In 1853 British smokers consumed nineteen ounces while in Ireland the equivalent was twelve ounces, both were considerably less than the 70 ounces per capita recorded in Denmark.\textsuperscript{140} However Irish smokers overtook their British equivalents in 1886 when they consumed twenty-five ounces \textit{per capita}. (See fig 3.12). The Irish rate increased at a much quicker pace reaching thirty-two ounces


in 1892, a figure not reached by the more slowly increasing British rate until 1906.

Eventually Irish per capita consumption reached forty ounces in 1910 by which stage Irish smokers were consistently ahead of their cross channel counterparts.¹⁴¹

Fig. 3.12. Tobacco consumed per capita in Britain and Ireland (in pounds) 1800-1910.

Treasury officials noted the nineteenth-century increase in Irish consumption. They estimated Irish tobacco duty collected per capita in 1819 equated to fifty-seven per cent compared with 100 in Britain. By the end of the century the figures had reversed showing Irish figures equalling 134 per cent to Britain’s 100. Irish tea revenue per capita in comparison only reached a high of sixty-six per cent in 1869-70.¹⁴²

The data presented by Bielenberg and Johnson, drawn from Abstract of British historical statistics, and Treasury records, can be taken as a reliable guide to

¹⁴¹ A. Bielenberg and D. Johnson, ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland: 1800-1914’ in Irish Economic and Social History, 27 (1998), App. 1, 2. Imperial Revenue (Collection and expenditure) (Great Britain and Ireland) annually 1900-10.

¹⁴² Imperial revenue (collection and expenditure). Copy of memorandum by the Treasury on the subject of (1) the amounts contributed, so far as can be ascertained, by the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland respectively to the revenue collected by imperial officers at intervals since the union of the British and Irish Exchequers; (2) the expenditures out of the amounts so contributed upon local services in Great Britain and Ireland respectively; (3) the expenditure out of the amounts so contributed on imperial services. H.C. 1894 (313) li, 149, pp 9-10, 24.

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official consumption.\textsuperscript{143} An alternative view of consumption levels is provided by Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald in \textit{UK Smoking statistics}.\textsuperscript{144} Here the \textit{per capita} increase included all of the United Kingdom and provide data for male and females, and age cohorts. Male consumption reached a high of \textit{c.}112 ounces in 1914 and when all adults, including women, are included the \textit{per capita} figure is reduced by half but is always greater than those of Bielenberg’s and Johnson’s.\textsuperscript{145} Both sets of figures show that from the late 1880s tobacco consumption increased steadily brought about by increased manufacturing efficiency which kept prices low, the growing popularity of the cigarette and increasing consumption by women.

VII

During the nineteenth century the tobacco trade, its customers and the state benefitted from an increase in legitimate consumption which was aided by a contentious but stable rate of duty, a decline in smuggling, an improving post-famine standard of living and the advent of mass produced cigarettes. But circumstances changed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The 1909 budget began an era when sharp rises in duty became common. The 8d. increase was condemned by Thomas Gallaher, who said it would be ‘hard on the working man’ and furthermore he was surprised at the increase because he thought the Liberal Party of Lloyd George ‘was the working man’s friend.’\textsuperscript{146} Vincent Carroll, shying away from political comment, said it would lead to a ‘fall in consumption.’\textsuperscript{147} Various Irish M.P.s spoke during the budget debate on the effect the twenty per cent rise would have on the very poor in Ireland. John Redmond, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party used figures from reports of the Congested Districts Boards to

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, pp 14-16.
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{ITTJ}, May 1909
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
illustrate the hardships imposed on even ‘well-to-do’ families in these areas. One family whose yearly income of £23 8s. involved an annual expenditure of £3 9s., equalling one sixth of their earnings, on tobacco, which Redmond considered one of the ‘necessaries’ of life. These claims were sustained when even the most destitute felt the effects of the increase within a week. The Balrothery Board of Guardians in County Dublin permitted their tobacco supplier to add the price increase to their next bill.

The 1909 duty increase resulted in a sharp fall in state revenue from tobacco in Ireland in the following year but returned to normal levels in the years leading to the outbreak of war in 1914 (see fig. 3.13). The enormous financial pressure on the British government during the First World War resulted in tobacco duties more than doubling from the 3s 8d. in 1909 to 8s 2d. in 1918. The wartime increases however saw an increase in consumption and resulted in a considerable financial gain for the state at a time when it needed it most. These exceptional circumstances, driven by the stress of wartime conditions, produced the opposite effect predicted by manufacturers following the 1909 budget. During the war the Irish tobacco trade saw a ‘marked increase in prosperity’ throughout the country except in Dublin where the loss of men to the armed forces and the munition factories in England caused a decline in demand.

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148 Donegal News, 8 May 1909.
150 ITTJ, Apr. 1916. Address by R.H. Goodbody to Dublin United Tobacconists Association annual reunion.
The increase in consumption allied to the duty increases helped to increase the state’s revenue during a period of severe financial difficulties. Speaking during the 1918 budget debate Andrew Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the House of Commons of his confidence that the duty increase would not impede consumption and he estimated the duty increase would generate an additional £8 million in revenue. Bonar Law justified the increase in duty and the granting of shipping space to tobacco on the grounds that in importing tobacco we are ‘almost importing money’ and he noted the large proportion of tax paid by tobacco consumers to the state.\textsuperscript{151} The increase in consumption in Ireland saw revenue from tobacco double from just over £2 million in 1914 to £4.48 million in 1918, the figures for the entire United Kingdom in the same period increased from £19.2 million to £60.5 million (see fig. 3.14).

\textsuperscript{151} HC Deb., 22 Apr. 1918 vol. 105 cc715-16.
Fig. 3.14. Total U.K. tobacco revenue showing Irish contribution 1900-1920.


Tobacco had a good war. The pre-war anti-tobacco groups became marginalised as the percentage of smokers in the adult population grew steadily during the war, but soldier’s heavy consumption which was forecasted to continue in peacetime became a cause of concern for army doctors.\textsuperscript{152} Throughout the war tobacco consumers not only feared duty increases but also threats to supply. The final year of the war saw considerable public anxiety regarding the availability of tobacco, beginning with widespread rumours of tobacco rationing in January. In February the government committed itself to providing all the shipping required for tobacco imports but by March the manufacturers stock was reduced to six months’ supply. In May 1918 the government substantially increased duties by 1s.9d. to 8s.2d. By September the Tobacco Control Board, established in 1917 to administer the supply and manufacture of tobacco, declared the worst of the shortages over despite the loss of consignments to German submarine attacks. Yet supply problems did occur. The leading Irish trade journal cited the arrival of American servicemen, the supplying of the British Army in Russia and increased civilian demand, particularly in munitions manufacturing areas, as reasons for the shortages. Localised

\textsuperscript{152} Irish Times, 13 Jan. 1917
shortages continued into 1919 as manufacturers repaired or replaced machinery that had not had the opportunity or the required materials to do so during the conflict.153

A shortage of cigarettes was reported in July 1919 when the deficiency of cigarette-making machines could not keep pace with the numbers of former pipe-smoking soldiers who had converted to cigarettes during the war.154 This alteration in consumption habits was no doubt aided by government contracts with firms such as Goodbody’s, who supplied Irish regiments with 1.3 million Irish-manufactured duty-free cigarettes during the course of the war.155

By 1930, seventy-five per cent of the tobacco products in the Irish market were produced by British firms manufacturing in Ireland.156 One reason for Irish smoker’s preference for British brands, including Northern Ireland’s Gallaher’s, may lie in the inability of Irish Free State firms to manufacture and market cigarettes at a sufficient scale to compete with their overseas rivals. The seventeen tobacco firms in the Free State in 1926 and 1929 employed just over 2,000 people which included two Dublin firms with only twenty-one workers between them and one Cork city firm with just six.157 These under-capitalised businesses could obviously not supply the Irish market with sufficient produce and their demise was more a question of economic scale and not necessarily a rejection of Irish products per se.

The takeover of Goodbody’s, the largest tobacco firm in the Free State, by P.J. Carroll’s in 1929, was followed by the floating of the enlarged company in 1934 on the Irish stock exchange. The absence of Gallaher’s from the market in the early 1930s, as noted in chapter one, created opportunities for the Dundalk firm to increase

154 ITIJ, Jul. 1919.
155 ITIJ, Apr. 1919.
156 Irish Times, 19 Aug. 1930.
its market share, especially in the ever increasing cigarette market with its flagship brand ‘Sweet Afton’. Irish consumers now had a brand that was manufactured and marketed along the most modern methods which resulted in it making inroads into the cigarette market share held by the British companies.\textsuperscript{158}

Whatever the provenance of the tobacco, its consumption continued on an upward trend despite the economic hardship of the great depression years and the stagnant population of the 1930s. Its consumption provided much needed revenue to the state (see fig. 3.15).

\textbf{Fig. 3.15. Irish tobacco consumption and receipts 1924-1935.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{tobacco_consumption.png}
\caption{Irish tobacco consumption and receipts 1924-1935.}
\end{figure}


An examination of tobacco consumption statistics in economically developed countries in the twentieth century compiled by Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald present a credible account of consumption during 1920-35 and allow for comparison between states. Of eight of the northern European states examined, Ireland had a \textit{per diem} consumption in 1935 of 5.6 grams, making it one of the lowest of these countries. Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald provide statistics which show that in 1931 Belgium recorded the highest \textit{per diem} figure of nine grams, Denmark’s highest \textit{per diem} consumption of eight grams occurred in 1920 but was followed by decreasing amounts thereafter. Both these countries are the outliers in the group in contrast to other states including Ireland whose consumption averaged six grams with Finland

\textsuperscript{158} B.W.E. Alford, \textit{W. D. and H. O. Wills}, p. 386.
the lowest at three grams. The modest British rate of *per diem* consumption in 1935 was slightly greater than Ireland’s but increased more rapidly reaching 8.8 grams a decade later.\(^\text{159}\)

VIII

Advertising was one of the key factors in driving tobacco consumption levels in the nineteenth century. Tobacco advertisements in Irish newspapers changed very little in format between 1780 and 1880. Small sized and consisting entirely of text, they were largely indistinguishable from other products. The 1782 advertisement by Dublin wholesaler John Nevin was typical, it announced the arrival of thirty hogsheads of tobacco amongst other goods, using the same text over a period of eight weeks.\(^\text{160}\) In 1783, a Kilkenny retailer politely requested the public’s consideration of a list of tobacco varieties on sale at wholesale prices at his premises and that samples would be provided prior to sale.\(^\text{161}\) But there were exceptions to this conservative approach. In 1855 an advertisement from Thomas Weekes, a Dublin tobacconist, carried a personalised attack on ‘that trash called Limerick and Dundalk tobacco.’ An 1867 advertisement for Edward Keevil, a Dublin pipe manufacturer and retail tobacconist, took up the entire front page of the *Freeman’s Journal*.\(^\text{162}\)

With the introduction in the late 1870s of American brands onto the Irish market advertisements grew larger and more targeted. The message of this advertising centred on the purity of the product, implying that all other tobacco in the United Kingdom was inferior. American firms went so far as to publish the results of official chemical analyses showing that their products had not been adulterated,

\(^{159}\) Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald, *International smoking statistics: Tobacco Trade Review* 1 Sep. 1914. During the First World War British frontline troops were issued a free 2oz pack of tobacco weekly, which equates to 57 grams or 8 grams per day.


\(^{161}\) *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 28 Jun. 1783.

\(^{162}\) *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Apr. 1855. 12 Aug. 1867.
which some British manufacturers had accused them of.\footnote{Kerry Evening Post 2 Nov. 1878.} The American approach to advertising was in direct contrast to that of the smaller Irish manufacturers such as O’Neills of Bagnalstown whose advertising consisted of the firm’s name, location and a statement that they manufactured tobacco and snuff, and which remained unchanged for a decade.\footnote{Nationalist and Leinster Times, 2 Nov. 1901. 27 Feb. 1909.}

At the turn of the nineteenth century mass advertising was anathema to most Irish firms. Biscuit makers Jacob’s and brewers Guinness’s spent their small advertising budgets entirely on instore advertising pieces such as showcards and branded mirrors.\footnote{Leabhar Na H’Eireann The Irish Year Book (Dublin, 1910), pp 309-17. Hugh Oram, The advertising book: the history of advertising in Ireland (Dublin, 1986), pp 16, 21.} In 1909 a prominent textile firm informed the Evening Herald ‘our people don’t believe in advertising.’ The newspaper agreed, but suggested that the Irish are a ‘suspicious people’ and wary of ‘flamboyant’ advertising.\footnote{Evening Herald, 13 Apr. 1909.} The development of colour lithography in the 1870s enabled the nascent advertising industry in Ireland to present their client’s products on showcards in colour. The use of colour enabled the manufacturers to produce more creative images that supported the marketing of products in contrast to the earlier monochrome advertising.

The Gallaher Company, whose owner, Tom Gallaher, was a frequent visitor to the U.S.A., fully embraced the American style of brand promotion. From the mid-1880s his company placed substantial advertising in the national, local and trade press. The advertisements increased in size over time and boldly emphasised the scale of his operation, announcing the increasing amount of duty paid to the state yearly and the tonnage sold weekly allowing the reader to assume that such large sales were synonymous with a good product.\footnote{Kerry Weekly Reporter, 15 May 1886., Kerry Sentinel, 17 Mar. 1888.} Gallaher’s advertising strategy later...
changed to introducing branded products that benefitted from new manufacturing or packaging processes. The advertising campaign for ‘Two Flakes’ pipe tobacco exemplified how new selling points such as a range of differently sized and decorated tins sealed by a ‘patent band’ and a growing choice of mild, medium and full flavour variants created an ever improving image for the brand in the consumer’s mind.168 Greater use of imagery combined with text was another development used to advertise pipe mixtures such as the ‘Gold Bond’ and ‘Paragon’ in 1906 where the emphasis was on ‘coolness’ and ‘progress.’169 Gallaher’s used a more humorous approach in advertising its ‘Park Drive’ cigarette which contributed to the brands success. (see figs. 3.16-17).

Fig. 3.16 ‘Paragon’ newspaper advertisement 1906.


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168 *Belfast Newsletter*, 16 Apr. 1895.
Fig. 3.17. ‘Park Drive’ cigarette advertisement 1910.

In the early twentieth century Gallaher’s promoted a coupon campaign in which smokers could win a share of a considerable £30,000 prize fund.\textsuperscript{170} Gallahers also continued to invest heavily in pipe tobacco advertising. While their larger spend on cigarette advertising can be seen as a competitive tactic to gain UK market share, their support for the ‘War Horse’ pipe brand in particular can be viewed as defending a still relevant pipe market in Ireland during the 1920s.\textsuperscript{171}

It can be argued that Tom Gallaher availed of every opportunity to promote his company and its products. While often described as a modest man in his private life his willingness to engage with the press in commercial matters presented him with frequent opportunities to promote his enterprise and its products. In 1899 Gallaher’s skill for promotion once led him to lead the press and the public into believing that he was going to purchase the lakes and surrounding land in Killarney, County Kerry, which helped to keep his name and that of his business in the papers for many weeks.\textsuperscript{172} His Belfast factory was the subject of recurring and often hagiographic newspaper articles as was his rise from humble beginnings to international businessman.\textsuperscript{173} He encouraged inspection of his Belfast factory by visiting groups from all walks of life including the Irish National Teachers Organisation in 1904 and that of the lord lieutenant, Lord Wimborne, in 1915. Such visits typically ended with a presentation of produce to the visitors and a photo opportunity for Gallaher to promote the business.

The final closure of Goodbody’s was attributed by some to its relatively poor record in advertising in contrast to that of the company’s purchaser, Carroll’s, who were described as ‘persistent advertisers’ who heavily advertised their ‘Mick

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 11 May 1900. 19 Feb. 1904.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 Jan. 1929.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Belfast Newsletter}, 4 May 1927.
McQuaid’ and ‘Sweet Afton’ brands. Advertising by itself could not however guarantee commercial success. Clunes of Limerick, who frequently advertised its pipe tobacco products in the national press, succumbed to the rise of the cigarette. In the mid-1930s the company retained Kenny’s advertising agency to plan its advertising campaign based on its plug tobacco products, which was conducted across the country reaching a combined readership of 624,000 at a cost of £178 19s. 

From the 1880s the more successful Irish firms followed Gallaher’s lead by advertising at a greater level that was previously thought necessary. In the 1890s and 1900s, manufacturers when promoting their products to their more conservative pipe-smoking consumers used brand names and advertisements that alluded to a Gaelic Ireland, complete with imagery of round towers, shamrocks and wolfhounds which was in tune with the ethos of the Gaelic revival movement at the turn of the century. Brand names were based on historical place names such as ‘Kincora’, Donore Castle’ and ‘Banba’, and on popular fictional characters such as ‘Mick McQuaid’. Carroll’s produced ‘Anti-Combine Plug’, so named to highlight the firm’s non-allegiance to any American or British conglomerate. These and other Irish-themed brands competed against Imperial Tobacco’s ‘St. Bruno’ and ‘Wills Connemara Snuff’, potentially drawing tobacco consumers into making choices regarding tobacco that reflected the simmering nationalist-unionist tensions in the pre-war years. Advertising for tobacco products in the newspapers and in shops

174 The Kerryman, 14 Sep. 1929. 
175 Connacht Tribune, 14 Apr. 1923. 
176 Clune (N.A.I. BR/LIM 6/2/1). 
178 ITTJ, Dec. 1900.
was supplemented by outdoor advertising in the form of enamel signs and posters on trams, buses and in railway stations (see fig 3.18-19).  

Fig. 3.18 Mick McQuaid enamel poster c. late 1920s


Fig. 3.19 Clune’s ‘Sarsfield Plug’ enamel advertising poster c.1910-40.


The Imperial Tobacco Company’s commercial assault on the Irish market commenced in 1901-2. During and after the tobacco war they introduced the concept of exclusive window and shop interior displays where professional window dressers fitted out the entire premises with Imperial Company branding as part of a contractual bonus scheme (see fig. 3.20).  

Fig. 3.20 The Park Kiosk, Limerick.


From the 1880s another point of emphasis contained in Irish manufacturers’ advertisements was how strongly they stressed the need for consumers to ensure their purchase bore the manufacturers stamp. This served two purposes. Firstly it warned the consumer of potential counterfeit products and secondly it intimated that their brand was worthy of imitation. The call for vigilance was justified as some producers in the Imperial group manufactured Irish roll tobacco in England for the

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180 ITTJ, Apr. 1902.
English and Irish market, complete with Irish imagery stamped on the product. In 1907, the Irish Industrial Development Association took issue with William Clarke of Liverpool, a member of the Imperial group, who produced an ‘Irish Plug’ brand complete with Irish imagery and the words ‘Home Grown’ on its packaging which the Association felt ‘was calculated to deceive the public’ into believing that it was of Irish manufacture. Following an extensive exchange of legal correspondence the English firm removed the wording from the product. Ploys such as these by English manufacturers thus offered the Irish pipe smoker with a cheaper option of English origin. But by the 1900s it would seem that a mixture of patriotism, local loyalty and the superior quality of the Irish product ensured that the Irish made product overcame this challenge.

The advanced manufacturing processes from the 1880s is one of the elements that Botterill et al deemed necessary for the mass marketing of products. The product itself was well established and was then a widely produced and branded consumer good. Secondly the existence of a local and national press and a countrywide rail system that enabled the movement of goods and newspapers carrying advertising for non-local and international tobacco brands was fully utilised by larger manufacturers. The Irish pipe smoker at the beginning of the twentieth century now found that while his product was standardised he had a greater choice and his brand had attained a regional if not national appeal as opposed to a merely local following. The decision to smoke a particular type of tobacco or blend was no longer limited to local influences but individual smoker’s choices, which in turn

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182 Cork Examiner, 5 Feb. 1907. Clarke’s was founded in Cork in 1830.

183 Bielenberg and Johnson., ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland’, p. 15.

could be influenced and affirmed by advertisements featuring sportsmen, entertainers, the army and the navy and by patriotic and geographic themes.  

From the early 1870s advertising featuring cigarettes can be found in the pages of the national press. One of the first entrants into the fledgling Irish cigarette market was the Ottoman Tobacco and Cigarette Company of London, whose new Dublin depot was opened in 1872 to cater for the ‘nobility and gentry’ by providing the finest ‘handmade cigarettes’. Such was the confidence of the firm in their Irish venture, that they offered sample boxes to those who applied by post. J. Grunebaum of Bond Street, London, advertised at a more local level by informing the readers of the *Dundalk Democrat* of his range of products including cigarettes which he sold in denominations of tens, twenties, fifties and hundreds including his cheapest brand named ‘Young Ladies’ which sold at 4s. 6d. per hundred and was clearly branded to attract a potential female market.

John O’Sullivan of the New York House in Cork and Francis O’Farrell of Dublin were prominent local tobacco manufacturers and wholesalers who adopted differing approaches in the 1870s to the arrival of foreign cigarettes and their manufacturers into Ireland. At this time O’Sullivan imported the Spanish brand ‘King Alphonso’, British marques such as ‘Pall Mall’, ‘Oxford’, ‘Cambridge’ and also Turkish and Russian cigarettes. O’Farrell on the other hand produced his own handmade products such as ‘Dublin Beauties’ emphasising the national over the foreign. In the 1880s another Dublin manufacturer J&E Kennedy did the same by advertising brands such as ‘Irish Monarch’, ‘Emeralds’, ‘Irish Beauties’, and ‘Irish Diamonds’. An indication of how seriously American firms viewed advertising as

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a means of penetrating the Irish market was made known in an 1892 court case concerning O’Farrell’s brands. The American firm Allen and Ginter successfully claimed that O’Farrell had infringed its trademarks in terms of colouring and nomenclature.\(^{189}\)

Following the First World War Irish cigarette smokers favoured British brands such as ‘Wills Woodbine’ in preference to domestic cigarettes. Irish manufactured brands fell out of favour resulting in workers being laid off and firms struggling to stay in business. The problem, tobacco workers felt, was the lack of support given to and confidence in Irish manufactured tobacco by Irish consumers.\(^{190}\)

The issue of consumer choice was also debated in the newspapers during the course of the War of Independence and the Civil War. Countess Markievicz, as minister for Labour in 1922, published a poster which mirrored the manufacturers press advertisements and in which the public was told that its duty was to demand Irish-made cigarettes to avoid the loss of £30,000 in state revenue weekly.\(^{191}\) The debate entered into the fevered political atmosphere of the period. M.P. O’Sullivan, a Cork city manufacturer, advertised an unsolicited testimonial from republican prisoners interned on Spike Island who highly praised his firm’s ‘Ardmore’ brand, and who reordered a further 25,000 of them.\(^{192}\)

The quality of Irish tobacco was deemed by some correspondents to have become inferior from the spring of 1922 when smokers complained of bad taste in the mouth and dry throats when consuming Irish-manufactured tobacco.\(^{193}\)

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\(^{189}\) *Irish Times*, 13, 14 Dec. 1882. Both firms’ brands included the words beauties and gems in their name, the court awarded an injunction in favour of the American firm.

\(^{190}\) *Irish Times*, 31 May 1920. The Irish Industrial Development Association received a delegation of women workers from the tobacco industry whose jobs were in jeopardy.

\(^{191}\) Constance de Markievicz, Minster of Labour, *Men and women of Ireland!...your duty is clear!!! Demand Irish-made cigarettes.* (N.L.I.) ILB 300 p. 6 [Item 59].

\(^{192}\) *Evening Herald*, 12 Nov. 1921.

\(^{193}\) *Irish Independent*, 6, 8 Nov. 1922.
manufacturers responded by combining their advertising to inform the public that Irish tobacco was similarly sourced and manufactured as foreign brands, was sold at the same price and benefitted the Irish exchequer and economy to a greater degree.\textsuperscript{194} The joint campaign to convince Irish smokers to try Irish brands included press advertisements, the services of professional window dressers and a promotional film that was shown nationwide emphasising that Irish cigarettes made from Virginia tobacco were as good as foreign ones.\textsuperscript{195} Patriotism alone however failed to attract Irish smokers. The \textit{Irish Times} noted that Irishmen who previously were willing to die for Ireland ‘will not smoke for her.’\textsuperscript{196}

Irish manufacturers were slow to promote their brands, the leading Irish trade journal consistently contained more advertisements from British firms.\textsuperscript{197} In 1922 at an Industrial Development Authority lecture, the dangers facing those who did not advertise was highlighted. The meeting was informed that in previous years Goodbody’s sales had surged following consultations with advertising agencies, the increase in sales resulted in reducing the firm’s accumulated stock and brought about the re-employment of former workers due to increased demand. The meeting also heard that a Dublin manufactured cigarette brand ‘Macs’ was presently selling two million cigarettes per week three months after its launch thanks to an extensive advertising campaign.\textsuperscript{198}

Up to the early 1930s Irish cigarette consumers enjoyed a wide choice of foreign and national brands. Local varieties like Clunes ‘Goldsmith’, Lambkins ‘Lily of Killarney’ and ‘Navy Cut’ and Goodbody’s more widely available ‘Primrose’ and ‘Donore Castle’ failed to attract consumers in sufficient numbers over the long

\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 23 Nov. 1921.  
\textsuperscript{195} \textit{Irish Independent}, 2 Dec. 1921.  
\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Irish Times}, 23 May 1928.  
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{ITJ}, Jun. 1920.  
\textsuperscript{198} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 17 Feb. 1922.
The demise of these firms as manufacturers and the assigning of Belfast-based Gallaher’s as a United Kingdom business left Carroll’s as the principal Free State producer of cigarettes. Their leading cigarette ‘Sweet Afton’ launched in 1919 and aimed then at the Scottish market was effectively relaunched in 1927 as a standard size cigarette complete with new packet design promoted by a horse racing competition in 1928 and a gift scheme that was extensively advertised using full page advertisements. The company introduced a novel form of advertising in the form of ‘Sweet Afton’-branded vans which were equipped with gramophones and a public address system which toured the country promoting the gift scheme and the product at sporting events and public gatherings. While definitive figures for the sales of ‘Sweet Afton’ are not known, the increase in sales can be gauged by the purchase of new cigarette-making machines, the provision of two factory floors in Dundalk for the gift department and the extensive and continuing newspaper advertising in support of the brand.

IX

Besides smoking, tobacco was consumed under other guises in the fields of medicine, agriculture and horticulture. From the sixteenth century tobacco was administered in the form of enemas, gruel, plasters, pills and poultices in an attempt to relieve various ills.

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202 Keenan, The history of P.J. Carroll, p. 26 in chapter on J.M. Carroll. Irish Independent, 29 Mar. 1935. Advertisements announcing the success ‘Sweet Afton’ smokers had when they exchanged coupons for Irish Sweepstake tickets. The advertisement was continually updated and showed that the winners came from across the country indicating a widespread distribution of the brand.
to cure a wide range of ailments. Tobacco’s initial dissemination in Europe was aided by its reputed medicinal qualities. The medical textbooks of Seville physician, Nicholas Monardes, promoted tobacco’s medicinal properties. His Segunde parte del libro was published in 1571 and received its English translation in 1577. This and other works by Monardes became the textbooks for English physicians, who after 1577 would invariably prescribe tobacco cures for a multitude of ailments. Monardes was widely translated and this combined with his respected medical reputation helped in distancing tobacco from the critical view in Europe of its heathen Amerindian origins. Another Spanish physician, Juan de Cárdenas, wrote in 1591, that to record the ailments that have afflicted a multitude of people and which have been successfully cured by tobacco ‘would be to go into infinity.’ Belief in the efficacy of tobacco reached its zenith in the seventeenth century but waned thereafter.

Though the medicinal use of tobacco declined from the eighteenth century, it nevertheless remained in the medical lexicon. In 1822 James O’Beirne, surgeon extraordinary to George IV, prescribed a course of tobacco-based treatment to a boy admitted to Jervis Street Charitable Infirmary in Dublin, with badly injured feet which had brought on traumatic tetanus. The regular treatment for tetanus failed to ease or cure the condition but a regime of tobacco-infused enemas over a month eventually brought about a cure. O’Beirne, who had treated soldiers for tetanus during the Peninsular War without ‘seeing one of recovery’, published this case to

203 Sarah Augusta Dickson, Panacea or precious bane: tobacco in 16th century literature (New York, 1954), pp 94-96. Quoting from Juan de Cárdenas Primera parte de los problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias, (Mexico, 1591).
204 Grace Stewart, ‘A history of the medicinal use of tobacco 1492–1860’ in Medical History, 11 (1967), pp 228-68. Appendix three provides an extensive list of ailments, taken from works consulted, in which tobacco was used to provide relief or a cure between 1492-1860.
advance the use of the tobacco enema.\textsuperscript{206} In 1828, two German chemists isolated a poisonous alkaloid they named nicotine which dented the faith shown by the medical fraternity in tobacco treatments. However tobacco treatments still continued to be administered following this discovery.\textsuperscript{207}

During the 1840s R.W. O’Donovan, a Mayo surgeon, compiled a list of procedures he conducted using a tobacco enema on various patients which concerned hernias or severe constipation. He argued that the use of tobacco enemas had a poor reputation as they suffered from the ‘extravagant claims of its supporters or the unmerited censure of opponents.’ Three of the cases he reported involved middle aged to elderly patients who, prior to his arrival, were given standard treatment. His remedy, using less than recommended doses, resulted in an almost immediate lessening of pain followed by complete recovery in a day or two. The fourth case involved an elderly man who did not respond to the enema and after refusing surgery died two days later. O’Donovan noted that all four were smokers and the administration of tobacco enemas, which resulted in violent nausea, could induce far worse reactions in non-smokers.\textsuperscript{208}

Tobacco was also consumed in the form of pesticides in horticulture and agriculture. Practical advice was published on how to treat vines, peaches, artichokes, asparagus and other greenhouse plants using tobacco smoke as a fumigant or with a combination of substances all of which included tobacco water, made by immersing tobacco leaves and drawing off the liquid. Beyond the world of the gentry’s hothouses tobacco played a part in preventing more mundane conditions

\textsuperscript{206} James O’Beirne ‘A case of traumatic tetanus successfully treated using tobacco with observations’ in \textit{Dublin Hospital. Reports and Communications in Medicine and Surgery, 1818-1830} (Dublin, 1822), pp 343-378.
\textsuperscript{207} Stewart, ‘A history of the medicinal use of tobacco,’ pp 240-44.
such as scab in sheep, where a decoction of tobacco and turpentine successfully eliminated the problem.\textsuperscript{209} In order to obtain the best price at market for their sheep farmers were advised to prepare the sheep and their fleece using a home-made solution of tobacco water combined with arsenic, ammonia and starch.\textsuperscript{210} Non-poisonous and safer substitutes became commercially available during the 1850s and by the 1890s tobacco juice, paste and powder were imported from Scotland in considerable quantities and advertised extensively in newspapers throughout Ireland.\textsuperscript{211}

In 1923 at a Free State government inquiry, Col. Nugent Everard, outlined his longstanding proposals for a nicotine extraction factory in Ireland, for animal and crop treatments, during which he informed the hearing of the difficulties previously articulated by British excise officers. Nicotine extracted from Irish grown tobacco could be produced at one-fifth of the cost of imported nicotine which would represent a considerable saving to the owners of the 25,000 acres under fruit in Ireland and also reduce the national bill of £1.5 million caused by the presence of warble fly in cattle. Prior to independence British Treasury regulations did not permit the release of tobacco for such purposes.\textsuperscript{212} Everard’s proposals also went unheeded by the Free State, whose attitude was determined by the general arguments concerning tobacco cultivation in Ireland a position inherited from ‘the watchdogs of the Treasury.’\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{209} Edmund Murphy, Martin Doyle, \textit{Irish Farmer’s and Gardener’s Magazine and Register of Rural Affairs}, (Dublin, 1834), pp 10, 38, 112, 183, 563.
\textsuperscript{210} Anglo-Celt, 1 Jun. 1849.
\textsuperscript{211} Tuam Herald, 19 May 1855., Western People, 9 Jan. 1892.
\textsuperscript{212} Meath Chronicle, 7 Apr. 1923.Growing tobacco for nicotine (N.A.I., Dept. of Agriculture: Tobacco sub series AG 3/2, 2005/82/175). Belfast Newsletter, 4 Aug. 1921 report of the anger felt by County Armagh apple growers who were denied access to nicotine to relieve them of an infestation of fruit flies.
The consumption of tobacco as a medical treatment or in agricultural use would not have added greatly to the import figures. The non-development of an industry founded on tobacco-based insecticides and pesticides can be seen as a lost opportunity for import substitution and increased employment. The reluctance by British and Free State revenue officials to facilitate the development of nicotine extraction factories stemmed from a fear of potential fraud of one of the state’s largest sources of revenue. The intractable view of officials disadvantaged the tobacco trade and hindered the potential development of economically beneficial industries. Their reluctance to ease regulation was testament to the importance of tobacco consumption to the state’s coffers.

X

Between 1779 and 1935 tobacco consumption in Ireland increased exponentially despite a declining population from the 1840s. Individuals were therefore smoking much more than they had in the past. The various economic and social crises which struck Ireland in the period did not affect the appetite for tobacco consumption. The increase in official tobacco figures from the 1830s can be partly explained by the reduction in large scale smuggling which previously kept official figures down. The subsequent improvement in living conditions amongst a reduced population following the famine and improved production methods created a rise in per capita consumption, particularly of Irish roll pipe tobacco, which continued into the twentieth century. The consumption of cigarettes, augmented by a now more visible female consumer, further increased the per capita consumption of tobacco following the First World War.

The physiological and psychological properties of the ‘divine weed’ were enjoyed across all sections of Irish society, offering solace to the better off and
suppressing hunger amongst the poorest in society. The question of whether Irish people, especially the poorest, were clinically addicted to tobacco can be addressed by comparing Irish per capita figures with other countries. Figures from Bielenberg and Johnson and Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald show that legitimate Irish per capita consumption was quite modest in comparison to European states.\textsuperscript{214} The widespread acceptance of the availability of smuggled tobacco prior to 1840 does suggest that the true rate of per capita consumption was higher. The increased coastal security in the later nineteenth century reduced smuggling as did the stronger measures taken against adulteration. The returns thereafter represent a more reliable account of rising per capita consumption in quantities which were much less than European levels and thus would not indicate high levels of addiction.

The change in the mode of consumption from snuff to pipe tobacco cannot be solely the result of duty rates. If high duties had depressed the demand for snuff, smugglers would have responded by supplying contraband as they did later with unmanufactured tobacco. The precipitous fall in the consumption of snuff from the late eighteenth century suggests that the longer lasting experience of pipe-smoking was better value for money and had become more fashionable. Pipe smoking remained the dominant form of tobacco consumption in Ireland until the 1920s. Locally produced Irish roll tobacco was the most popular variety of tobacco due to its reputation for quality at a reasonable price. Cigars were not generally popular in Ireland, remaining a form of consumption practised at elite levels. Cigarette smoking became increasingly popular in Ireland following the introduction of mass produced British brands from the 1880s. As in other countries the convenience and cheapness of cigarettes lead to its establishment as the main mode of consumption.

Irish tobacco consumption habits differed from other countries. Modes of consumption differed over time and place as in the case of Irish and English preferences for snuff. The popularity of cigars amongst all classes in Britain and some European countries was in contrast to Ireland where they were not widely consumed at any stage in the period. Britain led the world in the adoption of the cigarette which to some was emblematic of fast paced urban twentieth-century life. Despite the rural nature of Irish society the market share of cigarettes exceeded that of pipe tobacco earlier in Ireland than in more industrially-advanced economies.\textsuperscript{215}

Rising levels of consumption required the increasing use of mechanised production and modern business methods including advertising. The improved efficiencies further contributed greatly to the increase in consumption. Advertising was one important way in which companies sought to benefit from this increase. The staid newspaper advertisements used by local manufacturers and retailers in newspapers of the late eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century were replaced by more creative national campaigns for branded products by the larger Irish and international companies from the 1880s. Tobacco companies were innovative in their use of newspaper advertising which was supported by extensive outdoor advertising and promotional material in shops countrywide. The packet or tin was used as a form of advertising, while the brand’s name and associated imagery conveyed associational themes directed at specific groups in society. Two of the most popular and successful forms of promoting brands involved cigarette cards and prize coupons.\textsuperscript{216} These promotions created wider awareness of the brands amongst the consumer’s family and friends and resulted in repeated purchases.

\textsuperscript{215} Nicolaides-Bouman and Wald, \textit{International smoking statistics: passim}.
Chapter Four

Tobacco, tobacconists and society.

This chapter will examine how individuals and groups viewed the consumption of tobacco. It will show that who consumed it was subject to differing societal attitudes which changed over time. Tobacco received a mixed welcome upon its arrival in Europe. Its roots in Amerindian society, where it held sacro-magical significance, led to it being denounced as a spiritual and physical danger to Christians. At the same time the plant was heralded by others as a panacea for a wide number of medical conditions.¹ The debate excited great passions which culminated in a pamphlet war in early seventeenth-century London when opponents of tobacco, most notably James I, railed against the use of tobacco.² His *Counterblaste to tobacco* spurred on what became known as the London tobacco war, with poets, playwrights, princes and physicians contributing to the debate up to the 1660s. By then the economic benefits of tobacco began to outstrip all other considerations.³ James I’s *Counterblaste* and his subsequent statutory actions concerning tobacco are early examples of the cleft stick tobacco presented to future governments. On the one hand was the ever increasing fiscal benefits accruing from tobacco versus the fading belief in tobacco’s medical use and the increasing knowledge that the weed was not so divine.

Objections by groups and individuals to the consumption of tobacco centred on moral, health and economic grounds, with particular reference to its use by the poor, children and women. The research shows that the success of these groups in

persuading people to abandon tobacco was considerably less than that enjoyed by temperance movements dealing with alcohol. The failure of these groups to persuade the largest section of the population, the Catholic poor, to forgo tobacco may have stemmed from the confessional and social divide that existed between them.

The Irish poor’s predilection for tobacco was well documented in parliamentary reports, workhouse records and newspaper articles. Despite abject poverty, the purchase of tobacco represented a considerable outgoing for those living at a subsistence level, which for many social commentators was indicative of their failure to improve their living conditions. The importance of tobacco to the poor in Ireland was also reflected in its role in funerary practices, where invented traditions were employed to justify its presence at wakes. From the 1890s the smoking of cheap cigarettes by children became conflated with the moral panic surrounding the poor physical condition of young men in particular. The popular campaign to limit the sale of tobacco to children resulted in an early example of legislative tobacco control. Attitudes towards women smokers varied across time and class. Until the twentieth century these attitudes limited its use to the very poor or deviant society women. The advent of the mass produced cigarette, coinciding with the emergence of women’s equality and suffrage movements, provided an opportunity to demonstrate that cigarettes represented to women something more than its mere utility.

One section of society which greatly influenced the consumption of tobacco was the armed forces where it was used to relieve boredom in peacetime and stress

5 Irish Independent, 14 Apr. 1909.
whilst on the battlefield. Amid the carnage of the First World War negative societal attitudes towards the use of tobacco were replaced by a greater acceptance of tobacco in society. The inclusion of tobacco amongst soldier’s rations for the first time, the sending of tobacco as gifts to frontline soldiers by members of the royal family and the enthusiastic support of the public in organising tobacco shipments to the front demonstrate that pipes and cigarettes had obtained universal approval.

Despite severe duty rate increases, tobacco consumption more than doubled, which produced much needed additional revenue for the wartime government, its importance reflected in the decision to grant it valuable space in convoy ships. The Anglo-Boer War and particularly the First World War greatly influenced the future direction the manufacture and consumption of tobacco would take. The Great War hastened the change in consumption from pipe tobacco to cigarettes and also created the conditions which permitted a greater degree of societal acceptance of cigarette smoking by women.

Members of the tobacco trade actively contributed to the political life of the country. The chapter reveals that tobacconists and manufacturers benefitting from their commercial success and local prominence, supported movements for the repeal of the act of union, many were active home rule supporters, while others became advanced militant nationalists. Tobacco consumption and consumers are represented in Irish art. Its frequent appearance in the realistic nineteenth century Irish genre paintings of the poor confirms its popularity amongst them while upholding bourgeois opinions on their injudicious consumption. The literary and visual arts display the changing societal position regarding the acceptability of women smoking

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from the late nineteenth century, Shaw’s play *The Philanderer* and Leech’s painting, *The cigarette* provide evidence of such mores becoming more relaxed.

I

There is no evidence of any Irish contribution to the seventeenth century debate surrounding tobacco despite Gaelic bardic attempts to associate tobacco with the increasing Anglicisation of the country. There is also little evidence of moral or medical objections to tobacco in early modern Ireland as the rapidly increasing rate of consumption shows. In 1797 Adam Clarke, an Irish Methodist preacher and academic, published a pamphlet on the use and abuse of tobacco in which he listed the dangers to one’s health, property and soul. In it he conceded that tobacco was of commercial value and because of its large consumption was a source of great revenue to the state but argued that its use will not ‘promote the true interest of the nation’. Providing accounts of the sacred and secular threats posed by tobacco, Clarke’s publication, which was reprinted a number of times, formed a template for future anti-tobacco literature later in the following century.

In the 1840s various temperance movements extended their brief to preclude tobacco use amongst its members as it was viewed as a promoter of drinking habits. In 1842, the *Belfast Newsletter* reported the establishment of the National Anti-Tobacco and Temperance Association in London. Its purpose was to convince drinkers and smokers of the moral and economic dangers involved in their consumption. The article outlined the aims of the league and the strict pledge taken

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9 Adam Clarke, *A dissertation on the use and abuse of tobacco: wherein the advantages and disadvantages attending the consumption of that entertaining weed are particularly considered. Humbly addressed to all tobacco consumers, but especially those among religious people*, (London, 1797), p. 24.
10 Clarke’s work was reprinted in 1812 and 1814. John Lizards published a similarly named book in 1856 as did Louis Silberberg in 1863.
11 *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 Apr. 1844.
by members to abstain from alcohol, tobacco and opium. In what appeared to be a reference to other temperance associations, the writer attacks those who advocated temperance but indulge in tobacco and pleads with ‘all temperance men of every shade’ to abstain from ‘filthy tobacco.’ Temperance societies also condemned, at their meetings and in letters to the national press, tobacco consumption on account of it being the ‘produce of slave labour’ in the southern states of America.

In 1840, a leading Irish teetotaller and anti-tobacco campaigner, James Houghton, combined all three crusades when he appealed to the teetotal population to further deny themselves tobacco, thereby releasing slaves from their bondage. But there was little popular support for an anti-tobacco campaign perhaps because tobacco consumption did not cause the outward difficulties alcohol was responsible for. In 1848, the main speaker at the Tralee Temperance and Anti-Tobacco Society stated that as tobacco gave pleasure its absence would give pain and ‘what man would lay a snare for his own feet’? But recruiting members in County Kerry may have proved difficult. The meeting swore in three new members using a milder form of pledge which was no longer a solemn religious obligation, an indication that recruitment was proving difficult.

In 1856 John Lizars, an Edinburgh surgeon, published the first of many editions of *The abuse and misuse of tobacco*, in which he outlined medical reports from the United Kingdom and abroad of cases where tobacco was the direct cause of numerous ailments, especially of the mouth. Occasionally the reports strayed from the purely medical to those of personal conjecture such as the accounts of the increased nervousness produced by smoking which was noted by an Irish soldier in

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13 *Freeman’s Journal*, 31 Oct. 1840. 5 Nov. 1840.
14 *Kerry Evening Post*, 22 Mar. 1848.
Crimea to cause inaccuracy amongst riflemen.\textsuperscript{15} In 1857 Irish newspapers reported on the ‘tobacco controversy’, a debate in a medical journal, \textit{The Lancet}. Lizars and another eminent surgeon, Samuel Solly, presented anti-tobacco arguments based on their observations and experience, they condemned its consumption in all its forms. The methodology and content of Lizar’s work was critiqued by John Laws Milton, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, whose views were supported by many in the medical profession.\textsuperscript{16} The debate resulted in opposing medical views, which led \textit{The Lancet} to promote moderation as opposed to a complete cessation. The journal defined excessive tobacco use as smoking in the morning or consuming more than two pipefuls or two cigars per day. They deemed ‘youthful smoking’ to be excessive, citing a range of physical and psychological ailments brought on by the abuse of tobacco it also questioned the immorality of excess which led young men to indulge in vice.\textsuperscript{17}

Later in the nineteenth century anti-tobacco campaigners found greater public support and agreement in preventing its sale and consumption, particularly of cigarettes, to juveniles. In 1864 a correspondent pleaded with a Dublin Church of Ireland minister to use his influence to stop the increasing use of tobacco among boys in his parish. The writer argued that smoking was pernicious, promoted idleness and reduced mental capacities and went on to say it caused irreligion as poor boys would resort to stealing to maintain their habit.\textsuperscript{18} In 1872 the \textit{Dublin University Magazine} argued that it was hypocritical of smoking fathers to advise their sons not to smoke, the writer argued that would be juvenile smokers being ignorant of the dangers of smoking saw their elders smoking and considered it the ‘seal and symbol

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\textsuperscript{15} John Lizars, \textit{Practical observations on the use and abuse of tobacco} (Edinburgh, 1856), p. 81.
\textsuperscript{16} John Laws Milton, \textit{Death in the pipe or the great tobacco question} (London, 1857).
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{The Lancet}, 4 Apr. 1857., \textit{The Nation}, 11 Apr. 1857. The debate was also followed in the United States.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 18 Oct. 1864.
\end{flushleft}
of manhood.\textsuperscript{19} The debate continued in the letter pages of Irish newspapers into the twentieth century where it was noted that Norway, parts of the U.S.A., Australia and Canada had already enacted laws prohibiting juvenile smoking.\textsuperscript{20}

In 1904 a bill was introduced in parliament which sought to prohibit the consumption and sale of tobacco to children below sixteen years of age. One of the bill’s provisos was a recommendation from the committee on physical degeneracy which proposed a series of escalating fines for repeat offenders and fines for the person who sold the tobacco, ultimately leading to a loss of the retailer’s tobacco license.\textsuperscript{21} Support for the bill came from the lord lieutenant, Lord Aberdeen, who spoke out against juvenile smoking at the Boy’s Brigade annual inspection in Dublin in 1906 and 1908.\textsuperscript{22} In 1908 a juvenile section of the Irish branch of the British-based Anti-Tobacco League was formed and by 1909 had attracted a membership of over 1,000 members. Members pledged to abstain from tobacco until they were twenty-one years of age.\textsuperscript{23} In 1908 the Children’s Act was passed and, acting on the advice received from parliamentary commissions on physical degeneration and physical training, it prohibited the sale of tobacco to those less than sixteen years of age.\textsuperscript{24} Elements of the act presented problems for the tobacco trade especially when it placed the responsibility on retailers to gauge the age of children. They feared losing custom to those who were purchasing tobacco as part of errands for adults. The severity of the fines was also an issue for small traders who if they sold 1d.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Dublin University Magazine}, Jul.-Dec. 1872, pp 297-8.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Cork Examiner}, 24 Mar. 1903.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Kerry Sentinel}, 10 Aug. 1904.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Irish Times}, 23 Feb. 1906, 11 May 1908.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Irish Times}, 24 Apr. 1908, 4 Jan. 1909.
worth of tobacco to a juvenile they could be fined 20s. A trade publication suggested that ‘parents and teachers’ ‘spank’ children instead.\textsuperscript{25}

Despite some initial reservations from some police commentators, the act resulted in numerous prosecutions throughout the country.\textsuperscript{26} One of the earliest cases saw retailer’s fears realised when a Dublin shopkeeper was fined 20s. for selling a cigarette, priced one farthing, to a juvenile.\textsuperscript{27} The application of fines varied throughout the country. In 1910 a Galway city trader received the sympathy of the court and a fine of 2s.6d. Two years later a Nenagh court imposed a nominal fine of 1d. for a similar offence.\textsuperscript{28} The non-enforcement of the full rigours of the law hints at a level of sympathy by the courts for local businesses. In the following years fewer newspaper reports concerning juvenile smoking cases suggest that the issue had faded from public concern.

The various groups and individuals who campaigned against the use of tobacco in Ireland failed to provide effective opposition to tobacco. The waning belief in tobacco’s medicinal efficacy and the rising concerns amongst the medical community concerning the deleterious physical effects caused by tobacco use were not used to the fullest advantage by anti-tobacco campaigners.\textsuperscript{29} When these concerns were used by anti-tobacco groups and individuals they were augmented with accounts of exceptional examples of physical degeneration caused by tobacco use which were the antithesis of tobacco supporter’s claims.\textsuperscript{30} In essence the anti-tobacco groups and individuals failed to halt the increase in tobacco consumption in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{ITTJ}, Feb. 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{Donegal News}, 10 Apr. 1909.
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 15 Jun. 1909.
\item \textsuperscript{29} R. B. Walker, ‘Medical aspects of tobacco smoking and the anti-tobacco movement in Britain in the nineteenth century’ in \textit{Medical History}, 24 (1980), p.391. Dr. Little ‘Dr Littles observations on some of the causes of tedious labour’ in \textit{The Dublin journal of medical science} vol. ix (Dublin, 1836), pp 6-27. Dr Little’s advice for tobacco enemas ‘to be laid aside’ during childbirth was an early example of the Irish medical professions growing mistrust in tobacco treatments.
\end{itemize}
Ireland particularly among the poorer in society. One possible reason for their lack of success was the non-committal position by the Catholic clergy regarding tobacco. Their silence on the matter was in contrast to their frequent condemnations concerning alcohol abuse and sexual immorality.\textsuperscript{31}

II

The Irish poor’s consumption of tobacco, which represented a considerable financial outlay, frequently attracted critical comment from visitors to Ireland. Their accounts concerning the poor and tobacco express concern and condemnation in what the visitors viewed as the mismanagement of limited resources, these opinions were frequently echoed by anti-tobacco campaigners and by witnesses to the poor law commissions. Ireland’s poor economic situation in the decades leading to the Great Famine resulted in a worsening position for those at the lowest level of society, their consumption of tobacco and whiskey was viewed as a cause of, rather than a symptom of their economic plight. In 1837, an English visitor was told by his coach driver that labourers spent a penny per day on tobacco, among whom it was an ‘absolute necessary’ to such an extent they would go without bread for a day rather than be without tobacco.\textsuperscript{32} In 1844, Rev. Dalton, a parish priest in Tipperary, described how ‘hundreds’ did not attend church on Sunday because of their poor clothing resulting from them ‘sending every penny off’ for tobacco.\textsuperscript{33}

While largely sympathetic in his views on the Irish poor, Johann Kohl, wished for another ‘Father Matthew to arise to wean the poor Irishwomen off tobacco.’ In 1844 he visited the ‘hut’ of a beggar-woman in Bantry, County Cork, who spent 15s. per year on tobacco, which he considered ‘a useless weed’, as

opposed to bread which cost one half-penny per day. The woman in question, who lived both figuratively and literally on the margins of the town in a miserable cabin with her extended family, including a handicapped adult relative, surely derived some level of solace from her pipe smoking.\textsuperscript{34}

The houses of industry and the workhouses provide a locus where the relationship between the poor, the state and tobacco consumption can be examined. The provision of tobacco to the inmates of these establishments was an issue which was a concern for those who ran the institutions and for the rate payers who funded them. Comments by management of two such institutions, though separated in time by a century, express similar positions on the need for tobacco for their inmates. In 1820 the governors of the House of Industry in Dublin, brought to the attention of the commissioners sent to examine their finances, the excessive yearly expenditure for tobacco which amounted to £200. They explained that as a result of their experience a liberal provision of tobacco kept the ‘lunatics and idiots in their care more tranquil’ and ‘amenable to work’ and reduced the risk of them destroying property.\textsuperscript{35}

One place where tobacco could not be bought or gifted in the years prior to the famine was the workhouse, where prohibition of its use was one of the many rules which influenced the poor not to enter in pre-famine times. The Poor Law Commissioner, George Nicholls, noted that the houses of industry established in Ireland in the eighteenth century had ‘generally allowed’ tobacco.\textsuperscript{36} However the workhouses established following the passing of the Irish Poor Relief Act of 1838

\textsuperscript{34} Kohl, \textit{Travels in Ireland}, p.158.
\textsuperscript{35} (Ireland) \textit{Report of the commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inspect the House of Industry, and to report upon the management thereof, with a view to the introduction of such reforms and improvements, as would render it, not only less expensive, but more efficient for the purposes for which it was originally designed}. H.C. 1820 (84) viii 227 pp 35, 43.
initially prohibited the use of any sort of tobacco. Notwithstanding this provision, it seems some unions adopted a different approach. In 1841, the Cork Union purchased various amounts of it which prompted their auditor to advise against future purchases. In 1842, the guardians of the North Dublin Union banned visitors from supplying tobacco to the inmates. An 1844 report of the weekly meeting of the Ballina Union, in County Mayo, indicates that tobacco was purchased weekly in contravention of workhouse rules. The restriction on the use of tobacco in the workhouses discouraged many of those entitled to enter from doing so. Lowtherstown Union workhouse in County Fermanagh had only four inmates in 1845 which the guardians attributed to the harshness of the rules, especially the prohibition on tobacco.

During the famine, the boards of Guardians in many unions across the country softened their position in relation to tobacco use in their workhouses. As early as September 1846 the Bailieborough Union sought tenders for tobacco and one year later Nenagh Union followed suit. The poor’s reluctance to enter dissipated in the face of the calamitous famine. In some circumstances, the compelling need for tobacco prompted illicit activity. In 1847 inmates in the North Dublin Union were illicitly supplied with tobacco by workhouse officers which led to their dismissal. The master of the Bailieborough Union workhouse in County Cavan, saw no wrong in allowing inmates to sell their stirabout in order to buy

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37 Arthur Moore, *Compendium of the Irish Poor Law: containing the statutes for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland, and the general orders issued by the Poor Law Commissioners to unions in Ireland* (Dublin, 1846), p. 299.
39 *Connaught Telegraph*, 24 Apr. 1844.
42 *Freeman’s Journal*, 29 Dec. 1847.
tobacco if it was for the ‘benefit of their health’, which resulted in him being reprimanded by the chairman of the board for breaching the rules.\textsuperscript{43} In Cork, guardians debating whether the workhouse diet should be raised to prison standards were told that paupers allowed out on burial duty were reported to be selling and exchanging workhouse bread for tobacco and snuff.\textsuperscript{44} Burdened with greater demands the workhouses eased the restrictions on tobacco over time and local suppliers benefitted greatly from workhouse contracts as even during the period of the famine tobacco found its way into the dietary expenses of some workhouses.\textsuperscript{45}

Tobacco was a factor in creating sectarian tensions in workhouses. The Catholic chaplain of Ballinasloe workhouse accused the Anglican chaplain of actively proselytising by presenting tobacco to Catholics housed there. A decade later Protestant clergy in Killarney were similarly accused of surreptitiously evangelising by offering tobacco to members of their own faith in the workhouse.\textsuperscript{46} In 1869, tensions between inmates over tobacco resulted in the death of an inmate in Sligo workhouse.\textsuperscript{47}

Tobacco consumption became one of the few pleasurable activities permitted in the workhouses. The acquisition of extra tobacco rations was much sought after and was often granted as a reward for undertaking unpleasant or dangerous tasks. In 1853 in the Carlow workhouse, young boys were issued with tobacco and whiskey as a reward for cleaning out cesspools.\textsuperscript{48} In 1880 inmates of the Dundalk Union were each given an ounce of tobacco for burying the decomposed remains of a man, a year

\textsuperscript{43} Anglo Celt, 13 Oct. 1848.  
\textsuperscript{44} Cork Examiner, 7 Jul 1848.  
\textsuperscript{45} Nenagh Guardian, 11 Sep. 1847. Applications invited for tenders to supply goods including tobacco to Nenagh workhouse. Anglo Celt, 7 Jan. 1848.  
\textsuperscript{47} Sligo Champion, 18 Jun. 1869.  
later Wexford Union gave additional tobacco to those who volunteered to assist with blasting in a local quarry.\textsuperscript{49} The case of a carpenter housed in Sligo Union, who by undertaking repair works in the workhouse had saved the Board of Guardians a ‘good deal of money’, reveals the somewhat Dickensian attitude of board members drawn from the town’s middle and upper classes. His request for extra tobacco was resisted by many of the guardians whose arguments stemmed from the concept of the poor and the undeserving poor, the guardians grudgingly gave him an extra half ounce of tobacco per week.\textsuperscript{50} In 1892, the modest annual expenditure on tobacco in Listowel Union amounting to £5.2s. prompted the newly appointed guardians to request the medical officer to cut down on this expense.\textsuperscript{51}

The provision of tobacco to workhouse inmates continued to present ideological difficulties to guardians into the twentieth century. The annual £75 spent on tobacco in Derry workhouse in 1908 was a source of consternation to many of the guardians, as was the fact, described by one guardian as ‘monstrous’, that up to forty women inmates were allocated tobacco. Another remarked that inmates should not get tobacco as many ratepayers are unable to afford an ounce per week.\textsuperscript{52} The largesse of the South Dublin Union was contrasted with those of similar sized English workhouses by a Major Smyth. He noted the excessive number of inmates employed as attendants, entitling them to additional rations, and the 1,200 inmates who were proscribed tobacco by the medical officer which was in stark contrast to the stricter application of workhouse rules in England.\textsuperscript{53}

The position regarding the supply of tobacco to the indigent in the care of the newly created Free State appears to have changed little in terms of the quantities

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\item \textsuperscript{49} \textit{Dundalk Democrat}, 1 May 1880., \textit{Wexford People}, 2 Mar. 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{50} \textit{Sligo Champion}, 8 Oct. 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{51} \textit{Kerry Sentinel}, 13 Feb. 1892.
\item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{Irish Times}, 19 Oct. 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{53} \textit{Irish Times}, 14 Nov. 1913.
\end{itemize}
supplied and the arguments in favour of doing so. In 1924, a weekly savings of 10s. was achieved by Dungarvan guardians who reduced the tobacco allowance for most inmates. The protesting ‘paupers’ were told by the clerk that those ‘supported by the ratepayers’ ‘should not dictate’ as to what they can get.\textsuperscript{54}

Tobacco use by the mentally ill in Ireland was subject to diverse medical opinions. The 1894 annual report on Lunatic Asylums contains a number of medical opinions which express the view that excessive use of tobacco was one of the contributing factors in the increase in cases of lunacy in the country. Despite these opinions, tobacco continued to form a considerable expense in the yearly accounts of the asylums across the country.\textsuperscript{55} In 1901, tobacco as a factor in the development of lunacy in Ireland was largely discounted along with other consumables formerly attributed to the rise in lunacy such as tea and alcohol.\textsuperscript{56} The soporific and becalming nature of tobacco was also the reason for a novel request by Ballinasloe Asylum authorities in 1920 for permission to grow tobacco onsite for the inmates own use. A doctor attached to the asylum declared that if they did not receive an adequate supply of tobacco ‘there would be no controlling them.’\textsuperscript{57}

Outside the workhouse, the tobacco smoking poor became targets of social improvers. The Cottage Dialogues of Mary Leadbeater, a County Kildare Quaker, represent a sympathetic if simplistic approach in describing how the poor could help themselves. One of her discourses concerns the story of the impoverished Tim and Nancy. It tells how Nancy took to the pipe following the death of her son, spending ‘hour after hour sitting in the ashes smoking.’ The dangers to society formed by Nancy’s smoking were shown to be her lack of attention in maintaining her home

\textsuperscript{54} Belfast Newsletter, 25 Oct. 1924.
\textsuperscript{55} Lunacy--Ireland. The forty-third report (with appendices) of the inspectors of lunatics (Ireland) [C7466] H.C. 1894 xlii, 1 401 Appendix G pp 193, 211-12.
\textsuperscript{56} Irish Times, 24 May 1901.
\textsuperscript{57} The Times, 14 May 1920.
and failing to attend to her husband Tim’s comfort upon his return home due to her ‘going about’ with her pipe ‘perpetually in her mouth.’ Tim’s attempts to wean her off the pipe, citing its expense in money and time, failed to stop her smoking. In the end her smoking incidentally caused a fire which resulted in Tim’s death and later, her denigration and eventual death through smoking and drinking. The moral of the tale directed at the female poor inferred that smoking and its associated vices lead ultimately to despair.\textsuperscript{58}

Leadbeater’s work released in 1812 preceded the post-Napoleonic War economic crisis that directly affected the living conditions and existence of Irish society’s lowest social class. The Irish agricultural labouring class suffered a ‘steady and irreversible decline’ in living standards following the end of the Napoleonic Wars but official tobacco consumption trended upwards due to it forming, along with calling on neighbours, their main source of entertainment, especially during periods of unemployment.\textsuperscript{59} The consumption of tobacco by unemployed people who gathered to socialise was viewed by commentators and noted by witnesses at government commissions on the Irish poor as evidence of indolence and incompetence in managing their domestic affairs.\textsuperscript{60}

Tobacco use among the poor was also considered to have contributed to their poor housing, clothing and a monotonous diet. A Queen’s County Justice of the Peace and landlord William Fishbourne, summed up this position in his comments to the 1836 inquiry on the condition of the poor in Ireland. He informed the commission that he paid his labourers in money on a weekly basis and that most of them were ‘improvident’ and ‘were not worth a shilling’ as they were greatly

\textsuperscript{58} Mary Leadbeater, \textit{Cottage dialogues amongst the Irish peasantry} (London, 1811), pp 234, 265-7.
\textsuperscript{60} Poor inquiry, 1836.
addicted to tobacco and whiskey which contributed to their ‘wretchedness’. This was in contrast to ‘others who were better disposed’ and who ‘enjoy comparative comfort’.\textsuperscript{61} The account given to the inquiry by Pat O’Malley, an elderly labourer from County Mayo, presents the view of one whose lived experience is the \textit{raison d’etre} of the inquiry. He presented a contrasting example to the improvidence and lack of foresight by members of the Irish peasantry, espoused by Fishbourne and others of the proprietorial class. He told of spending twenty-five days cutting and saving turf which he sold for 8s. of which he ‘lavished 1s.6d.’ on tobacco, the remainder on shoes.\textsuperscript{62}

Fishbourne’s comment that the labourers were ‘greatly addicted’ to tobacco raises the question of addiction being the true cause of the poor’s attachment to tobacco. The term addiction prior to the twentieth century equated to ‘having a passion for something’ which does not conform to the current medical understanding of the term.\textsuperscript{63} Tobacco consumption was undoubtedly strong enough for impoverished smokers and their families to forgo essentials as a halfpenny a day spent on tobacco could equate to 15s. \textit{per annum} from a yearly household income of between £5 and £9 for a regularly employed labourer. Whether this can be described as addiction in its current sense is somewhat weakened when the amount spent by casual labourers is proportionately reduced in line with their income.\textsuperscript{64} Another factor to consider is the relatively low \textit{per capita} official consumption in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century in comparison to other European countries showing that any claims that the majority of the Irish poor were addicted in a

\textsuperscript{61} Poor inquiry, 1836 appendix D p.121.  
\textsuperscript{62} Christian Johnstone, \textit{True tales of the Irish peasantry, as related by themselves; selected from the Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners} (Dublin, 1836), p. 15.  
\textsuperscript{64} Poor inquiry, 1836 appendix D p. 98.
medical sense cannot be supported. One individual case reported to the Poor Inquiry however does suggest addiction. An aged labourer described how he now begged for a living, and from this source he could not manage to get enough tobacco, ‘which was killing me’ and which the want of was ‘taking away his eyesight.’ He described how when he has not enough money for tobacco he buys tobacco water and ‘steeping tow in it makes that do instead of tobacco.’

The same narrative continued into the 1870s. The *Dublin University Magazine*, dismissing the argument that tobacco was the ‘poor man’s luxury’ estimated that the ten per cent of wages spent by working class fathers on tobacco would be better employed in reducing the educational deficiencies affecting the country. The magazine advised the ‘head of the household’, to take up ‘nobler luxuries’ which would not further pollute the ‘vitiated’ dwellings of the working class.

III

The centrality of tobacco in the life of the poorer classes in Ireland was reflected in its role in their funerary practices. The placing of plates of tobacco or snuff on the body of the deceased for mourner’s consumption was essential to the ritual. Maria Edgeworth offers a fine description of an eighteenth-century Irish wake in the glossary of her novel *Castle Rackrent* in which she outlines the proceedings which involve the provision of tobacco and snuff. The incorporation of tobacco into the ancient wake traditions was noted by folklorist Seán O Suilleabháin.

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as a ‘remarkable adaptation of new knowledge and new material’ into a long established ritual.\textsuperscript{69} In the Irish folkloric tradition Jesus was waked by the apostles. One story relates when St. Thomas visited Christ’s grave he filled his pipe with moss and smoked it resulting in tobacco’s semi-sacred qualities which was used at funerals ‘from that day to this.’ \textsuperscript{70} Other tales have Mary, the mother of Christ, smoking the first pipe during her son’s passion.\textsuperscript{71} The introduction of tobacco into funereal rites under such tenuous accounts hints at an anxious desire by mourners to justify its inclusion in the ritual.

The consumption of tobacco at wakes varied throughout the country. In Cork, kinsmen were given the task of cutting the tobacco and filling the pipes who then distributed these to the men present and also saucers of snuff to the women. All men and women, young and old were expected to take tobacco preceded by a prayer regardless of whether they normally consumed it. This continued throughout the night. On the day of the funeral a man went ahead of the coffin distributing tobacco to those on the way to the church. In Galway, where ‘large quantities’ were consumed at wakes, bodhráns filled with tobacco pipes were placed on all roads leading to the wake-house and on the day of the funeral a man filled a sock with tobacco for those at the church.\textsuperscript{72} In parts of Galway it was considered unlucky to take away any unused pipes from the churchyard and the bereaved family often left pipes at the grave of the deceased (see fig. 4.1).\textsuperscript{73} The pipes, known as ‘Lord have mercy’ pipes, after the prayer said when presented with one at a wake, differed from the commonly used dudeen pipe as it had a much longer stem. These stems were

\textsuperscript{69} Seán Ó Súilleabháin, \textit{Irish wake amusements} (Cork, 1967), pp 9, 14-15, 23.
\textsuperscript{70} Anne Ridge, \textit{Death customs in rural Ireland: traditional funerary rites in the Irish midlands}, (Galway, 2009), pp 63-5.
\textsuperscript{72} O’Crualaoich, ‘The merry wake’ pp 183-4.
\textsuperscript{73} Patricia Lysaght, ‘Hospitality at wakes and funerals’ p. 416.
often broken by the younger mourners who used the bowls as missiles later in the night when raucous games were played.  

Fig. 4.1. Salruck Graveyard, County Galway. c.1890-1903.

Wake hospitality led to occasions which resulted in drunken and ‘unchristian behaviour’ leading to a series of unsuccessful clerical condemnations from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. Tobacco use at wakes and funerals also received early nineteenth century censure from the clergy. In 1831, priests in the archdiocese of Dublin were ordered to forbid the use of tobacco and alcohol at funerals while the practice of distributing pipes at the graveyard was specifically forbidden by the clergy in County Monaghan in 1832. In 1844, the parish priest of Newport, County Tipperary, refused to say mass for deceased parishioners claiming wakes were often the first place people tried tobacco and its presence added to the immoral nature of the occasion.  

Clerical condemnation during the remainder of the century focused on alcohol and by the 1840s English visitors noted ‘whiskey-

74 Ridge, Death customs in rural Ireland, pp 65-7.
75 Nenagh Guardian, 7 Dec. 1844.
drinking’ at wakes ‘was a thing of the past’ and that tobacco and snuff now formed the main part of the ‘wake feast’ (see fig. 4.2).  

Fig. 4.2. N.A. Woods An Irish wake 1819

However the use of alcohol at wakes continued to be subject to denunciation from the clergy into the twentieth century. The continuing use of tobacco hints at it being viewed as being much the lesser of two evils which presented no moral threat to attendees at funerals. The fear of clerical displeasure and the reduced circumstances of the poor failed to prevent them from making preparations for their own wake and funeral. It is well attested that even the most indigent saved up for a decent funeral where plenty of tobacco and pipes would be available to all, the savings for such remaining untouched even during periods of extreme want. Those who failed to make provision would place a considerable burden on their family.

76 Patricia Lysaght, ‘Hospitality at wakes and funerals in Ireland, pp 413-16. 
which often led them into a considerable amount of debt, a sizeable portion being the
cost of tobacco.79

IV

Society’s attitude to women consuming tobacco varied over time and class. During most of the nineteenth century, societal mores sought to separate women from tobacco and tobacco users. This can be seen in the depiction of women who used tobacco in nineteenth century art. Dolores Mitchell has shown how such women were portrayed as outsiders, prostitutes, actresses, lesbians and degenerate society women. By contrast men who smoked cigars, pipes and cigarettes served as symbols of masculine power and assertiveness.80 The emergence of moral campaigns in the mid-nineteenth century, which restrained social activities such as dancing and theatre-going also led to the emergence of new moral codes among which was the persona of the woman who placed her tobacco consumption ahead of her household and maternal duties. These campaigns led to a bourgeois morality based on self-restraint which rejected the decadence of the aristocratic elite and the immorality of the lower orders. The growing, mostly urban, middle class in Britain thus defined what constituted respectability.81 This class and their moral outlook was adopted by the smaller Irish middle class and their rural counterparts, including the substantial tenant farmer where the role of women was defined as that of an obedient wife whose life centred on her husband, family and home. As in Britain tobacco use was frowned upon.82 The strictures on tobacco did not apply to the poorest classes, where those who could procure tobacco or snuff consumed it as they pleased.

82 Ibid., p. 9.
The non-legislative restrictions on women were indicative of the paternalistic and chauvinistic values of the middle class where men practised self-restraint while ‘respectable’ women avoided it. As well as moral principles, members of society were guided on how to conduct oneself by the profusion of books on social etiquette. From the 1830s a plethora of self-help and etiquette books guided Victorian society through a rigid set of communal rules. In these publications it was assumed lady readers did not indulge in tobacco. Exceptions to this gendered view of tobacco were elderly peasant women, gypsies and women of dubious moral character.

Tobacco consumption by elite and middle-class men was governed by a circumscribing set of directions regarding where, when and how they could smoke. Smoking, on the street, in the presence of women and in designated public spaces was frowned upon. Those who ‘successfully aped the gentleman’ were advised that they must be made aware that causing others to inhale the ‘ejected fragrance’ of their cigars is a most offensive insult. Men who conformed to these rules could thereby demonstrate the self-restraint so valued in bourgeois society. The spaces and occasions in which men were denied the opportunity to smoke included any room used by ladies, closed carriages, dining rooms, racecourses, theatres and churches, even the public street was denied to pipe smokers. Prior to the development of safety matches, pipe smoking was largely an indoor pursuit and as the home was considered a feminine space, wealthier consumers dedicated or created smoking

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83 Bibliotheca Londinensis: a classified index to the literature of Great Britain during thirty years (London, 1848), pp 177-81 provides a list of over 400 titles dealing with morals and etiquette.
85 Amos and Haglund, ‘From social taboo to ‘torch of freedom’, p. 3.
rooms in their properties, their less affluent fellow smoker’s resources denying them such facilities.\textsuperscript{89}

In advance of meeting ladies, men who wished to smoke were advised to don smoking jackets and afterwards to rinse their mouths so as not to overpower the delicate perfumes of the ladies with foul smelling clothes and bad breath.\textsuperscript{90} The development of smoking rooms in elite residences and social practices such as women leaving the dining room to allow men indulge in postprandial cigars and port further gendered tobacco consumption.\textsuperscript{91} But there were efforts made to change these habits. In 1888, Oscar Wilde’s \textit{Woman’s World} magazine called for the ending of the ‘ugly and ungallant custom’ of obliging women to retire by proposing that they remain on to smoke cigarettes while the men took their cigars.\textsuperscript{92} While ostensibly protecting women from tobacco, these restrictions, which lessened as the century wore on, also had the effect of limiting the time and spaces where gentlemen could consume tobacco freely.

In eighteenth-century Ireland snuff-taking by elite women was a highly stylised ritual in which proficiency was a marker of good taste and respectability.\textsuperscript{93} In common with men, elite women’s consumption of snuff diminished considerably during the nineteenth century. The habit’s demise was not total, as it was noted that poor elderly women still consumed snuff late into the nineteenth century. Following a visit to the elderly women’s quarters in the North Dublin Union in 1842, William Makepeace Thackeray, advised future visitors to such establishments to bring a snuff

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., p. 256.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Woman’s World}, Feb. 1888.
The acceptability accorded to snuff use among women of all classes in the eighteenth century was not extended to pipe tobacco in the nineteenth. The visible and odoriferous nature of pipe smoking precluded surreptitious indulgence which snuff had allowed.

The German travel writer Johann Kohl gives a sympathetic account of tobacco use among the Irish poor in 1844. In *Travels in Ireland* he witnessed market women at their stalls smoking the dudeen pipe which they kept alight by a lit sod of turf. He also was accompanied by an aged peasant woman on his journey who twice offered him her pipe, which he refused, an act which he wrote was contrary to Irish politeness. The woman left Kohl to join her husband working on the hillside and share the pipe. The short stemmed pipe filled with the strongest of tobacco was often shared between a man and his wife as they went about their labours in the countryside, its solace and its ability to quell the pangs of hunger much appreciated. The prevalence of the dudeen smoking Irish old woman resulted in her becoming a racialised stereotypical image in nineteenth century magazines and newspapers.

Women in the poorer classes distanced themselves further from respectable society by their indulgence in tobacco. Government inquiries into the condition of the Irish poor reveal that tobacco was a major outlay and that in many cases women’s consumption was responsible for half this expense. In 1836, a Kilkenny priest, Rev. John Power, informed one inquiry that tobacco as an expense came after potatoes and clothes and the 6d. per week involved ‘was small comfort to a working

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96 *Ulster Herald*, 8 Feb. 1908.
man'. The evidence given by a County Monaghan labourer's wife in which she told the commissioners that having no 'kitchen' expenses facilitated the tobacco consumption of her husband, herself and her aged mother, who 'cries when she cannot get tobacco.'

This evidence amongst many others in the report shows that poor women made conscious decisions to include tobacco at the expense of consumable goods which would have been nutritionally of greater value. The agency of these impoverished women in relation to tobacco was demonstrated by the fact that women countrywide raised poultry to allow them to purchase items such as candles and tobacco. The stigma attached to women smoking still applied in the late nineteenth century as it was noted that the twenty five women in the workhouse in Swinford, County Mayo, who openly smoked pipes of the 'worst tobacco' whilst inside would rarely be seen doing so outside 'out of respect for herself.'

The advent of the cigarette in Ireland presented both men and women with a smoking method which was much less obtrusive and more convenient than pipe smoking. The handmade cigarettes was often a poorly made product which often left pieces of tobacco on the lips of the smoker. In an era of voluminous dresses this presented a clear danger from lit and straying cigarette pieces. In 1893, the Cork Examiner, in an article on the propriety of women smoking, reminded readers of such dangers when it recalled the death in 1867 of an Austrian noblewoman, the Archduchess Mathilde, who lost her life when her dress caught fire in an attempt to hide her cigarette from her father.

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97 Poor Inquiry 1836, appendix D pp 97, 106.
98 Poor Inquiry 1836, appendix D p. 113. Kitchen expenses refer to items such as salt, sugar and tea.
99 Ibid., p. 90.
100 Western People, 6 Jan. 1894.
In the 1860s a Kerry newspaper noted that ‘ladies belonging to the crème de la crème of society’ smoked mild cigarettes and hoped that local ladies would not introduce the ‘noxious weed into female society.’

In the 1880s the prospect of women smoking cigarettes was frowned upon by many contributors to several Irish newspapers. An article in The World newspaper in which it was argued that women graduates, who were pushing their way into the professions, could find solace in tobacco after a day’s work, spurred one newspaper to advise the newly created Royal University that if such was the case it should be cautious in financing women’s education.

In 1893, the ladies column of the Skibbereen Eagle cast a disdainful eye on women smoking. Its female writer implored young ladies to avoid tobacco citing it as a manly habit and that women aping men in matters of dress, language and decorum would attract the wrong sort of man and discourage suitable ones. It encouraged its female readers to adapt the habits of their mothers and stick to their bon bons and other substitutes which would make them more attractive to gentlemen.

The consumption of tobacco by women from the late nineteenth century must also be placed within the context of the growing demand for gender equality in other spheres and pursuits. Cycling and other sports, riding astride horses, attending social events unchaperoned were, along with smoking, among the practices that progressive women demanded. These demands prompted letters from the more traditionally minded members of the public to the newspapers where they decried the emergence

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102 Kerry Evening Post, 12 Sep. 1863.
103 Kerry Evening Post, 17 Sep. 1881.
104 Skibbereen Eagle, 25 Nov. 1893.
of the ‘new woman’ or the ‘athletic woman’ whose shared failings included Amazonian features, loudness and a fondness for tobacco.\textsuperscript{105}

The attitude of Irish society towards women smokers at the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth century can be traced in contemporary magazines and newspapers. If the leading ladies of the royal households of Europe, who were often cited as paragons of respectability, engaged in cigarette smoking commentators saw this as strengthening the argument that all women should be free to do so. Whilst noting the regal attachment to cigarettes, many writers however continued to decry the habit amongst those lower down the social scale.\textsuperscript{106} One celebrated Irish female journalist was scathing in her opinion on women smoking cigarettes. She declared the practice to be unwomanly and ungraceful, although among ‘prettier women’ it would be ‘more acceptable’. Smoking she wrote was particularly bad for women’s hearts, skin, teeth and voice. While she accepted upper class ladies had more time to smoke, middle and lower class women had not, and from this position she conflated smoking by them with sloth and untidiness in the home.\textsuperscript{107}

Editorial opinion in the \textit{Irish Tobacco Trade Journal} in the early years of the twentieth century was initially circumspect in its attitude towards women smoking and grudgingly accepted it, especially if it ‘was not done openly’. Responding to an article in \textit{The Queen} magazine, in which a correspondent suggested that tired female workers were entitled to smoke, the \textit{ITTJ} countered that it was from a desire to be ‘mannish’ that women smoked.\textsuperscript{108} In contrast to the lessening of social restrictions on female smoking in Britain and Ireland, the \textit{ITTJ} frequently reported on the

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Cork Examiner}, 1 Dec. 1893.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Irish Tobacco Trade Journal}, Jul. 1899.
\textsuperscript{108} \textit{ITTJ}, Jul. 1900, Dec. 1902.
circumscribing legislation been enacted in American cities and states regarding women and smoking.\textsuperscript{109}

In 1908 a law introduced by the Tammany Hall politician Jim Sullivan ruled it illegal for women to smoke in public in New York. The short lived ordinance’s first transgressor was Katie Mulcahy who was found smoking on a Bowery street corner in the early hours of the morning, a moral lapse not lost on the anti-cigarette movement.\textsuperscript{110} In the same year Florence O’Gorman, the wife of the head of the O’Gorman family in Ireland, was part of a group of European women smokers who shocked American passengers on a transatlantic liner by openly smoking. When asked to comment Colonel O’Gorman said ‘no Irish gentleman would object to a lady smoking’.\textsuperscript{111}

As the First World War approached its end reports on the increased female consumption in the munitions manufacturing areas did not elicit much negative comments. Similarly the reports of women hoarding tobacco in advance of proposed wartime rationing, as they feared they would be unfairly treated, did not prompt any censorial comment on gender lines.\textsuperscript{112} If rationing was introduced, one newspaper stated, the ‘census of smokers’ which such an action ‘would necessitate’ would then reveal how many women had taken up the habit.\textsuperscript{113} The short-lived fad of pipe smoking amongst upper class women in early 1920 was merely noted, but by 1921 the ITTJ appears to have finally accepted the reality of women smoking when it advised what it called the ‘lay press’ to drop the subject and write on other matters.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{109} ITTJ, Feb., Mar. 1908.
\textsuperscript{111} Segrave, Women and smoking in America, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{112} ITTJ, Jan. 1918, Oct. 1918.
\textsuperscript{113} Munster Express, 5 Jan. 1918.
\textsuperscript{114} ITTJ, Apr. 1920, Oct. 1921.
The letters pages of the Irish press between 1919 and 1921 saw the re-enactment of the *fin de siècle* debate on women and smoking. The later adoption of cigarette smoking in Ireland in general and its perceived uptake by women may explain the return to the moralistic tone which conflated female smokers with loose morals. But by 1921 a Catholic nationalist attitude had also emerged which saw women smokers as proof of Anglicisation and degeneracy. The argument was particularly heated in the women’s section of the *Irish Independent* which was ‘overwhelmed by correspondence’ causing the women’s editor to call an end to the debate which then resurfaced in the comments section of the newspaper. The correspondence covered the spectrum from concerns about the effect of smoking on women, whom one correspondent considered ‘delicate and fragile’, to those of a reader who recommended that ‘a smoking woman should be sent to a reformatory’. In a period of extreme nationalist and imperial conflict, Irishwomen were presented as morally superior to Englishwomen, as exemplified by the Irish Young Christian Women’s Association’s decision to split from their British counterparts following the latter’s decision to permit smoking, dancing and drama amongst members. To halt the advance of such influences, Irishmen were exhorted to ‘cease patronising smoking girls’ whose mannerisms, dress and slang talk was that of the ‘West Briton’. One ‘anxious teacher’ argued that their husbands should stop ‘their wives smoking at any cost’ which would in turn eliminate the problem of juvenile tobacco consumption.

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115 *Irish Independent*, 6, 7, 8, 13 Oct 1921. Many of the correspondent’s letters replicated the sentiment of those in letters to the *Irish Times* in the 1890s.
118 Holly Dunbar, ‘A smoking woman should be sent to a reformatory’, p. 29.
Those defending women’s right to smoke declared that they were not aping men or to appear as a ‘swank’ but merely that they enjoyed and appreciated their cigarettes.\textsuperscript{120} A liberal interpretation of the ‘womanly woman’ now held the view that as society’s rules had relaxed, ‘although not without a hard struggle,’ women now cycled and smoked without loss of their femininity and further relaxation would increase ‘womanly talents.’\textsuperscript{121} In 1923 the \textit{Irish Times} declared that public opinion against women smoking has been ‘brushed aside.’ It conceded that overuse of tobacco was harmful to girls and women, but stated that it was equally so for boys and men. Upholding the rights of women to smoke in public it indicated that the option of women smoking in secret would be less virtuous.\textsuperscript{122}

Manufacturers produced more feminine-sounding brands supported by advertising which emphasised mildness, a trait which manufacturers felt would attract female custom. In 1909, a journalist in a Dublin tobacconist shop witnessed a woman ordering a stronger brand as her previous brand was now too mild. The shop assistant told the journalist that half of his customers were ladies.\textsuperscript{123} Two decades later Dublin tobacconists believed the number of women smoking had ‘doubled since the war’ and that they now smoked the same brands, as male smokers shunning the ‘miniature brands’ once favoured by them.\textsuperscript{124} While it is not possible to calculate with any degree of certainty the actual number of women smokers at any stage of this study or how much they consumed, the mass manufactured cigarette presented the female consumer with a smaller, convenient and less expensive product which allowed more privacy, should it be required, in contrast to the pipe and the cigar.

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Irish Independent}, 17 Oct. 1921.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Irish Times}, 21 Nov. 1922.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Irish Times}, 10 Feb. 1923.
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 Jan. 1909.
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Irish Times}, 22 Mar. 1927.
During the eighteenth and nineteenth century the British army recruited thousands of men from the Irish labouring and marginal farmer class. The convergence of a strong tobacco consuming cohort of society and the largely tolerant and accepting attitude within the military towards tobacco consumption led to a greater level of acceptance in society. The most ringing endorsement of tobacco and of its wartime benefits came in 1917 from General John J. Pershing of the U.S army. Echoing a similar call from George Washington during the American War of Independence, Pershing when asked what it was he wanted to win the war replied, ‘tobacco as much as bullets….tobacco is as indispensable as the daily ration, we must have tons of it without delay.’

Elite approval of tobacco for the troops came during the first Christmas of the war. Frontline troops received a Christmas box from Princess Mary, the daughter of King George V, the present which was funded by public conscription, contained a pipe, tobacco, cigarettes and a lighter, the contents were eagerly consumed or saved as mementoes by the recipients.

Pershing’s recognition of the importance of tobacco to those on active service was an acknowledgement of its place in the life of the soldier and his comrades. The act of smoking was both individualistic and communal. The normalcy of smoking allowed individual soldiers to psychologically remove themselves from the horrors of war and turn to thoughts of their loved ones and home, especially if the tobacco being smoked was sent by them. One Dundalk soldier wrote of his delight when Carroll’s products were highly praised by soldiers from other regiments saying it

127 Philip Tardiff, The North Irish Horse in the Great War (Barnsley, 2015), p. 49.
was ‘grand to know we had a firm in Dundalk that could produce such an article’.\textsuperscript{128} The sociability of smoking tobacco helped in building an \textit{esprit de corps} amongst the men, the sharing of cigarettes, pipes, matches and lighters brought men together as if in a social setting at home.\textsuperscript{129}

The large numbers of men involved in the armed forces and their frequent movements from garrison to garrison influenced the quantities consumed and modes of consumption. The officer class who introduced the cigar into Britain and Ireland following the Peninsular War helped in establishing the perception of it as being the much copied pursuit of the heroic, militaristic elite.\textsuperscript{130} While not responsible for the introduction of the cigarette into Britain and Ireland, the level of awareness of that mode was facilitated following the return of soldiers from the Crimean War. But not all soldierly customs became fashionable. The chibouk, a very long stemmed Turkish pipe, which was enjoyed by a Connaught Ranger during that war did not catch on.\textsuperscript{131}

The civilian population’s attitude to tobacco becomes more apparent when shortages occurred. One example was the acute local shortage occasioned by the landing of French troops in County Mayo in 1798, which emboldened the local peasant population into open rebellion and which presented an early description of the effect of military action on local tobacco consumption. A diary kept by a local Protestant clergyman, James Little, recorded the great amount of plundering committed by the rebels, which along with the disruption to normal trade, resulted in a scarcity of goods including tobacco. In the absence of coinage an ounce of tobacco

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Dundalk Democrat}, 21 Oct. 1915.
\textsuperscript{129} Michael Reeve, ‘\textit{Special needs, cheerful habits: smoking and the Great War in Britain 1914-18’ in Social History, 13 (2016) pp 483-501.
\textsuperscript{130} Matthew Hilton, \textit{Smoking in British popular culture, 1800-2000}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{131} Nathaniel Steevens, \textit{The Crimean Campaign with the Connaught Rangers}, 1854-55-56 (London, 1878), p. 32.
was bartered for a hank of yarn, then two and ‘finally a bunch could not buy it.’ Had the rebellion continued they would have used all their ‘profits from plunder’ to buy tobacco.\textsuperscript{132} The ‘common people’, he noted, were reduced to ‘smoking ‘leaves and weeds’ which they remembered as one of the ‘chief horrors of war.’\textsuperscript{133} Little’s account shows that tobacco at any price was favourable to none and that its absence was recalled as one of the hardships during a rebellion which saw thousands killed gives a strong indication of its place in the lives of the majority of people.

As with the Mayo peasants, the issue of tobacco arose in the British armed forces during periods of shortage, its absence more quickly and keenly felt than that of life sustaining food. A pound of tobacco and a pipe were issued to soldiers departing Dublin for the Crimean War in 1854, supplies on transport ships were reported as being plentiful by Sergeant O’Mahony from Killarney and he reported prices at Sebastopol were cheap.\textsuperscript{134} Tobacco was considered a suitable reward for those fighting in the Crimea. The men and NCOs of the Royal Irish Dragoon Guards were presented with 300 pounds of tobacco, following their participation in the Battle of the Alma in 1854, by the family of the regiments former General and MP for Cork, Sir James Chatterton.\textsuperscript{135} The supply of tobacco did not continue to be plentiful, poor American harvests in these years reduced worldwide supply and increased wholesale prices which eventually restricted supplies to the Crimea.\textsuperscript{136}

The donation of tobacco by civilians to troops in wartime became a feature of future conflicts providing a nexus where those at home became part of the war effort.

\textsuperscript{132} Hugh Mc Call, Ireland and her staple manufactures: being sketches of the history and progress of the linen and cotton trades more especially in the northern province (Belfast, 1865), p. 278. McCall noted a hank of yarn cost 3s. ‘at the commencement of the century’ which places the extraordinary rate of exchange for yarn and tobacco in 1798 in context.


\textsuperscript{135} Nenagh Guardian, 20 Dec. 1854.

\textsuperscript{136} Kerry Evening Post, 6 Dec. 1856.
by providing what senior officers recognised as a much needed and desired commodity for their men.\textsuperscript{137} The Anglo-Boer War provides many examples of the activities undertaken by civilians to procure and transport tobacco and other comforts to Irish soldiers in South Africa. The evidence points to the fact that the organising committees appear to have been run by middle and upper class unionist women\textsuperscript{138} In 1900, Lady Reed organised shipments to the Royal Artillery in Natal, while Reverend Grierson’s wife despatched 650 pipes and 1,000 pounds of tobacco to the Connaught Rangers. A ladies committee from Dundrum, County Dublin, sent locally-made ‘Bendigo Roll’ to a Scottish regiment previously based in Dublin. The response from the recipients, as acknowledged in the press, was one of heartfelt thanks which given the difficulties of procuring tobacco on the High Veldt can be considered genuine.\textsuperscript{139}

The task of sending tobacco to South Africa presented logistical problems to the troop’s civilian benefactors. The gratitude expressed in the press by one organiser for the help received from shipping companies, transport firms, department stores and donors hints at the time and effort required to coordinate the effort to send tobacco to those at the front.\textsuperscript{140} Commercial concerns including the tobacco trade contributed to these popular causes at local and national level. Gallaher’s supplied tobacco to troops on active service at the much reduced price of 1s.2d. per pound in early 1900. Not to be outdone, their English rivals, Wills of Bristol, donated the enormous ‘Christmas gift’ of one million cigarettes to the forces in December.\textsuperscript{141}

The following Christmas, Lord Kitchener announced the provision of a quarter

\textsuperscript{137} Iain Gately, Tobacco: A cultural history of how an exotic plant seduced civilisation (New York, 2001), p. 231.
\textsuperscript{138} Irish Times, 24 Mar. 1900, a letter acknowledging the contributions of the ladies whose addresses and nomenclature are those of the middle classes and above
\textsuperscript{139} Irish Times, 1 Jun. 1900. 29 Nov. 1900.
\textsuperscript{140} Irish Times, 17 Mar. 1900.
\textsuperscript{141} ITTJ, Feb. 1900, Irish Times, 1 Dec. 1900.
pound of tobacco to every soldier serving in South Africa.\footnote{Irish Times, 30 Nov. 1901.} Free or low priced tobacco was not always available to those engaged in combat. During the siege of Ladysmith, 1899-1900, Boer tobacco, which normally retailed at 1s. per pound, was sold at £4 4s., English tobacco cost £12 a pound and a box of 50 cigars cost £9 10s. That tobacco sold at such exorbitant prices is indicative of its importance to the consumer and as food was equally expensive, eggs sold at 45s. a dozen, it does support the opinion that the pipe often came before food.\footnote{Evening Herald, 30 May 1900.}

Manufacturers linked smoking with military themes. Ogden’s played on consumers’ patriotism by highlighting the popularity of their ‘Guinea Gold’ cigarettes among soldiers. The advertisement quoted The Lancet who when discussing soldiers in wartime stated that ‘used with due moderation, tobacco is of value second only to food itself.’ The advertisement asked readers somewhat challengingly, if tobacco is good enough for soldiers it is ‘equally good for civilians.’\footnote{Kilkenny People, 12 Jan. 1901.} Prior to the commencement of the Anglo-Boer war in 1898, Gallaher’s released a cigarette card collection based on British military uniforms. Its popularity increased when the war commenced prompting the company to add to the growing number of military-themed collections in the industry with its 1901 ‘South African Series’.\footnote{C. Mazansky, ‘Cigarette cards and South African military history’ in Military History Journal, 2 (December, 1989), unpaginated.} Despite the firm’s Quaker ownership, Goodbody’s entered wholeheartedly into the spirit of the times with its ‘with the flag to Pretoria’ collection.\footnote{I.O. Evans, Cigarette cards and how to collect them, (Redditch, 2013), unpaginated.} With the exception of Gallaher’s, the cards collected in Ireland were largely from the English firms who dominated the early cigarette market in Ireland.
Robert Baden-Powell, one of the British heroes of the Anglo-Boer War, writing in *Scouting for Boys* stated that smoking for ‘war scouts’ caused weakening of their eyes, spoils their nose, makes them shaky and nervous and warned that the smell of tobacco alerts the enemy of their presence.\(^{147}\) His attitude to smoking was in direct contrast to those of many other senior military and political figures during the Great War and to the majority of men in the trenches. The general public also ignored Baden-Powell’s advice as well as the condemnation reserved for cigarette smoking by Lieutenant General Sir Herbert Plumer, who railed against the evils of cigarettes and prohibited them to those under his command.\(^{148}\) More aware of the wants of the rank and file soldier, a committee of women organised a supply of cigarettes for troops embarking for the war at Dublin. John McCormack, the famous Irish tenor, purchased 100,000 cigarettes for Irish troops in the very earliest days of the conflict.\(^{149}\)

The public collection of tobacco for the troops continued up to the end of the war, diversifying into specific appeals for regiments, wounded soldiers and prisoners of war. A myriad number of groups countrywide were formed to collect gifts or comforts for the soldiers and sailors, the choice of recipient of their endeavours often decided by a geographical relationship with the regiment. Following a public meeting, the ‘patriotic women of Charleville’ aligned themselves with the ‘Old Comrades Association’ of the Royal Munster Fusiliers for the relief of the soldiers and the regiment’s widows and orphans. Raising an initial £100 the committee provided clothing and tobacco which was ‘much appreciated’ by the regiment’s commanding officer.\(^{150}\)

\(^{148}\) *Ulster Herald*, 21 Nov. 1914.  
\(^{150}\) *Cork Examiner*, 14 Sep. 1914.
The Old Comrades Association appealed for subscriptions from their southern heartland to its tobacco fund organised by the *Kerry News*, who on receipt of 6d. would purchase a quarter pound of duty free tobacco and donate five cigarettes courtesy of the newspaper to members of the ‘Munsters’. To strengthen the link between donor and the soldier, subscribers were asked to include their name and address with each donation. This venture by a local newspaper replicated similar schemes by the bigger Irish and British national newspapers, its advantage in their appeal being their immediacy with and knowledge of the local regiment. The governments of the United Kingdom and France played their part in these popular schemes by waiving all duties on tobacco sent to those on active service. The quarter pound purchased at 6d. for this purpose would normally retail at 1s. 6d. The military for their part transported the tobacco saving the sender the cost and uncertainty attached to regular postage.\(^{151}\) For those sending tobacco to individual soldiers the Post Office later permitted tobacco to be sent to soldiers using the cheaper letter post.\(^{152}\)

The growing negative pre-war opinion of the medical community to tobacco was put aside during the course of a war. The English writer and poet G.K. Chesterton suggested that to decry smoking in times of war, was akin to ‘worrying about gluttony in a famine.’ \(^{153}\) Dublin hospitals regularly appealed to the public for donations to purchase tobacco for wounded soldiers as revenue regulations prohibited them from using their funds for such purposes.\(^{154}\) Wounded soldiers being treated in Irish hospitals often received visits or attended functions organised by

\(^{151}\) *Cork Examiner*, 14 Sep. 1914.
\(^{152}\) *Cork Examiner*, 28 Oct. 1914.
\(^{153}\) *The Living Age*, Mar. 1917.
local groups which normally concluded with presentations of tobacco, pipes and cigarettes.\textsuperscript{155}

Prisoners of war also benefitted from the kindness and patriotism of the public, members of the Dublin Fusiliers received tobacco supplies monthly at the Limburg camp which were collected from within the ‘regimental district.’\textsuperscript{156} On a very personal level a shopkeeper in Callan, County Kilkenny, was the recipient of a letter of thanks from former customers, who were now prisoners of war in Germany, for his gift of cigarettes and tobacco of which they ‘were sorely in need’ and that the gift had the added value of letting them know they had not been forgotten.\textsuperscript{157} The \textit{Kerry News} launched another scheme where soldiers could be guaranteed ten cigarettes per day for 1s. per week, on receiving a twelve week order the newspaper would use the commission from the manufacturer to forward a ‘friendless prisoner of war’ a 1s. parcel of tobacco.\textsuperscript{158}

Complementing the tobacco received from home, the War Office in 1914 for the first time issued two ounces of tobacco in the weekly rations of British soldiers on the continent.\textsuperscript{159} Tobacco, whether as pipe or cigarette, played a number of roles for the soldier and his comrades. In the trenches or behind the lines smoking was one of the few pleasures available to the lower ranks to help them unwind from the pressures of war. The mild narcotic effects of tobacco helped in calming those about to go over the top and if one survived the assault tobacco represented a celebratory moment of relief.\textsuperscript{160} Tobacco also served to suppress hunger in the periods when food supplies could not reach the frontline, it helped in relieving boredom during

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{BelfastNewsletter} Belfast Newsletter, 17 Apr. 1916.
\bibitem{IrishIndependent} Irish Independent, 18 Oct. 1918.
\bibitem{KilkennyPeople} Kilkenny People, 23 Sep. 1916.
\bibitem{KerryNews} Kerry News, 4 Feb. 1914.
\bibitem{TobaccoTradeReview} Tobacco Trade Review, 1 Sep. 1914.
\bibitem{SiegfriedSassoon} Siegfried Sassoon, \textit{Memoirs of a military officer} (London, 1930), p. 27.
\end{thebibliography}
lulls in fighting or when placed back in reserve. Tobacco, chewed or smoked, proved useful in masking the appalling smells created by hundreds of unwashed men, latrines and the stench of dead unburied combatants.¹⁶¹

The sociability of tobacco also revealed itself when combatants from both sides fraternized at Christmastime 1914 during which Dublin Fusiliers swapped their jam for ‘very good’ German cigars.¹⁶² The absence of tobacco was also communally endured as was the smoking of tea leaves and paper in substitution for tobacco, a clear indication that it was as necessary to the men as food.¹⁶³

Following a fieldtrip to the trenches, Irish journalists wrote morale-boosting accounts on the good conditions and spirit of the Irish regiments who were amply supplied with all the provisions required. However the soldier’s one complaint related to tobacco of which there was an ample supply but not of the variety favoured in Ireland. The men were issued shag tobacco or cigarettes but it was noted that the men ‘pine for twist and roll—the luscious sorts that are manufactured in Belfast and Dundalk, the sorts that smoulder gratefully in the pipe, and at desperate moments, when even smoking is forbidden, can be chewed’. The Irish Times journalists wrote that he would ensure the men get the proper tobacco or else he and his fellow reporters ‘will be for ever dishonoured men.’¹⁶⁴ The reports from the front intimated to the troops’ supporters at home to provide them with twist rather than cigarettes, confirming the market dominance of pipe tobacco in Ireland, a position that would be reversed within a decade.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Desmond Bowen and Jean Bowen, Heroic option: the Irish in the British army (Barnsley, 2005), pp 211-12.
¹⁶³ Tom Burnell, Irishmen in the Great War: reports from the front 1915 (Barnsley, 2015), p. 23.
¹⁶⁴ Irish Times, 22 Jan. 1916.
The rise in consumption and the restrictions in shipping space combined to threaten the usual six to nine months supply of stock held by Irish companies. In March 1916 a restriction on the importation of raw tobacco leaf was introduced, but following representations from British and Irish companies to the Board of Trade and the controller of shipping, the restrictions were eased three months later. The later comments of Sir Leo Chiozza Money M.P., the minister responsible for shipping, who said ‘tobacco is of the greatest value in maintaining the spirit and the morale of the fighting forces’ suggests that the manufacturers had a sympathetic ear at the negotiations.\textsuperscript{166} In 1917, the Board of Trade made an order bringing the supervision and pricing of tobacco under its control, by stating that the supply to the armed forces overseas would not be restricted, it endorsed the importance of tobacco to the war effort.\textsuperscript{167}

Events in the final year of the war further emphasised the importance of tobacco to society where the availability of stock rather than its price was the consumer’s main concern. The ongoing fear of rationing caused some smokers to stock up on tobacco in January but their worries were unwarranted as in February the government consented to provide all the shipping space required to import tobacco. Consumption continued to rise and by March 1918 the United Kingdom’s supplies were down to six months. Acute, localised shortages occurred during the year such as in Loughrea, County Galway, where no tobacco was available for a number of days in March. In September in Dungarvan, County Waterford, the shortage of tobacco was compounded by a shortage of matches.\textsuperscript{168} The 1918 budget saw duty on tobacco increased by 1s.9d. per pound, resulting in the retail price rising by 2d. per

\textsuperscript{166} \textit{ITI}, Sep. 1916.
\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Irish Times}, 31 May 1917.
\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Cork Examiner}, 11 Sep. 1918.
ounce. This final rise before the end of the war meant tobacco duty had increased from its pre-war level of 3s.8d. to 8s.2d.\textsuperscript{169}

Two of the major Irish tobacco proprietors experienced contrasting personal fortunes during the conflict. Tom Gallaher’s son-in-law was killed in action in the Persian Gulf and it is indicative of the status of Gallaher that the Secretary of State for India personally informed him of the sad news.\textsuperscript{170} In 1917, the Carroll family firm learnt that Captain J.D. Carroll, the younger brother of its managing director, serving with the Royal Army Medical Corps was awarded the Military Cross for ‘conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty’ for attending to wounded men in the face of enemy fire.\textsuperscript{171}

Halfway through the Great War the \textit{ITTJ} was confident posterity would recall the importance of tobacco to the nation’s struggle when it stated ‘the impartial historian must give a prominent place to the part which tobacco has played in the war.’\textsuperscript{172} The enormous logistical effort required to supply tobacco to servicemen must have conveyed that this commodity was of singular importance. The huge stress at home and at the front induced many non-smokers to take up the habit and wartime circumstances saw many pipe-smokers convert to the cigarette. Women who were emboldened by their new roles in society took to smoking more openly, resulting at the end of the war in an environment where cigarette smoking was more widely accepted. This acceptance can be partly attributed to the approval given to tobacco by royal and military elites who encouraged tobacco use in the forces.\textsuperscript{173} The

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Belfast Newsletter}, 23 Apr. 1918.
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{ITTJ}, Jan. 1916.
sophisticated marketing campaigns of branded products created by prominent manufacturers glamorised cigarette smoking for men and women, literature, press advertisements, radio shows and particularly cinema presented cigarettes as expressions of individuality and style.\textsuperscript{174}

The internal conflict in Ireland following the 1916 Rising provided occasions where the importance of tobacco to society was shown. Most of these occasions were characterised by the illegal seizure of tobacco by looters, insurgents and crown forces. The destruction of six tobacconists in Dublin city centre was followed by widespread looting involving the impoverished residents of the city's slums. The ITTJ, whose offices were seized by the insurgents, reported on the killing of an innocent tobacconist but raised hopes that affected businesses would be fully compensated ‘out of government funds.’ \textsuperscript{175}

In 1919, P.J Carroll lost one of its company representatives in the troubles when he was shot by Crown forces while driving near Dundalk.\textsuperscript{176} In 1921, in Co Kilkenny a local trader was prosecuted by a republican court for passing off English made cigarettes as Irish produce, displaying the growing acceptance by the general public of their legitimacy.\textsuperscript{177} Throughout the Anglo-Irish War, crown forces and the IRA engaged in actions where the acquisition of tobacco and alcohol was one of the main objectives of the raid.\textsuperscript{178}

The sectarian tensions in Belfast resulted in attacks on Catholic girls working in Gallaher’s York Road, factory. The company responded quickly to dispel

\textsuperscript{175} ITTJ, May 1916, \textit{Cork Examiner}, 6 May 1916.
\textsuperscript{176} Irish Times, 28 Jun 1919.
\textsuperscript{177} ITTJ, Oct. 1921.
fears that the attacks occurred in the factory or were conducted by employees of the firm. Reports that the amicable relationship that always existed between workers was continuing were reinforced by Tom Gallaher’s ‘keen anxiety’ to maintain the reputation of the firm in this regard.\textsuperscript{179} Attacks on Gallaher’s Catholic workers by Orange mobs as they made their way to and from work necessitated police protection and during one attack an officer was shot in the head. Loyalist snipers later shot a Catholic employee who subsequently died of her wounds.\textsuperscript{180}

The Belfast Boycott of 1921 was a southern republican response to the atrocities committed against nationalists by Orange mobs in the city. Belfast produced tobacco became one of the chief targets of republicans enforcing the embargo. Shops had stocks forcibly removed and substantial shipments of tobacco were hijacked and deposited in the River Liffey or into Dublin’s canals or publically burnt\textsuperscript{181} The \textit{Donegal News} reported the boycott was effective as ‘not a grain of Belfast tobacco was to be had in Dublin’ by August of 1921 and that an unnamed Belfast firm suffered the loss of ‘many thousands of pounds as a result.’ \textsuperscript{182}

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\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Irish Independent}, 23 May 1921.  \\
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Irish Independent}, 23 Nov. 1921., \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 18 May 1922.  \\
\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Donegal News}, 23 Aug. 1921.
\end{flushright}
Tobacco and the members of the trade featured in the political and social events of the day during the period of this study. The tobacco trade was well represented amongst the rising Catholic middle class during the nineteenth century. Members of the Carroll, Clune and Spillane families were active in local public life as supporters of Home Rule and Irish Parliamentary Party policies. Their commercial success in the tobacco trade would have provided them with the necessary time, money and social status to engage in politics.

Tobacco cultivation developed into a contentious issue between Irish politicians on the nationalist spectrum and the Westminster government. Initially the legalising of domestic cultivation in 1779 was castigated by the Aggregate Body of the Citizens of Dublin, whose position was outlined by Napper Tandy, when he described the act as an ‘imaginary act of improvement.’ ¹⁸³ One newspaper who initially welcomed the bill as an opportunity to replace imported tobacco with domestic produce later considered the legislation ‘a snare for Irish independence.’ ¹⁸⁴ The permission to cultivate tobacco and the easing of the Navigation Acts were a cause of major concern to British factory owners and merchants in the early 1780s. British manufacturers, playing the patriotic card, voiced concerns that one consequence that could result from allowing cultivation in Ireland would be the loss of the 150 ships and 1500 sailors required to import American tobacco, a scenario, they argued could lead to the weakening of Britain’s commercial and maritime power.¹⁸⁵ The administration of the Act by the excise officials was defended by John Beresford, of the Revenue Commissioners, who claimed their detractors in the

¹⁸⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 May 1783.
‘odious’ press were ‘ignorant’ and did ‘intentionally misrepresent’ the facts to further their anti-government agenda.  

The grievances of the United Irishmen in Ballynahinch, County Down, were made known in a somewhat utopian manifesto in 1795. Tobacco was the fourth of ten reforms envisioned by the local committee. The removal of ‘sinecure placemen’ they argued would allow a reduction in the price of tobacco from 10d. per pound to 4d. ‘aye for 4d’ it enthusiastically informed readers. Another reform they sought was the elimination of excise laws, which they stated would allow ‘merchant and shopkeeper’ to carry on his business quietly without interference from ‘plundering revenue officers.’  

The inclusion of tobacco amongst the arguments presented by anti-government groups can be viewed as a populist tactic to entice wider support from apolitical smokers.  

Daniel O’Connell, a supporter of the earlier campaign for domestic cultivation, was another politician to promise lower prices on tobacco which would be achieved if the Act of Union was repealed. The duty on tobacco, he told the ‘monster meeting’ in Trim, County Meath, would be reduced from 3s. to 6d. a pound which would bring about an increase in consumption and set every old woman dancing at the prospect of cheap tobacco.  

At Mullingar he told the crowd that a reduced duty would allow every old woman in the country to light her pipe ‘from morning to night if she pleases.’  

O’Connell continued in this vein for the remainder of his campaign combining humour and sentimentality with the promise

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186 John Beresford, Observations on a pamphlet entitled ‘A letter to His Grace The Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, so far as the same relates to the subject of revenue; in which is considered the state of the distilling trade of Ireland, (Dublin, 1782).
187 Roden Mss, (P.R.O.N.I., MIC147/9).
189 Cork Examiner, 22 Mar. 1843.
190 Nation, 20 May 1843.
of cheaper tobacco though never stating how it would be achieved. In 1843, in
Galway, members of the tobacco trade endorsed O'Connell and unveiled a banner
which read 'We're a long time in chains, and now must be free, liberator of Ireland,
there's a welcome for thee'.191

Following the failure of the Repeal Movement and the onset of the famine,
tobacco use and the plight of Ireland became entwined in trade discussions between
the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom. The high rate of duty on American tobacco had
created diplomatic and political tensions between the British government and the
American ambassador, George Bancroft, who had hoped that a reduction in British
tobacco duty would increase tobacco imports from his country. The foreign
secretary, Viscount Palmerston, while sympathetic to a reduction, wrote that the
proposal was impeded by the expenditure on Ireland. In March 1847 Bancroft
informed President Polk that a British tobacco duty reduction was deferred due to the
'imdense sums' the 'misery of Ireland extorts from the British exchequer.'192

The tobacco trade presented opportunities for the growing Catholic middle
class to advance commercially and politically. Thomas Brodigan, who
unsuccessfully championed the cause of domestic cultivation in 1829-31, was made
a Freeman of his native Drogheda in 1837 due to his part in the campaign to connect
Dublin and Drogheda by rail.193 The Carroll and Spillane families present as fine
exemplars of the rising power and influence of the conservative Catholic commercial
and landowning class. As well as pursuing his business interests P.J. Carroll became

191 Tuam Herald, 1 Jul. 1843.
192 Timothy J. Sarbough, 'The spirit of manifest destiny, the American government and famine Ireland
1845-50' in Margaret M. Mulrooney, (ed.), Fleeing the famine: North America and Irish refugees,
1845-1851 (Westport CT, 2003), pp 46-8.
193 John D’Alton The history of Drogheda: with its environs, and an introductory memoir of the
Dublin and Drogheda railway, Vol. 1 (Dublin, 1844) p. xxv.
a town commissioner and a member of the Grand Jury in Dundalk. His public political activities centred on matters that concerned the protection and advancement of Catholic interests including an anti-Penal Law movement as late as 1851. He gave considerable financial support to Catholic organisations within Dundalk and expressed support for the papacy during the crisis occasioned by the unification of Italy. His sons James and Vincent, both held positions as Town and Harbour Commissioners in Dundalk. James was the most politically active of the family and was a strong supporter of Isaac Butt and later Charles Stewart Parnell organising Home Rule meetings in the town and acting as an election agent.

Spillane’s of Limerick were another tobacco firm who contributed to the civic life of their community. John Spillane who founded the firm in 1829 was an ardent support of the Repeal Movement, whose leader Daniel O’Connell proposed a boycott of excisable goods, Spillane gave qualified support to the plan when he said he would shut the door on his factory if it could be shown that it would ‘forward the cause of repeal.’ William Spillane, John’s son, was associated with a considerable numbers of public bodies and associations in Limerick, holding positions on boards at the Lunatic Asylum, Harbour Commissioners, Limerick Union and St. Johns Hospital among others. An active Home Ruler he was elected Mayor in 1870. He played an important role in establishing a public library in Limerick, personally funding the placing of the Bennis book collection there; he was also involved in the

195 *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 May 1851.
198 *Nation*, 31 Aug. 1844.
long running campaign to open a School of Art in the city.\textsuperscript{199} As Mayor he oversaw the completion of the Corcanree Embankment on which was erected in his honour, by public subscription, a tower named Spillane’s Tower, which due to his family business became popularly known as the snuff box.\textsuperscript{200}

Tom Gallaher, the most prominent of the Irish manufacturers was born into a prosperous Protestant farming and milling family. As a successful businessman in later life he largely eschewed public life, the exception being his membership of Joseph Chamberlain’s Tariff Reform Committee in 1903, but he declined all further attempts to include him in local or national politics. He and his wife were generous benefactors to local charities especially the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast to whom they donated thousands of pounds.\textsuperscript{201} He held a poor opinion of politicians and cited their inability ‘to handle men’ as one of the causes of the civil unrest in Ireland in the early 1920s.\textsuperscript{202} Unlike many men of commerce in Belfast and nationally within the tobacco trade Gallaher was not conferred with any titles in contrast to his great competitors, the Wills family of Bristol, whose members were knighted and ennobled from the 1890s.\textsuperscript{203}

Gallaher outside of his business interests appears to have led a quiet life and there is little evidence of him and his family engaging to any great extent in the social life of Belfast city. He was reported to have had a lifelong interest in horseracing but appears not to have invested in the sport. In contrast he owned a sizeable mansion, Ballygolan House, and his carriage, in the days before motor cars,

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\item\textsuperscript{200} Nation, 24 Feb. 1877., The Crescent College Review 2 (1898) pp 63-4.
\item\textsuperscript{201} Irish Times, 28 Apr. 1928. Belfast Gazette, 6 Feb. 1931.
\item\textsuperscript{202} Northern Whig, 4 May 1927.
\item\textsuperscript{203} London Gazette, 15 Aug. 1893. 6 Feb. 1906.
\end{itemize}
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was noted as the finest in the city. One striking act of benevolence by Gallaher was the granting in his will of an annuity of £75 until his majority to a messenger boy who also sold newspapers in the evening. Gallaher may have admired the entrepreneurial spirit of the boy whom he had befriended before his death.

VII

Irish tobacco consumers and their modes of consumption featured in the works of painters, writers, dramatists and musicians. The use of pipes, cigars and cigarettes by men, women, and occasionally children, from all social backgrounds allowed for the portrayal of groups and individual smokers in joyous, raucous, meditative, melancholy and stressful situations. While allowing for artistic license, oil paintings, watercolours, newspaper illustrations and magazine cartoons provide evidence that smoking was widely practised. Visual artists also used tobacco to convey social status and to compound societal attitudes relating to women, children and the poor’s use of tobacco.

Claudia Kinmonth considers Irish genre painting in the nineteenth century to be less sentimentalised than English art. It tended to depict more realistic situations, which made it uncommercial at that time, but can therefore be useful for the historian. Those in society who could afford to invest in art would thus have viewed the depictions of the Irish poor satisfying perceived irrational needs, such as tobacco, in the midst of severe deprivation, as confirmation of their prejudices regarding those beneath them. The works of artists such as Erskine Nicol depicted the cottier class in their cabins or in shebeens and who, despite their poverty, can be seen drinking and smoking (see fig. 4.4).

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204 Belfast Newsletter, 4 May 1927.
205 Irish Times, 28 Apr. 1928.
Robert Gibbs, a Cork artist, presents less controversial or disturbing images of country life (see fig 4.5). In *The reading lesson-a family group* Gibbs portrays a far more acceptable image for middle-class viewers. The cleanliness of the family members and their home combined with their efforts to educate their children resonates with the outcomes desired for the lower classes by Mary Leadbeater in her
Cottage dialogues. A single unlit tobacco pipe, demonstrating a level of self-restraint, is displayed in the hearth situated well away from the women and children corresponding with the social mores of the time which sought to distance both from tobacco.

The nineteenth-century middle class view that only elderly peasant women smoked was heavily reinforced in Irish visual art. The weathered faces of impoverished smoking women, whether in repose or at their work, attest to a life of hardship and toil that is relieved by the solace offered by their pipe (see figs 4.6-7).

Fig. 4.6 S. McCloy. Ripe pears for sale, Galway (1865).

Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/samuel-mccloy/

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207 Helen O’Connell, Ireland and the fiction of improvement (Oxford, 2006).
Fig. 4.7 Unknown, *Sketches from Ireland: woman making nets in the Claddagh, Galway* (1870)


Whatever societal forbearance that was granted to poor elderly women it was not extended to upper and middle class ladies. From the 1890s some women engaged in activities which many thought were not appropriate for their status or gender was increasingly noticed. The ‘new woman’ was considered a moral danger to the fabric of society and their smoking was the subject of heated debate. An 1893 photograph of Irish society women Constance Gore Booth and the artist Althea Gyles sums up the fears of those who opposed the freedoms sought by some women (see fig. 4.8).

Fig. 4.8 Gore Booth, left, with Althea Gyles (1893). The photograph shows them in

the artist’s studio whose cluttered appearance somewhat mirrors the cabins of the poor. Both women are smoking cigarettes, Gore Booth’s appearance is dishevelled and Gyles’s expression is recognition that her action is not merely functional but also symbolic.

The well-dressed woman in William Leech’s *The Cigarette* confidently holds the cigarette while sitting in a well-furnished room. (see fig. 4.9).

Fig. 4.9. William Leech, *The cigarette c. 1915*.
Believed to be Leech’s wife, the artist Elizabeth Saurine Kerlin, her demeanour is not that of the ‘Amazonian’ or ‘new woman’ seeking to change society but she conveys the impression that she enjoys her cigarette for what it is and considers it her right to do so.

The association of tobacco with the military is also portrayed in art. Listed for the Connaught Rangers by Elizabeth Southerden Thompson Butler, shows two Kerry recruits being marched off to camp escorted by a recruitment party see (fig. 4.10). The recruit in the centre is confidently striding out while smoking a dudeen pipe ahead of the recruiting sergeant while his fellow recruit looks wistfully backwards. Is the sergeant allowing the recruit to smoke in order to keep him placated on his way to the barracks? The answer may lie in the army’s tolerance of tobacco as in the background a private has stopped to light his pipe.

William Orpen as an official war artist produced many images of life and death in the trenches of the First World War. His bleak depiction of a wounded and
shell-shocked soldier is in stark contrast to military themed art which glorifies soldiers in battle (see fig 4.11).

Fig. 4.11 William Orpen, *A man with a cigarette* 1917.

![Image of A man with a cigarette](source)

The title of the 1917 work *A man with a cigarette* somewhat demilitarises the subject who is injured in the leg and arm and who looks physically frail. His cigarette is held in his uninjured hand and is the only other object in the image inferring that it is his sole companion and only comfort.

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That pipe smoking is perceived as a more contemplative and meditative form of smoking is often supported in the visual arts. The pipe smoker is typically placed to the side of paintings depicting social gatherings conveying an element of disconnection with what is happening immediately around them. Two pipe smokers in Nicol’s *A shebeen in Donnybrook* appear to be contemplating matters other than the merry-making that is taking place around them (see fig. 4.12). The man, a priest, seen lighting his pipe amidst the more respectable gathering in Daniel Maclise’s *Snap apple night* is focussed fully on his enjoyment of his pipe ignoring the risqué games taking place (see fig. 4.13).

Fig. 4.12 Erskine Nicol *A shebeen in Donnybrook* (detail) (1851).
Similarly artists depicted pipe smokers as listeners and observers of events and in contemplative posture. The top-hatted pipe smoker in James Brenan’s *News from America* is situated in the margins, suggesting he is not a family member, but he is listening intently to the letter from America being read (see fig. 4.14).

Howard Helmick shows a group of rural pipe smoking listeners paying attention to a man reading an article from a newspaper concerning the Land League.
(see fig. 4.15). In the background one pipe smoker is discussing a political wall poster with another man. In contrast to other works a non-smoker is placed off centre suggesting indifference to the politics of the day. Of the nine figures in the painting five are holding lit tobacco pipes.

Fig. 4.15 Howard Helmick, *Reading the news, the proclamation of the Land League* (1881).

The same artist used the pipe in a similar way in *A quiet pipe* (1878), depicting a seated elderly man in front of a fire with relatively few objects around him, tobacco his only companion (see fig 4.16).
Fig 4.16 Howard Helmick, *A quiet pipe* 1878.

Evidence of smoking amongst the better off in society is shown in Joseph Wilson’s painting of members of the Belfast literary society the Adelphi Club in 1783 (see fig 4.17). This group of serious-looking men gathered round a table on which a pipe and refreshments are placed infers that while sociable, smoking and drinking was not the reason for the club’s existence.

Fig. 4.17 Joseph Wilson *The Adelphi Club, Belfast* (1783).

By contrast the cartoon *A smoking club* by William Brocas, RHA, (see fig 4.18) parodies a similar group of well-dressed men smoking long churchwarden pipes in a room engulfed in tobacco smoke complete with punch bowl. Excessive consumption was a common theme for cartoonists and Brocas subtly reinforces this by showing the figures in the illustrations on the wall smoking.
The representation of tobacco in Irish painting reflected the many attributes accorded to smoking. It has been portrayed in the midst of communal occasions, as the pleasure of the male and female poor, the consolation of the aged and very occasionally as a symbol for gender equality. Its ubiquity in real life is mirrored in art as its presence informs viewers that smoking was a widely practised everyday occurrence but represented something more than a mere act of consumption.

Although tobacco was a relatively recent arrival in Ireland it did find its way into the longstanding folkloric tradition of the country, providing further evidence of its widespread popularity and use. Lady Wilde and W.B. Yeats published traditional tales which included encounters between spirits from the other world and mortal snuff-takers. Leprechauns, children were told, escaped from humans by throwing snuff in their faces.\footnote{Cassandra M. Schell, ‘In fairyland or thereabout: the fairies as nationalist symbol in Irish literature by and after William Allingham’ 2009, Electronic Theses & Dissertations. 169. (https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/etd/169) (15 February 2018.)} Another tale related to an islander who abused his wife and children when tobacco was unavailable. The man mended his ways and overcame his
addiction after he was threatened with death by the fairies.\textsuperscript{210} The Irish Folklore Commission contains numerous accounts of tobacco-related tales such as the revenge taken by an Irish pig dealer aided by Daniel O’Connell on a Liverpool merchant who had hoodwinked him previously. The pig dealer was told by O’Connell to cut off a joint of his toe and bury it at home which he did. He arrived at the merchants store and asked ‘how much for tobacco to cover me from head to toe’, ‘ten shillings’ was the reply. The contract been made and witnessed by O’Connell cost the merchant £3,000.\textsuperscript{211}

Tobacco was also a feature in Irish music and song but considerably less so than alcohol. Tunes such as \textit{The pinch of snuff}, \textit{New tobacco} and the \textit{Tin tobacco box} became a popular part of the traditional musicians repertoire.\textsuperscript{212} \textit{The Mary Snow} provided a graphic account of the deliberate wrecking of a tobacco ship off County Donegal and the murder of its survivors.\textsuperscript{213}

In literature tobacco does not feature centrally but is used to establish characters and create atmosphere. The Irish poet and playwright Oscar Wilde was considered by some contemporaries to be a living advertisement for cigarettes both in his physical performance of the act of smoking and in his writings and witticisms on the subject. Wilde was the subject of severe criticism from a theatre critic who equated his smoking on stage on the opening night of \textit{Lady Windemere’s Fan} with the current degradation of social mores.\textsuperscript{214} Wilde’s use of a cigarette case in \textit{The importance of being Earnest}, where it was used to establish the connections between

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[\textsuperscript{211}]National Folklore Collection, UCD. The Schools’ Collection, Volume 0116, p. 31.
\item[\textsuperscript{212}]Irish Traditional Music Archive (https://www.itma.ie) 22 Feb.2018.
\end{itemize}
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two of the play’s characters, and humorous quotes including one from his novel *Dorian Gray* about cigarettes being the ‘perfect type of perfect pleasure’ but left one ‘unsatisfied’ reinforced his image as a louche, Bohemian aesthete.

His fellow countryman and writer George Bernard Shaw, who shunned alcohol, meat and tobacco, described cigarettes as tube of tobacco ‘with fire at one end and a fool at the other’. Shaw contributed greatly to the debate on women smoking in the 1890s by including ‘new woman’ characters in his plays such as the trouser-wearing short-haired cigarette-smoking members of the Ibsen Club in *The Philanderer* and the outrageous Vivie Warren in *Mrs Warren’s Profession*, who had a ‘predilection for cigars and whiskey.’  

James Joyce regularly alluded to tobacco use by characters in his writings. He uses tobacco to punctuate dialogue, describing the preparation of pipe tobacco, its lighting, the unfurling of smoke and the sharing of tobacco among companions. The relatively rare practise of chewing tobacco in Ireland receives a mention in a passage from *The portrait of the artist as a young man*, where Mr Casey spits a ‘quid of Tullamore’ into the eye of a female opponent at a political rally in the 1890s.  

Skin-the–goat, a character in *Ulysses*, makes references to the cultivation of tobacco by ‘Colonel Everard down there in Navan’ as part of argument where he propounds on the economic viability of Ireland. Another contemporary development noted in *Stephen Hero* is the use of tobacco shops or divans as meeting places for nationalistic ‘irreconcilables’, such as Cooney’s tobacco shop where the characters are found ‘talking Irish loudly and smoking churchwardens.’

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Tobacco shops and cigar divans feature in early twentieth-century Ireland as venues where individuals from across the nationalist spectrum met as owners, employees and often ostensibly as customers. The tobacco shop An Stád was run by Cathal McGarvey, a poet, whose premises was a popular meeting place for participants in the Gaelic Revival movement. It was frequented by a host of literary personalities, including Oliver St. John Gogarty and James Joyce. Cooney’s tobacco shop in Ulysses may have been inspired by Joyce’s visits there and it was where he met the GAA’s founder Michael Cusack, on whom he modelled the character of ‘The Citizen’ in the book. Michael Hanrahan along with future Easter Rising comrades, Liam Mellows and Michael Mallin, frequented Walker’s tobacco shop where various nationalist groups held cultural events in a hall at the rear of the shop.

Tobacco use was widely accepted in Ireland. Anti-tobacco groups failed repeatedly to gather public support with the exception of the campaign to legislate against children’s consumption. The negative societal attitudes regarding women, the poor and smoking lessened in the early twentieth century, hastened, in the case of women, by the arrival of the cigarette and the social changes wrought by the First World War. The war represented an occasion when the importance of tobacco consumption became a unifying force in society. The state made exceptional efforts to ensure a supply of raw tobacco increasing its revenue in the process while the trade benefitted from the increased business. The public were galvanised into forming associations to supply those at the front. As well inducing an increase in consumption the war also acted as a catalyst for a change in the mode of

219 Harry C. Phibbs WS 848, BMH p 8.
220 Phibbs WS 848, BMH pp 6-7.
221 Phibbs WS 848, BMH pp 9-10.
consumption as women and the men who abandoned the pipe in the trenches, took up cigarettes.

Tobacco trade members who attained commercial success contributed to the social and political life of the country largely along the nationalist spectrum. The presence of tobacco in the arts reflects its widespread availability, the smokers, the pipes and their tobacco are presented in a manner that suggests everyday use of a consumable whose importance is subtly portrayed.
Conclusion

Potatoes and tobacco represent the most significant consumables that entered Ireland following the discovery of the Americas. The four chapters in the study have addressed the business of tobacco, the state and tobacco, consumption, in terms of mode and quantities and societal attitudes to tobacco. From the early decades of the seventeenth century, tobacco was widely available in Ireland. In contrast to many European countries where tobacco was a state monopoly, the market in Britain and Ireland was commercially driven but subject to legislative controls. The tobacco trade was successful in adapting to changes in Irish consumption habits and in supplying the increasing quantities required by the market in the face of many challenges.

This thesis has argued that tobacco was important in the lives of individuals as a form of recreation, as a stimulant, a relaxant and as often portrayed in the visual arts, the habit of the philosophical observer. In fulfilling these diverse functions tobacco became central to many social interactions, becoming an aspect of everyday polite social behaviours such as acting as a form of introduction between strangers or in the convivial sharing of a pipe between acquaintances, especially among the poor. The provision of tobacco at weddings and funeral wakes was considered essential to these communal occasions as was a restorative smoke to individuals labouring in the fields, factories and offices. The supply of tobacco during the First World War to combatants presents convincing evidence that its consumption was universally important in maintaining individual and group morale. Tobacco consumption as an element of material culture represented more than its mere function. It helped to express individual and associational sympathies by membership of smoking clubs, in the display of political motifs on snuff boxes and tobacco pipes, and from the late
nineteenth century cigarettes became a provocative symbol in the campaign for gender equality. While concerns about the ill-effects of tobacco were raised, the absence of a sustained successful anti-tobacco movement in Ireland indicates that tobacco was a much desired consumable.

The thesis also argued that the centrality of tobacco in the lives of individuals was noted by the state and taxed accordingly; the importance of tobacco to the individual was matched by that of the state. The state’s interest in the tobacco industry centred on its need to protect the revenue it extracted from it. The high rate of taxes, which were hundreds of percent greater than the primary cost of tobacco, served as an inducement to those willing to smuggle and adulterate tobacco. The threats to state revenue from smuggling and adulteration and the perceived threat from domestic cultivation resulted in a level of state involvement that was exceptional in a period of *laissez-faire* government. The substantial body of legislation enacted resulted in tensions between the legitimate trade and the government due to the complexities involved which hindered manufacturers’ daily operations and which had little effect on those engaged in fraud. Members of the trade and political economists, who argued that a reduction in duty would end smuggling and adulteration thus leading to an increase in official consumption, were consistently rebuffed by chancellors of the Exchequer who favoured the immediate returns from high duties over the future benefits accruing from reduced rates.

Louis Cullen has noted that tobacco was the dominant article smuggled into Ireland following the increase in Irish distilling and the reduction in tea duties from the late 1780s onwards. Arising from this observation one must conclude that the establishment of an expensive Coast Guard service in 1819 was in essence a response to the threat to the state’s revenue from tobacco smugglers. Likewise the
government laboratory established in the 1840s initially only concerned itself with combatting the growing problem of tobacco adulteration.

Could domestic cultivation have created a viable manufacturing base as advocated by Irish witnesses and as feared by British manufacturers at the 1830 inquiry? The quantity grown was considerable but the quality was poor, but advocates for Irish cultivation in the 1830s and 1920s were confident that with experience, especially in the curing phase of production, this would improve.¹ Resistance from state officials and the commercial interests of manufacturers prevented the growers from acquiring that experience. As both state and manufacturers were satisfied with the repeal of the act permitting Irish cultivation in the 1830s, and as the growers crops were purchased by the state, the real losers in the affair was the landless labourer and his family who lost the benefits that tobacco growing had briefly bestowed upon them.² Those in charge of the state’s finances in Westminster, and later Dublin, favoured the certainty of taxing imported tobacco over the uncertainty of supporting domestic cultivation implying that the revenue was central to current expenditure plans.

The partition of Ireland in the 1920s affected the tobacco trades’ relationship with the state. During the early years of the Free State the increase in employment brought about by native Irish tobacco manufacturers, briefly protected by customs barriers, and more permanently by British firms who established tariff-jumping factories in Dublin, further indicates the importance of the industry to the economy. In the early 1930s Free State protectionist policies caused the withdrawal of Gallaher’s from the Irish market creating opportunities for Irish-owned firms. On the other hand the Stormont government offered inducements to the now London based

¹ S.C. Cultivation 1830 Evidence of Thomas Brodigan pp 10-12.  
owners of Gallaher’s to continue manufacturing in Northern Ireland. The above and
other evidence presented clearly shows that the state highly valued the contribution
of the tobacco trade as a source of revenue and its major role in the national
economy.

The study shows that tobacco was manufactured and consumed in increasing
quantities in Ireland under the supervision of government officials who sought to
protect this valuable source of state revenue. The trade was one of the few industrial
successes in the largely agricultural Irish economy and was one which successfully
fought against intrusions from foreign firms. The Irish industry initially was one in
which a large number of local manufacturers employed a small number of male
employees who used rudimentary equipment to manufacture roll tobacco which was
sold locally. By the early twentieth century the industry had consolidated into fewer
firms employing larger numbers of workers, the majority of them women, in
purpose-built factories that produced branded tobacco products including cigarettes.

The dominant figure in the Irish tobacco industry was Tom Gallaher who
developed his business from that of a local manufacturer to one of international
importance. His adoption of modern production and business methods resulted in a
worldwide market for his goods from which, this study surmises permits the claim
that his was the first Irish multi-national company. The success of Gallaher contrasts
with most Irish tobacco firms in the period who failed to advance beyond the level of
local manufacturer.

Failure was the fate of many Irish industries and manufacturers in the
nineteenth century. The debate concerning Ireland’s economy during the nineteenth
century has resulted in contrasting positions regarding the level of industrialisation in
the country. The tobacco trade has not figured amongst these arguments though it
faced many of the challenges referred to by commentators as obstacles to Irish industrial development.

The lack of capital investment in nineteenth century Ireland has been cited as a contributing factor to its lack of industrial development. The difficulties in securing bank loans by tobacco growers, noted by Brodigan in his evidence at the 1830 cultivation inquiry, resonate with Joseph Lee’s and Gearoid O Tuathaigh’s arguments concerning the timidity of Irish investors whose cautious approach sought the security and status of land purchases.\(^3\) The lack of capital may have hindered those in the Irish tobacco trade who wished to invest in greater mechanisation, a process that belatedly got under way in the 1880s. Britain’s early lead in industrialisation was, according to L.M. Cullen, a significant factor in the decline of small scale Irish industries whose products could be provided more cheaply from Britain.\(^4\) A similar lead in cigarette manufacture saw British firms enjoy an early competitive advantage in the Irish market that was challenged by Gallaher’s and later by Carroll’s.

Other reasons extended for the Irish failure to industrialise such as the lack of coal and iron-ore and specialist industrial knowledge would not have affected the manually powered tobacco production methods used in Ireland prior to the 1880s. The view that areas of industrial specialisation, reduced transport costs and proximity to Britain resulted in the collapse of Irish industry can also be applied to the demise of the smaller tobacco manufacturers in Ireland who succumbed to the larger businesses based in Belfast, Dundalk and Dublin.\(^5\) However, the declining

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number of Irish tobacco manufacturers did not result in any British encroachment in the Irish market until later in the century. They were in fact replaced by larger Irish firms such as Gallaher’s, Carroll’s and Goodbody’s who had the capital to establish modern businesses and also the ability to withstand foreign incursions, an accomplishment, noted by Lee, that was not often replicated in other Irish industries.⁶

The owners of these firms, especially Gallaher, disproved what some argued was a lack of entrepreneurial talent and industrial knowledge in Ireland during the nineteenth century.⁷ The study shows that he and the other successful Irish tobacco manufacturers had the necessary ambition and business skills to develop their firms to service national and international markets. Gallaher’s and on a smaller scale Goodbody’s, Murray’s and Carroll’s had by the twentieth century clearly demonstrated their entrepreneurial abilities by acquiring the necessary capital and a sizable workforce which made Ireland a nett exporter of tobacco prior to the First World War.⁸

While enduring occasional fall offs in the level of productivity, the tobacco industry as a whole did not suffer the precipitous collapse experienced by the cotton trade in the first half of the nineteenth century or the 1870s decline that struck the milling, tanning and iron-founding industries.⁹ The increase in mechanisation, including the 1880s development of cigarette-making machines, which enabled the mass-production of cheap cigarettes, signposted the future direction the industry would take. The Irish market attracted American and British firms who heavily

⁸ Bielenberg and Johnson, ‘The production and consumption of tobacco in Ireland 1800-1914’ p. 16.
marketed their cigarette brands with their eye to the future in a pipe smoking country.

Irish consumption modes are shown as often being distinct from those of the rest of the United Kingdom and Europe. Snuff fell out of favour in Ireland a number of decades before it became unfashionable in Britain in the 1820s. Pipe smoking was the chief mode of consumption in Ireland and the rest of Europe during the nineteenth century. Within pipe smoking Irish consumers distinguished themselves by their preference for the dark, strong, roll and pigtail varieties in contrast to the British preference for lighter shag or flake tobacco. It has been shown that cigar consumption in Ireland outside of the elite remained minimal unlike in Britain where cheap cigars were consumed in great quantities from the 1830s by the poor in emulation of their betters, as noted in contemporary literature by Mathew Hilton.10

Mass produced cigarettes changed the tobacco industry worldwide. Britain led the way in cigarette consumption. In 1920 it became the first tobacco market where cigarettes exceeded fifty per cent of total tobacco consumption. Previous studies imply that Irish cigarette consumption was behind others but this thesis has revealed that Ireland’s cigarette market reached this figure well in advance of more industrialised countries in Europe. This fact differs from the views of social scientists who associated pipe smoking with agrarian societies such as Ireland, and cigarettes with time-poor, impatient, industrialised societies.11

As smuggling and adulteration was practised at stages during the period in question the true amounts of tobacco consumed in Ireland will never be known. The effects of duty rates, demographic changes, famines, internal and external conflicts

10 Hilton, Smoking in British popular culture, pp 51-3.
showed that they caused only temporary reversals in the rise of official consumption. The decade following the famine was the longest period in which it took for consumption to return to its previous high, but it is instructive that tobacco consumption increased on a yearly basis in each of those years.\textsuperscript{12} As coastal security improved the level of smuggling declined causing a rise in official consumption amongst a continuously reducing population. Denied cheaper illicit tobacco the reduced number of Irish smokers consumed increasing amounts of the legitimate variety indicating its importance to them as individuals and thus placing it prominently amongst the purchases of an expanding consumerist post-famine economy.

The continual rise in tobacco consumption strongly suggests that its use was widely accepted in Ireland, however this was subject to contemporary social conventions which dictated who, where and when it could be consumed. Those who campaigned against tobacco failed to establish an ongoing or popular movement, but societal mores and etiquette succeeded in curtailing respectable women from smoking for most of the nineteenth century. Deviant society ladies, actresses, prostitutes and poor women were recognised as transgressors of these social rules, a labelling process which discouraged would-be female smokers. The mass produced cigarette emerged at a time when some women began to ride bicycles, walk out unchaperoned and cut their hair short. Such behaviour by these ‘new women’ particularly smoking in public was considered a threat to the maintenance of good order in society. The thesis provides accounts of the societal objections in Ireland and contrasts them with the criminalisation of female smokers in some parts of the U.S.A.

\textsuperscript{12} Customs tariffs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897, pp 183-99.
However the trade and the trade press eventually recognised the commercial opportunity presented by the potential of an increase in business from the other fifty per cent of the population.\(^\text{13}\) No record exists of the level of female smoking in the period of this study but an absence of debate on the matter is indicative that the ‘little torch of freedom’ was more socially acceptable in Ireland by the late 1920s.\(^\text{14}\)

The thesis examined the extraordinary close relationship between tobacco and the poor in Ireland. Despite abject poverty tobacco represented a substantial financial outlay from meagre resources. The investment in tobacco by the poor was condemned as immoral and wasteful by those above them in society who felt it a misapplication of funds and indicative of a lifestyle that lacked the qualities of industry and self-restraint so admired by the bourgeoisie. Union workhouses provided a locus where the very poor, the local bourgeoisie and the state collided over the issue of tobacco. The workhouse rules and ideological position of the local guardians which favoured the prohibition of tobacco were relaxed in the knowledge that its use led to the more conducive running of the establishment. The thesis noted the important role of tobacco in funeral wakes. The introduction of invented semi-religious practises to justify tobacco’s inclusion at the wake-house and graveyard strongly hints at a desire by the poor to include a widely enjoyed practise into the proceedings.

An examination of the relationship between tobacco and the armed services has found that it contributed to changes in modes of consumption and in the quantities consumed. In peacetime local tobacco traders, such as James Hunt, benefitted from the presence of large garrisons among whom smoking was hugely


popular their absence in time of war was acutely felt. Tobacco has been clearly demonstrated to have provided a boost in the morale among fighting men in the many conflicts Irish regiments of the British army were engaged in, especially the First World War. The war provides ample proof that tobacco was important in the lives of so many millions of people whose wartime consumption maintained an enormous industry who contributed vast sums to the Treasury. Arising from its greater availability during the war, where many smokers were introduced to it, the cigarette replaced the pipe as the dominant mode of consumption in Ireland in the late 1920s.

This thesis has shown that tobacco was an important element in the economic and social life of Ireland from the eighteenth century onwards. The ever increasing rate of consumption, supplemented by unknown quantities of contraband goods, resulted in the development of a major industry that supplied domestic and international markets which consistently provided enormous sums of money to the state. It has proved that the state’s relationship with the industry centred on protecting this source of revenue using expensive solutions such as the Coast Guard, the government laboratory and onerous legislation. The reduction of duty, which was the solution offered by political economists and the tobacco trade, was consistently ignored by those in charge of the nation’s coffers. Their immediate financial requirements met in part by tobacco, prevented them from taking the long view of lower duties equalling greater consumption and increasing tax returns.

The study clearly shows that tobacco in its various modes was significant in the everyday lives of Irish people, especially among those least able to afford it. The change in societal values concerning tobacco consumption by women and the great

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debate it generated demonstrates that for many women cigarettes expressed something greater than mere consumption.

Tobacco entered Europe as an item of exotica which in time became an article of everyday use by all sections of society. The availability of tobacco despite the challenges presented by wars, famines, extreme poverty and civic unrest stands as a testament to its importance in Irish society. This continuance of supply masks the importance of tobacco to society and it bears analogy to the supply of electrical power which only enters the public consciousness when it becomes unavailable or too expensive.

The tobacco industry in Ireland in the later decades of the twentieth century comprised of three major companies, Gallaher’s, Players (Imperial) and Carroll’s. The increasing evidence linking tobacco consumption and major illnesses has resulted in a serious decline in consumption in Ireland and most western countries. The Irish state was among the earliest to introduce severe anti-tobacco legislation which alongside increased societal opposition to tobacco in Ireland has made the manufacture, sale and consumption of tobacco much more difficult and expensive. In 2017 the now Japanese owned Gallaher’s closed down its factory near Ballymena, at present tobacco is no longer manufactured in Britain or Ireland.
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