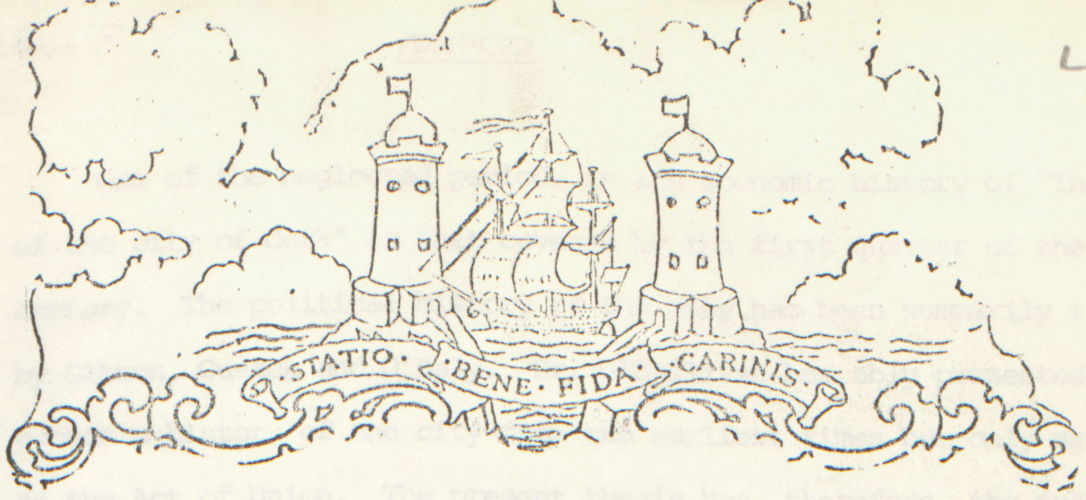
COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE IN CORK CITY FROM THE ACT OF UNION TO 1826

by

Sheila O'Keefe
(Sr. Camillus)



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COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGE IN CORK CITY FROM THE ACT OF UNION TO 1826

THESIS PRESENTED TO

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND

FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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AT

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH

1974

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FOREWORD

One of the neglected periods in the economic history of "The County of the city of Cork" is that covered by the first quarter of the 19th century. The political history of the city has been summarily treated by Gibson, Cusack and O'Daly. Dr. O'Sullivan has ably presented the economic history of the city from the earliest times but only as far as the Act of Union. The present thesis has, therefore, the purpose of attempting to continue the economic history of the city from the Act of Union to the year 1826, with special emphasis on its most striking characteristic namely, commercial and industrial change.

It will be appreciated that any attempt to write a thesis on the history of Cork city is much restricted because of the fact that many of the potential sources of information were destroyed by the fire which gutted the Court House in 1891, and that which ruined the City Hall in 1920. Every document with one exception contained in the Municipal Archives was completely destroyed during the destruction of the City Hall. The only one surviving is a manuscript copy of selected charters which at the time reposed in the City Solicitor's office. The loss was compensated for to some degree by the publication of the Council Book by Richard Caulfield. This book however, does not cover the Post-Union period.

The Public Record Office, Dublin, possessed another prolific source of information in the correspondence relating to Cork city for the period 1740-1820. Unfortunately, much of this was destroyed during the destruction of the Four Courts. The Customs and Excise Papers: Administration (1778-1829) which survive, contain some references to the port of Cork.

Of the five histories of the county and city of Cork in print; those of O'Sullivan, Gibson, Cusack, Daly and Smith, Dr. O'Sullivan's work on the economic history of the city of Cork was of invaluable assistance for the Pre-Union period. As a guide to possible sources of information, the books of Gibson, Cusack and Daly were of little value, because most of the information contained in them is unauthenticated.

Smith's work, though valuable as a source of information about the state of affairs in and about the time he wrote, did not give any information concerning the years following the Union, about which this thesis is mainly concerned.

Various parliamentary publications published by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland after 1800, supplied much useful information.

Fortunately, records have survived of the most remarkable Cork institution - the Cork Butter Market. These, together with some of the Minute Books of the "Committee of Merchants" who controlled the market were placed at my disposal. I was also given access to the following unpublished records, which proved of great assistance to me:

The Proceedings of the Cork Harbour Commissioners
The Minute Books of the Chamber of Commerce
The business records of:

Beamish & Crawford Ltd.,
The Cork Distilleries Co. Ltd.,
Martin Mahony & Sons, Blarney.
Wm. Egan & Sons, Patrick St.

The Cork newspapers, Memoirs, Journals of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society and the statements of contemporary writers and visitors to Cork, supplied much information unattainable from other sources, but not insufficient detail to cover adequately many areas of this thesis. Regrettably, apart from the records of the distilleries and the brewery, there were few other business records available to fill up the lacunae in the information given in other sources.

The reader will notice that most of the newspaper references are taken from the Cork Mercantile Chronicle. In many cases the same information was available in some of the other Cork newspapers which were searched simultaneously. Where, however, certain information was not to be found in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, it was often found in the other contemporary newspapers from which references were taken.

The lack of reliable statistics concerning the population of the city until 1821, the number of vessels that entered inwards or cleared outwards at the port of Cork prior to the year 1817 and the gross receipt of the revenue of customs and excise received thereat; the numbers employed in different trades and the wages earned therein, was felt to be a considerable handicap. The absence of any export and import figures for the individual ports of Ireland after 1823, made it difficult to give a satisfactory account of the trade of the port of Cork for the period 1824-'26.

The thesis is divided into three parts, each of which is prefaced by a short introduction and ends with a review.

A full account of the various sources consulted will be found in the bibliography at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Mary Cullen, under whom I worked while engaged in the writing of this thesis, and to whom I am greatly indebted for the advice given particularly in putting the materials into final form.

I am indebted to many others for giving me access to unpublished documents, in particular to Séamas Ó Coigligh, Curator, Public Museum, Cork, who placed all the manuscripts relating to the Cork Butter Market at my disposal and accommodated me in his office while I was engaged in their perusal. To Mr. L. A. French, General Manager, Cork Harbour Commissioners, I am greatly obliged for having given me access to The Proceedings of the Cork Harbour Commissioners. I wish to thank Mr. R. Walsh, Director of Beamish & Crawford Ltd., for placing at my disposal the company's business records.

I am indebted to the following for directing me to many sources of information: Mr. P. Madden, Cork County Librarian; Dr. L. M. Cullen, and Professor Dickson of Trinity College, Dublin.

I wish to thank Mr. C. J. Lennon, Chief Executive, Cork Chamber of Commerce, for placing at my disposal the Minute Books of the Cork Chamber of Commerce; Mr. J. Mahony for giving me access to the only extant documents relating to the history of the firm of Martin Mahony & Brothers Ltd; and Mr. W. Egan, for contributing useful information concerning the early history of the firm of Wm. Egan & Sons, Patrick's St.

To the Librarian of the National Library, I am indebted for giving me access to manuscript collections in the National Library and the facilities to consult all files and micro-films of Cork Newspapers covering the early years of the 19th century. I am also indebted to Mr. O'Driscoll of the National Library photographic department, who provided me with many photostat and xerox copies of illustrations.

I also wish to thank Miss S. Madden of the Public Records Office,

Dublin, who assisted me in finding manuscripts in that office, and the Cork City Librarians who placed at my disposal the files of Cork newspapers unavailable elsewhere as well as the originals of the early Cork maps appearing in this thesis.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been generally used throughout the text:

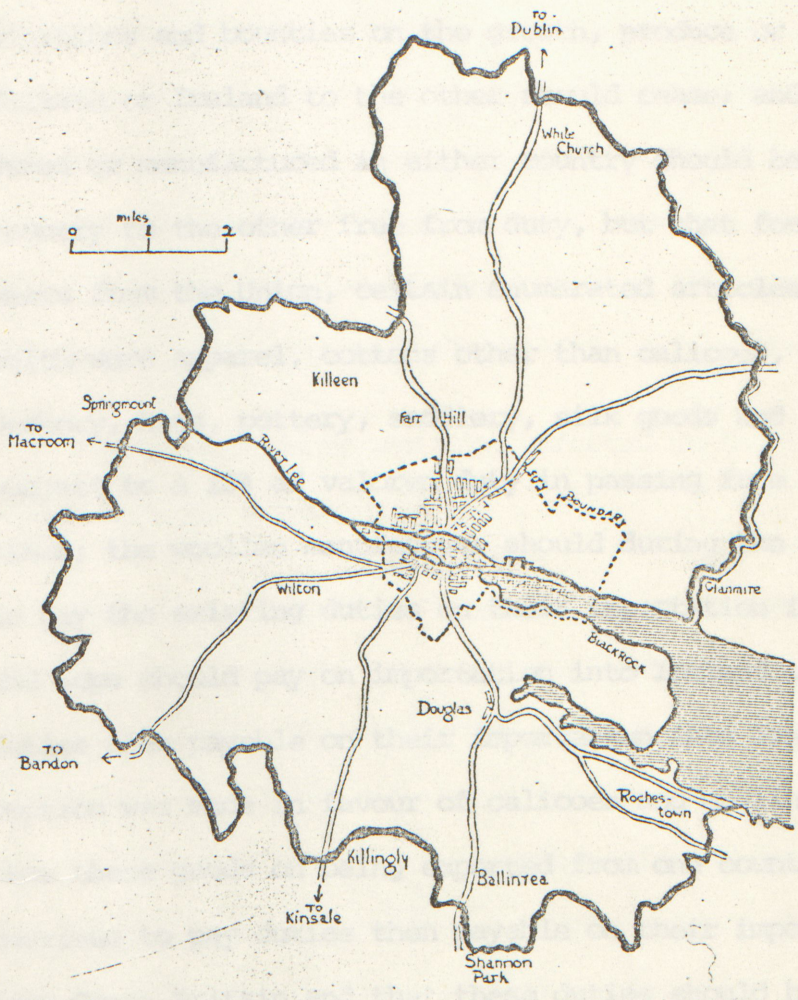
J.C.H.A.S. = Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society

P.C.H.C. = Proceedings of the Commissioners for Widening, Deepening and Improving the Harbour and River of Cork

C.B.M. MSS = Cork Butter Market manuscripts

P.P. = Parliamentary Papers

The works of local authors, such as Windele or Tuckey, have been generally referred to by the author's name. Other well known authors' works such as Wakefield, Newenham, Townshend, have often been denoted by the author's name.



Reduced tracing from Map of the County and City of Cork in *Municipal Corporation Boundaries Ireland, Reports and Plans, 1837.*

W. O'Sullivan, Economic History of Cork city from the earliest times to the Act of Union, p. 93.

The years which followed the passing of the Act of Union until 1826, when Union became integration, formed a very significant period in the history of the Irish economy. During these years the commercial clauses of the Act of Union gave rise to considerable economic change. These clauses provided that from and after the 1st January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland to the other should cease; and that all articles produced or manufactured in either country should be imported from each country to the other free from duty, but that for a period of twenty years from the Union, certain enumerated articles - the principal of which were apparel, cottons other than calicoes, muslin, glass, haberdashery, hats, pottery, saddlery, silk goods and stockings - should be subject to a 10% ad valorem duty in passing from one country to the other; the woollen manufacture should during the same period continue to pay the existing duties on their importation into Ireland; that salt and hops should pay on importation into Ireland and Great Britain the duties then payable on their importation into Ireland. A special exception was made in favour of calicoes and muslins by the provisions that these goods on being exported from one country to the other should continue to pay duties then payable on their importation into Ireland from Great Britain and that these duties should be gradually reduced until they became extinguished in 1821.

The passing of the Act of Union made no significant change in Ireland's trade with foreign countries. The only trade which was opened up by the Act of Union, was the Channel trade between Ireland and Great Britain. This was done by the provisions made in the commercial clauses of the Act, which created a nominal equality where in fact no equality existed. The manufactures of Ireland, though progressive, were still comparatively undeveloped and were urgently in need of artificial encouragement in order to enable them to attain a condition in which they could successfully compete on equal terms with Great Britain. The 10% duties on the Channel trade were retained until 1821. Some few of these were further extended till 1825, but the greater number were allowed

lapse, in spite of the opposition of the Irish manufacturers. In 1823 the import duties on foreign goods imported into Great Britain and Ireland were equalized. These changes in the tariffs on foreign goods did not however, affect Ireland so materially as the abolition of the duties on British manufactures in 1824. The withdrawal of these protective duties caused serious damage to the Irish textile industry in particular, though not immediately, In England improved methods of manufacture had been introduced; the principle of division of labour had been carried into practice and new forms of power were applied. These improvements were not introduced into Ireland at this time, consequently, the country was unable to compete with Great Britain in a free market.

The Irish economy was also affected during these years by foreign wars and their aftermath.

Cork city, "the second city of Ireland", experienced the effects of many of the changes to which the Irish economy was subjected to during this period. The period was however, not alone a period of change in the history of the city but also a period of continuity, for Cork preserved its own identity as a combination of seaport, distributing centre, market town and provincial capital with a moderate amount of manufacture. It was, in fact, a vital period which gave birth to new streets, new buildings, new bridges, new methods of lighting and shipping and new corporate bodies who controlled the development of the harbour, the deepening of the river, the widening of the streets and took effective measures to promote the commerical and industrial welfare of the city. The past achievements and present vitality of some of these bodies, bear witness to the importance of the period 1801-'26 in the history of the city. This thesis is however, mainly concerned with what was the most striking aspect of the city's history during this period, namely commercial and industrial change.

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PART ONE

A PERIOD OF BOOM FROM THE PASSING OF THE ACT OF UNION TO THE PEACE TREATY OF 1815

The years 1801-1815 were for many people in Cork city, prosperous years. Signs of progress were visible in the expansion of the city, the building of bridges, the closing in of canals to form streets, the erection of public buildings, the increase in the export trade and the general industrial prosperity. The high level of economic activity was reflected in the large note circulation emanating from the city's Private Banks. This activity was, however, periodically obstructed somewhat by the shortage of small coinage.

The importance of this period of boom was enhanced by the establishment of three corporate bodies - the Commissioners for Deepening, Widening and Improving the River and Harbour of Cork, the Cork Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Building Company, whose achievements were destined to affect considerably the commercial development of the city for some years to come.

CORK.
RIVER LEE
NORTH CHANNEL
SOUTH CHANNEL
GRAND PARADE
PATRICK'S HILL
NORTH MALL
SOUTH MALL
Cork Street.
North Gate Street.
Shandon Street.
Henry Street.
St. Paul's Street.
Britain Street.
Grenville Street.
Princes Street.
Queen Street.
Duke Street.
Hanover Street.
Patrick Street.
Castle Street.
Cook Street.
Academy Street.
Grattan Street.
Mary Street.
Liberty Street.
Bridge Street.
Hammond Lane.
Fenn's Quay.
Custom House Quay.
Exchange.
Court House.
Corn Market.
Shambles.
Bishop Lane.
Gaol.
Bridewell.
Infirmary.
Fever Hospital.
Lunatic Asylum.
Barracks.
Military Hospital.
Union Workhouse.
Penitentiary.
Magdalen Asylum.
Foundling Hospital.
Quakers Meeting House.
Presbyterian Meeting House.
Methodist Meeting House.
Independent Meeting House.
Roman Catholic Chapel.
Church.
Quakers Burial Ground.
Jews Burial Ground.
Custom House.
Exchange.
Theatre.
Assembly Rooms.
Public Library.
Public Baths.
Public Walks.
Public Gardens.
Public Offices.
Public Buildings.
Public Schools.
Public Hospitals.
Public Asylums.
Public Prisons.
Public Markets.
Public Fairs.
Public Ferries.
Public Bridges.
Public Quays.
Public Docks.
Public Wharfs.
Public Warehouses.
Public Granaries.
Public Mills.
Public Breweries.
Public Distilleries.
Public Tanneries.
Public Glass Works.
Public Iron Works.
Public Brass Works.
Public Copper Works.
Public Lead Works.
Public Tin Works.
Public Zinc Works.
Public Coal Works.
Public Salt Works.
Public Soap Works.
Public Candle Works.
Public Oil Works.
Public Paint Works.
Public Varnish Works.
Public Dye Works.
Public Bleach Works.
Public Printing Works.
Public Publishing Works.
Public Bookbinding Works.
Public Stationery Works.
Public Music Works.
Public Instrument Works.
Public Clock Works.
Public Watch Works.
Public Jewellery Works.
Public Silversmith Works.
Public Goldsmith Works.
Public Coppersmith Works.
Public Tinsmith Works.
Public Zincsmith Works.
Public Ironmonger Works.
Public Brassfounder Works.
Public Copperfounder Works.
Public Leadfounder Works.
Public Tinfounder Works.
Public Zincfounder Works.
Public Coalmerchant Works.
Public Saltmerchant Works.
Public Soapmerchant Works.
Public Candlemerchant Works.
Public Oilmerchant Works.
Public Paintmerchant Works.
Public Varnishmerchant Works.
Public Dyemerchant Works.
Public Bleachmerchant Works.
Public Printingmerchant Works.
Public Publishingmerchant Works.
Public Bookbindingmerchant Works.
Public Stationerymerchant Works.
Public Musicmerchant Works.
Public Instrumentmerchant Works.
Public Clockmerchant Works.
Public Watchmerchant Works.
Public Jewellerymerchant Works.
Public Silversmithmerchant Works.
Public Goldsmithmerchant Works.
Public Coppersmithmerchant Works.
Public Tinsmithmerchant Works.
Public Zincsmithmerchant Works.
Public Ironmongermerchant Works.
Public Brassfoundermerchant Works.
Public Copperfoundermerchant Works.
Public Leadfoundermerchant Works.
Public Tinfoundermerchant Works.
Public Zincfoundermerchant Works.

(a) CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLE AND UNFAVOURABLE TO THE COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION OF CORK CITY IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY

(b) THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS FOR DEEPENING, WIDENING AND IMPROVING THE HARBOUR AND RIVER OF CORK

The commercial and industrial history of Cork city had been in the past and was in the early 19th century, greatly influenced by its geographical situation, its spacious harbour and its fertile hinterland. The excellent situation of its port on the southern seaboard of Ireland, facing the Atlantic and within easy sailing distance of the principal English ports, with its natural lower harbour, made it not only the port of call for Atlantic shipping, but the natural exit for the agricultural export trade from the South of Ireland. Tuckey remarked that 'on the first day of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland a fleet of 150 merchantmen sailed from the harbour'.[1] In 1805, during his tour in the southern counties of Ireland, John Carr, an English visitor to Cork observed : 'Cork is the second city in Ireland, and if ships of about 200 tons were not obliged to unload at Passage, give and a half miles from Cork, it would be one of the finest ports in the world. In times of peace the flags of every nation may be seen waving in her harbour, which is perfectly safe, capable of offering complete protection to the whole navy of England from every wind that blows. Ships from England bound for all parts of the West Indies put in here, and in one year in pacific times, no less than 2,000 vessels have floated upon its bosom'.[2] Such was the prosperity of the city in the early 19th century that 'Cork was considered in point of trade, The Bristol of Ireland',[3] yet in fact,

1. F. H. Tuckey, The County and City of Cork Remembrancer, 1837, p. 214.
2. J. Carr, The Stranger in Ireland; or a Tour in the Southern and Western parts of the country in 1805, (London, 1805), p. 403.
3. W. West, Cork Directory, 1810, p. 24.

this prosperity was hindered in no small degree by the primitive nature of "the upper harbour".

(b) CORK HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS

While the Port of Cork is an administrative unit, it is divided for reference purposes into two areas[1]:

(i) the Lower Harbour, which covers the area from the open sea to Passage,

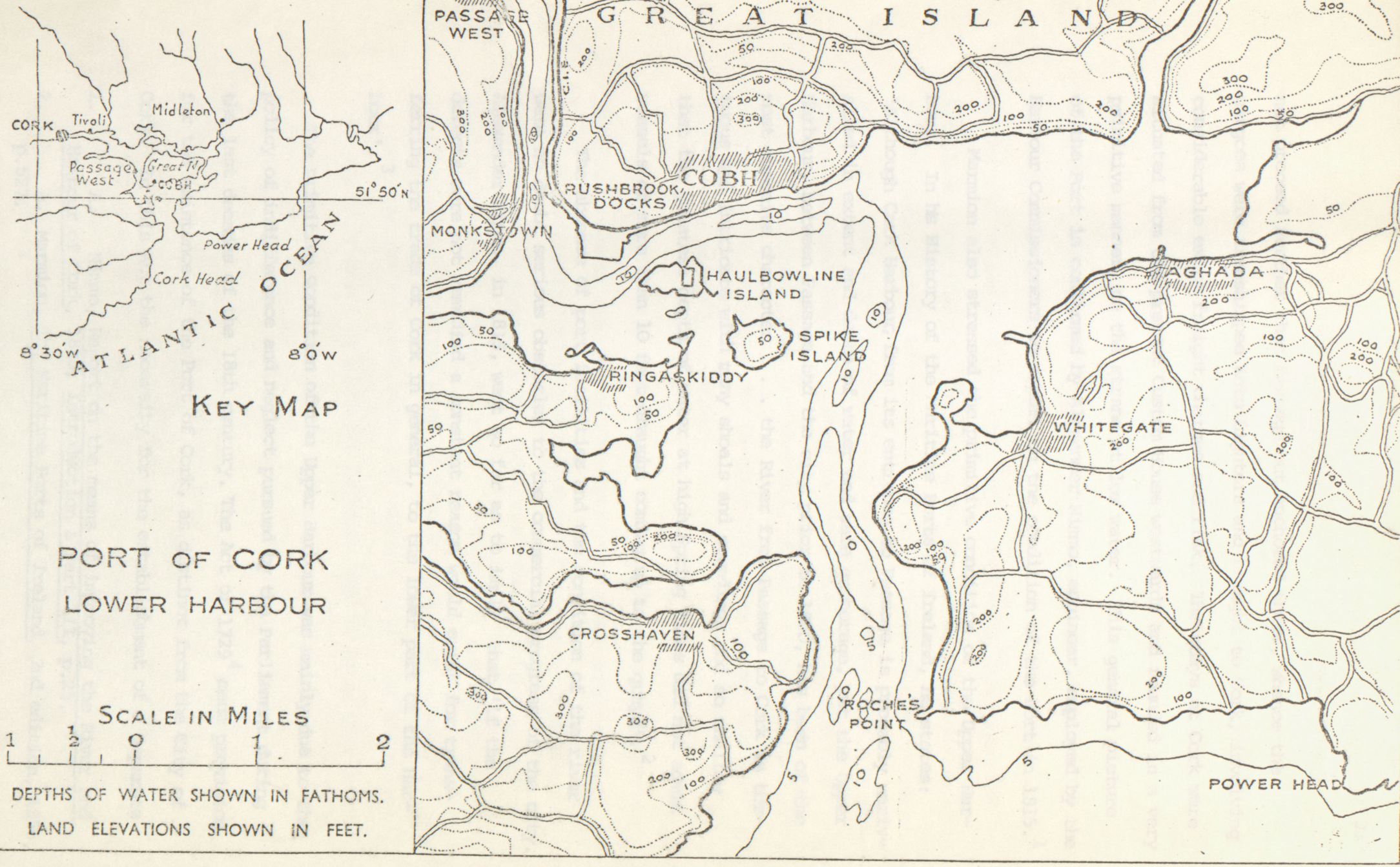
(ii) the Upper Harbour, which comprises that part of the river between Passage and Cork city.

The distance from the open sea to the quays of Cork is approximately 13 miles. From the end of the 17th century, the lower Harbour had rapidly become a recognised port of call for transatlantic shipping and a major victualling centre for the British Navy, but up to the beginning of the 18th century the Upper Harbour remained virtually undeveloped. The spacious anchorage of the Lower Harbour, kept free from obstruction by the Atlantic tides, was ideally suited for trading purposes but the artificially created Upper Harbour, from Passage to Cork had to undergo almost a century of development before it reached its present state. Up to 1813, the condition of the river Port of Cork was most primitive. Visiting Cork on September 14th, 1813 J. C. Curwen, M.P., stated: 'The quays do not correspond with the opulence and importance of the place, nor did I see those improvements going on which in other places we have noted with so much pleasure'.[2]

The river from Passage to Cork was so shallow in places that only small vessels drawing approximately 11 feet of water could get to Cork, and then only at high tide. On berthing at Cork they had to lie aground on a gravel bottom, to discharge. Larger vessels did

1. See Map page 2b.

2. J. C. Curwen, Observations on the State of Ireland, 1818, p.9.


CORK
Tivoli
Midleton
Passage West
Great N.
COBH
51° 50'N
Power Head
Cork Head
ATLANTIC OCEAN
8° 30'W
8° 0'W
KEY MAP
PORT OF CORK
LOWER HARBOUR
SCALE IN MILES
1 1/2 0 1 2
DEPTHS OF WATER SHOWN IN FATHOMS.
LAND ELEVATIONS SHOWN IN FEET.
PASSAGE WEST
GREAT ISLAND
RUSHBROOK DOCKS
COBH
MONKSTOWN
HAULBOWLINE ISLAND
SPIKE ISLAND
RINGASKIDDY
AGHADA
WHITEGATE
CROSSHAVEN
ROCHE'S POINT
POWER HEAD

not proceed further than Passage but anchored there, whence the cargoes were transhipped into Lighters and brought to Cork, involving considerable extra freight charges and risk. The quays at Cork were situated from the present Custom House westwards and founded in a very primitive manner, on the strand at low water. This general picture of the Port is confirmed by Alexander Nimmo, engineer, employed by the Harbour Commissioners to report on the condition of the Port in 1815.[1]

Marmion also stressed the primitive condition of the Upper Harbour. In his History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland, he states: 'Although Cork Harbour, from its entrance to Passage, is probably unrivalled in extent and depth of water and safe anchorage, yet the Upper Harbour, between Passage and the city, prior to 1820, has been of the most opposite character . . . the River from Passage to Cork is tortuous and intricate with many shoals and soundings and so shallow that the greatest depth of water at high Spring tides did not admit vessels of more than 10 feet draught coming up to the quays'.[2]

The absence of port facilities and the condition of the river were no doubt serious obstacles to the commercial progress of the city. Alexander Nimmo, in 1815, went so far as to imply that 'if the defects were not remedied a constant reason would exist for transferring the trade of Cork in general, to the lower part of the Harbour'.[3]

The primitive condition of the Upper Harbour was mainly due to the policy of indifference and neglect pursued by the Parliament during the last decades of the 18th century. The Act of 1729[4] made provision for the existence of the Port of Cork, as distinct from the City of Cork. In this Act the necessity for the establishment of a separate

1. A. Nimmo, Report on the means of improving the River and Harbour of Cork, 1815; Introduction & Part III, p.25.
2. A. Marmion, The Maritime Ports of Ireland, 2nd edition, 1856, p.527.
3. A. Nimmo, Report, 1815, Introduction.
4. Irish Statutes, p.464.

body to deal with port management was recognised but it was not until 1813 that the function was divorced from the Corporation and vested in Harbour Commissioners.[1] Until that date tonnage dues from vessels were applied for improving the general condition of the port. Sums were also granted by Parliament for this purpose. A Tracking Wall was constructed so that vessels could receive shore assistance against contrary winds and tides. This Wall was situated on the South Channel of the Lee.[2] After 1784 no further aid was given by Parliament and from then until 1813 local petitions for assistance were treated with indifference, so that the condition of the port rapidly deteriorated. Parliament was of the opinion that further maintenance should be met out of municipal funds.[3] Although in 1799 and again in 1800, the Corporation ordered that half the dues "called anchorage and ballast" be paid to the "Committee for Clearing and Improving the Harbour"[4] the position steadily worsened.

It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that any significant progress was made in the improvement and construction of harbour facilities. There was a growing consciousness that merchant shipping and adequate shipping facilities were essential to economic well-being, and in the early 1800s institutions and legislation relating to these matters began to make an appearance. There was also a trend towards the establishment of distinct bodies for the management and improvement of ports and harbours, and it is in this period that many of the present harbour authorities have their origin.[5] This trend is evident in the following table:

PORT	DATE OF INSTITUTION OF HARBOUR OR PORT AUTHORITIES	ACT
Dublin	1786	26 Geo. 3 c. 19
Cork	1813	53 Geo. 3 c. 70
Waterford	1816	Waterford Harbour Act 1816

1. 53 Geo. III. c. 70. 2. See Map page 1.
3. Journal of Irish House of Commons XIII, pp.144-5.
4. Council Book, p.1143.
5. P.J. McCarthy, A History of the Port of Cork, 1813-1900, Introduction.

The year 1813 marked the dawn of a new era in the commercial life of Cork city, for in that year an Act was passed[1] entitled "An Act for amending and making perpetual an Act passed in the Parliament of Ireland in the fortieth year of the Reign of His present Majesty, for the better regulation of the butter trade of the city of Cork and the Liberties thereof, and for other purposes therein mentioned" which made provision inter alia for the appointment of Commissioners "for deepening, widening and improving the harbour and river of Cork". This Act appointed as Commissioners, The Mayor, Sheriffs and 21 merchants:-

W. Beamish	J. Lecky	T. Cuthbert	G. Waters
J. Cotter	D. Goold	J. Cotter, Jnr.	H. Bagnell
D. Callaghan	T. Harvey	D. Galwey	T. Mc Call
W. Crawford	J. Carroll	W. Maxwell	R. Harvey
J. Morgan	R. Burke	J. Besnard	G. Callaghan
			G. Bickerton

granting them as funds one-third of the Weigh House dues of the Cork Butter Market. The Act also made provision for the filling of a vacancy caused by death or resignation and decreed that the persons so appointed should be called "The Commissioners for widening, deepening and improving the Harbour and River of Cork".

Before the Commissioners appointed under Act of 1813 met for the first time, another Act was passed[2] making provision for additional funds. In this Act entitled "An Act to raise a fund for defraying the charge of commercial improvements within the city and port of Cork", is found the origin of The Cocket Tax. In the preamble to this Act the following is stated:

...."the quays, canals and river of Cork require further improvement for the better safety and convenience of vessels thereto resorting". The Act imposed 'upon every entry, cocket or warrant in the said port of Cork, for any goods or merchandize entered inwards or outwards, (post entries, coast entries and coal entries excepted), the sum of 1/- British currency over and above all other rates, duties whatsoever payable in the said port under or by virtue of any other Act or Acts of Parliament in force at the time of passing this Act'.[3] The Act also stipulated that the Collector of customs in Cork

1. 53 Geo.III c.70 2. 54 Geo.III c.196 3. P.C.H.C. Vol.1,p.9-10

was to be responsible for the collection of the tax; and after deducting 10% for expenses, was to pay ½ to the Cork Harbour Commissioners and the other ½ to the Commercial Buildings Co. This tax was levied not on the value of the goods but on the customs documents necessary to clear vessels inwards and outwards. In the case of imports of non-dutiable goods, the tax was covered by the fee payable for the appropriate customs form. This fee was paid by the shipping co. concerned, and the company in turn collected 'ld. for each consignment in respect of each entry.' The fee collected for the form was 1/- and as it was possible to enter more than 12 consignments on such a form, the shipping company could make a small margin of profit. For dutiable goods the tax was levied on each consignment, one consignment required one entry. Thus if 20 parcels of dutiable goods were consigned to 20 different firms, the tax would be 20/- for the 20 entries. In the case of a mixed consignment, that is a consignment containing non-dutiable goods and dutiable goods, a 1/- was charged on each entry, even when only one consignment was involved. Hence the tax was heaviest on those engaged in retail trade where imports consisted of small consignments of mixed goods.

The Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1813, met for the first time on 21st September, 1814, after the passing of the Act which came to be known as "The Cork Butter Act".[1] From this date on meetings were held regularly, the minutes being still available in the Harbour Commissioners Office, Cork. This body, known today as 'The Cork Harbour Commissioners' have been in the course of time responsible for the initial slow and gradually progressive development of the Upper Harbour from its primitive condition of 1815 to its highly developed state of 1974, a development which was largely responsible for the unrivalled position held by Cork as 'second port in Ireland' for many years in the 19th century.. The first meeting adjourned, after it was decided that the Commissioners appointed under the Acts of 1813 and 1814 should 'form one board only'. This resolu-

1. P.C.H.C. dated 21st September, 1814, Vol. I, 1814 - 1821.

tion was forwarded to the Commissioners appointed under Act 1813, and on 24th September, 1814, the full board met.[1]

During the next year the board was fully occupied in attempting to deal with the accumulated effects of the neglect and deterioration of the period 1794 - 1813. At the first meeting of the joint board it was decided to enquire into the state of the quays and river and from then on the minutes are sprinkled with reports of defects requiring urgent attention and of vital importance for the commercial prosperity of the city; such matters as the removal of rubbish left in the Channel at Lapp's Island since the building of the New Custom House, begun in October, 1813.

The Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to examine the state of the quays and the river of Cork, dated 15th October, 1814[2] gives a good picture of the defects which needed to be remedied and the disadvantages under which the trade of the port was carried on. In consequence of the ballasting arrangements, which were 'both a disgrace to the city and ruinous to the port of the river where vessels discharge and take in their cargoes', banks were formed in the river; at Blackrock, part of the channel was blocked.

The New Wall (the extension of the navigation Wall) where unrepaired, was a danger to navigation and banks in both branches of the river above Lapp's Island completely obstructed the channels and were the cause of no little danger to vessels and cargoes alike. The subcommittee also remarked on the very bad mode that had been hitherto practised in the construction of the quays . . ."few of the quays are built with timber framing; the large topping stones remain without support or fastening; vessels rising with the tide lift them with their guards, the stones fall into the river, the quay becomes dilapidated and the berths where the vessels lie are occupied with masses of stones". Such a report set a challenge for the Commissioners which they endeavoured to meet during the next few years.

1. P.C.H.C. Vol. I, dated 24th September, 1814.

2. P.C.H.C. dated 15th October, 1814.

CHAPTER II

THE PROVISION TRADE: MARKETS - METHODS OF MARKETING - RETURNS OF EXPORTS OF BEEF, BUTTER, PORK, HAMS, FLITCHES, LIVESTOCK - ADVANTAGES OF CORK OVER HER RIVALS IN THE TRADE - SET BACK IN THE TRADE- TABLE OF PRICES OF PROVISIONS AT THE CORK MARKET - DECLINE IN PROVISION TRADE WITH NEWFOUNDLAND - OPPOSITION TO CHARTER GRANTED TO THE EAST INDIA CO. - ANALYSIS OF RETURNS OF EXPORTS OF PROVISIONS 1802 - 1814 - SIGNIFICANT TREND - INCREASE IN THE EXPORT OF LIVESTOCK AND DECREASE IN EXPORT OF SALTED BEEF - THE EXPORT OF CEREALS.

Cork was the city most deeply engaged in the provision trade in Ireland at the end of the 18th century with Limerick as a good rival.[1] Provisions were exported from Cork to Europe, Asia, Africa, America, East and West Indies. The Act of Union did not affect this trade but opened up the Channel trade between England and Ireland by providing that the duties on the importation of goods from either country to the other should be considerably reduced. This resulted in an expansion in the trade between the two countries in which Cork shared.[2] Consequently by 1805, the number of ships employed by the merchants of Cork was double what it had been forty years previously.[3]

In 1806 Cork was made a military centre at the expense of Kinsale by the Duke of Wellington.[4] This diverted a new stream of trade to Cork. Large portions of provisions went now to victualling the army and navy, as Cork became the powerful naval depot of the South of Ireland.[5] The following is typical of the notices which appeared in the Cork newspapers, from the Victualling Office, while the war lasted:[6]

CORK VICTUALLING OFFICE 18th May, 1805.

Notice is hereby given that on Tuesday, the 28th inst. at 1 o'clock, I shall be ready to receive tenders in writing and treat for the delivery of:

1. J. F. Burke, Industrial History of Ireland, (1940), p.202.
2. E. J. Riordan, Modern Irish Trade and Industry, (1920), p.30.
3. W. Wilson, The Post Chaise Companion or Traveller's Directory through Ireland, (1815), p.330.
4. Capuchin Annual, 1941, p.109.
5. Cork, Past and Present, a handbook for the Irish Convention 1917, p.17.
6. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd May, 1805.

20,000 lbs. of Butter

2,000 bushels of Oatmeal

10.000 bushels of salted Suet

J. W. Dunsterville

Wakefield describes the provision industry of Cork at the beginning of the 19th century, as follows:[1]

"The principal part of the provision trade is confined to the city of Cork, whence most of the beef, pork and butter of the surrounding districts of Ireland is exported. The average number of oxen slaughtered is calculated at 10,000 and that of cows at 8,000. The beef is divided into three sorts: planter's beef, India beef and common beef. The planter's beef has among it no part of the head, neck and shoulders and the same parts, with the backbone and shanks are separated from the India beef. The common beef is packed with the addition of those parts which have been taken from the planter's and India beef. The merchant purchases the carcase off the grazier by weight; cows and small lean cattle being the least prized and fat oxen of 6 years old the greatest. The prices in December, 1808, were for the most part from 36/- to 44/- per cwt. When made up planter's beef sells @ 4/- per cwt.higher than the India beef, and the latter 4/- higher than the common beef. It is packed either in tierces or in barrels, the former containing 300 lbs. and the latter 200 lbs. of meat independently of salt. The meat is suffered to remain 7 or 8 days in salt before it is packed. The expedition with which the animals are slaughtered, the meat cut up and afterwards packed, is astonishing. As the people employed in this business have acquired great expertness by habit, every part of it is conducted with the utmost regularity and dispatch. When the animals are killed the hides are returned to the graziers for sale. The price in 1808 was from

1. Wakefield, An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political (1812) p.750 et seq.

38/- to 50/- per cwt. The oldest cattle furnish the lightest hides. The fat is disposed of to the tallow merchant @ from 11/6 to 12/- per stone of 16 lbs.

Pork is packed up in the same manner. St. Ubes' salt, on account of the coarseness of the grain, is preferred to any other. It is slower in dissolving and consequently the meat at the top of the barrel is preserved much longer than if the salt dissolved immediately and sank down to the bottom. At present it costs 10/6 per cwt."

Cork however, was not the only port from which provisions were exported. The following table shows the principal ports from which provisions were exported in 1807, with the amounts exported from each and for comparative purposes, the total export from Ireland.

EXPORT OF PROVISIONS FROM THE PRINCIPAL PORTS OF IRELAND IN 1807.[1]

Port	Beef (barrels)	Butter (cwts)	Pork (barrels)	Hams (cwts)	Flitches (No.)	Live cattle (No.)	Hogs (No.)
Belfast	8,270	19,414	19,301	2,306	26,902	2	-
Cork	31,750	117,084	64,990	84	4,813	2,730	8,308
Dublin	35,389	14,252	6,938	2,526	1,101	1,828	448
Limerick	17,013	26,472	36,571	-	8,780	-	-
Newry	499	23,507	4,746	101	3,297	3,025	2,430
Sligo	3,397	9,325	5,660	530	1,488	-	-
Waterford	9,719	96,719	25,457	190	220,524	98	731
TOTAL EXPORT	110,218	321,871	170,289	5,834	291,019	26,351	17,345

The gateage of 1d. per head on all cattle entering Cork at this time has been estimated at £600 per annum.[2] Some of these cattle

1. J. O'Donovan, Economic History of Livestock in Ireland, (1940) p. 154 - 155.

2. ibid. p.151.

came from Cork but also from Clare. Hely Dutton in his Statistical Survey of the Co. Clare in 1808 stated[1]: 'the principal markets for fat cattle are Cork and Limerick. The former city alone slaughtered in 1806, 50,000 oxen and cows which valued at £15 each made £750,000; the value of pigs exported was at least £300,000[2]. The following account may be taken as fairly representative of some of the difficulties with which the farmers in Co. Cork and from elsewhere, who attended the Cork markets, had to contend, before the institution of railways and the large scale exportation of live stock:[3]

'The grazier (of Co. Clare) finding no agent attending the fairs to buy, is obliged to drive his cattle to either of these markets, Cork or Limerick. After driving them into either of these towns, he waits upon the great man and with all humility begs to know if he wants any fat cattle; after a good deal of pretended hurry of business and waiting for a repetition of the question, he declares that he shall not want anything more than what he has already engaged but to oblige Mr.- - - he will endeavour to make room for the beast; as to the price, it is to be regulated by what other graziers receive. When this is settled he must drive his beast to the slaughter house...he pays for this a high price and must give also the head and the offal. He must sit up at night superintending the slaughtering and must silently observe every kind of species of fraud committed by the worse kind of butchers; for as has frequently happened, if resentful language is used to these scoundrels, they begin to whet their knives and put themselves in an assassinating attitude --- next morning he must bring his meat to the cutters up, here, and unless they are fee'd, begins the worst part of the fraud he has to suffer.The third scene begins at the scales; here another perquisite must be paid and much good meat must be refused because it happens

1. H. Dutton, Statistical Survey of the Co. Clare, (1808), p.97.
2. ibid.
3. ibid, p.97 - 100.

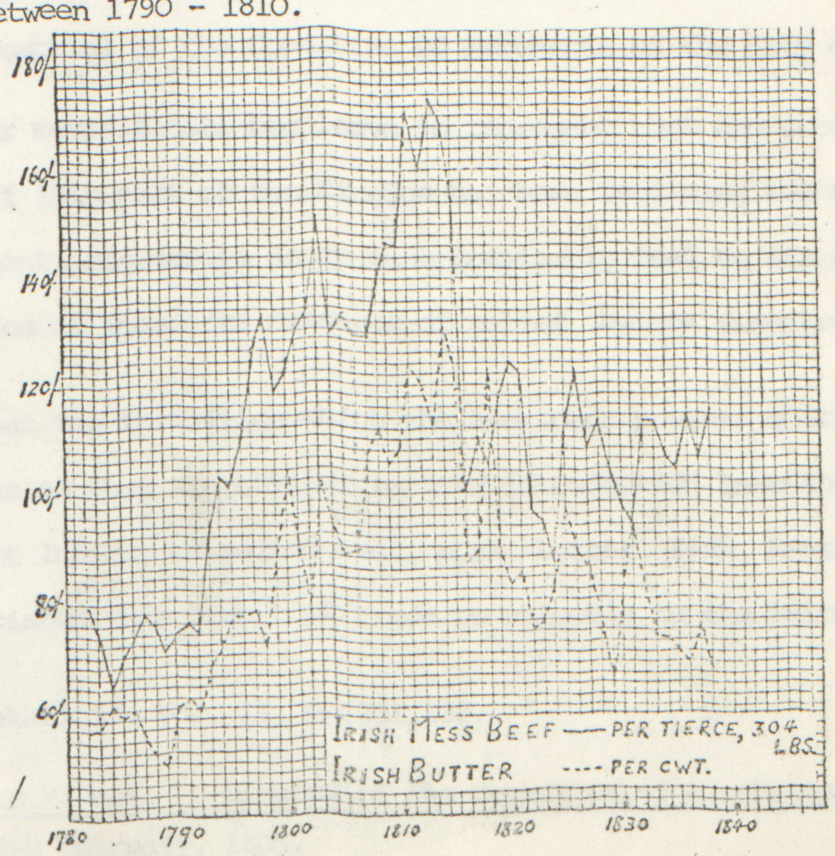
to be a few pounds less than the stipulated weight of the beast. An appeal is them made to the great man - he is gone out, he won't be at home to-night, he is too busy, he can't be seen. At length perhaps he is available and when matters are explained, "really Sir, I do not wish to take your cattle; the prices I receive in England are so low, that I shall loose by my contract. Suppose you try if you can do better elsewhere but I will agree to take your beef, though below weight, if you make the terms lower." The grazier has no redress but must agree to any terms. But this is not the end of the business; he then enquires what is to be the mode of the payment. Bills at 91 days are the best terms he can get. He then applies to a chandler to buy his fat. When this is settled the tanner must be waited on and here as well as with the chandler, bills at long date are the only payment he can receive; as those in general have scarcely any capital; if their speculations fail, their bills are of little value. This is but a small part of the gross indignities, the grazier has to suffer, he has to transact business totally foreign to his habits of life, consequently he is unable to cope with these who from their infancy are used to tricks, practised in this business and therefore know how to avoid them or turn them perhaps to their own advantage.

The supplies of cattle for the Cork provision trade were not confined to the neighbouring counties. The October fairs in Ballinasloe derived their importance from the demand of Cork and Limerick merchants for cattle. A grazier normally sold his cattle at this fair to agents of the merchants. Cork's trade in beef attracted shipping of all nationalities. The Autumn, when ships arrived to load beef for European navies, or for the colonies, was the busiest season along the quays.[1]

1. L. Cullen, Merchants, Ships and Trade, 1660 - 1830, (1971), p. 23 - 24.

Cork had a great advantage over her competitors in the provision trade, namely Holland and Holstein, in the mildness of the Winter weather which it appears greatly favoured the curing of meat as practised in the early 19th century.[1] Cork also shared in the advantage enjoyed by Ireland over England, in that low duties were charged on salt in Ireland. The best salt for the trade came from Portugal, St. Ubes's salt. Great Britain paid a duty of £40 per ton on this salt whereas Ireland only paid £4[2] so that while fresh pork and beef could be obtained at the same price in Britain as in Ireland, the last could be sold for export at about 9/- per barrel cheaper than the first.

The first set-back which the Cork provision industry received was the result of the rise in price of provision in the British market during this period. As a consequence of this rise it no longer paid the exporter to compete with the U.S.A. in the West Indies and Newfoundland and although this was of no importance at a time when the demand was so great at home, it was to have serious consequences later in the 19th century. The graph shown here discloses a remarkable rise in the price of beef and butter but particularly beef between 1790 - 1810.[3]



PRICES AT LONDON OF IRISH PROVISIONS, 1750-1838.

1. O'Donovan, p.151.
2. E. Riordan, Modern Irish Trade and Industry, (1920), p.31.
3. O'Donovan, p.153.

Wakefield gives the following table of prices for Cork provisions between 1801 and 1810:[1]

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRICES AT CORK 1801-1810

Year	Wheat (Barrel)	Barley (Barrel)	Oats (Barrel)	BEEF (Tierce)	BUTTER (Cwt)
1801	£1-16-0	£2- 2-0	£1- 6-0	£13- 9-10	£4- 5-0½
1802	£2- 0-0	£2- 2-0	£1- 9-0	-	£4- 4-5
1803	£1-16-0	£2- 1-0	£1- 8-0	£ 9-12- 5	£3-18-4½
1804	£1-16-0	£2- 0-0	£1- 8-0	£ 8- 3- 4	£4- 3-8
1805	£1-14-0	£1-18-0	£1- 7-0	£ 8- 0- 0	£4- 3-4¾
1806	£1-14-0	£1-19-0	£1- 7-0	£ 8- 5- 0	£4- 2-3¼
1807	£1-18-0	£2- 2-0	£1- 7-0	£ 7-18- 0	£4- 9-9¼
1808	£1-16-0	£2- 4-0	£1-16-0	£ 7-16- 0	£5-10-9¾
1809	£1-18-0	£2- 4-0	£1-16-0	£ 9- 1- 3	£5- 3-2½
1810	£1-17-0	£2- 4-0	£1-15-0	£ 8- 9-10½	£4-18-7¼

A decline in the provision trade with Newfoundland and the West Indies in 1805, owing to the privileges granted to the Americans under terms of a Treaty with Great Britain, was apparently of grave concern to the Cork merchants according to the following petition sent by them to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer:[2]

Memorial of the Committee of Merchants of the City of Cork

....Your memorialists beg leave to represent that the provision trade of this part of the Kingdom has been declining for so many years past,progressive decay must inevitably lead to its final destruction if immediate measures of relief be not resorted to.....

That the facilities which the Americans possess which are as numerous as they are obvious for the introduction into the Colonies and West Indies, of salted beef, pork, butter, fish, have almost extinguished this branch of trade so valuable to the United Kingdom...

1. Wakefield, Vol. II, pp.231,232.

2. C.B.M. Mss. Minutes of the Committee of Merchants, dated 15th February, 1805.

That if the oppressive rivalry be permitted to the Americans in the West Indies, your memorialists' interests and those of a numerous body of persons, essentially dependent on the prosperity of the provision trade must be eventually sacrificed.

.....That the convoy duty and the duty upon salt to which the Americans are not liable, operate most detrimentally to the provision trade of Cork; the latter of which is so high, that the duty upon the quantity necessary to manufacture a barrel of provisions amounts to nearly as much as the freight of the same to Jamaica and act at once as a bounty to the American provision trade.

.....That the urgency of the Memorialists' situation impel them to pray that as the treaty with the U.S.A. has expired, you may be pleased in any future treaty to limit and circumscribe the powers afforded by the last to the Americans.....

dated 15th February, 1805

Signed,
Dan Callaghan,

President.

There is no evidence to show that this petition was immediately successful.

In 1807 however, the duty payable on salted beef and pork exported from Ireland was abolished from August 4th.[1] A drawback was to be allowed on salt used on beef and pork salted in Ireland and exported to any country except Great Britain.

It appears from the following notices which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on 15th April, 1812, that Cork provision merchants also resented the monopoly created by the Charter granted to the East India Co., and that they were determined to safeguard

1. 47 Geo. III. c. 10 sec. ii, O'Donovan, p.155.

their own trading rights:

COUNCIL CHAMBER, CORK

14th April, 1812.

At a general meeting of the Mayor, Sheriffs and inhabitants of the city of Cork held in the Council Chamber

To take into consideration the propriety of preparing a petition to Parliament against the renewal of the East India Co. Charter

The Right Worshipful Thomas Dorman, Esq., Mayor in the Chair

It was unanimously resolved

That the subjects of a free Empire should have the right to trade with all parts of the Empire, and with all countries in amity therewith, subject only to such general regulations of trade as the policy of the country may require.

That the Charter granted to the East India Co. creates a monopoly in trade to the injury of the commercial interests of the Empire and lessens that spirit of enterprise by which the prosperity of the nation at large is so essentially promoted. That the privilege to the East India Co., is characterised by the aggravated hardship of excluding the British merchants from participating in a trade enjoyed by foreigners. That we will unite in a most cordial manner with our fellow subjects in petitioning the Legislature for the abolition of this commercial monopoly.

That petitions to both Houses be immediately prepared founded on the basis of these resolutions and that the Earl of Shannon be requested to present the one in the House of Lords and our City members the other to the House of Commons; and that the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee to carry the same into effect, viz

The Mayor	The Sheriffs	Wm. Beamish
Wm. Crawford	John Cotter, Esq	Dan Goold
John Stack	T. Harvey, esqrs	

Resolved that the above resolutions, signed by the Mayor, on behalf of this meeting, be published in the Cork Newspapers

T. Dorman, Chairman.

EXPORTATION OF LIVESTOCK

Scarcely a day passes but a number of vessels laden with cargoes of livestock are dismissed from our quays and conveyed to the Welsh ports where the stock is fattened in adjoining districts until it is fitted for the supply of the English market - when will this end? The consequences are of no trivial importance:

If the cattle which are thus exported were slaughtered at home, it would yield a cheap and abundant supply of offal for food of the poor, it would afford them varied and useful labour and would provide material for the support of different manufacturers who are thus obliged to have these reimported - butchers, glue boilers, tanners, comb-makers, coopers, salters, etc.....

The extent of the provision trade during these years cannot be judged by reference to the export figures alone, as the Custom House returns did not take into account the vast supplies to the army and navy, to the American ships which frequented the harbour and to the West Indies fleet that touched here and remained several weeks either wind-bound or waiting for convoy and to the growing population of the city .[1]

THE EXPORT OF CEREALS

From 1785 onwards the value of cereals exported began to be an important item in the trade of Cork city[2]. The growing industrialization of England, the prolongation of the French wars and the Continental Blockade established by Napoleon were the main factors in rendering tillage the more profitable employment of land in Cork after the Union. By shutting out the Continent as a source of food supply from Great Britain, Napoleon unconsciously helped the transition to tillage which the Independent Parliament had promoted.[3]

1. Wakefield, Vol. II, p.24.
2. J. O'Donovan, Economic History of Livestock in Ireland, (1940) p.140.
3. J. F. Burke, Industrial History of Ireland, (1940), pp.196-197.

The following table illustrates the general trend in the export of cereals from Cork between the years 1803 - 1814: it also reflects the increase in the number of flour mills which was quite considerable during this period:[1]

TOTAL EXPORT OF CEREALS, FLOUR AND MEAL FROM CORK

Year end. 5th Jan.	Wheat (brls)	Oats (brls)	Barley (brls)	Flour (cwts)	Oatmeal (cwts)
1802	-	-	-	-	-
1803	22,662	26,983	-	106	1,088
1804	8,046	40,468	4,409	20	27
1805	31,416	12,277	915	2,653	444
1806	7,699	918	6,227	5,219	402
1807	11,363	12,464	12	344	772
1808	2,213	3,647	19	1,045	1,843
1809	5,397	24,271	8,621	2,977	6,507
1810	5,093	167,196	16,545	2,071	5,129
1811	4,265	59,973	7,611	1,139	54
1812	24,489	30,188	23,208	15,277	1,062
1813	48,170	99,847	20,256	8,463	387
1814	29,269	98,242	42,872	46,005	7,545

Though the harvest of 1801 was good, the extreme scarcity of corn during the previous year probably accounts for the absence of export figures for grain indicated in the table above for the year 1802.[2]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

2. Cork Advertiser, 21st August, 1801.

THE CORK BUTTER MARKET - THE INSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS - THE MARKET SYSTEM DESCRIBED - AVERAGE RECEIPTS OF BUTTER IN CORK WEIGH HOUSE FOR PERIODS OF THREE YEARS BEGINNING 1801 - MARKETS - EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE EXPORT FROM OTHER IRISH PORTS 1801 - 1815 - TABLE OF PRICES OF BUTTER IN THE CORK MARKET 1801 - 1815

The Cork butter market has been regarded as one of the most remarkable institutions in the international dairy market for over 150 years. James S. Donnelly, in "Cork Butter Market: Its role in the Irish Butter trade in the 19th century",[1] aptly describes it as follows:

"It was the linchpin of a great trading and marketing network which played a highly significant role inboth the Irish agricultural economy and the international butter trade. Shipments of butter from Cork - virtually all inspected and branded in its famous market, the largest in the world - dominated the Irish export trade in the early 19th century." Exports of butter from Cork comprised nearly ½ of the total volume of some 285,708 cwts. of butter dispatched from Irish ports in 1806[2].

Cork city was the natural outlet for the great dairying province of Munster. Location alone however could hardly account for Cork's premier rank among Irish butter markets. Its pre-eminence also derived from the careful guidance long provided by a remarkable trading organisation known as The Committee of Merchants[3]. This Committee originated in 1769, when a group of Cork merchants decided to form an association for the purpose of preventing the apparently frequent frauds of both

1. J. S. Donnelly, Cork Butter Market: Its role in the 19th century. Irish Butter Trade - Studia Hibernica No. II, 1971, p.130.

2. Trade Returns, Custom House, London. 1st May, 1826; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd May, 1826.

3. Donnelly, pp.132,133.

producers and traders, by insisting that its members ship no butter which 'shall not be publicly inspected, marked and branded'.[1] From the opening of the Butter Exchange in 1770 until 1829 the internal organization of the market was regulated in theory at least, by Acts of Parliament.[2]

At the head of the Butter Market was the Committee of Merchants, a body elected by the merchants of the city. In 1826 when the system was fully developed, it consisted of 14 export merchants, 6 butter buyers and 3 tanners, all elected by the members of their own respective vocations in the city. The regulations provided that rotation of members would take place and a certain number should retire each year. This was done apparently, to prevent the market from falling into the hands of a group or clique. The chairman could only hold office as such for three months. The treasurer was elected annually from amongst the personnel of the Committee. The executive functions of the market were invested in the inspectors or "tasters" of butter and in the inspectors of casks, the latter being coopers. All were appointed by the Committee of Merchants[3].

The duties of the inspectors were twofold:

(i) to examine and determine the quality and weight of the butter

(ii) to examine and report on the manner of packing and to detect any fraud therein and decide whether the butter was merchantable or not.[4]

The task of the cask inspector was to inspect every cask before it was given out to the farmer and also to examine all casks full of butter, when returned to the Weigh House and to ensure that the butter was properly packed.

1. C.B.M. Mss. Ai. Deed of Covenant between the Butter Merchants of Cork and the Cork Butter Market Trustees, 1769.

2. Committee of Merchants, Cork: Rules and Regulations of the Committee of Merchants for the Management of the Butter Market (Cork, 1937): J. S. Donnelly, p.133. W. O'Sullivan, Economic History of Cork city, Appendix No.40.d.

3. Rules and Regulations of the Committee of Merchants for the management of the Cork Butter Market.

4. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade in 1826, pp. Vol V. p.87.

When appointed to office, these inspectors were obliged to take an oath, in which was inserted a clause binding them to discovery when offered a bribe by anybody. Detailed instructions were issued to them as to the conditions necessary before casks could be allowed pass through the market, especially "full-bounds", i.e. those going to America or other long distance voyages.

Every cask which passed through the Market was required to be made from a particular description of wood, seasoned oak, sycamore, or beech. The wood used in Cork was mostly imported from America. Butter destined for tropical countries, or for very long distance voyages, was packed in Cork-made oak casks only as these were the only type that could preserve the butter, which was heavily pickled to keep it in a sound condition. Strict regulations governed the making of these casks locally. The cooper who made the cask or firkin was obliged to take every cask to the Weigh Master who tared or branded the weight on every cask. The tare or weight branded was two lbs. over the actual weight when dry, to allow for water soakage in the wood when packed with butter. For this branding of empty casks a fee of 1d. was charged to ensure that all defects of any casks brought to themarket should be immediately remedied, a regular attendance of master coopers, at the Weigh House was maintained to perform the task of cooperage at a fixed scale of fees for every kind of repair. When a cask was totally unsuited the custom was to repack the butter into another cask which conformed with the regulations. For this a fine of 5/- was levied on the farmer. For long distance voyages all firkins had to be bound in iron hoops and a small portion of the butter was extracted to make room for pickle. The Cork Merchants excelled all others in this particular branch of the trade and in many cases the only butter which could be shipped to the West Indies, Brazil and such other remote markets, came from Cork, often after re-

exportation from one of the English ports.[1]

James Morgan, member of the Committee of Merchants, on being asked by the select committee on the butter trade in 1826 how the quality of Cork butter was judged, stated:

'When the butter is bored, the inspectors feel it with their thumbs in different parts to ascertain its consistency: and then they look at it to see its colour and the equality of that colour throughout and that the salt be not perceivable alive, as it is called, upon the butter but properly dissolved through it; they smell it, running the borer along their nose and lastly they taste, so that in fact they use four senses. There is encouragement held out to these gentlemen to behave well; besides getting their usual salary, upon their being superannuated, if their conduct is very good, the Committee of Merchants allows them a pension. All fraudulent butter is liable to confiscation according to the Act which governs the butter trade of Cork.' [2]

The working of the system which prevailed at the Cork Weigh House can best be illustrated by a description of what actually happened when a farmer brought his butter to the market. On arrival, the butter was received by a porter who initialled and chalked every cask and ranged them in order for inspection. All the firkins were then arranged in lots according to the number of inspectors. On arrival in the morning the inspector drew lots, A, B, C, D, denoting the section which he was to examine for the day. The object in this was to ensure that no farmer or butter-buyer could possibly know beforehand, which of the staff of inspectors would have the examination of his butter,

1. Rules and Regulations of the Cork B.M.: Bainne, Magazine of the Irish Dairy Industry, Spring, 1969, p. 9: Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, p. 85, 86.

2. Report, pp. 196-197.

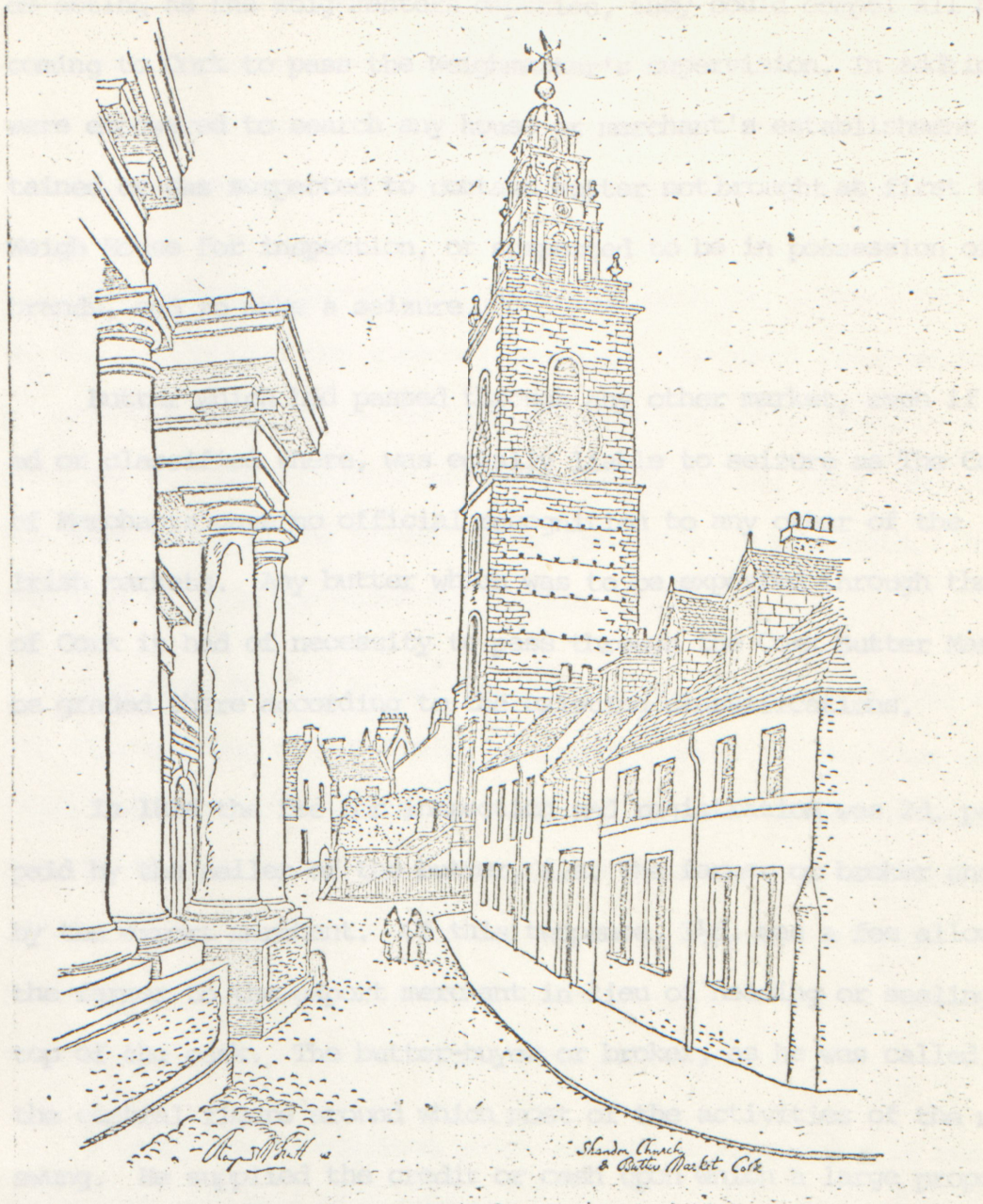
and thereby prevent collusion. The inspector then examined the butter and gave his verdict as to its quality, whether first, second or third (in later years up to sixth). The quality of the butter was then marked on the cask and noted amongst the records of the market. If the farmer or butter-buyer thought the butter was judged to be a lower quality than it deserved, market regulations facilitated him to appeal in all cases against this verdict of the inspector. The farmer was entitled to call in an arbitrator of his own choice, the inspector could similarly call in an exporter. Another assistant inspector acted as umpire and the decision of any two of these three was final. Sometimes the appeal might come from the exporter of butter that the quality marked was too high, in which case similar machinery was available to contest the appeal and to secure that justice would be done to all concerned.

The quality of the butter having been decided, the cask was then taken to the Weighmaster who weighed the cask and its contents and branded on it the weight and the quality of the butter. Before the figure denoting the quality came the word "Cork". During the branding operations four master coopers were in attendance to examine every cask and to see that it satisfied all requirements. The butter was then conventionally known as "Cork Firsts", "Cork Seconds" etc. as the case might be. To prevent the likelihood of false branding, slight alterations were made from time to time in the brands used.[1]

The inspection did not end in the Weigh House. Down on the quays inspectors paid by the Committee of Merchants watched every cask of butter being shipped, keeping a sharp look out for false brands, or for butter shipped without having passed through the Weigh House. In this they had the sanction of law,

1. Report from The Select Committee on the butter trade, 1826 p.194. pp. Vol. V.

See page 24b.



Shandon and the old Butter Market, Cork. *Raymond McGrath.*

[1]

Symbols denoting the quality of butter about 1830[2]

FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	FIFTH	SIXTH
/	+	#	#	#	#

1. The Bell, April, 1943, Vol. VI, No. 1, opposite p. 42.
2. W. O'Sullivan, Economic History of Cork city, p. 275.

as acting as the Weighmaster's deputies, they could compel all butter coming to Cork to pass the Weighmaster's supervision. In addition they were empowered to search any house or merchant's establishment which contained or was suspected to contain butter not brought at first to the Weigh House for inspection, or suspected to be in possession of false brands, and to make a seizure.

Butter which had passed through any other market, even if branded or classified there, was equally liable to seizure as The Committee of Merchants gave no official recognition to any other of the Irish markets. Any butter which was to be exported through the port of Cork it had of necessity to pass through the Cork Butter Market and be graded there according to the existing classifications.

In 1826 the fee for inspection and registration was 2d. per firkin paid by the seller of the butter, i.e. the farmer or broker and ½d. paid by the export merchant. Of this twopence, 1½d. was a fee allowed by the farmer to the export merchant in lieu of heading or sealing up the top of the cask. The butter-buyer or broker, as he was called, was the central figure around which most of the activities of the market swung. He supplied the credit or cash upon which a large proportion of the activities of the market depended and to which in some measure the success of the market depended. At the beginning of the season he made advances to the farmer, in return for which the farmer guaranteed that he would sell all his butter to that particular broker. The broker then took complete charge of the butter from those who were his clients when it arrived at the Weigh House and acted for the farmer during the weighing and branding. The broker was not an exporter though he bought the butter on his own account from his clients. He acted as middleman between the farmer and the exporter. He bought all classes of butter. These he sorted and supplied the exporter with whatever type of butter he needed.

The importance of the broker to the exporter may be understood from a consideration of the vast quantities of butter turned over in

the Cork market daily. In the height of the season in 1826, the turn-over in the market amounted to 1,888 firkins per day. Such a quantity made it impossible for the exporter to get in contact with the particular qualities of butter which he needed for his trade.

The broker also supplied the farmer with the firkins for storing at the beginning of the season. In return for these services he charged a certain commission to the farmer, which was not a specific sum paid directly but was reflected in the quoted price per cwt. The prices were declared daily in the Market by the Committee of Merchants. The price declared by them was known as the Cant Price.

Not only did the butter brokers provide the farmers with credit for firkins, but they provided a currency, which at the time was generally accepted throughout the south of Ireland. Up to the time of the general failure of the private banks in Cork in 1820, the broker's advance took the form of a promissory note issued by himself. These passed from hand to hand among farmers in Cork and Kerry more or less as ordinary bank notes and supplied a much felt need.[1]

This system as outlined above was highly successful in maintaining a high standard of butter and in securing a constant market for suppliers. The farmers who frequented the Cork market, were by no means confined to those from the Co. Cork. In 1823, Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, who gave evidence to a Select Committee on the Employment of the poor in Ireland, stated:[2]

"The butter of Kerry is almost entirely conveyed by land carriage to Cork, at the distance of from 50 to 70 miles. Iveragh, which is the most distant part of Co. Kerry, sent its butter to Cork exclusively, as the market. I should think the peasant had to travel a distance of about 70 miles from his house and his load was generally 2 firkins of

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, pp.87-95: Bainne, Magazine of the Irish Dairying Industry, Spring, 1969,pp.10-11. Committee of Merchants Rules & Regulations for the Cork Butter Market,
2. Report of the Select Committee on the employment of the poor, (H.C. 1823, pp. 23, 189.

butter, that was 1 cwt.; they travel without lodging, with merely buying a piece of bread or a sup of milk upon the road and so they make their journey and return again; all they have is the price of a cwt. of poor butter. I have often heard it stated and I believe it to be a fact from my own knowledge, that the general average of the expense of the peasant upon the journey for himself and his horse was not 4/-, generally about 3/-.....he travels night and day.....

The extent of the business which was carried on at the Weigh House may be gleaned from the following figures:[1]

AVERAGE ANNUAL RECEIPTS OF BUTTER IN CORK WEIGH HOUSE FOR PERIODS OF 3 YEARS BEGINNING 1801

Years	FIRKINS
1801 - 1803	228,000
1804 - 1806	228,000
1807 - 1809	233,000
1810 - 1812	242,000
1813 - 1815	261,000

In one day alone, Thursday, October 29th, 1801, "no less than 5,000 firkins have been weighed in North and South Weigh House".[2]

Early in the century Cork merchants found their best markets not in Britain but in distant lands whose hot climates gave heavily pickled butter great popularity. As many as 52, 391 out of 144,867 cwts. exported from Ireland in 1814 to Portugal came from Cork. This butter served for re-export to Brazil and to the British West Indies. Much of the butter shipped from Cork to Liverpool, also had colonial destinations.[3] Exports of butter from Cork were not however, confined to these countries. The following table shows the extent of the foreign market for Cork butter in 1814.[4] There was no significant change in

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, pp. Vol.V. p.203.
2. Cork Advertiser, 29th October, 1801.
3. Report....1826, p.99. 4. Donnelly,.. p.132.

this market during the period under study.

TOTAL EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK 1814 in cwts.

England 65,105	Denmark 5	Streights 3,829	Portugal 52,391	Jersey 3
Scotland 1,731	Spain 725	Guernsey 33	Amelia Island 2	
Antigua 1,264	Brazil 6	Demerara 644	Malta 11	Jamaica 8,642
Grenada 777	Canada 239	Guadaloupe 780	Barbadoes 9,966	Dominica 108
Martinique 2,503	Madeiras 1,020	Bahama 20	Honduras 6	

The great importance of Cork city as an exporter of butter is evident from the following figures:[1]

THE TOTAL EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK compared with the total export from other ports 1806 - 1814 (in cwts).

Years	Dublin	Cork	Belfast	Limerick	Waterford &Ross
1806	12,483	149,222	14,464	22,015	87,524
1807	14,252	117,084	19,414	26,422	99,898
1808	21,262	119,546	19,695	28,322	92,790
1809	33,996	116,288	30,684	23,186	90,326
1810	30,649	119,545	30,708	20,442	104,920
1811	38,711	143,490	39,590	23,588	98,296
1812	33,764	134,333	37,269	25,455	102,656
1813	39,764	156,464	41,684	18,678	105,129
1814	46,638	144,867	42,489	14,115	92,555

1st May, 1826.

William Irving,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports
Inspector General's Office, Custom House, London-

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd May, 1826.

It is clear from these figures that though the Cork merchants were ideally situated to profit from the rapidly growing demand for butter in foreign countries, they did not enjoy a monopoly of the export trade. Butter exporters in the city of Limerick intercepted most of the traffic from Co. Clare, besides controlling a limited area within their own county, while merchants of the port of Waterford and of the inland towns of Tipperary and Clonmel monopolised the butter trade in the Counties of Waterford and Tipperary.[1]

The price of butter in the Cork market was subject to considerable change between 1801 and 1815. The following table illustrates the trend:[2]

BUTTER PRICES IN THE CORK MARKET

Date	TO THE MERCHANTS				TO THE COUNTRY			
	BRANDS				BRANDS			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
14th June, 1801	80/-	78/-	74/-	-	74/-	72/-	68/-	-
28th April, 1802	82	80	74	-	74	72	66	-
13th April, 1803	100	98	92	-	84	82	76	-
17th Aug., 1804	92	90	82	-	78	76	68	-
3rd May, 1805	72	70	00	-	62	60	52	-
18th April, 1806	80	76	66	-	70	64	52	-
17th April, 1807	120	118	110	-	90	88	80	-
22nd April, 1808	106	102	94	-	00	00	00	-
27th April, 1809	92	88	78	72	80	76	66	60
2nd May, 1810	92	88	78	72	80	76	66	60
12th April, 1811	120	116	104	94	108	104	92	82
22nd May, 1812	140	136	124	110	130	126	114	100
23rd April, 1813	116	112	90	80	100	96	70	62
20th April, 1814	140	136	122	112	110	106	96	88
21st April, 1815	120	116	106	90	108	102	92	82

1. Donnelly, p.132.

2. Figures taken from Cork Advertiser, 1801; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1802 - 1815.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER INDUSTRIES AND TRADES ALLIED WITH THE PROVISION TRADE

THE EXPORT OF TALLOW AND HIDES

Allied with the export of provisions was that of tallow and hides. The former was mainly exported to Great Britain. Some small supplies were exported to the West Indies and Newfoundland for a few years but these gradually dwindled. The following table indicates the general downward trend in the exports even though the slaughtering of cattle was on the increase as seen from the provision - export table:[1]

EXPORT OF TALLOW FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1798 - 1814

Year end. 25th March	FROM CORK (cwt.)	FROM IRELAND (cwt.)
1798	8,365	12,726
1799	3,429	13,839
1800	1,054	5,536
Year end. 5th Jan.		
1801	366	422
1802	426	426
1803	64	880
1804	2,476	9,778
1805	303	2,219
1806	93	93
1807	413	9,767
1808	166	632
1809	1,240	12,870
1810	1,532	15,807
1811	202	3,926
1812	46	161
1813	252	5,732
1814	250	255

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

This decline in the export of tallow however was combined with an increasing export of candles from Cork after the Union, as the following table illustrates[1]. This would suggest that the manufacture of candles had so extended that it was now in a position to supply an export trade which accounted for more than half of the total export of candles from Ireland.

EXPORT OF CANDLES FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1800 - 1814

Year end 25th March	FROM CORK (cwt.)	FROM IRELAND (cwt.)
1800	1,663	2,585
Year end 5th Jan		
1801	4,928	7,739
1802	5,582	8,006
1803	6,093	7,904
1804	4,965	8,138
1805	3,360	5,048
1806	4,965	7,867
1807	6,789	11,821
1808	4,974	8,391
1809	4,492	6,676
1810	5,862	10,764
1811	4,808	7,951
1812	5,156	10,402
1813	5,259	10,689
1814	5,183	8,466

The export of candles was particularly widespread as the following table for 1803, indicates:[2]

EXPORT OF CANDLES FROM CORK 1803 in cwts.

Guernsey 7	England 5	Streights 10	Madeiras 50	Mt. Serat 40	St.Kitts 147
Barbadoes 191	Newfoundland 1	Antigua 85	West Indies 1,364	New Providence 290	Jamaica 3,893

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

2. ibid.

The increase in the number of tallow chandlers in the city from 29 in 1805 to 33 in 1810, (Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805 6, 7; Will West, Cork Directory, 1810) also indicate a flourishing candlemanufacturing industry.

The following table would indicate that the manufacture of soap in the city was also progressive:[1]

EXPORT OF SOAP FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1803 - 1814

Year end 5th Jan.	FROM CORK (cwt.)	FROM IRELAND (cwt.)
1803	2,474	3,244
1804	2,714	4,887
1805	3,608	5,353
1806	3,738	7,310
1807	3,344	7,190
1808	4,700	7,334
1809	5,039	12,153
1810	5,942	13,547
1811	3,541	10,736
1812	2,873	8,074
1813	2,164	10,541
1814	3,932	10,881

UNTANNED HIDES:

Britain, as before the Union, took most of the raw hides exported from Cork. The following table shows that the trend was downwards after 1800:[2]

1. Custom House Books, National Library Dublin.

2. ibid.

EXPORT OF UNTANNED HIDES FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1799 - 1814

Year end 25th March	FROM CORK No.	FROM IRELAND No.
1799	25,201	79,509
1800	11,834	51,833
Year end 5th Jan.		
1801	2,372	26,881
1802	6,439	36,736
1803	7,162	25,772
1804	10,255	24,159
1805	11,930	33,226
1806	7,768	24,612
1807	3,119	17,062
1808	4,990	34,434
1809	11,122	50,835
1810	5,645	31,019
1811	9,868	41,954
1812	4,989	18,532
1813	3,084	28,666
1814	1,217	13,924

This decrease in export was not due to a diminution of the source of supply. One reason would account in part for it, namely that the hides were being tanned and consumed locally by an increasing local population. The following figures would also indicate that the manufacture of footwear in the city was very considerable:[1]

EXPORT OF SHOES AND BOOTS FROM CORK 1801-1815 AND FROM IRELAND

Year end 5th Jan.	FROM CORK (lbs.)	FROM IRELAND (lbs.)
1801	4,173	5,449
1802	6,748	8,702
1803	9,420	12,721
1804	1,465	3,470
1805	2,152	4,338
1806	1,404	1,404
1807	959	1,398
1808	932	2,159
1809	1,170	7,524
1810	8,060	12,337
1811	5,983	25,973
1812	3,066	7,267
1813	1,621	15,121
1814	1,090	1,884

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

A further indication of the flourishing state of the footwear manufacture was the increase in the number of boot and shoe makers in the city from 63 in 1805 to 96 in 1812.[1]

William O'Sullivan suggests another reason for the decline in the export of untanned hides, namely that the utilization of the harbour as a base for the British navy opened up a new market for raw hides, as these were used in the rigging of sailing vessels.[2]

TANNING:

The years 1786 - '7 saw a large increase in the quantity of tanned hides exported from Cork but this was not maintained and, with the exception of the year 1795, the export of hides for the remainder of the century was negligible[3]. This trend continued after the Union as the following table shows:[4]

EXPORT OF TANNED HIDES FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1801 - 1814

Year end. 5th Jan.	FROM CORK (lbs.)	FROM IRELAND (lbs.)
1801	-	-
1802	-	-
1803	1,000	1,000
1804	-	-
1805	-	-
1806	16	238
1807	119	1,046
1808	-	-
1809	250	1,176
1810	1,328	3,204
1811	322	5,086
1812	234	1,291
1813	57,166	69,893
1814	2,611	2,711

1. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7,: Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.

2. W. O'Sullivan, p.240. Economic History of Cork city from the earliest times to the Union, 1937.

3.

4. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

The decline of this export does not necessarily indicate a decline in the tanning industry, as a fairly large local market existed for tanned hides for the manufacture of footwear both for home and foreign markets as above figures would suggest. Wakefield stated in 1810[1] that about half of the hides produced in Cork were exported and the other half tanned.

The manufacture of leather had gradually become one of the major industries of the city.

Blackpool was the main seat of the tanning industry, where up to 1837 there were 46 tanyards at work.[2] The leather manufacture was broadly divided into two stages: "tanning", in which the raw hide was converted into leather, and "currying", in which the leather was further manipulated and treated with fatty substances to soften and render it more waterproof and to improve its appearance. Glove-kid, and certain other leathers were not tanned but "tawed" or prepared with a mixture in which alum and salt were the most active ingredients.[3]

After hides and skins entered the tannery the first major operation prior to the actual tanning, was soaking. This operation had two purposes - first, to wash and remove from the stock, water-soluble material that might interfere with later operations; second, to cause the fibres to absorb water so that their normal shape and dimension was restored. This was followed by unhairing and liming. In addition to preparing for unhairing, liming also loosened and dissolved the epidermal layers of cells which do not make leather. The customary method of liming was simply to lay the hides flat in milk of lime in large pits.[4] Every day, or even twice a day, the hides were drawn out (hauled) and the pit was well plunged up, to distribute

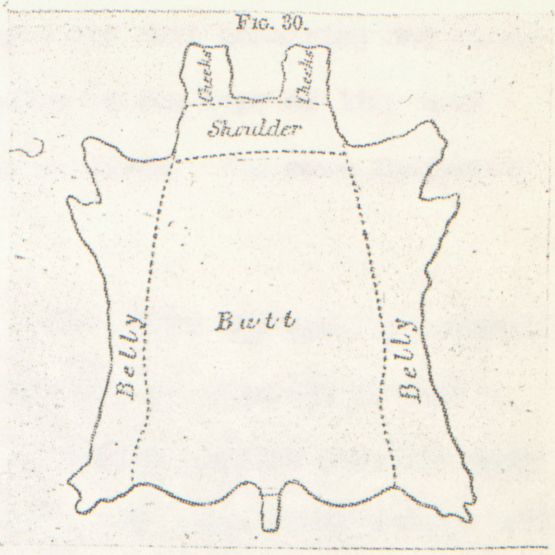
1. Wakefield, Vol. I, p.751
2. Cork, its trade and commerce: Official Handbook of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping, (1919), p.58.
3. H. R. Proctor, A Treatise on the Conversion of Skins into Leather both practical and theoretical, (1885), p.1.
4. See page 35b.

FIG. 25.



I

FIG. 30.



2

PL. I.



E. & F. N. Spon, London & New York

LIME PITS AND RINSING TANKS.

3

1. H. R. Proctor, F.C.S., A Text Book of Tanning: A Treatise on the Conversion of Skins into Leather, p. 152.
2. ibid., p. 155.
3. ibid., pl. I.

the undissolved lime through the liquor. The hides were then drawn in again. The number of days requisite for this unhairing and plunging process varied from 4 - 10 according to the type of lime used and the amount of "hauling" the hides received. The more frequently they were moved, the better.[1]

The next step was to remove the hair. This was usually accomplished by throwing the hide over a sloping beam and scraping it with a blunt two-handled knife (Fig. 25), the workman pushing the hair downwards and away from him. After unhairing, the loose flesh and fat were removed from the inner side of the hide by a sharp edged knife.

When unhaired and fleshed, the hides intended for sole leather, were usually "rounded" or separated into "butts", which were the best and thickest parts and received the most solid tannage and "offal" which was thinner and for which a cheaper and more rapid tannage was sufficient. Fig. 30 shows the customary division. After "rounding", it was necessary to get rid of the lime attached to the butts before taking them into the tan-house. For this purpose the butts were usually suspended in fresh water for 12 - 24 hours, and frequently shaken up in it to remove adhering lime.[2]

Oak-bark is one of the oldest of tanning materials and the leather produced by its aid was considered for many purposes, the best. It was the main material used by tanners in the early 19th century. Before it could be exhausted it was necessary to crush or grind it, so as to enable the water to get freely at the tannin, which is enclosed in the cellular tissue of the plant.

The tanning material was usually exhausted in pits in tan-yards. The raw material was first flooded with a fairly strong liquor.

1. H. R. Proctor, A Treatise on the Conversion of Skins into Leather both practical and theoretical, (1885), p.141.

2. ibid, pp. 151-155. See page 35b.

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When this had gained as much strength as possible, it was pumped off and was followed by a weaker one and so on till the material was exhausted.[1]

On first coming into the tan-yard the butts were usually suspended by the shoulder or butt ends from sticks placed across the pits. From the "suspenders" the butts were transferred to the handlers (pits) where they were laid flat in the liquor. The handlers were generally worked in sets, to each of which a fresh liquor was daily run. The second pack followed into the liquor out of which the first had been taken, the third into that of the second and so on. The strength of the liquors and the length of time for which butts were retained, varied. A period of one to two months and liquors of 20°-35° Bark, was usual. At the end of this period, the butts were taken to the "layers" in which they were laid down with stronger liquors and dust - usually bark of Valonia. The duration of each "layer" was from 10 days in the earlier stages to a month in the later ones. For the best tannages, 6-8 layers were required. After receiving the last layer, the butts were well brushed and washed in a clear liquor and thrown over a horse to drain before going into the shed. For best results it was deemed necessary that butts should receive the strongest liquors they could bear with safety and that the strength should increase in a regular and systematic way. The butts, after being brushed as above described, were taken into the drying lofts, where they were hung on poles till about half dry. They were then laid on the floor in piles and covered up till they heated or "sweated" a little, which facilitated the succeeding operation of "striking". This was performed by laying the butt over a horizontal "beam" or "horse" and scraping the surface with a triangular pin. After a light oiling and a little further drying, the butt was laid on a flat "bed" of wood or zinc and was rolled with a brass roller loaded with heavy weights to obtain the requisite degree of firmness and solidity for satisfactory wearing qualities and ease

1. H.R.Proctor, A Treatise on the Conversion of Skins into Leather both practical and theoretical, (1885), pp. 155-164.

of shoe manufacturing.[1]

Hides intended for purposes where softness and flexibility were required, as for instance for the uppers of boots and for saddlery purposes, were limed in the same way as has been described for butts but for a somewhat longer period. After unhairing, fleshing and washing in water, they were usually subjected to "bating" to attain a smoother and dearer grain and greater pliability. During this process the use of enzymes of predermined standardized activity were allowed to act upon the skins in vats. After bating, the hides were reduced in thickness in the stronger parts by a shaving-knife or a beam. After bating and shaving the hides were taken into the tan-house where they were grained by frequent handling with a liquor of suitable strength. What the strength should be depended on whether a well marked grain was required or not. The next operation consisted of the process of softening, levelling and stretching the skins, which were required for purposes demanding flexibility and in saturating or "stuffing" them with fatty matters, not only in order to soften them, but also to make them watertight and to give them an attractive appearance. This process was known as "currying". For the dying of skins, dye-stuffs of vegetable origin held first place. Those most in use were fustic, logwood, several species of willow-bark, indigo carmin and indigo dissolved in sulphuric acid.[2]

The want of oak-bark was a great impediment to tanning in Ireland. It formed the theme of petitions to Parliament from "The Masters, Wardens and Brethren of the Corporation of Tanners in the city of Cork" in 1791, '96 and '97. In the latter petition it was represented that the industry was on the decline and requested a duty on the import of leather from Great Britain.[3] Premiums amounting to £38,700

1. H.R.Proctor, A Treatise on the Conversion of Skins into Leather both practical and theoretical, (1885), pp.169-179.

2. ibid, pp. 184, 193, 229.

3. O'Sullivan, p.245.

to encourage the importation of bark, acted as a slight stimulus keeping the importation at £47,800 at the same level as the preceding decade.[1] In 1800 another petition was presented from Cork protesting this time not only against the dearness of oak-bark, but against the excessive hampering of the trade by a new method of levying the excise duty. This was levied per cubic foot on the pits and hit the Cork producer with especial severity as his pits were idle for the greater part of the year, as supplies of hides were only available in any great quantity during the slaughtering season.[2] Wakefield commented on this manner of levying duty as follows:

"The chief obstacle to the good preparation of leather is the levying of the duty on the pit, in place of the skin as in England. This makes it of interest to the tanner to run as many hides through the same liquor as possible, whereby the skins are imperfectly prepared, the process being by half performed."[3]

In 1803, the Cork tanners again petitioned Parliament against the duty on leather. The following notice to that effect appeared in The Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 4th May, 1803:

"Our worthy representative in Parliament, Mr. Longfield, on the 26th presented a petition to Parliament from the tanners of the city of Cork against the duties on leather which we hope may merit the attentive consideration of Parliament. The present excise duties are injurious to the tanning trade, the result of which has been a great loss to individuals, the declension of the trade and the introduction of leather to the Irish markets from Great Britain, by which means the price of this important necessity has been kept up to a height as pernicious to the tanner, as oppressive to the consumer."

1. J. F. Burke, Industrial History of Ireland, (1940), p.234.
2. O'Sullivan, p.245
3. 34 Geo. III, c.21; 38 Geo, III, c. 23, Wakefield, Vol. I., p.721.

Such a petition was not immediately successful. America being the chief source of bark for Cork tanners, their work was adversely affected by the Embargo Act of 1809, which hindered exportation from U.S.A. to Great Britain and also by the following war of 1812-1814.

Among the tanners who kept the industry flourishing, Dunn Bros. of Watercourse gained special notoriety for their specialization in sole leather "in the manufacture of which they were without a rival".[1] Close by them was the fancy leather manufactory of Mr. Olliff, also in Watercourse. The increase in the number of saddlers from 7 in 1805 to 14 in 1810; in the number of harness makers from 4 in 1805 to 8 in 1810 and in the number of upholsterers from 3 in 1805 to 6 in 1812 was a significant trend of this period.[2]

THE CRAFT OF COOPERING:

Cork, the seat of a great provision trade, was also both before and after the Act of Union, the seat of a great coopering business. Arthur Young, in his tour of Ireland, records that in his visit to Cork he saw 700 coopers at work. In 1830 the census returns showed that there were 71 coopers living in the Parish of St. Mary's Shandon, alone.[3] These figures are not suprising considering the volume of provisions exported from Cork during this period and the extent of its brewing and distilling industries as well as the regulations of the Cork Butter Market, which demanded the attendance of master coopers at the market to examine casks and firkins and to perform the task of cooperage on casks brought in by the farmers.

Coopering, like other crafts in Cork had its guild. The Company of Cork coopers was granted a charter in 1701.[4] The Company consisted of Master Coopers only and objected to Catholics being employed in the trade. The function of the Guild was mainly to protect the inter-

1. W. West, Cork Directory, 1810.
2. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805,6,7; Connor's Cork Directory, 1812. W. West, Cork Directory, 1810.
3. J.C.H.A.S. Vol. XLIX, 1944, p.16.
4. R. Caulfield, Council Book of the Corporation of Cork, (1876)p.289

ests of its members and to establish prices for different classes of work. The wages of the journeymen coopers was normally established by the Court at General Sessions held for the purpose of arranging wages or equitable terms. The nature of such regulation may be gleaned from the following which is a copy of the regulations adopted by theCourt on the 3rd May, 1821:[1]

HEWING		HEADING	RAISING
SIDING	Per 1,000		
India Tierce	£1 - 6 - 0	India Tierce - 6½d.	India T.(46 gall.)- 7½d.
Contract or common Tierce	£1 - 1 - 0	Contract do. - 6	Contract do. - 7
Barrel	18 - 6	Common do. - 5¾	Common(42-44 gall)- 6½
		Barrel - 4½	Barrel - 5
½ Barrel	14 - 0	½ Barrel - 3½	½ Barrel - 3½
Firkin or Keg	10 - 6	Firkin or Keg - 2½	Firkin or Keg - 3¾

OUT OF THE ROUGH

Making puncheons for 135 - 150 gallons in 10 iron hoops (if required)		5/6
" " under 135 gall. in 8 iron hoops (if required)		5/-
" Porter hogsheads out of the rough,	63-70 gallons	4/4
Do Tierce	42-46 gallons	3/3
Making quarter casks out of the smooth		1/8

CELLAR WORK:- 3/3 per day.

Wm. Jones,
Clerk of the Peace.

The journeymen coopers were not content with the rate struck by the Court, refused to work and quitted their employment. The following notices which appeared in the Cork Morning Intelligencer, 29th May, 1821, illustrates one of the ways in which the Company of Cork Coopers used its authority:

THE COOPERS

The journeymen coopers of this city, not content with the rate of wages struck for them by the Court, refused to work on these terms and quitted their employment. The consequence has been that several

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, July 6th, 1825.

of the Master coopers have been actually employed on the journeymen's work and an advertisement appeared from the masters, offering employment to 200 journeymen.

We trust that men will be found who have a sufficient sense of what they owe to themselves, their families and the public, to accept the employment which is offered to them. To all such we are authorized to declare that the most unremitting attention of the Magistracy and Police will be added to the assistance of the Masters, for securing to them prompt and effectual assistance of the law, whenever their safety may be threatened by those who would for their purpose, endeavour to sway them by threats or violence.

NOTICE TO JOURNEYMEN COOPERS

WANTED

200 Journeymen coopers to whom constant employment will be ensured @ 3/3 per day, and in proportion for other kinds of work and to whom every protection will be afforded on application to the undersigned being The Master and Wardens of the Corporation of Coopers of the city of Cork.

Peter Tivy Junior, Master
William Lyons
John L. Tivy Wardens

Cooperage[1] as practised in Cork in the early 19th century was essentially the making of circular wooden containers of joined staves, bound together by hoops of wood or iron and fitted with a head and bottom. There were three types of coopering practised:-

1. Wet Coopering employed the most highly skilled workmen was concerned with the making of barrels and casks to contain beer, spirits and other liquids... The extreme skill was in the exact fitting of the staves and heads to make liquid-tight containers.
2. Dry Coopering was concerned with the making of casks for provisions- butter, meat, fish, etc.
3. White Coopering - The products of this type of coopering were

1. See page 42b.

usually straight staved (without the characteristic barrel bulge) wash tubs, turf and coal buckets, butter tubs and churns. This work was often done by people outside the trade, for example carpenters.

Staves and heads used in wet coopering were made of oak, (American or Canadian) and bound with hoops. Dry work was done usually on beech, sycamore or deal. Wooden hoops were employed of split hazel or sally but occasionally, dry work was iron hooped. The hazel or sally sticks were supplied in length from 4 - 6 feet. Rushes were required for making liquid tight joints between stave joints and head joints. When butter kiels were in demand, the staves were usually imported from Holland or Sweden, ready shaped and prepared and all that they required was assembling.[1]

Since butter could only be sold in casks of Cork manufacture, the Cork coopers got a monopoly of the manufacture of casks for the butter trade.[2]

The following list gives an idea of the variety in size and form exhibited among the products of the Cork coopers of this period.[3]

PROVISION CASKS

Navy Tierces	300 lbs.	Butter beech kegs	28lbs.
Navy Barrels	200 lbs.	Butter oak quarter bound	112lbs.
Half Barrels	100 lbs.	Butter white do.	56lbs.
Mess Barrels		Butter white full bound	28lbs.
Butter beech kiels	112 lbs.	White firkins do.	
do. kegs	56 lbs.	Brown firkins do.	

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XLIX, pp. 81, 82.
2. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, P.P. Vol. V. pp. 128, 129.
3. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XLIX, No. 170, p. 89-

WINE AND SPIRIT CASKS

Pipe of Port	115 gals.	Hog of Port	57 gals.
Pipe of Marsala	93 gals.	do. of Sherry	54 gals.
Pipe of Madeira	92 gals.	Quarter of Port	28 gals.
Pipe of Lisbon	117 gals.	Octave of Port	14 gals.
Puncheon of Brandy	60 gals.	Quarter of Sherry	27 gals.
Puncheon of Geneva	72 gals.	Quarter of Brandy	30 gals.
Butt of Sherry	108 gals.	Puncheon of Rum	93 gals.
Hog of Claret	48 gals.	Butt of Whiskey	108 gals.
Hog of Whiskey	55 gals.	Quarter cask of whiskey	28 gals.
Octave of Whiskey	15 gals.		

BREWERS CASKS

Hogshead	52 gals.	Half Barrels or Kilderkins	16-18 gals.
Barrels or tierces	32-36 gals.	Pins	9 gals. and under.

The fortunes of the coopering business were closely allied with that of the provision trade and that of the brewing and distilling industry. During the boom period which lasted until the end of the continental war, 1815, business was very prosperous with the coopers. One indication of this was the increase in the number of master coopers in the city from 13 in 1805 to 67 in 1812.[1] A further indication was the vast number of wooden containers of Cork manufacture, containing provisions and spirits that were exported from the city between 1801 and 1815.[2]

1. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7. Ms. 569 - G.O. Dublin Castle: Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.

2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

THE BREWING INDUSTRY - THE ART OF BREWING IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY- LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY IN CORK CITY - BEAMISH AND CRAWFORD BREWERY, THE MOST IMPORTANT IN IRELAND, IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19th century- COMPETITION FROM DISTILLERS - PROGRESS OF THE INDUSTRY - EXPORT OF BEER FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL EXPORT FROM IRELAND - MARKETS - INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF BREWERS - DECLINE IN THE IMPORT OF BEER FROM ENGLAND.

The repeal of the Beer Tax in 1795 was a most important event in the history of Irish brewing. It was accompanied by a tax on malt and a simplification in the great web of regulations which over the years the Commissioners of Revenue had designed to protect the public from the brewers and gain revenue. This shift in tax from beer to malt improved the competition position of the brewers against the distillers because Whiskey was not double taxed. This simplification in the regulations which governed the brewing industry was part of a flood of opinion against the older complexity of the regulated system in favour of simplicity.

It was a decisive step towards freeing the brewing industry in Cork city from the residue of an earlier age of Mercantilist Regulations. The essential features of this change were retained after the Act of Union giving Irish brewers an advantage over the British competitors who were still subject to the beer tax until 1830.[1]

In its essentials, the art of brewing in the early 19th century, consisted of the addition of hot water to ground malt so that the starch of the malt was dissolved and converted into malt sugar; the boiling of the wort (as this sugar solution was called) with hops to add the characteristic flavour of this plant; the fermentation of the hopped wort with yeast, a microscopic organism which

1. Guiness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759-1876, P. Lynch and John Vaizey (1960) p.68.

has the power of converting the malt sugar into alcohol and finally the cleansing process which removes the excess yeast which has grown during the fermentation. Strength of the beer depended on the quality and quantity of the malt, and flavour, on the quality and quantity of the hops. The distinctive dark colour of porter and stout was obtained by using roast malt or roast barley. The whole economy of the brewing was based on the amount of extract to be obtained from a given quality of malt.

The technique of the brewing process does not seem to have changed greatly during these years. The malster first immersed the barley in water, spread it out on the malt floor, regulating its temperature by thinning or thickening the layer until the barley had germinated. Finally, the "green malt" was heated on a kiln over a coal fire, so as to stop any further germination and make the malt safe against deterioration during storage. Then the malt was ground by a (horse driven or water driven) mill, into the kieve, was mashed with hot liquor and the wort run off after the mash had stood for some time. This process was then repeated at a higher temperature. Following the mashes, were a number of "dashes" that is additions of hot liquor. The liquor for these operations was run from the "dash box", a cylinder into which both hot and cold liquor could be run so as to produce a liquid of the required temperature.

Only one major change took place during these years, namely the introduction of "sparging" in which the discontinuous additions provided by the dashes gave place to a continuous addition from a spray or sparge arm which rotated over the goods in the Kieve. The temperature of the sparge liquor was much higher than it had been for the dashes and this increased the extract considerably.

The next stage consisted in boiling the wort with hops. There were at various times, two or three boilings, the second and third being of successively weaker worts, boiled longer than the first, thus to some extent raising the strength of the latter worts. No important

changes in this part of the process took place during the early 19th century.

The hopped wort having been separated from the hops, was pumped into large flat vessels called coolers, with air propellers suspended overhead. It lay here until it had been cooled enough - that is to about Summer air temperature - for the yeast to be added. This process took from 4 - 9 hours.

The hopped wort was next run into fermenting tuns, and yeast from a previous brewing was mixed with it. There were considerable variations in the amount of yeast to be added and in the subsequent temperature of the wort. There was an increasing tendency towards a slower fermentation with the use of less yeast and a lower temperature. The object of this development was to produce a more stable beer. The progress of fermentation seems to have been judged by appearances only.

At tunnage, the sugars in the wort had been largely converted into alcohol and the main part of the fermentation process was over. This was followed by "cleansing" - the removal of the yeast which had multiplied considerably during fermentation. This operation was automatic. Next, the beer was led from tun into hogsheads placed in troughs. These hogsheads were filled quite full and the yeast worked out from the bung-holes of the hogsheads into the troughs, leaving eventually a more or less clear beer - the liquid yeast in the troughs being used as required for store yeast for further fermentations. The periods during which the beer was held in trough varied from 40 - 90 hours. When the greater part of the yeast had removed itself from the hogshead, the beer was run to the vat from which it was later sent into trade.[1]

Brewing was one of Cork's principal industries at the beginning

1. Lynch and Vaizey, pp. 149 - 150 and 154-157.

of the 19th century. The adequate supply near at hand of two of the raw materials necessary for the industry - barley and water and the ease with which the third - hops - could be imported from the South of England, greatly contributed to the development of the industry. Beamish & Crawford of South Main Street; Leslie, Morrough & Co., known as The Lee Porter Brewery, situated in the Mardyke; Foruke, Gibbings & Co., of Clarke's Marsh; and Drinan & Sons, were known as The Porter Brewers of the city of Cork, in 1801.[1]

In 1805 there also existed in the city a number of smaller brewers. The principal ale breweries belonged to Messrs. Reilly & Hadigan: and Cashman & Sons.[2] John Carr, an English visitor to Cork in 1805 remarked:

'The greatest and best quality of Irish porter is brewed in Cork. Calculating from the quantity of malt for which duty has been paid at the Excise Office by the Porter brewers of this city, combining this information with the quantity used at each brewing and the brewing of each week together with the increasing demand and present home and export consumption, the average annual quantity of porter brewed cannot be less than 140,000 tierces. The average annual export for three years taken from Custom House Books is nearly 2,000 tierces.' [3]

Beamish & Crawford, owners of the Cork Porter Brewery, to the present day, were the most important brewers in Ireland in the first quarter of the 19th century. They acquired the brewery in 1792, managed it capably and quickly expanded the business. They soon established for Cork brewing a reputation which contrasted vividly with an earlier tradition. In 1796 they were producing nearly 44,000 bar-

1. Cork Advertiser, 16th June, 1801.
2. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.
3. J. Carr, The Stranger in Ireland; or a tour in the southern and western parts of that country in 1805, pp. 415-416.

els annually and they doubled this within a decade.[1] Wakefield stated that, 'in 1809, Beamish & Crawford were brewing 2,000 barrels of 46 gallons each week, which they sold at 10d. per gallon. Guiness's had the second largest output in Ireland at this time and were using 1,200 barrels of malt per week. A barrel of malt made 1½ barrels of porter; and 3½ lbs. of hops were allowed to the barrel'.[2]

Between 1806 and 1815 the output of Beamish & Crawford averaged well over 100,000 barrels a year.[3] Their scale of production had reached that which the great London breweries had reached in the previous century.[4] In 1810 Will West commenting on the brewery stated:

'Beamish & Crawford is the most extensive brewery in, not only Cork but in Ireland and is probably surpassed only in London.'[5]

One of the most important factors in the growth of the brewery was the availability of capital. Beamish & Crawford were also prosperous merchants having stores on Merchants Quay.[6]

Beamish & Crawford is the only one of the early Cork breweries which has preserved its business records from the establishment of the firm until the present day. These records throw light on the industry as a whole in Cork city, Beamish & Crawford being members of the Association of Brewers, the descendant of the 18th century Brewer's Corporation which fixed the prices of beer and trading conditions of the brewers.[7] These records reveal that the fortunes of the industry were closely linked with the fortune of the economy as a whole. The maritime economy was thriving between 1797 and 1814 under the impact of war, inflation and population growth. The pattern of Beamish & Crawford sales reflect these changes as the following

1. Lynch & Vaizey . . p.89.
2. Wakefield, Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political, Vol.I.p.744.
3. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.
4. Lynch & Vaizey . . p.89.
5. W. West, Cork Directory, 1810.
6. Cork Mercantile Chronicle - March 7th, 1806; Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.
7. Lynch & Vaizey . . pp. 98 & 122.

table shows:[1]

TOTAL ANNUAL SALES OF BEAMISH AND CRAWFORD 1801-1814

Year beg. 1st Aug.	Tierces	Year beg. 1st Aug.	Tierces
1801	68,418	1808	115,496
1802	74,074	1809	117,139
1803	81,645	1810	102,473
1804	94,142	1811	112,403
1805	102,029	1812	123,054
1806	99,749	1813	134,049
1807	101,305	1814	118,689

The market for these sales was mainly a local one, extending beyond the city to the towns in the Co. Cork and neighbouring counties, in the first years of the century. Some idea of the market for beer in the city can be got from the following letter which appeared in the Cork Advertiser, 24th October, 1800:

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Walk through your streets and suburbs on a Sabboth Day and see the enormous number of public houses, almost become a staple trade, open for drunkards.

By 1811 there was a considerable increase in the number of the public houses in the city being supplied from Beamish & Crawford brewery. Beyond the city the sales extended as far east as Wexford. Small sales were made daily to the publicans in the city and less frequently to those outside the city. The following typical examples of such sales appear in the company's journal.[2]

4th Feb. 1801	John Desmond, Brandy Lane	£4 - 19 - 8
3rd Feb. 1801	William Newman, Kinsale	£199 - 6 - 8
3rd Feb. 1801	Charles Haines, Mallow	£4 - 19 - 0

1. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.

2. Beamish & Crawford Journal, 1801, '2, '11.

Though the firm later owned a large number of tied houses in Cork and elsewhere in the south of Ireland, in its early years instead of acquiring houses, it advanced money for licences.[1]

Sales of Beamish & Crawford were not however confined to Ireland. They extended particularly to Bristol and London where "Cork Brown Stout Porter" was advertised for sale.[2]

Will West remarked in his Directory, in 1810, that the brewers of Cork were a great source of wealth. The following figures indicate the extent of the market for barley provided by Beamish & Crawford between the years 1801 - 1814:[3]

ANNUAL PURCHASE OF BARLEY BY BEAMISH & CRAWFORD

Year beg. 1st Aug.	Value	Year beg. 1st Aug.	Value
1801	£61,949- 4- 8	1808	£78,930- 6-10
1802	£37,245- 1- 4	1809	£98,090-13- 7
1803	£56,739- 9- 2	1810	£87,262-11- 3
1804	£58,598- 0- 7	1811	£102,028-15- 9
1805	£92,966-11- 2	1812	£129,745- 5- 7
1806	£69,366-14-11	1813	£124,291-19- 9
1807	£64,976-17-11	1814	£ 86,864-17- 7

Some idea of the profit made by brewers in Cork on their sales of porter, can be gleaned from the following figures which refer to the firm of Beamish & Crawford:[4]

1. Wakefield, Vol. I, p.749; Lynch & Vaizey, p.90.
2. Lynch & Vaizey, . p.135.
3. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.
4. ibid.

TOTAL PROFIT ON SALE OF PORTER

Year beg. 1st Aug.	Value
1805	£12,630-10- 0
1806	£23,011-18- 4
1807	£42,184- 0-11
1808	£42,214-12- 4
1809	£27,413-18- 4
1810	£23,610- 2-11
1811	£59,314- 0- 3

The brewer's profits were not confined to that made on Porter, as the sales of barm, or surplus yeast from brewing to the nearby farmers was a substantial trade in itself.

Records of the price of porter indicate that this varied according to strength and also according to the price of barley and hops. The following gives an indication of the general trend in the price of Porter:[1]

PRICE OF PORTER SOLD BY BEAMISH & CRAWFORD

Year beg. 1st Aug.	Per Tierce Average annual price
1802	£1 -15 -11
1803	£1 -11 -10
1804	£1 -15 - 5
1805	£1 -18 - 4
1806	£1 -13 - 2
1807	£1 -16 - 2
1808	£1 -17 -11
1809	£1 -13 - 0

The increase in the duty on malt was one of the main reasons quoted by the brewers for the rise in price as seen from the following notice which was typical of those which appeared from time to time, in the Cork newspapers:

CROSS'S GREEN PORTER BREWERY

William Cashman & Sons inform their customers that in conseq-

1. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.

uence of the additional malt duty of 5/5 per barrel, they are under the necessity of raising the price of porter to 43/4 per tierce.

(Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 18th March, 1810)

Beamish & Crawford in company with the other Cork brewers of these years, suffered from their great rivals, the distillers of which there were two types - those who manufactured poteen (made from grain partly fermented) or the illegal distillers, and those who manufactured whiskey. In 1808, the production of spirits was forbidden in the United Kingdom, initially for a few months and then nearly for three years.[1] The brewers benefitted by this prohibition. After 1811 the competition from spirits remained serious. Export figures for these years indicate progress in the brewing industry. The following table shows the general trend:[2]

TOTAL EXPORT OF BEER FROM CORK 9 (in barrels) COMPARED WITH THE EXPORT FROM IRELAND 1802 - 1814

Year end. 5th Jan.	from Cork	from Ireland	Year end. 5th Jan.	from Cork	From Ireland
1802	36	297	1808	2,998	3,954
1803	1,711	3,235	1809	4,046	4,744
1804	2,751	5,770	1810	2,204	3,380
1805	6,627	13,045	1811	2,829	4,734
1806	3,538	5,599	1812	4,877	8,198
1807	2,588	3,862	1813	3,859	5,755
			1814	3,574	6,531

Trade fell very considerably in 1810 and 1811, according to the brewers, because of an increase in spirit drinking.[3]

How the beer exported from Cork was distributed can be seen by the following table indicating the sales of 1805:[4]

1. E. B. McGuire, Irish Whiskey, A History of Distilling in Ireland, (1973), p.184.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Petition of Dublin, Cork and Waterford brewers. P.P. Vol. V. 1810-1. p.17.
4. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

EXPORT OF BEER FROM CORK IN BARRELS, 1805

England 117	Prussia 3	Scotland 3	Spain 6	Streights 519
Antigua 32	Demerara 175	Dominica 147	Barbadoes 1,498	Grenada 559
Guernsey 57	Jamaica 2,108	Surinam 214	St. Vincent's 21	Trinidad 380

Beer continued to be exported to these countries during the period under review; the figures to each increased as indicated by the table for exports above.

The number of brewers in Cork city increased with the expansion of the industry. In 1805 the names of the Cork Porter Brewers of 1801 already noted appear and in addition: James Haynes, James Proby. The name Leslie & Co. on an earlier list, is missing from list in the Directory (Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7). By 1809 the number of brewers had increased to 14. The following names were added to the above list:[1]

S. Abbot, St. Fitton's St., St. Barry's. John Ballard & Sons, Cross St. Joseph Ballard & Sons. William Butterfield, John St. William Wilson. R. Downes, J. Copperthwaite, Cashman & Sons -- Cross's Green Porter Brewery.

In reference to the firm of Gibbins & Carroll, the following notice appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1st March, 1810:

THE PARTNERSHIP

Hitherto carried on in the city of Cork by Thomas Gibbings and Isaac Carroll as brewers, under the firm of Gibbings & Carroll, being this

1. Holden's Triennial Directory 1809, '10, '11.

day dissolved by mutual consent, the business will be in future carried on by Thomas & Bartholomew Gibbings under the firm of Thomas Gibbings & Sons.

The Directory for the year 1812, gives the number of brewers in the city as 17, some of these specified themselves as 'Porter Brewers'.[1]

A very significant trend in the imports of Cork for these years is the decline in the import of beer from England. It had dwindled from 65 barrels in 1803 to 15 in 1807.[2]

The Cork brewers were finally victorious in the struggle against English brewers which had begun in the 18th century. They succeeded in driving the English brewers almost completely out of the Cork market.[3]

1. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Lynch & Vaizey, p.119.

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THE DISTILLING INDUSTRY - AT THE HEART OF THE SOCIAL LIFE IN CORK CITY - THE MAIN SOURCE OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY - LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY - THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURING SPIRITS AS PRACTISED IN CORK- RECTIFYING AND COMPOUNDING SPIRITS - LEGITIMATE TRADE IN SPIRITS AFFECTED BY EXCISE CONTROLS --SPIRIT DUTY - STILL LICENCE SYSTEM - PROHIBITION OF DISTILLATION - CHANGE IN DUTY ON CORN AND MALT - ADVANTAGES ENJOYED BY THE CORK DISTILLERS OVER THE ENGLISH DISTILLERS - WAREHOUSING OF SPIRITS 1804 - LICENCE DUTY TO SELL SPIRITS - CHANGE IN PRICE OF SPIRITS - SALES OF HEWITT & CO. OF THE WATERCOURSE DISTILLERY - LOCAL MARKETS - EXPORT TRADE IN SPIRITS FROM CORK AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL EXPORT FROM IRELAND

The distilling industry was at the heart of the social life in Cork city at the beginning of the 19th century and not infrequently, an important factor in the city's political life. The making of spirits was unique among Cork industries in that the Government regarded spirits as a fit subject for taxation far higher in relation to value than any other manufactured commodity.[1]

Though the distilling industry was the Government's main source of revenue, on moral grounds the marketing was restrained by law. High taxation generated fraud by distillers and complaints by Revenue Officials, while its main domestic competition, beer, received preferential treatment both in manufacturing and marketing. Revenue needs versus sobriety led to rigid Government controls being imposed at all stages of manufacture and severe marketing restrictions. The problems of manufacturing and marketing, the excise duties and Revenue laws, interacted to mould the gradual development of the industry. Yet in spite of high taxation and legal restrictions there were no appreciable periods of trade depression in the Cork distilling industry during the first quarter of the 19th century.

1. E. B. McGuire, Irish Whiskey, A History of Distilling in Ireland, (1973) - Introduction, p. XI.

The difficulty of giving a coherent account of early 19th century industry is well illustrated in the Cork distilling industry. Official returns give lists of names for different years but where an address is stated it is insufficient to establish successive owners. Nor are there adequate directories. In the Cork Advertiser and Commercial Register of June 23rd, 1800, under the heading 'Distillers of Cork, the following names appear: Thomas Walker & Co.; Hewitt, Teulon and Blunt; Will & Thomas Wise; Caldwell, McSweeney & Co. However, S. Morwood in his book on 'Inebriating Liquors', states that there were 11 stills of content 12,998 gallons, at work in Cork in the year 1800.[1]

John Teulon and Thomas Hewitt, merchants of Cork and R. T. Blunt, distiller from London, became partners in October, 1792, as distillers. Land was taken in the North Suburb of the city, a distillery built, plant installed and business begun. This enterprise became known as The Watercourse Distillery. The partnership in operation from 1st October, 1793, was confirmed in August of the following year, for periods of 7, 14 and 21 years. Each partner was to subscribe £5,000 towards the cost of buildings, plant and stock, before 25th March, 1795. Net profits were to be shared equally. A new partnership deed in 1799 brought in James Morrough, each partner subscribed £10,000. Morrough died, leaving his share to his son. On 1st October, 1805, he gave the required notice and sold his share to Hewitt & Teulon.

From 1st October, 1806, the partnership traded as Hewitt & Co. The annual sales of this company advanced rapidly. An Excise return for 1802, states that Teulon, Hewitt & Blunt were operating two stills of 1,514 and 643 gallon capacity, which placed this distillery as amongst the largest in the country. In 1803, its annual sales of spirits had amounted to 102,445 gallons; by 1815, sales had reached 358,543 gallons.[2]

1. S. Morewood, A Philosophical & Statistical History of Inebriating Liquors, (1838), p.724.

2. McGuire, pp. 377, 378: Company's Records.

THE NORTH MALL DISTILLERY, later famous for its "Wise's Old Pot Still Whiskey", was situated in the suburbs of the city, on the banks of the Lee. This distillery was founded in 1779 and was firmly established by the year 1800, when it was owned by the brothers Thomas & Francis Wise. It was the largest distillery in Cork and in 1802 was using a new 1,112 gallon still - a large still for that date. This still was, however, replaced by a larger still of 1,516 gallons in 1807.[1]

THE GREEN DISTILLERY in THOMAS DAVIS STREET, (later York Street) began its career on 12th May, 1796, when Bartholomew Foley, a draper, sold a dwelling house and a malt house to Robert Allan and Denis Corcoran,distillers. Allan and Corcoran were working a 762 gallon still in 1802. In 1812 however, the business was being carried on by the brothers Thomas & Joseph Shee, Benjamin Hodges and others, with Thomas Shee as the distiller. His brother Joseph acted as marketing agent in London. Hodges and others in the group soon disappeared but the Shee brothers kept on the business.

DALY'S DISTILLERY OF 32 JOHN'S STREET, is said to have been founded in 1807 and it was still working in 1833.

THE GLEN DISTILLERY, situated at Dodges Glen, Kilnap, on the banks of the river Glen and within 50 yards of the waterfall, was a prosperous concern at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1806, the distillery was owned by Anthony Perrier who worked a 1,555 gallon still.[2]

Wakefield remarked in 1808 ' Mr. Walker of Cork is the greatest distiller in the Kingdom. He has two stills which contain each 1,500 gallons. He makes 1,700 gallons per week and works his still from nine to ten months of the year'. He also remarked that Messrs. Hewson & Co. had a still which held 1,780 gallons.[3]

1. McGuire, p.375
2. ibid., pp.378,355: A. Barnard, The Whiskey Distilleries in the United Kingdom (1887), p.412.
3. Wakefield, p.732.

Will West in his directory of 1810 states:

'Each of the four large distilleries in Cork pays £2,100 duty per week. At one of them there is a steam engine of Bolton & Watt's latest construction; it is 40 horse power and no expense has been spared in the erection of it'.[1]

In 1807 there were 13 rectifying houses in Cork. It appears that some distillers were closely associated with rectifying houses. Thomas & Francis Wise were distillers of North Mall distillery and Henry Wise was a rectifier in North Abbey. In Milfield, Morgan Caldwell was a distiller and William Caldwell a rectifier. In Watercourse, Denis Corcoran was a partner with Robert Allan in a distillery and also ran a rectifying house. In 1812, the combined number of distillers and rectifiers was 19. Among the new names of rectifiers that appear in the directory for that year are the following.[2]

James Daly, 5 Blarney Lane: Michael Mahoney, Grattan Street.
Daniel Meagher, Grattan Street: Robert Vincent, Brown Street & Coal Quay: Joseph Webb, Patrick's Quay.

For practical purposes, distilling in Ireland means the manufacturing of whiskey from cereals, mainly barley. Oats are generally part of the mixture as this is considered to give the whiskey a more desirable flavour. Cork county owing to its mild and genial climate and natural character of its soil was particularly adapted for barley growing so it is not surprising to find that Cork city with its ample supply of water and spacious harbour, was becoming the centre of a flourishing distilling industry in the beginning of the 19th century. All the processes of manufacturing spirits require fuel. In these early days coal replaced peat fuel as distilling units became larger. So it happened that the principal distilleries were centred on the ports, especially Dublin and Cork where there was also available raw material for the industry and a large local market.[3]

1. W. West, Cork Directory, 1810, p.75.
2. McGuire, pp.155, 354: Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.
3. ibid., p.3.

Before a distiller could begin making whiskey, he first had to melt some or part of his grain in order to change the starchy material into spirits that yeast could convert into alcohol. If some grain only was malted the enzymes generated would, during the brewing process carry on the conversion in a mixture of malt and raw grain, producing the typical whiskey of Ireland since 1800.

From 1785, the distiller paid duty on his malt in addition to the spirit duty. This malt duty brought with it close revenue control over malting operations, precise regulations concerning the construction of malting floors and limited the time factor for the different operations.

In the manufacture of whiskey there were then as now, two major processes, brewing and distilling. The brewing process was essentially the same as in the manufacture of beer (already described) with one important difference. In making beer, the fermented material is the brewer's final product and he is concerned with the retention of some sugar as well as its alcoholic content. The distiller on the other hand, was mainly interested in producing as much alcohol as he could as well as developing flavour. The brewer skimmed off yeast to stop fermentation, before it would exhaust itself naturally, whereas the distiller, whose main object was to produce spirits, continued fermentation as long as it lasted. After fermentation the wash was conveyed from the fermenting vessels to the wash still. The distilling process extracted spirit from wash because of the different boiling and condensing temperature of alcohol and water. The pot still used for this process at the beginning of the 19th century consisted of a container or kettle set over a fire with a head fitted to the top. From the head the vapours rising were conveyed to the worm, a spiral pipe immersed in cold water, where the vapours were condensed. The spirits could be run direct from the end of the worm to a receiving vessel, but the distiller was free to interpose an arrangement of sampling jars, if he wished to control his distillation. The residue of each charge of a kettle had to be emptied and the kettle refilled

for each distilling. This gave rise to a number of experiments during these years to evolve a still whereby distilling would be continuous. These experiments were also prompted by the desire to reduce fuel consumption. Morewood records the invention of Joseph Shee of Cork, who used four pot stills in series, the first heated by fire and the others by hot vapours from the first still. His invention was not strictly speaking a continuous still but it did conserve fuel.

Between 1780 and 1823 when the distilling laws favoured rapid distillation, frothing and fouling were serious problems. To prevent them, distillers put soap into their stills. Soap was decomposed by acetic acid in the wash, the fatty parts melted, spread over the surface and inhibited frothing.

Whiskey when coming off the still was colourless. In the 19th century especially in the earlier years, the best whiskey was stored and matured in sherry casks, as this was thought to give it an additional and desirable flavour. The sherry absorbed in the wood also, however, slightly coloured the spirits and as the public taste for whiskey grew it became necessary to colour all whiskey, whether or not sherry casks had been used. Sometimes then, small quantities of wine were used for this purpose, but more often colouring matter such as caramel, was used. In time, distillers found that a standard colour for their particular brand was better for marketing purposes and so the addition of colouring matter became general practice.[1]

Side by side with the distilling, rectifying and compounding, as already noted, developed in Cork. Rectifying and compounding, which were distinguished from distilling in 1797, were further distinguished in 1805 when distillers were forbidden by law to rectify or compound their spirits. A rectifier was defined as a person distilling spirits of wine or brandy; and a compounder as a person rectifying or compounding with sugar or other ingredients. Rectifiers and compounders bought their spirits, duty paid, from distillers and redistilled the spirits with a variety of ingredients or added flavouring essences or syrups, depending on the beverage required, or made spirits of wine.

1. McGuire, pp. 3-38.

Spirits of wine was made by adding crude alkali potash to the raw spirits. Pearl ash might also be used. Two or three distillations resulted in a strong rectified spirit. There was a growing demand for spirits of wine as a solution for medicines, tinctures and some industries such as hat-making and varnishes. The rectifiers still had to be in the range of 80-200 gallons. The compounder distilled and compounded spirits with sugar or other sweetening ingredients and also added flavouring and colouring. One distillation was generally sufficient for the making of beverages. Common ingredients used by the compounder were juniper berries, corriander seed and aniseed. Rectified and compounded spirits were known by a variety of names such as "Irish brandy". A licence duty of 50/- for each 10 gallons of still content was imposed in 1801. This was raised to 10/- for each gallon of still content in 1807 for both rectifiers and compounders.[1]

The legitimate trade in spirits from distillation to consumer was channelled through a series of excise controls. One of the serious problems of the Government in the early 19th century was the corruption of excise officers and their connivance of fraud by distillers in Cork city as elsewhere. The problem led to Parliamentary inquiries etc. Reports of official inquiries leave no doubt that the main reason for so much fraud by distillers and corruption of officials was the inadequate salary paid, which would not attract suitable recruits. Sale of official permits for example, enabled illicit spirits to enter the legitimate market.[2] Permits were issued to cover the transfer of spirits from the distiller to his customers, and movements hereafter. However, distillers complained that they had to practise fraud to remain in business.[3] In 1779 an attempt was made to limit the extent of evasion of spirit duty by prescribing a minimum revenue from each still. This change resulted in an upheaval in the industry.

1. 47 Geo. 3,sec. 2, c.19.sec. 3-6; McGuire, pp.198,265,24.
2. McDowell, The Irish Administration, p.82.
3. McGuire, pp.64, 85-88.

The minimum was based on the estimated number of times a still could be worked off in 28 days.[1] In 1782 the minimum was raised and this process of raising continued until 1823. The design of stills, working methods and quality of the spirits were all affected and the number of illegal distillers increased. By Act passed in 1791[2] a licensed distiller had to work his still for a minimum of 112 days a year or pay the still licence for that period.

In 1791 the spirit duty was 1/2 per gallon; the malt duty added another 5d. per gallon on corn spirit. Irish spirits exceeding 4 gallons needed a permit when conveyed between traders.[3] Forging or falsifying permits caused a penalty of 7 years transportation. In 1799 the duty to sell spirits in Cork was £20 and in the suburbs £15. A magistrate certificate was necessary before a collector of excise could issue a licence and it was a condition that a retailer should have at least two hearths for customers. Retail licences were only granted to inn-keepers, tavern keepers and victuallers, if they also sold good beer and they were not permitted to sell spirits before 1 p.m. on Sundays, or before sunrise on other days. These restrictions did not apply to coffee houses where spirits were also sold.

The Act of Union had no immediate effect on the distilling laws. There was one omission in the Act, namely, the prohibition against the use of raw grain was not re-enacted leaving the distiller free to use only such malt as was needed to generate fermentation with raw grain. As malt paid duty, the distiller lost no time in stretching out to mixed malt and grain spirit, which became the characteristic Irish whiskey in the 19th century. The industry continued in Cork to fight against attempts to prohibit distillation or to force the distillers to use sugar especially in time of scarcity of cereals; and above all to combat the competition from illegal distillers.[4]

1. 19 & 20 Geo. 3 c. 12.
2. 31 Geo. 3, c. 16.
3. 40 Geo. 3. c. 68.
4. McGuire, pp.126-134, 137, 144, 155, 160-'64.

The central feature of the period 1800-'23 in the distilling industry was the frequent changes in the number of charges in the still licence system. In 1812 a special Act, authorised small stills to be licensed in an effort to combat illicit distillation. In 1802 the only still to exceed 2,000 gallons was worked by Walker & Browne in Cork. By 1807 the largest stills were in the region of 1,500 and 1,600 gallons. After 1812 particularly, the 500 gallon still emerged as the most common in use in Cork and elsewhere in Ireland. The following table showing the increase in the number of still charges per month for 500 gallon stills gives a fair picture of the race between the distiller and the legislature which must have been going on in Cork city during the period 1800-1815:[1]

STILL CHARGE PER MONTH 500 gallon STILL

Year	1800	1804	1805	1806	1807	1809	1813	1815
Charges	23	34	50	74	84	91	125	144

The same kind of increase occurred in other sizes, for example a still of 200 gallons was subject to 30 charges in 1800; 272 in 1817 1,000 gallons was subject to 20 charges in 1800; 154 in 1817.

Dublin continued to be the powerful distilling centre in Ireland and Cork easily next in importance. Of the 38 large stills in Ireland in 1802, 27 were in Dublin and 5 in Cork. In 1807 only 3 large stills were in Dublin, as against 5 in Cork but in the range of 500-1,000 there were 10 in Dublin and 1 in Cork.

The distilling laws had repercussions on the distiller's purchase of grain. Because he had to work his still for a minimum number of days or pay duty for this period, he had to buy sufficient grain early in the year whatever the state of the market. His ability to buy when the market was favourable was thus curtailed.

1. McGuire, pp.164-167.

Distilling from molasses was prohibited in 1808. Distilling from sugar was encouraged in 1813 (53 Geo. 3, c. 52) during a prohibition against distilling from grain imposed in this year. In 1801 both malting and distilling were prohibited. In 1803 the Lord Lieutenant could prohibit distillation from oats or oatmeal if he considered it advisable. All corn distillation was stopped in 1809 and 1812 to the end of 1813.[1]

Change which was so much a feature of the distilling industry at this time was particularly evident in the duty charged on corn spirits as the following table illustrates:[2]

DUTY ON CORN SPIRITS

Year	Rate of duty per gallon
1800	2/6
1801	-
1802	2/10½
1803	3/6¾
1804	4/1
1810	2/6½
1812	5/1¼
1813	5/7¼
1815	6/1½

For molasses spirits, the rate rose and fell with the duty on corn spirits plus the added malt duty. The malt duty continued to rise from 7/7 a barrel in 1803 to 14/3 in 1823.

Irish spirits exported to Great Britain in 1801 qualified for a drawback of 3/7 a gallon, representing the whole of spirit duty of 2/4½ and an addition for the duty paid on malt presumed to have been used. Stills exceeding 500 gallon content received abatement from the spirit duty of 16 or 8% which was not deducted in the drawback. Hence the Cork distillers were favourably placed to compete with the English distillers in their own markets. The increase of export of Irish spirits caused a reaction in England from the English distillers

1. McGuire, p.183. 2. ibid, p.184.

and in 1804 the allowance of 16 or 8% had to be repaid on spirits exported.

The Cork distillers had still another advantage over the English distillers. The Irish distiller paid duty on his spirits, without regard to strength and he usually marketed it at about 24° over proof. He could therefore dilute his spirit after paying duty, export the same number of gallons on which duty had been paid and have a surplus free of duty for sale in the home market. It was claimed that a surplus amounted to 1 gallon free for every three exported and as the English distiller was supposedly unable to evade duty so easily, the Cork distiller was able to undersell the English distiller in his own market.[1]

A most important landmark in the history of Cork distilling occurred in 1804 when an Act[2] was passed permitting distillers to deposit their spirits in customs warehouses without paying duty. This measure facilitated exportation considerably. It saved private storage space and capital was not locked up in duty pending export and the receipt of the drawback. This single facility enabled large quantities to be made for stock, to be released to the consumer in an orderly regulated manner. Distillers could thus plan their production two or three years ahead. The beneficial effects of this measure in helping to build up an overseas trade in Cork, were very considerable. It meant that large stocks could be ready for shipping whenever the order came. Distillers were however, only allowed four months warehousing. If the spirits were not exported in that time, the Excise Officer could sell the spirits to recover duty.[3]

From the Union to 1823 the pattern of the licence duty to sell spirits was unchanged though the rate thereof rose about one-third.

1. McGuire, p.192.
2. 44 Geo 3. c. 104.
3. ibid. pp.192-197, 437.

The rate in 1802 was £30 in Cork city[1]. In 1804, the spirit licence was transferred from the Excise to the Stamp duty office. This arrangement brought in the clerk of the peace who received the licence.[2] The Grand Jury had the duty of deciding the number of houses to be licenced. The procedure to obtain a licence remained the same, that is the retailer first applied to the Clerk of the Peace, who enquired into the applicant's character and sufficiency of the sureties to a bond at £25 each. The result of the application was recorded in a Crown Book and if satisfactory the Clerk issued a certificate enabling the applicant to obtain a licence from the Excise.[3]

The retail licence permitted sales of up to 25 gallons at a time. At the beginning of the century grocers were not eligible for a retail licence, but paid a special licence of £2 in Cork. This enabled them to sell spirits for consumption off the premises in quantity of not less than two quarts.

In 1813 this licence duty was raised to about ¾ of the retail licence duty so that a grocer's spirit licence in Cork was henceforth £30. The remaining outlet for the distillers were the factors and the dealers. Up to 1825 for licence purposes these were combined. The factor sold on commission, not less than 50 gallons, both had to give a bond of £500 with two sureties of £250 each, as well as paying licence duty of £20.[4]

Change in price was typical of the distillers' trade in Cork during the early 19th century. Prices varied not alone from year to year, but even at times from month to month, according to the malt duty, the price of barley or sugar and the duty on spirits. The following list of prices taken from the records of Hewitt & Co. of the Watercourse Distillery, (the only one of the early 19th century distilleries whose records are available) illustrates the variation in price.

1. McGuire, p.201.
2. 44 Geo. 3, c. 103.
3. 55 Geo. 3.c. 19.
4. ibid, pp.203, 219.

PRICE OF WHISKEY

Year	Month	Price per gallon
1800	August	13/-
1801	April	12/-
1802	June	7/-
1808	June	13/6
1810	October	7/6
1811	October	8/-
1812	October	14/6
1813	October	12/6
1814	October	9/9
1815	October	9/9

A glass of whiskey sold at 2d. in 1812, so that a retailer had to sell 30o gallons or 15,000 glasses to recover the licence duty. Clearly only a retailer with exceptional facilities could make a living on the trade, solely from the sale of legal spirits. The retailers could however, recoup themselves by buying from the distillers spirits that had evaded the duty when the price was from 2/- to 2/6 below the price of duty paid whiskey. He could also buy from the illicit distiller at rates as low as 4/- to 4/6 per gallon.[1]

The following statistics taken from the records of Hewitt & Co. of the Watercourse Distillery, gives an indication of the general trend in the sale of spirits for the period 1803 - 1815.

TOTAL ANNUAL SALES OF HEWITT & CO.
(to the nearest gallon)

Year	Number of Gallons
1803	102,445
1804	116,907
1805	184,543
1806	249,447
1807	325,288
1808	244,133
1809	-
1810	280,163
1811	426,610
1812	63,197
1813	348,009
1814	341,706
1815	358,546

1. McGuire, pp. 201-205.

Home-sales were not confined to Cork city. They extended as far East as Dublin, as far North as Belfast, as well as to many other towns nearer to Cork (including Waterford).[1]

The export trade in spirits from Cork was carried on with Britain, Europe, West Indies, Newfoundland, Canada and Australia. The following table indicates a gradual increase in this export of spirits, except during periods when distillation was prohibited:[2]

TOTAL EXPORT OF SPIRITS FROM CORK as compared with the export from Ireland (in gallons)

Year ending 5th January	From Cork	From Ireland
1801	1,595	2,770
1802	42,176	227,410
1803	270,262	1,122,497
1804	452,195	886,207
1805	344,219	1,166,663
1806	301,766	993,881
1807	222,926	528,531
1808	235,863	648,327
1809	134,004	491,434
1810	64,009	76,940
1811	9,365	22,249
1812	459,934	753,361
1813	229,937	408,970
1814	113,611	143,346
1815	595,971	886,616

The following letter dated 15th May, 1802, is interesting as an indication of the steps being taken by one of the Cork distillers at this time to secure a market in London for his spirits:[3]

1. Hewitt & Co. Letter Bks. 1794 - 1815.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Hewitt & Co. Letter Bk. 1794 - 1802.

"Messrs. Hewitt & Co. appoint Messrs. Bell & Higgins of London, merchants, - jointly to be Attorneys for us and in our names and places, and for our account and benefit to sell and dispose of, at the best price that can be had, 120 puncheons of Irish malt spirits and also for us and in our name, to sell and dispose of all such further quantities of spirits which we shall at any time hereafter send to our Attorneys . . . we authorize said Attorneys to pay and discharge such duty of what nature soever on said spirit . . . and on our account to pay and discharge such duty upon such other quantities of spirits which we shall hereafter send . . . and we do authorize our Attorneys to demand and receive of and for all persons whatsoever whom we do here conceive are allowed drawbacks and certificates that can or may be had or attained upon the said 120 puncheons of spirits or a quantity which shall hereafter be sent to our said Attorneys . . . it being the intent and meaning of those present that the said Messrs. Bell & Higgins shall be our true and faithful agents . . . we do empower and authorize our Attorneys to perform all such further and lawful acts ... concerning the premises that may be necessary as fully in every respect as if we ourselves were present...hereby ratifying whatsoever our Attorneys shall lawfully do or cause to be done in and about the premises ... we do declare that we are distillers from gross materials and that we are not rectifying or compounding distillers."

Signed in presence of W. Dennehy & J. Donovan
14th May, 1802.

Further letters indicate that the company continued to supply the London market through the hands of these agents.

It is evident also that Maxwell & Fortescue & Co., Dublin, acted as agents for Hewitt & Co. The following extract dated 5th September, 1808, was typical of the letters which accompanied consignments from Hewitt & Co. to these agents.[1]

1. Hewitt & Co., Letter Bk. 1808 - 1815.

'We request that you will sell for our account 120 Puncheons of spirits, satisfied ye will do so to the best advantage. With respect to the sale, use your discretion, but we request you not to refuse a saving market price'.....

THE COTTON INDUSTRY - IMPACT OF THE ACT OF UNION ON THE INDUSTRY LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY IN CORK COUNTY AND CITY - VARIETY OF COTTON FABRICS MANUFACTURED - EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRY ON THE LINEN INDUSTRY - LOCAL MARKET - ANALYSIS OF RETURNS OF EXPORTS OF MUSLIN, & LINEN & COTTON FABRIC.

The cotton industry was the one branch of manufacture which received special consideration in the Act of Union. The general principle of the 10% duty on the Channel Trade was abandoned in this one case and the existing high duties retained until 1808, when they were to be diminished annually until 1816, from which date until 1821, they were to stand at 10%. At the date of the passing of the Act of Union, the Irish cotton industry employed about 13,500 people. During the following 10 years the industry showed every sign of progress.[1] In 1810, Wakefield commenting on the cotton industry, remarked: "the industry is now fully established in Ireland, and holds out strong hopes of its future success and prosperity."[2]

In 1755 cotton yarn was used in weaving by Curry, Newson & Co. in Cork.[3] At the turn of the 19th century, Bandon was the largest seat of the industry in the County. In 1810, Allman's cotton mills were considered to be as well equipped as many cotton factories in England. They contained 10,000 spindles and afforded employment to some 300 persons.[4]

The industry became gradually more extensive particularly in the city, being admirably situated for the import of raw material the export of manufactured goods and having an abundant supply of water for spinning mills. It appears from the minutes of the meeting of the Committee of Merchants, held on 30th January, 1800,

1. G. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, (1921), p.308.
2. Wakefield, Vol. I, p.705.
3. C. Gill, The Rise of the Linen Industry, (1925), p.228.
4. Cork: It's Trade and Commerce, Official Handbook of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping, 1919, p.55.

that cotton was manufactured on a large scale by Henry Sadlier & Co. in the city. The following was stated in the minutes:[1]

Resolved:

That the extensive cotton manufacture established by Henry Sadlier & Co. in this city and neighbourhood of Cork, has been of great general utility to this county; that it gives employment to many thousands of people, men, women and children and that any derangement therein would be a public calamity in as much as those depending thereon must necessarily be deprived of bread for themselves and their families.

In the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 3rd June, 1803, the following notice appeared:

WATERCOURSE COTTON MANUFACTORY

Edward Dooly informs his friends that he has commenced the manufacture of corduroys, thickets, velveteens, etc., He will cut and finish for the public in a neat and expeditious manner.

In 1805 there were three cotton manufactories flourishing in the city.[2] By 1812, the number had increased to 5.[3] Apparently, there were a number of people in the neighbourhood of the city engaged in the manufacture on a small scale. The following notice would suggest that such was the case:[4]

COTTON MANUFACTURE IN THIS COUNTY

So many persons now living in this county, live by the manufacturing of cotton, bringing it severally in small parcels to market that three gentlemen of verylarge capital, extensive intelligence and competent experience, have embarked in the spirited and liberal speculation of affording a constant market to small manufacturers and becoming themselves as it were, mere factors to the public. They are

1. CBM. MSS. Committee of Merchants Minute Book. 1792-1819, dated 30th January, 1800.
2. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.
3. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.
4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 29th December, 1802.

also preparing extensive mills and taking other measures in aid of effectual extension of this manufacture through this county.

Will West in his Directory of 1810, refers to 'extensive cotton mills in Blarney'. In that same year the following notice appeared in the Chronicle on 10th December.

BLACKPOOL CANDLEWICK MANUFACTORY

Miles Edwards begs leave to inform his friends that he has arranged a partnership with Mr. Seaver of Dublin. The cotton business will be carried on under the name of Stephenson, Seaver & Co.

Hugh McCall, in Ireland and her Staple Manufactures, stated:[1] 'there were five calico printing presses in Cork in 1812. A concern at Islandbridge, was owned by Mr. Henry, pushed on with great energy. He printed for the London market where it is said he sold his goods at a profit of one guinea, a piece'.

There was a considerable variety in the cotton fabrics manufactured in Cork. It ranged from the finest - muslin, both plain and coloured; plain and coloured calico; velveteen, or an imitation velvet made from cotton; to the coarser fabrics which included corduroy, and thickets and candlewick which employed the coarser parts of the cotton wool.

The growth of the cotton manufacture in Cork reacted on the linen industry, considerably. These two industries were closely akin in the process of manufacture but were to some extent, rivals. They competed for a supply of capital, management and labour and in time of rising prices, cotton served as a cheap substitute for several kinds of linen goods. Conrad Gill, in the Rise of the Linen Industry, states the case as follows:[2]

1. H. McCall, Ireland and her staple manufactures, (1870), p.473.
2. C. Gill, The rise of the Irish Linen industry, (1925), pp.236-238.

'In one or two respects, the Irish cotton trade as a whole was from the beginning distinctly more advanced in organization, than the linen trade. The raw material was all imported in bulk and was bought by the owners of spinning mills. The imported yarn was either bought straight from the spinners in Lancashire and Scotland by manufacturers who had credit with them or was sold by the spinners, through commission agents to the manufacturers. Those methods of sale implied that the weaver could not provide his own yarn but must depend for his supply on some one of large capital. In that case the weaver would almost necessarily work for a wage. In the Irish cotton trade employment for wage seems to have been practically universal. A certain amount of capital which would have been applied to the linen manufacture, must have been drawn away to the rival industry. In the early days of machine spinning, the cotton trade yielded large profits to mill owners and at the same time allowed a substantial income to weavers. The weaving of cotton, especially muslin offered a better livelihood than any but the highest quality of linen weaving. The result was that men and women alike turned to the manufacture of cotton'.

It was especially in towns and cities such as Cork that linen was really ousted by cotton. Weavers of coarse linen, commonly learned to weave cotton as well, turning from one to the other according to the state of the markets. Many weavers of fine linen also found that it was worth while learning to weave muslin, so that there was a great mobility of labour between the two trades.[1] The new demand for labour in the cotton industry must have tended to give a scarcity value to linen weaving and thus, to increase the weavers' wages.

If cotton and linen were rivals for the factors of production they competed still more strongly as goods for consumption. Cotton must have been a serious competitor for such uses as wearing apparel,

1. C. Gill, The rise of the linen industry in Ireland, (1925), p.241.

sheetings, linings, upholstery, etc. Seeing that the price of cotton goods was actually falling between 1790 and 1815[1] when most prices were rising substantially, cotton would have been often preferred, even for purposes for which linen was intrinsically better suited. Gill concludes however, 'that the cotton trade did a great service to its rival of compelling reforms particularly the improvement of organization and the use of machinery.'[2]

William Preston, in his "Essay on the natural advantages of Ireland, the manufactures to which they are adapted and the best means of improving those manufactures 1801", gives the following interesting explanation of the progress of the cotton manufacture:[3]

'The astonishing progress of the cotton manufacture may be ascribed to a great and general revolution of fashions, in the furniture of houses and the wearing apparel of persons of both sexes, which has substituted the light, cheap and elegant fabrics of this manufacture, for the more costly trappings of silk, woollen, velvets and satin.'

It seems reasonable to expect that a growing population in Cork city and county [4] provided a considerable local market for the manufactured cotton goods. Nevertheless there is evidence of a considerable export of cotton goods from Cork in the early years of the 19th century. The following figures show that the export of muslin was subject to considerable fluctuation:[5]

1. Gill, The rise of the Irish linen industry, (1925), p.242.
2. ibid., p.243.
3. Royal Irish Academy Transactions, Vol. IX, 1801 - '3, p.241.
4. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7., Abstract of Census of Ireland, 1821.
5. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

EXPORT OF MUSLIN FROM CORK

compared with the total export from Ireland.

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (yds.)	From Ireland (yds.)
1801	246	246
1802	750	750
1803 - '8	-	-
1809	3,515	186,870
1810	800	800
1811	24	81
1812	24	5,832
1813	-	-
1814	1,577	1,577

It appears from the following returns that the export of a fabric made from a mixture of cotton and linen, was steadier and more extensive:[1]

EXPORT OF COTTON AND LINEN MANUFACTURE FROM CORK

compared with the total export from Ireland

Year end 5th Jan.	From Cork (value)	From Ireland (value)
1802	£2,111- 5- 0	£2,285- 1- 0
1803	£2,081- 9- 5	£2,966- 7- 6
1804	£ 556-11-10	£ 616- 6- 0
1805	£1,743- 4- 3	£4,269- 2-11
1806	£1,009-16- 6	£2,872-14- 4
1807	£4,849-15- 6	£7,345-14-11
1808	£2,895-17- 0	£6,149-19- 0
1809	£2,138-17- 0	£13,528-16- 5
1810	£2,349- 0- 0	£8,022-16- 7
1811	£5,047-13- 1	£22,683- 7-11
1812	£1,354- 5- 9	£11,470- 2-11
1813	£2,060- 1- 7	£14,634-11- 2
1814	£2,407- 3- 0	£3,616-13- 0

The progress of the cotton industry was certainly assisted by the high import duty retained on calicoes and muslins up to 1808.

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

The abatement of the tax to 10% between 1808 and 1816 does not seem to have immediately greatly affected the trade. The embargo on export from the U.S.A. to the British Isles followed by the war of 1812-14, which impeded the export of raw cotton from the U.S.A. were contributory causes of the general decline noticeable in the above figures 1808-14. Cotton goods were mainly exported to Portugal, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua and New York.

CHAPTER VIII

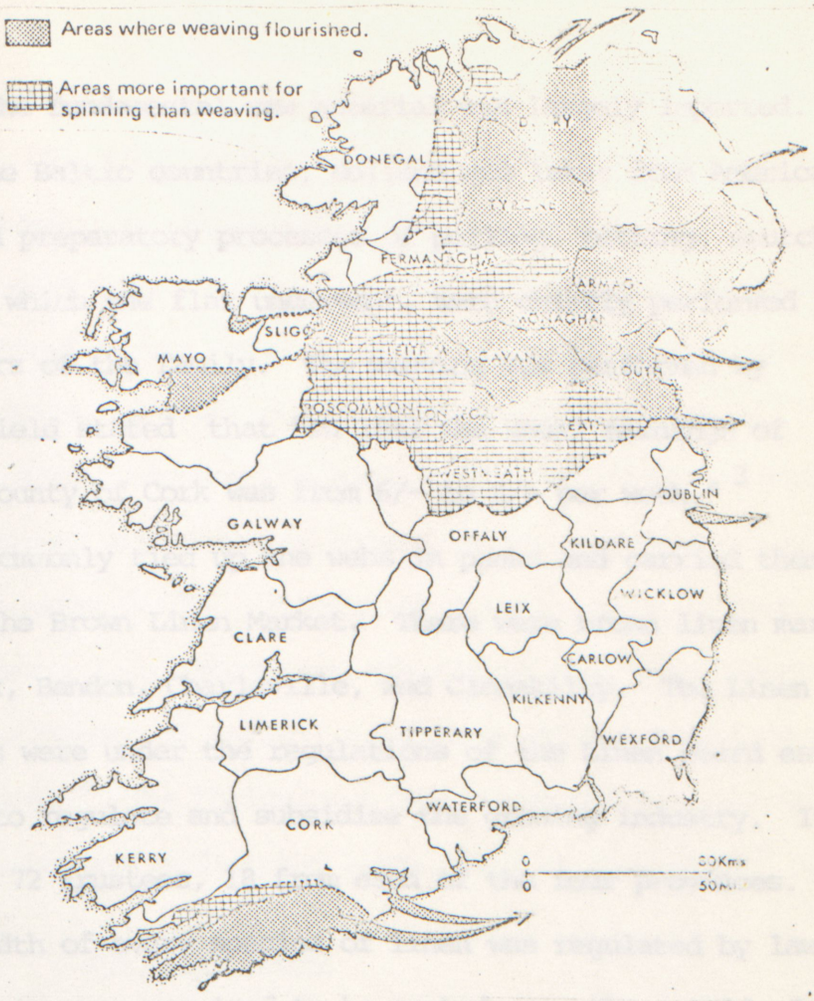
THE LINEN INDUSTRY - MAINLY A DOMESTIC INDUSTRY - LOCATION - PROCESSES IN THE MANUFACTURE OF LINEN CLOTH - THE LINEN BOARD - CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM 1802 - REGULATION OF THE BROWN LINEN MARKETS - ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE SAVING OF FLAX SEED AND MACHINE-SPINNING - BLEACHING AND FINISHING PROCESSES CARRIED ON IN THE CITY-CORK SPECIALIZED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF SAIL-CLOTH - CIRCUMSTANCES UNFAVOURABLE TO THE EXPANSION OF THE INDUSTRY IN CORK - CHANGE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRY.

At the beginning of the 19th century the manufacture of Linen in Co. Cork as in other parts of the country was essentially a domestic industry and carried on largely in conjunction with agriculture.[1] Cork was well suited in the matter of soil and climate for flax production and linen manufacture. The moist atmosphere helped spinning and bleaching alike and the abundance of water was an important asset in the days when water was used to drive machinery in the bleach-works. Moreover, flax crops would be grown remuneratively on the small holdings as well as on the large.[2]

The following[3] map indicates where the linen was mainly manufactured. The "manufacturers" were mainly small farmers or farm labourers and their families. A certain amount of flax was grown at home by the weavers. Wakefield gives the following statistics for the year 1809:[4]

County	Total no. of acres sown with flax	Total no. of bushels of flax saved out of the crop	Total no. of bushels on which bounty is likely to be paid	Rate	Amount
Cork	1,462	4,481	1,794	5/-	£448-10
Total in Ireland	76,742	94,145	71,405	5/-	£17,851-5

1. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, 1921, p.316.
2. Gill, C. The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, (1925), p.10.
4. Wakefield, Vol. I. p.685.
3. See p. 79b.



ap to show the extent of the
mmercial linen handloom weaving
dustry at its peak about 1810..

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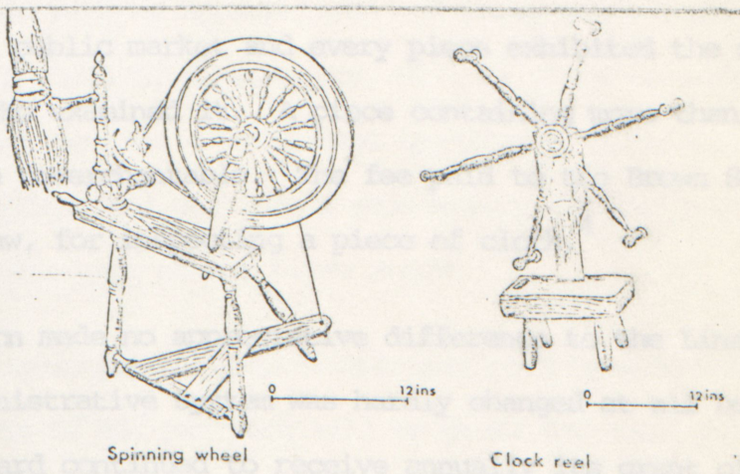
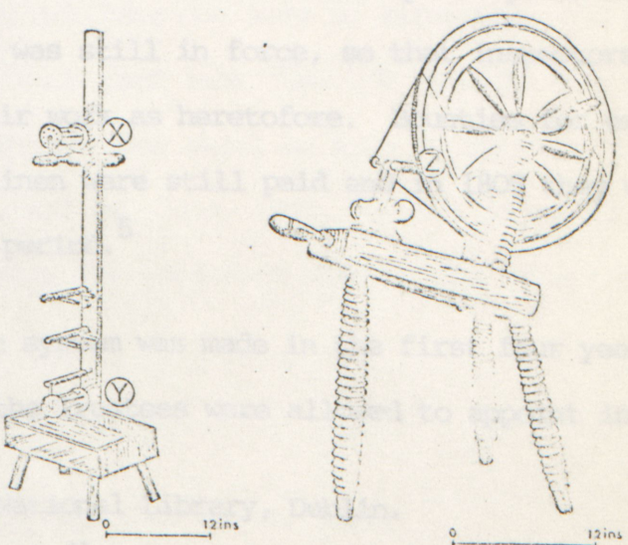


Spinning wheel

Clock reel

Diagram showing the relationship between spinning-wheel, clock reel, swift and pirn winder. The yarn was spun on the spinning wheel. Before it could be sold it had to be wound on a clock reel. The reel was 2½ yards in circumference; 120 threads, each thread being equal to one round, made a cut; 12 cuts made a hank and 4 hanks made a spangle. Yarn was sold by spangles, hanks and cuts.

The weaver who bought the yarn needed the bundles wound on to bobbins, or pirns. The bundle was stretched over the rollers (x) and (y) on the swift, and the thread drawn on to the bobbin (z) by turning the handle of the pirn-winder. (The diagram is based on illustrations taken from the Ulster Museum publication *Spinning Wheels*)



Swift

Pirn winder

31

W. H. Crawford, Insights into Irish History; Domestic Industry in Ireland, pp. 5, 31.

Flax seed, the fundamental raw material was largely imported. This came from the Baltic countries, Holland and later from America.[1] The spinning, and preparatory processes of pulling, retting, scutching and hackling which the flax underwent, were chiefly performed by the female members of the family. The weaving was performed by the men.[2] Wakefield stated that "in 1812 the usual earnings of weavers in the county of Cork was from 6/- to 8/- per week."[3] The women most commonly tied up the webs in packs and carried them on their backs to the Brown Linen Market. There were brown linen markets held in Cork, Bandon, Charleville, and Clonakilty. The Linen and Yarn markets were under the regulations of the Linen Board established in 1711 to regulate and subsidise the growing industry. It was composed of 72 trustees, 18 from each of the four provinces. The length and breadth of every species of linen was regulated by law- those measurements were required to be marked upon the outside fold of all linen sold in public market and every piece exhibited the seal of the seal master who examined it. A piece containing more than three holes was held to be unmerchantable. The fee paid to the Brown Seal Master was 1d. by law, for inspecting a piece of cloth.[4]

The Act of Union made no appreciative difference to the Linen Industry. The administrative system was hardly changed at all before 1823. The Linen Board continued to receive annually its grant of £20,000 The regulating Act of 1782 was still in force, so that inspectors and seal-masters continued their work as heretofore. Bounties for export of sail-cloth and coarse linen were still paid and in 1805 they were renewed for an indefinite period.[5]

The only change in the system was made in the first four years of the century. In 1802 the Trustees were allowed to appoint inspec-

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. O'Brien, p.316; Gill, p.41.
3. Wakefield, Vol. I. p.685.
4. Report of the Select Committee on the Linen Trade of Ireland, 1822, P.P. Vol. VII, pp.13, 14, 29: W. H. Crawford, Domestic Industry in Ireland, (1972), p.3.
5. 45 Geo. III. C. 18.

tors in the chief seaports to examine imported seed, flax, hemp and yarn[1]. By Act of 1804 they were given leave to raise one of the inspectors to the position of Inspector General for the whole of Ireland. In the same Act, it was stated that if a buyer of Irish linen in England complained of the price of cloth, an agent of the Linen Board should summon a few experts from three to five merchants, drapers or bleachers to examine the cloth and report their verdict to him. The Trustees acting on the Report of the "jury" would award any damages that might be due. During these early years of 19th century, the Trustees only undertook two new functions of any importance, namely the encouragement of machine - spinning and the endowment of mills for scutching.[2] The following is typical of the notices which appeared in the newspapers from the Linen Board at this time:[3]

THE LINEN BOARD

The sum of £8,000 will be appropriated and every encouragement which the LInen Board shall find necessary, will be given to such persons as shall contract to make a sufficient quantity of spindles in Ireland, and to establish and continue a manufactory thereof under the protection and patronage of the Linen Board.

As a further encouragement towards spinning yarn by spindle, a bounty after the rate of 2d. per yard will be given for each yard of sail-cloth, canvas, duck or drilling not less in value than 1/4 per yard, and1½d. per yard for each yard less than 1/4 in value but not under 1/-; the waft and weft whereof shall be spun by spindles as worked between June 1st. 1808, and 1st June, 1809, for the first 500,000 yards which shall be actually and bona fide sold by the makers thereof in each year.

1. 42 Geo. III. c. 75.
2. Gill, pp. 281, 282.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 23rd March, 1808.

One of the most important duties of the Linen Board was the regulation of the Brown Linen markets. The system of sealing which had been in use during the 18th century was strengthened by the appointment of county and provincial inspectors in 1782. New seals were issued in 1802, for the Board decided that a distribution every 3 years would enable them to keep a tighter hand on the seal masters. There was no re-issue of seals after this time and for the next 15 years the business of sealing continued without any change of system. The system of sealing was designed as a means of enforcing regulations. It gave to the buyer a definite legal guarantee, so that if his cloth was unsatisfactory he could always recover damages by a simple process. The usual procedure was for the buyer to examine his purchases at home and to report any faults in sealing to the inspector. It was the inspector's duty to lodge a complaint before a magistrate and to collect the fine. The inspector was present at the markets to settle disputes between buyers and sellers, or between weavers and sealmasters and to see that laws against forestalling and regrating were observed. There were however, drawbacks to the system of inspection as carried out in the early 19th century. In the first place, seeing that weavers could not spend time to come twice a week to the same market, inspection had to be carried out on the market day and was therefore quite as hurried in practice as if examined by private buyers (drapers). Secondly, the sealmasters who were paid by the piece, were always tempted to overlook faults in manufacture.[1]

The Linen Board was greatly concerned about the supply and quality of the raw material for the Linen industry. Imported flax seed had to be inspected by inspectors specially appointed by the Board, before it could be sold. In 1808 the supply of home-grown flax was only half of that normally used so that the Board was obliged to take steps to gain a further supply. In 1809 and 1810 the Board secured a special grant of £20,000 for the encouragement of saving flax seed at home.[2]

1. Gill, pp. 282-286.
2. See page 79b.

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The money was used to pay premiums of 35/- a hogshead for all seed saved from the crop of 1809. Thus the Trustees did a real service in helping the industry over a severe crisis.[1] The Trustees also encouraged machine-spinning by granting bounties of 30/- each for each spindle driven by water power between the years 1803-1811. During the first six years of the century, five-sixths of the spindles were set in the southern provinces, especially for the sail-cloth manufacture in Cork. Grants were given for machine spinning to 5 firms in Cork city. These were closely connected with another set of bounties offered for the manufacture of canvas, sail-cloth and duck.[2] Wakefield gives the following account of the grants received by the Cork firms during these years:[3]

Date of payment	Claimant's name	Sail cloth	Duck & canvas	Drilling	Bounty per yard	Sums paid
Nov.1, 1803	J.Besnard					£518-7-9
Nov.15 1805	J.Besnard	71,328			3d.	£948-12-0
Jan.7 1806	J.Besnard	15,328			3d.	£191-12-0
Apr.20 1807	P. & J. Besnard		12,570		2d.	£104-15-0
	"			14,000	1½d.	£ 87-10-0
	"	66,682			2d.	£555-13-0
	"			4853	1½d.	£ 30-6-7
June 2 1807	E.Shanahan	4,421			2d.	£ 36-16-10
	"			6,998	1½d.	£ 43-14-7
1808	Sir T.Fitzgerald		112,782		2d.	£939-17-0
	J. Besnard	73,054			2d.	£608-15-8
	P.& J. Besnard		50,264		2d.	£418-17-4
	"		37,423		1½d.	£233-17-10
	Denis Connor		24,710		2d.	£205-19-8

It would appear from the above that Mr. Besnard was an important linen manufacturer. Wakefield describes him as 'flourishing'; and

1. Gill, p.292.
2. ibid., p.295.
3. Wakefield, Vol. I. p.691.

states that in addition to the manufacture of linen, 'Mr. Besnard's manufacture of ropes from tow, has considerably increased during the war'.[1]

The following incident would suggest that not all the manufacturers of linen in Cork city were men of integrity and that the funds of the Trustees were rather loosely administered. The firm of E & H. Shanahan which had been suspected of fraud in 1810, was openly accused 5 years later. Their partner, Williams, had left them owing to grave suspicions concerning their integrity. In 1815, he found that they had obtained £7,000 by means of false claims for bounties and gave information to the Board, but the Shanahans succeeded in disappearing with their booty.[2]

When the Cork weavers had woven their cloth, they usually disposed of it in the brown, unmanufactured state. The bleaching and finishing processes were managed by men of greater substance, in the city of Cork. The normal business of the draper (buyer) was to buy brown linen for cash, to contract for the bleaching and finishing where these processes were needed and then later to dispose of the white cloth to merchants or exporters. Even in the last years of the 18th century the position of the drapers began to be assailed by wealthy merchants who used more advanced methods and could give larger credit.[3]

Cork specialized in the manufacture of sail cloth. It was the largest centre of this manufacture in Ireland. The Linen Board in an effort to encourage the establishment of this trade by machinery, continued to support the industry by grants to Julius Besnard from 1801 onwards. The manufacture prospered during the war years when Government contracts provided a sure market for this type of cloth.[4] John Horner in The Linen Trade of Europe states[5] that 'the combined manufacture of the Cork manufacturers of sail cloth for 7 years at the be-

1. Wakefield, Vol. I. p.692.
2. Gill, pp.301,302.
3. ibid., pp.49-51.
4. ibid., p.126. 5. Horner, J. The Linen Trade of Europe, (1920), p.109.

ginning of the century amounted to 230,000 yards and that the Linen Board had granted over £6,000 for the encouragement of this manufacture in Cork city up to 1808.'

Will West in his Cork Directory of 1810, gives the following interesting account of the linen manufactory of J. Besnard & Sons, Douglas: 'The manufactory of Messers. J. Besnard is the greatest in the kingdom; begun in 1726 when 40 looms were at first erected and since that at different times there have been considerable additions made so that there are now a 100 looms at work and about 250 persons constantly employed in hackling, bleaching, weaving and more than 500 spinners, many of whom come from about 7 miles for work which occasions a weekly expense of about £60 for labour only. There is a magazine for the hemp and yarn, and a fine water mill for pounding the hemp and ashes and a convenient bleach yard in the middle of which is a large dry-house for the yarn, in bad weather. There are houses and gardens for the master workmen, for which they do not pay any rent and to which the journeymen, who do the best and most work, are promoted when vacancies happen. A great part of the cloth has been much esteemed in England. The manufacture is increasing. Upwards of 1,000 hands are now employed in these extensive concerns; Messers. J. Besnard & Sons also have at a short distance away, an extensive rope walk.'[1]

The following advertisement in the Cork Advertiser and Commercial Register of 20th November, 1801, indicates the range of the retail business of the same Company:

J. J. & P. Besnard

Have for sale, at Lavitt's Quay opposite the Custom House
Sail Cloth and Cordage
Tarpaulin
Sacks single and double
Bags
Hemp and flax dressed

Sails made and every article in the ship line supplied at the shortest notice.

1. West, W. Cork Directory, 1810, p.55.

Townsend, in his Statistical Survey of the Co. Cork in 1810, describes the establishment of a new linen manufactory as follows:

'A cotton mill of some extent erected by Mr. Thomas Deaves had experienced a failure. It has been changed into a flax and hemp spinning mill and linen manufactory. There are now at full work in the concern, 1,500 spindles giving employment to many children of the vicinity. Sheeting of superior quality, camp equipage, sail cloth, etc. are manufactured in the neighbourhood from yarn spun in the works. The proprietor, J. B. O'Sullivan, was fortunate enough to have laid in such a stock of flax as was sufficient to meet the late scarcity of that article. He was, therefore, able to keep the neighbouring weavers at work and even give employment to many distressed tradesmen in Cork'.[1]

The linen industry as a whole in Cork was by no means unaffected by natural calamities and war during the first 15 years of the 19th century. In the two years following the upheaval of 1798 a general failure of harvest spread famine over the country. There are no figures to show whether or not flax crops were as bad as corn crops but the weavers at such a time could hardly keep up a full production of cloth. These troubles passed but others emerged. The competition of cotton was a more permanent problem for the manufacturers of linen. These two trades competed for the supply of capital, labour and management and in this time of rising prices, cotton served as a cheaper substitute for several kinds of linen. The higher wages to be earned in the weaving of cotton attracted many of the linen weavers. The war also raised difficulties for the producers of flax and linen. The special difficulty was the high cost of raw material and the necessity of keeping the price of cloth as low as possible, in view of the low price of cotton. There were no great Government contracts, apart from those for sailcloth to maintain the

1. H. Townsend, Statistical Survey of the Co. of Cork, (1810), p.676.

strength of demand. Thus there was a great need for economy in production.

The difficulty in regard to raw material can best be understood by a study of the prices of Russian flax between 1792 and 1815. The price rose from about £34 in 1792 to £63 in 1802 and again to £115 in 1809. After the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, there was a great scarcity of Russian flax, until the reaction in Russia against Napoleon's Continental System led to a renewal of trade in 1810, and the export had scarcely begun when it was stopped again by Napoleon's Moscow Campaign. It was not until the last year of the war that the Russian trade returned to anything like a normal state. There was, however, a considerable supply of home grown flax in Cork but it was no simple matter to keep up this supply. Most of the seed came in normal times from the U.S.A. But the dispute in regard to the right of search of neutral vessels led in 1809 to an embargo on export from U.S.A. to the British Isles. This was followed three years later by a war between U.S.A. and Great Britain, which again cut off supplies of flax seed from Ireland.[1] That the stopping of the American supplies had serious consequences for the linen industry in Cork can be seen from the export figures for this period. Even the alternative Dutch and Riga seeds were cut off by Napoleon's Continental System and although the Berlin Decrees were already loosing force, when the American War began, the years 1809-1814 were difficult years for the linen trade in Ireland as a whole. Manufacturers were driven to rely on homegrown flax and homegrown seed as soon as existing stocks of foreign seed had been exhausted. By the end of 1813 the trade began to look up. The difficulties were met with a fair measure of success. Conrad Gill attributes this to the fact that in spite of the high cost of flax and seed, the price of linen cloth did not rise by any means in proportion. The continuance of low prices he attributes

1. Gill, pp.220-224.

to the low price of labour; which in turn he accounts for in terms of the local supplies of food stuffs. The country weaver in Co. Cork could grow enough potatoes and oats to supply the staple food of his household and could graze a cow so that he could be comparatively little affected by the level of food prices, not so the city weaver. These workers who depended largely on money wages suffered from the high price of food and the low wages.[1]

The following table shows the trend in the linen trade of Cork between 1801-1815:[2]

TOTAL EXPORT OF PLAIN AND COLOURED LINEN FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland (in yards).

	PLAIN LINEN		COLOURED LINEN	
Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1801	1,399,798	33,592,539	76,222	76,222
1802	1,638,904	33,444,434	92,984	142,853
1803	1,016,300	34,862,750	19,113	120,879
1804	924,948	32,477,382	79,301	137,489
1805	1,285,236	35,810,080	77,700	127,091
1806	1,332,740	40,656,455	70,297	148,562
1807	1,202,339	40,060,299	89,820	111,294
1808	1,337,787	35,978,937	105,394	152,424
1809	1,829,511	38,280,244	73,759	82,014
1810	1,429,294	40,635,744	66,197	103,180
1811	864,389	31,887,693	16,862	49,300
1812	968,635	30,395,533	23,123	32,626
1813	882,364	29,694,519	29,726	48,737
1814	1,231,809	31,910,092	304	28,661
1815	1,373,758	44,205,790	360	2,204

Seeing that through all history, increase in trade, has been one of the underlying causes of progress in economic organization, it is not surprising to find that there were no great changes in the

1. Gill, pp.224-227.

2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

methods of making linen in Cork, during the early years of the 19th century. Several of the chief factors of the old system continued with little change down to 1820. A large percentage of the spinning was done by hand, weaving remained a domestic industry. Brown linen markets flourished where purchasing was still done with ready money. Nevertheless while the general appearance of the industry was little altered, certain improvements took place to save the industry from being overborne by hostile forces. The measure of success was the comparatively small reduction in sales during the Napoleonic War. Those responsible for the measures of improvement were chiefly the bleachers, the chief class of manufacturers. The cost of bleaching had risen more in proportion than that of spinning or flax production. An Act passed in 1804 gave formal recognition to the use of hydrochloric acid in bleaching.[1] The bleachers who could now afford to buy this chemical, could save an amount of time and economy of time was one of the main problems of the bleachers. New measures were devised to replace the old methods of washing by hand, for calendering and beetling but these measures were expensive. A well-equipped bleach-yard in Cork in the early 19th century would cost £3,000, a large sum for those days. Where the improvements were adopted in Cork the cost of bleaching in a few years was reduced from 3d. to 1¼ per yard.[2]

There was an additional effect of the newly adopted measures, namely that since these involved capital and enterprise, trade now tended to be engrossed by the bigger and more prosperous firms at the expense of the smaller. As the demand for linen was not increasing, the existing trade fell into the hands of a few large firms in Cork city, already named. The bleaching and finishing processes were gradually controlled entirely by large employers. The commercial enterprise of these great bleaching firms was as important as the industrial side of their work and helped quite as much in their rise to power. In buying, through their own agents, the bleachers even-

1. Gill, p.281.

2. ibid., p.246.

tually changed the commercial organization of the industry in Cork.[1]

1. Gill, pp. 246-249.

THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY - CAUSES OF RETARDATION OF THE INDUSTRY IN IRELAND AS A WHOLE -LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY IN CORK CITY - MAINLY A DOMESTIC INDUSTRY - CIRCUMSTANCES UNFAVOURABLE TO THE EXPANSION OF THE INDUSTRY IN CORK CITY - TRENDS IN THE IMPORT AND EXPORT OF OLD AND NEW DRAPERY, WOOLLEN AND WORSTED STOCKINGS AND YARN - MARKETS

The woollen industry gave perhaps the most pointed contradiction to Castlereagh's prophecy of the prosperity which the manufactures were to experience after the Union. Even though the Act of Union secured that the home market for Irish woollen manufacture remained protected from the importation of English woollen goods by a 10% duty, various circumstances operated to retard the progress of the industry as a whole in Ireland in the early 19th century.[1]

George O'Brien lists in the first place "the fact that Ireland was not a mutton consuming country and that consequently sheep were not encouraged."[2] To this, Wakefield adds, "another great impediment to the development of the Irish woollen industry lies in the prevalence of the domestic manufacture of woollen goods; the minute division of land which renders every man an artificer, making the women become the manufacturers of their own clothing. All the wool that is shorn is made into frieze and linsey by the proprietors of the stock, who cards, spin, weave, dye and consume it. It may be established that, except in the Eastern part of the province of Ulster, the domestic manufacture of woollen goods is everywhere prevalent, without the due division of labour which can render it of any benefit to the country."[3] William Preston in his "Essay on the Natural Advantages of Ireland, the manufactures to which they are adapted and the best means of improving those manufactures" states:

1. C. H. Oldham, Irish Woollen Industry, (1909), p. 21.

2. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, 1921, p.298.

3. Wakefield, An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political, Vol. I, pp. 729, 758.

"The woollen manufacture labours under serious disadvantages; the powerful rivalry of England and France make it difficult for the woollens of Ireland to find a place in the markets which are pre-occupied by the superior skill and capital of the neighbouring countries. The want of fuel which prevails, must operate to prevent this manufacture from becoming as general as it might otherwise prove, by the increased expense, which it necessarily induces, in several processes as the dying and pressing of woollen fabrics for which a considerable application of fire is necessary. But the great disadvantage is the superior price and scarcity of wool in this country and the present inferior quality of the Irish fleece, our wool is now not fit for the manufacture of broad cloths. The scarcity of the commodity may be explained from the great quantity of sheep-walk now turned into tillage; and the bad quality of the wool from inattention or error in the breeders of sheep."[1] Yet in spite of the drawbacks, the industry increased during the years following the Act of Union. On account of the protection afforded by the Act, the English manufacturers were unable to find a market in Ireland for the coarser cloths.[2] Wakefield remarked that the industry was flourishing in Co. Cork, in 1810, though the manufacture may have decreased in Middleton.3 William Preston associated the progress of the industry in Cork city with the flourishing provision trade. In reference to it he remarked:

'The woollen manufacture derives considerable advantage from this circumstance; large quantities of grease and animal oil are furnished for the use of several wool-combers'.[4] There was in fact a considerable increase in the number of wool-combers listed in the Directories for these years. An increase of from 13 in 1805 to 19 in 1810.[5]

1. Royal Irish Academy Transactions, Vol. IX, 1801-1803, p.240.
2. O'Brien, p.299.
3. Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 718.
4. Preston, p. 196.
5. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7; Will West, Cork Directory, 1810.

The material advantages with which nature had endowed the County of Cork namely its pasture and climate peculiarly adapted to the raising of sheep, the abundance of water and spacious harbour, were also contributary casues of the development of the industry in Cork city.

The woollen and worsted manufacture was most extensively carried on by Martin Mahony & Bros. Ltd. The firm dates back to the year 1750 when Timothy Mahony started a small woollen mill at Glanmire near the city of Cork. Glanmire, however, was soon found tobe an inconvenient site for, as the business expanded, space, labour resources and transport difficulties presented problems for Timothy and his sons. In view of this, the mill was transferred across the river Lee to Rochestown where, to this day, remains of the original premises still exist. Rochestown, however also proved unsuitable and so, some decades later, the site was abandoned and the firm moved to new premises in Blackpool,north of the city. Here for close on fifty years the mill prospered, "producing cloths of a fine quality, which soon became firmly established favourites amongst local purchasers and were sought after by customers throughout the country". The mills were destroyed by fire in 1867 leaving only two documents which refer to the early days of the business, intact. One of these is the Articles of Co-Partnership between Timothy and his brother, Martin, signed 11th July, 1797, a copy of which is reproduced in Appendix No. 7.[1] The sums of money invested by the partners according to the Articles would suggest that the firm was quite an extensive one even at the end of the 18th century.

Boyle's Freeholder, 23rd May, 1822, gave the following account of the firm of Martin Mahony & Brothers, during the war years:

For several years has it happened during the war, that in the months of June, July and August, there has entered their stores, from

1. Two Hundred Years, The story of a family and an industry, 1750-1950 p. 2; Stratten's Dublin, Cork and south of Ireland, (1892), p.199.

£30,000 to £50,000 worth of wool, which has been all worked up and in the early part of the following year, delivered out, manufactured into several articles ofclothing for the army on this station and could we trace the variety of hands that must be employed in the several processes, from the raw material to its perfect manufactured state, viz. sorters, mashers, combers, spinners, weavers, dyers, pressers and many intermediate hands, we would be enabled to form some idea of the vast benefit of such an establishment to the working-classes, the more so when conducted by upright, intelligent men, who spared neither expense nor exertion to give their manufacture that character which has on many occasions elicited from the heads of the military department, their manifest approbation and acknowledgement of its superiority.

The official Handbook of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce & Shipping , 1919 commenting on the woollen industry at Blackpool at this time states:

'Blackpool was the scene of most of the attempts at industrial revival in Cork, after the Union. In this district efforts were made to start and revive the manufacture of broadcloth, blankets, flannels, hosiery, checks, thread, braid and rope.' [1]

Preston remarked that "at the beginning of the 19th century the manufacture of coarse carpet was quite considerable in Cork city." [2] William Shaw Mason, in his Parochial Survey of Ireland, 1816, commenting on the Parish of St. Mary's, Shandon, stated:
"The woollen manufacture has been extensively carried on for many years in this parish, by Richard Lane, Esq. & Sons." [3] He also stated that the frieze manufactured in the country and dyed blue in Cork was the principal article of clothing for the farmers.

1. Cork: Its trade and commerce; The official Handbook of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce & Shipping, 1919, p. 58.

2. Preston, p. 239.

3. Mason, W. S., Parochial Surveys of Ireland, 1816, pp. 375, 469.

In the early 19th century the manufacture of woollen cloth was largely a domestic industry in Co. Cork. The industry was carried on to a large extent by a number of small traders. Wakefield described the work of the small manufacturers as follows:

"In the manufacturing of their cloth and stuff, these poor people display great ingenuity; instead of using oil in the weaving, they extract in the Summertime the juice of the fern root which they find to answer their purpose and for dyeing they employ the indigenous vegetable products of the country, such as twigs of the alder, walnut, oak trees and elderberries."[1]

Cork was at a considerable disadvantage in having to import wool from abroad due principally to the deterioration of the Irish wool. England was in a position to take much larger cargoes at more favourable terms from Spain and Saxony, the main sources of supply up to 1830. In line with the manufacture of woollen cloth in Ireland as a whole, the industry in Cork city lacked the perfection of skill which characterized the carefully nurtured industry in England. The short period of freedom enjoyed between 1780 and 1800 could hardly restore the skill that was lost during the century of repression that started in 1698.[2]

Both the worsted and woollen branches of the industry were carried on in Cork, giving employment to a considerable number of woolcombers, spinners and weavers. The native Irish wool was essentially a worsted wool, that is a long staple lustrous fibre, deficient in the felting property of the woollen thread. The variety of stuffs manufactured from the worsted yarn, came under the heading New Drapery and included serges, kerseys, flannels and friezes. The fabric manufactured from woollen yarn was known as Old Drapery or broadcloth.

1. Wakefield, Vol. I, p. 758.
2. Burke, J. F., Industrial History of Ireland, (1940), pp. 222,223.

Hosiery of both woollen and worsted yarn were manufactured in Cork city.[1]

The application of machinery to the operation of combing and subsequent stages in the worsted industry, had been elaborated to a high degree of perfection in Yorkshire, since the first woolcombing machine was perfected in 1792, by Edward Cartwright. Improvements were made in the combing machines as well as in the spinning and weaving machines, originally intended for the cotton industry but gradually taken over by the woollen manufacturers in Yorkshire so that the perfection and scale of production reached there was unattainable in Cork, where the introduction of machinery was much slower.[2]

The trend in the export of New Drapery after 1807 would suggest that the industry was on the decline. The export of Old Drapery had been whittled down to 52 yards in 1813 and there is no indication that the export continued after that year. The following figures show the general trend:[3]

EXPORT OF OLD AND NEW DRAPERY FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland

Year end. 5th Jan.	NEW DRAPERY (yards)		OLD DRAPERY (yards)	
	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1801	4,301	5,301	250	250
1802	10,300	15,998	2,600	3,260
1803	23,519	27,563	677	1,726
1804	4,405	4,863	-	1,570
1805	15,395	21,635	500	938
1806	19,894	20,069	-	668
1807	24,524	28,067	-	1,663
1808	4,097	5,469	420	2,889
1809	3,105	14,447	6	659
1810	240	1,442	56	1,032
1811	704	4,632	181	2,906
1812	582	863	282	6,596
1813	17,528	18,320	52	2,921
1814	-	31	-	401

1. Oldham, C.H., 1909, Irish Woollen Industry, pp.14, 20.
2. Burke, p.21.
3. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

This decline in export was accompanied by a considerable import of both Old and New Drapery from England. In 1806 the import was as follows:[1]

New Drapery	76,512 yds.
Old Drapery	11,209 yds.
Ornamented Drapery	£7,004 - 4 - 11

The export of stockings, both worsted and woollen showed considerable fluctuation as shown by the following figures:[2]

EXPORT OF WOOLLEN AND WORSTED STOCKINGS
FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland

Year end. 5th Jan.	WOOLLEN STOCKINGS (prs)		WORSTED STOCKINGS (prs)	
	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1802	4,704	5,250	6,996	7,236
1803	-	-	1,965	1,965
1804	-	-	10,759	10,759
1805	55	55	5,127	6,519
1806	-	-	2,400	2,400
1807	-	-	-	-
1808	-	-	-	-
1809	-	-	-	-
1810	6,840	6,840	172	172
1811	2,148	2,652	1,692	1,692
1812	2,052	2,052	5,748	5,748
1813	2,400	2,400	3,432	3,432
1814	720	720	6,800	6,800

Napoleon's Continental System made the importation of wool from Spain or Saxony most difficult if not impossible from 1807 onwards and so contributed towards the decline of the woollen manufacture. There was however a significant export of worsted yarn from Cork to England during these early years of the 19th century to supply the needs of the advanced manufacture of worsted cloth in Yorkshire. The following table shows the general trend:[3]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. ibid.
3. ibid.

EXPORT OF WORSTED YARN FROM CORK 1801-1814

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (stones)	Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (stones)
1801	8,400	1808	7,596
1802	15,748	1809	4,114
1803	-	1810	1,297
1804	7,759	1811	3,412
1805	21,139	1812	93
1806	-	1813	2,516
1807	12,907	1814	2,469

In 1812 the low export of worsted yarn was balanced by 2,132 stones of woollen yarn exported from Cork, an export which continued.[1] E. J. O'Riordan, in Modern Irish Trade and Industry, describes an event which probably contributed to the decline of the woollen industry in Cork. He states:

'In 1810 a serious crisis occurred in the woollen industry. A large Government contractor failed, and his failure was followed by the bankruptcy of almost the entire woollen trade in Dublin.Credit was affected throughout the country, the banks refused to discount the woollen manufacturers' bills and a general crash took place.'[2]

There were in fact general reasons for the decline of the woollen industry in Cork. The increased export of beef and cattle tended to displace by cattle, the number of sheep reared, as the existence of a flourishing trade in the export of provisions offered a far more certain return than a manufacture which had to contend with competition from superior rivals in Great Britain.

While the export of woollen goods from Cork declined, the home market for same would have increased with the increase in population. (Abstract of Census of Ireland, 1821). Samuel Lewis, in his Topographical Dictionary gives an indication of the large output of the firm of Messers Lane. He states:[3]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. O'Riordan, E. J., Modern Irish Trade & Industry, (1920), p.17.
3. Lewis, Topgraphical Dictionary, (1837), p. 417.

'Messers Lane, for more than 20 years after the Union furnished the entire clothing for the Irish Army; their mills were situated at Riverstown.'

CORK GLASS MANUFACTURE - BASED ON CRAFTSMANSHIP - THE CORK GLASS CO., - HISTORY AND VARIETY OF ITS PRODUCTS - LOCAL AND FOREIGN MARKETS - RETURNS OF EXPORT OF GLASS WARE, DRINKING GLASSES AND GLASS BOTTLES - THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURING GLASS AS PRACTISED IN CORK IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY - DECORATION BY CUTTING AND ENGRAVING - THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CORK GLASS CO. PRODUCTS - DUTIES IMPOSED ON PLATE AND WINDOW GLASS

Cork glass-making provides a very interesting episode in the city's industrial history. For 60 years this industry produced great quantities of articles intrinsically and aesthetically valuable and when in 1840, it collapsed, a considerably gap was left in the city's industrial life. There was no industry based on craftsmanship to take its place.[1] Cork, though ideally suited for the importation of raw material and coal and the export of finished products, was not a "glass city" until 1783, when, under the stimulus of free trade local 'capitalists', Messers Hayes Burnett and Rowe, founded a glass factory, which continued to be known as "Cork Glass Co.". In their petition to Parliament for financial aid, they stated that they had sent an "agent to England to study the process, to procure the best materials and to employ experienced hands." Their outlay of £60,000 was rewarded "by the most ample set of materials and implements and the most able artificers England could supply". The Cork Glass Co. had however a very episodic career. The original partners traded under the name of Thomas Burnett & Glass House Co. In 1785 Rowe disappeared and in 1787 Burnett also. For the remaining years of its existence the following names were associated with the Company:

* Atwell Hayes & Co. 1787-
  Philip Allen became a partner of Hayes; a temporary closedown occurs, then
* A. Hayes & William Allen, 1792-'93
  a partner named Hickman joins
* A Hickman & Hayes 1793-
  New Cork Glass House name appears
* A. Hayes & Co. c. 1800
* Joseph Graham & Co. c. 1800-1804
  Associated names William Kellock, Joseph Salkeld
  1804 the partnership dissolves

1. "Cork Glass", in Cork Public Museum Guide.p. 43.

* Joseph Graham & Co. 1804-1810

* Smith, White & Co. 1810-1812
1812, White disappears

* William Smith & Co. 1812-1818

(The owners of the Cork Glass House are shown with an asterisk)[1]

The Cork Glass Co. was regarded as second only to the Waterford Glass House in quality and the individuality of its products[2] These products were varied and included cut lustres, lamps, globes, candlesticks, glasses for deserts and jellies, butter coolers, decanters and a great variety of drinking glasses. The prosperity of the business was not greatly affected by the Act of Union. Although the duties on the importation of glass were substantially reduced by the terms of that Act, the industry in Ireland did not suffer any serious injury owing to the fact that the material required for the manufacture could be obtained as cheaply in Ireland as in England and that the slight advantage that the English manufacturer possessed by reason of the cheap coal which he could obtain close at hand, was more than outweighed by the disadvantage, which he suffered by reason of the excise duty to which he was subjected.[3]

The bulk of the glass exported from Ireland prior to 1790, was of a very utilitarian type of vessel. Drinking glasses and decanters predominated.[4] After the Union a variety of glass ware was exported from Cork. The following table illustrates the trend in this export:[5]

1. Thorpe, W. A., History of English and Irish Glass, Vol. I, (1929) pp. 267-278; Warren, P, Irish Glass, The Age of Exuberance, (1970) pp. 48, 49.
2. Warren, p. 49.
3. O'Brien, G. The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, p. 360.
4. Warren, p. 56.
5. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

GLASS WARE EXPORTED FROM CORK 1802-1814
compared with the total export from Ireland. (value to nearest £).

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland
1802	£1,482	£6,524
1803	£1,295	£4,261
1804	£1,818	£9,073
1805	£2,054	£7,902
1806	£1,956	£7,735
1807	£2,709	£9,076
1808	£1,926	£10,389
1809	£2,900	£5,410
1810	£3,825	£16,124
1811	£2,694	£15,882
1812	£2,173	£4,196
1813	£3,032	£8,672
1814	£2,989	£8,918

There was a significant decline in the number of drinking glasses exported from Cork between 1801 and 1808 after which no figures are available to indicate any further export of such articles. The following figures illustrate this decline:[1]

EXPORT OF DRINKING GLASSES FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland 1801 - 1808

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork No.	From Ireland No.
1801	163,712	226,312
1802	138,679	308,027
1803	39,158	173,998
1804	11,644	64,456
1805	43,848	115,740
1806	12,160	131,024
1807	8,608	111,248
1808	28,480	36,832

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

This same downward trend is evident in the following export figures for glass bottles:[1]

EXPORT OF GLASS BOTTLES FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland 1803-14

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (doz.)	From Ireland (doz.)
1803	6,443	42,894
1804	10,414	19,442
1805	6,017	14,447
1806	7,773	22,665
1807	3,974	15,421
1808	2,966	8,006
1809	4,196	9,676
1810	2,689	15,236
1811	1,365	16,774
1812	1,323	8,319
1813	1,134	11,543
1814	1,052	4,549

These figures however are not a complete indication of the trend in the industry as a whole. It is very probable that more glass manufactured in Cork, stayed at home, to cater for the needs of the home market than the amount exported. The town and country residences would have constituted an avid market for Cork glass during this boom-period and one continually in need because glass of its very nature requires renewal. Besides, the growing population, many of whom were noted by contemporary visitors to the city for their hard-drinking habits, combined with the increase in the local sales of brewers and distillers, already noted, would suggest that the home market for jugs, bottles and drinking glasses, was on the increase.

The main exports of glass went to Portugal, Canada, England, Buenos Aires, New York, Trinidad and the West Indies. The export trade to Portugal, no doubt reflects a reciprocal trade in wines, port and rum.[2]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. Warren, p.100.

The substance which became the glass artist's medium in Cork in the early 19th century was a metal, the ingredients of which were of three kinds; the body, the flux, and the auxiliaries used to colour or clear the matter resulting from the fusion under heat, of the first two ingredients. The term "glass" was applied to the substance which resulted from the fusion of a siliceous body, sand, with the flux - an active mineral solvent, carbonate of potash, under great heat. The molten metal which resulted, could then be drawn, blown and moulded into hollow vessels which could be adapted repeatedly without losing their original shape. The ingredient used chiefly, to clear or colour the glass, was oxide of manganese.[1] The sand used was often imported from Lynn in Norfolk and the Isle of Wight; the potash came from Quebec.[2]

No essential change took place in the fabrication of the metal during the period under survey. There were three furnaces employed for this purpose. The first, known as the calcar, was used for preliminary calcination of the materials, which was necessary before they could be completely vitrified. The object of this process was to ensure a chemical union of the silica, alkali, and the metallic oxide at a moderate temperature. The second furnace in which the founding or vitrification of the material took place, was generally known as the working furnace. It was a structure of brick or clay, round outside and had a dome shaped roof, which terminated in a chimney and six apertures. The largest of the latter, called the 'great bocca' was the opening through which the crucible and fuel were introduced. Two smaller holes served for taking out the molten metal at the end of the blow pipe. The number of crucibles in each furnace varied from 6 to 12, according to the size of the furnace. The crucible or pots were large vessels capable of holding a ton of molten metal, and having domed tops and an opening at the side, nearest the wall of the furnace.[3]

1. Thorpe, pp. 7-10.

2. Elville, E.M., English and Irish Cut Glass, 1750-1950, (1953) p.69.

3. See Fig. 1. page 104b.



FIG. 1.
General view of a glasshouse, early 19th century.

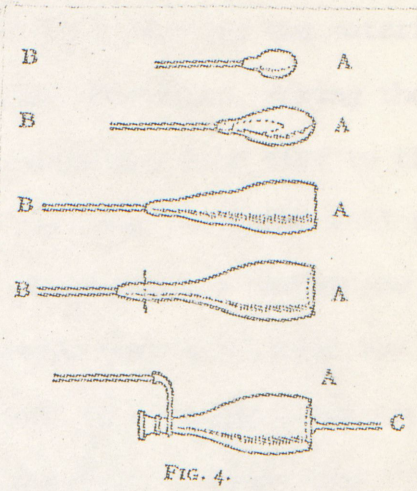

FIG. 4.
Putting rings round the neck of a decanter.
A. The paraison.
B. The blow-pipe.
C. The pontil or iron.



FIG. 5.
Blowing into a Mould.



FIG. 8.
Work at the chair

W. A. Thorpe, A History of English and Irish glass, Vol. I, pp. 30, 33, 35.

The crucibles, being set in the furnace and brought to a white heat, were filled with the frit (calcinated material), which was shovelled through the boccas. At the first heating the materials are changed but the bulk of the mixture decreases, during the time of vitrification, so that it became necessary from time to time to add a fresh portion of frit; and this was continued till the pots were filled with molten metal; whereupon the boccas was partly closed with wet clay, having an aperture just sufficient for the removal of impurities or the withdrawal of a sample of the metal for inspection. The materials, under the effect of heat, gave off by degrees, a white porous scum called sandiver or glass gall, which lay heavily on the surface of the metal and was skimmed off. It consisted of alkaline impurities and it was very necessary that it be removed at once lest it discolour the glass. When this had been done and the fluid metal brought to a fluid state, the heat of the furnace was abated, in order that the metal might cool somewhat and gain the consistency necessary for handling it. When the metal was sufficiently cooled, it was a tenacious mass, soft enough to register any touch of a tool, but capable of being bent without cracking, or drawn out into a long fine wire without ever parting by reason of its tenacity. It was then ready to be informed by the glass blower.[1]

The first of the glassman's implements, both in use and importance, was the blow-pipe. It was a hollow rod, or tube, 5 feet in length, (early 19th century). This the glass-blower inserted through one of the apertures in the wall of the furnace, dipped into the pot of metal, twirled it around several times and so collected upon the end, a sufficient quantity to form the article which he intended. If the vessel was to be of any great size, the rod was removed for a moment and exposed to the air, so that the surface of

1. Thorpe, Vol. I., pp. 29-32. See page 104b.

the glass already gathered was sufficiently cooled for a fresh portion to be added. When this had been done often enough, the blow pipe was held in a vertical position, so that the mass might be elongated by its own weight beyond the length of the rod. The glass was then rolled on the flat surface of a polished iron plate called the marver,[1] until it assumed a cylindroid shape called the paraison. The operator then applied his lips to the other end of the blow-pipe and blew strongly and steadily until the molten mass was gradually extended into a hollow shaped globe. The blowing had often to be repeated before the requisite size and thickness was attained. If an elongated shape was desired the glass blower swung the rod and its molten vessel with a regular motion like a pendulum, or whirled it in a circle above his head. In this way was produced the most elementary glass form from which all glass vessels were derived by one modification or another.[2]

The typical Cork decanter with its maker's name on the bottom was blown into mould and this was a regular method of signing a piece. When it had taken its rough delineation, it was necessary to detach it from the blowing iron and for this purpose a second instrument called pontil, was used. It was a solid iron rod, similar to the blow-pipe but lighter and shorter andmore within the control of the operator. On the end of it, an assistant collected a small quantity of molten metal from the pot and then applied it to the embryo decanter on the side opposite the pipe.[3] The two molten substances then united and the vessel was detached from the blow-pipe near the point of contact, by touching the neck with a drop of water (18th.c.) or a wet iron (19th.century) which cracked the hot glass, a slight tap then communicated the fracture all around the neck. The shrivelled fragments which fell to the ground were called 'cullet'. This was collected and stored for future use, being regarded as a necessary ingredient of every pot of metal, assisting the fusion of the raw materials. The collet

1. See Fig. I. page 104b.
2. Thorpe, Vol. I, p. 76.
3. See Fig. 4. page 104b.

being broken, the operator received the pontil, with the vessel attached from his assistant and gave it another heating in the furnace. He then took his seat at the glassmaker's chair. This was a hard board bench, with two flat horizontal arms extending some distance towards the front. The operator sat between the arms with the iron laid in front of him. He proceeded to roll it rapidly to and fro with his left hand and with his right hand he worked the glass vessel with the various tools that lay on the chair by his side.[1] The rotating motion thus imparted to the vessel, kept the molten vessel in a constant shape, while the other operations were in progress. The vessel could then be cut with a shears, opened out or crumpled.

If the operator was working on a decanter, his next step was to widen the neck a little and turn the edge outwards to form a horizontal rim and perhaps circling the neck with two or three rings of glass, a practice which was common in the early 19th century. For bowls, dishes, plates, the operator started as before with the hollow globe and then proceeded to cut away with his shears the upper parts, leaving the parts attached to the pontil, in the shape he desires. By repeatedly beating the vessel and twirling it with his left hand and tooling with his right, he reduced the globe to an open barrel and the open barrel to an almost flat disc required for plates or salvers. If a jug or vase was wanted, the original globe was pinced and pressed with tweezers until it accorded with the pattern from which he was working.

The making of stemmed vessels required separate treatment. A wine glass had three parts, bowl, stem and foot, and required three men to make it, the "footmaker", a "servitor" and a "boy". The footmaker began by gathering sufficient metal on his blow-pipe for the bowl. He then shaped it by blowing and marvering in the manner al-

1. See Fig. 8. page 104b.

ready described. The servitor then received it and dropped a small quantity of hot metal on the base of the bowl and by a repeating made the join perfect. He then drew out the stem from the blob of metal on the base of the bowl leaving a small knob at the end of the stem. Finally, he dipped the stem into the pot of molten metal and collected another blob of glass, which he squeezed with a pair of clappers and spread out to form the foot. The wine glass was then transferred from the blow pipe to the iron and the upper part of the bowl was reheated and trimmed with shears and adjusted to the requisite size. The vessel had then received its form. Such was the general method in use though there were variations.[1]

When vessels were to be decorated this was done either by engraving or by cutting. The method for both was in principle the same. There was only this difference, the engraver's work was mainly representational design or elaborate formal decoration. Cutting was a less delicate business and sought to exploit the chief aptitude of the metal - its capacity for light. For cutting and the deeper type of engraving, it was necessary that the glass should be made heavy and strong, lest the cutting pass right through the vessel. The glass cutter worked in front of a frame in which there was a rotating iron disc. This was operated by an assistant who turned by hand a large fly-wheel connected with it by a belt. The disc had a bevelled edge and fine thread of sand and water fell upon it from a receptacle which hung above. The actual cutting was performed by the abrasive action of the sand and the workman held the vessel very gently against the edge of the wheel, following the design in diagonal lines across it. When the whole pattern had been worked out in rough, the glass was taken to another frame for smoothing. Here the wheel was of stone and the abrasive medium much finer. The supreme polish was given on a wooden wheel and by rotating brushes.

1. Thorpe, Vol. I., pp. 29-36.

The process of engraving was similar to that of cutting but it required to be done more delicately and employed a wider range of tools. The abrasion was performed by a series of small fine, copper wheels of different sizes, ranging from a quarter of an inch in diameter. It required great skill not merely to use the wheel but to discern what graduation of wheel to select for a particular type of work or a particular stage of it.[1]

It is clear from its origin already noted, that Cork glass was not an independent art but basically a complex of English traditions.[2]

It did however respond to changing conditions and in the course of time developed a unique style, both in cutting and in engraving during the period which has been dubbed "The Age of Exhuberance".[3]

Designs are among the most reliable of guide lines to identification. The characteristics of the Cork Glass Co. can best be illustrated by reference to the following examples:

There are three different types of profiles to the Cork decanters; there is the rounded full body as shown in plate 5A;[4] the squat type illustrated in plate 6A[5] and the mallet type as in plate 8B. Reasonably constant among Cork Glass Co. decanters are both a fairly wide lip and triple neckrings lightly notched. But there are variations. The Cork cut example, plate 7C[6] has square neck rings and a modest pouring lip; there are three triple neckrings and a modest pouring lip in the mallet example, plate 8B;[7] while the cut example in plate 8A, has three round rings and a modest lip.

The most consistent detail found in engraved Cork examples is the vesica motif which shows in plates 5B, 6A and 6B. It takes the form of a plain or incised diamond or oval shape pointed at the

1. Thorpe, Vol. I., pp. 41-46.
2. ibid., p. 267.
3. Warren, p. 19.
4. See page 109a.
5. See page 109b.
6. See page 109c.
7. See page 109d.

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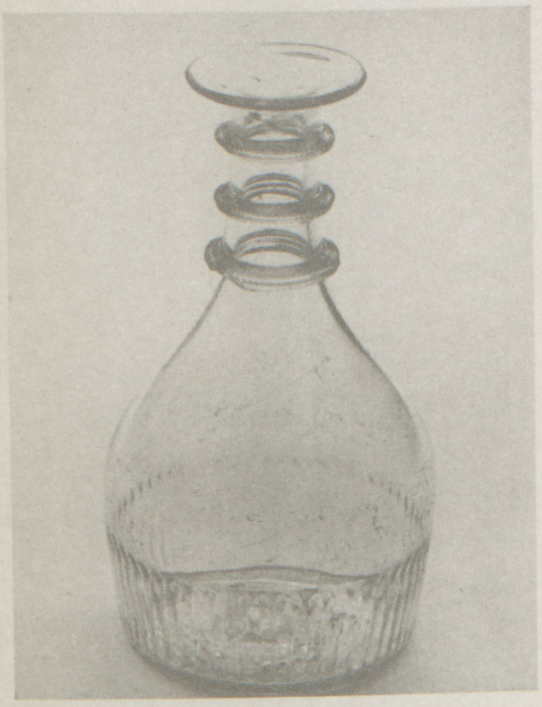


5A.
Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 8¾ in.
c. 1783–1818. By courtesy of the
National Museum of Ireland.
(See page 70)



5B.
Pair of decanters, marked
Cork Glass Co. Ht. 9⅛ in.
with grid stoppers.
c. 1783–1818.
Author's Collection.
(See pages 70, 71)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.

6A. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 10½ in. with stopper. *c.* 1783–1818. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York). Ac. no. 50.2.32
(See pages 70, 71)
6B. Jug, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 6 in. *c.* 1783–1818. Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum. (See page 71)
6C. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 10 in. with stopper. *c.* 1783–1818. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York). Ac. no. 55.2.2.

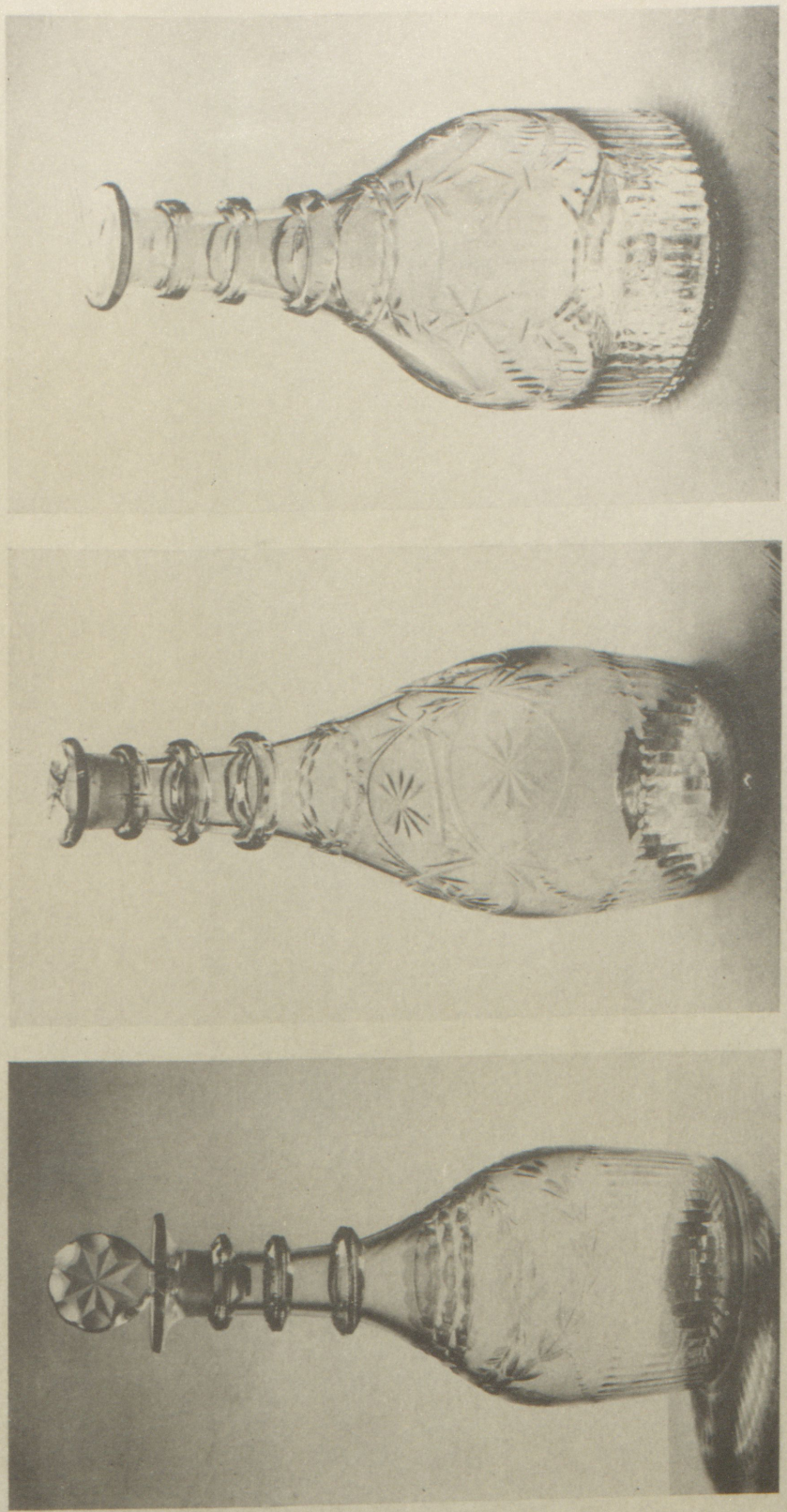
narrow ends. There are usually six around the widest part of the decanter. The vesica is the Cork Glass Co. signature. At their point of joining, the engraved vesica motifs are usually combined with a eight-pointed star and there are usually sprigs above and below the outline.[1]

Examples of Cork cut-glass present a great variety of decoration. The decanter in plate 7A, exhibits graceful leaf festoons which occur below bands of hollow facets, a cutting device which is typical of the cut glass of Cork Glass Co. They occur also in two bands about the upper body of the decanter in plate 7B. That bottle is unique because the vesica motif, so identified with Cork Glass Co., is enlarged and cut upon its surface, not engraved, as is usually the case. The vesica motif, with the handsome stars and cut splits at the joinings are to be seen in plate 7C also. The elegance and perfection of Cork cutting is evident in the example plate 9B. All the parts of this butter cooler are cut with matching bands of medium diamonds. The lower third of the cooler is cut with flat flutes of uniform width, no other example of this type of cutting has been found among the examples of Cork Glass Co. cut glass.[2]

Cork decanters had four types of stoppers. They may be described as the moulded grid (plate 5B); the plain target stopper with centre depression (plate 6A); the plain target stopper with moulded ridges (plate 6C); and the plain target stopper prettily cut with centre star and edged with oval cut discs, (plate 7A).[3]

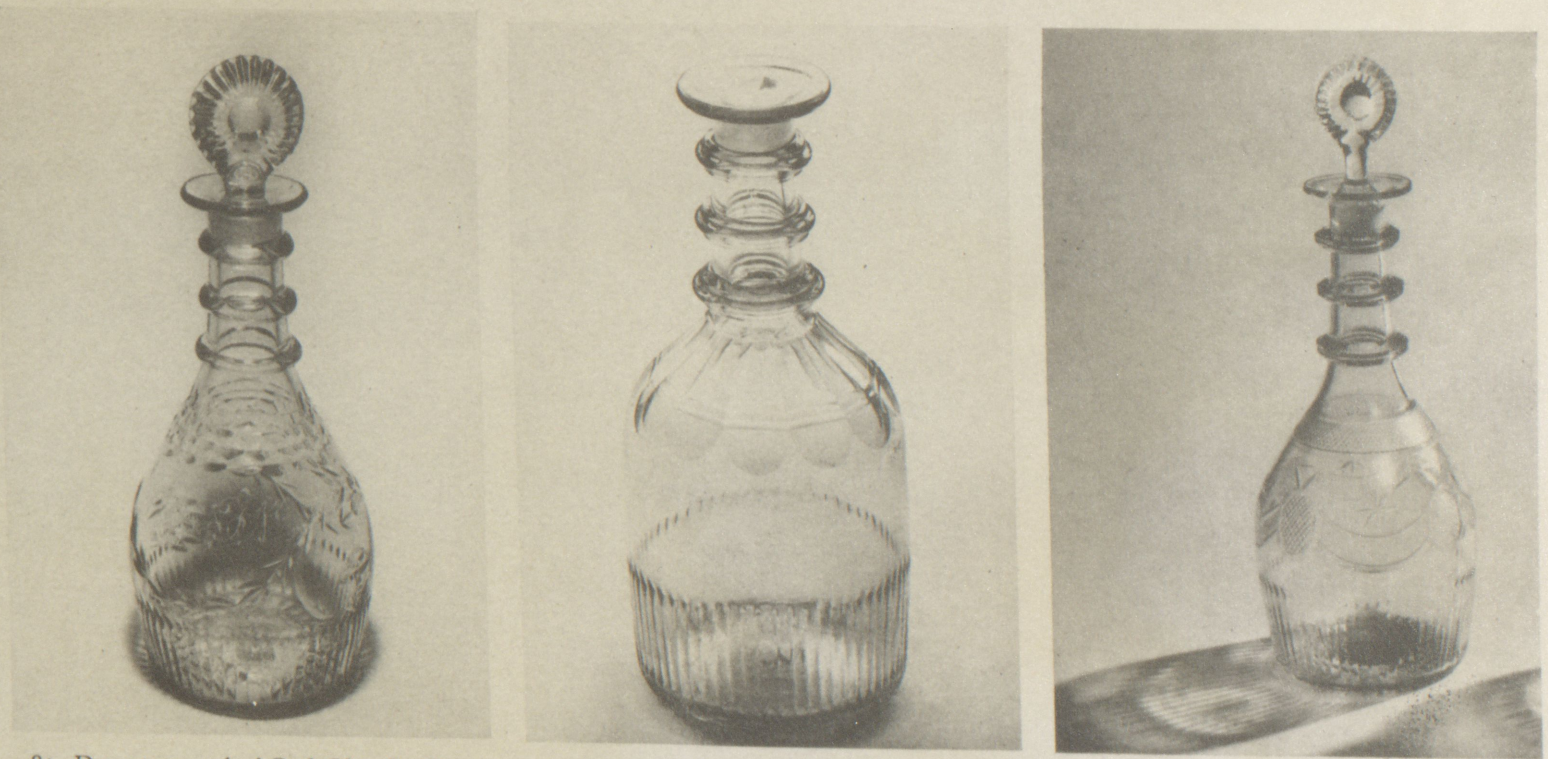
The following notice which appeared in the Cork advertiser, 27th July, 1814, was a cause of no little concern to the Cork Glass Co., and particularly to the poor of the city.

1. Warren, pp. 70, 71.
2. ibid, p.p. 72, 73.
3. Elville, E. M., English and Irish Cut Glass, (1953), p.64.



7A. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 10⅞ in. with stopper. *c.* 1783–1818. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (See pages 71–72)
7B. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 9¼ in. *c.* 1783–1818. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 72)
7C. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 8 in. *c.* 1783–1818. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 72)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.



8A. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 8½ in. *c.* 1783–1818. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 70)
8B. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 8⅝ in. *c.* 1783–1818. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 72)
8C. Decanter, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Ht. 11 in. *c.* 1783–1818. By courtesy of the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford. (See page 72)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.

GLASS DUTIES

The Commissioners of Ireland's Excise and Taxes do hereby give notice that by Act 54 Geo. III, c. 87, which will commence from the 14th August, next, certain excise duties are imposed on Plate and Window Glass manufactured in Ireland and on the materials or metal used in the making of Plate Glass. The Glass manufacturers are required to take out licences from The Commissioners of Excise and within 7 days after the end of every calendar month, to make a true entry in writing, verified on oath in the Excise Office of the district, of the quality and weight of all window glass and plate glass respectively made by them, within such months.

By Order of the Commissioners,
Edward Hardman

On 22nd November, a petition to Parliament, opposing the proposed duties, was placed for signature in the room of Sir A. Perrier, President of the Chamber of Commerce.[1] Apparently this petition was not successful, for on August 5th, details concerning the duties were published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, as follows:

Duties on Glass

For every cwt. of Spread window glass, commonly called Broad Glass, which shall be made in Ireland	£1 - 10
For every cwt. of all other glass commonly known by the name of Crown Glass (window) which shall be made in Ireland	£5 - 13
For every cwt. of materials or metal or other preparations whatever, which shall be made in Ireland	£4 - 18

1. Cork Advertiser, 20th November, 1814.

GOLD AND SILVER SMITH WORK - PROSPERITY OF GOLD AND SILVER SMITHS IN THE 18th CENTURY - "THE SOCIETY OF GOLDSMITHS OF CORK" - EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AN ASSAY OFFICE IN CORK CITY - TOWN MARKS ON CORK PLATE - MAKER'S MARKS - LISTS OF CORK GOLDSMITHS - CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLE TO THE PROSPERITY OF GOLD AND SILVER SMITH WORK IN CORK CITY - CARDEN TERRY - A FAMOUS CORK SILVERSMITH - THE CRAFT OF THE GOLDSMITH IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY - LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE CRAFT - VARIETY OF PRODUCTS

Cork city had long been enriched and honoured by the labours of its goldsmiths. John Francis Maguire M.P., Mayor of Cork, in his book entitled The Industrial Movement in Ireland, stated:

.."there were in this city, in the year 1800, about fifty silversmiths and twenty goldsmiths, all first class workmen".[1]

Cecil Woods, F.R.S.A.I., writing of the goldsmiths of Cork, stated: "During the 18th century immense quantities of silver were manufactured in Cork; and the business was so lucrative, that some of the best country families in the South of Ireland were glad to apprentice their younger sons to leading goldsmiths in the capital of Munster; and some of these apprentices became wealthy merchants and high office holders in the municipality. Men like Gobble and Hodder produced works of art of which any city might be justly proud."[2]

In 1801 the goldsmiths of Cork had no separate existence as a guild apart from other craftsmen. On the 31st May, 1656, they were incorporated with the braziers, pewterers, founders, plumbers, white plate workers, glaziers, saddlers and upholsterers of the city under the name "The Master, Wardens & Co. of the Society of Goldsmiths of Cork" and John Sharpe, goldsmith; Robert Gobble, brazier; Ed. Gobble, brazier, John Hawkins, saddler and Robert Phillips, were appointed

1. Maguire, J. F., The Industrial Movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of (1852), p.135.

2. Woods, C, F.R.S.A.I., Ms. 465, - Public Record Office, p.2.

trustees of the Company.[1] From 1656 to 1820, the guild had an active existence and its proceedings, it seemed, were regularly recorded but in the disastrous fire which occurred in the Court House, 22nd March, 1891, almost all the ancient city manuscripts were destroyed, and with them the books of the Goldsmiths' Corporation, so that the records pertaining to the Corporation, which now exist, are such as have been copied from the original entries by Mr. Cecil Woods and other Cork antiquarians.

In 1637 the Dublin Corporation of Goldsmiths were by Charter entrusted with "the search, supervision, assay and government of all manner of gold and silver work throughout Ireland".[2]

Efforts were made during the 18th century, by the goldsmiths of Cork, through their city Council, to obtain authority for the establishment of an assay office in Cork, but their efforts must have been unsuccessful, because in October, 1807, they presented a memorial to The Right Hon. John Foster, Chancellor of the Exchequer, praying for the grant of an assay office in Cork. The memorial was signed by the following:

Carden Terry	John Toleken
James Conway	Isaac Solomon
James Heyland	Thomas Mountjoy
Joseph Gibson	Jh. Whelpley
William Byrom	

The Dublin goldsmiths opposed the application and it was refused. On 2nd December, 1808, another memorial signed by William Heyland, Dan Corbett and others, was forwarded to Colonel Longfield, M.P., and by him presented to the Right Hon. John Foster, reporting the application of the previous year, with a similar result. The correspondence dragged on until 1813, when the goldsmiths of Cork seem to

1. Westropp, M.S., The Goldsmiths of Cork, Ms. 465, p.1.

2. Jackson, C.J., English Goldsmiths and their Marks, (1905), pp. 679, 524.

have given up in despair. In their last application, they stated that they had been trying for the last twenty years to obtain an assay office in Cork. They also stated that they were making 15,000ozs. of plate annually - which may be taken as an indication of their business at this date.[1] An address to the Chancellor of the Exchequer dated 11th February, 1813, from the Dublin Goldsmiths Corporation, stating that there would be a loss to the Government if an assay office were established in Cork, freely disposed of the application of the Cork goldsmiths.[2] There being no regular assay office in Cork for the testing of plate, it is not known with certainty what method was used, in the early 19th century. Mr. Cecil Woods suggested that the goldsmiths probably assayed each other's wares.[3] It is certain that plate was sent to Dublin to be assayed. Cecil Woods states as follows:

'Besides the plate stamped in Cork, I have found in the books of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Corporation, many entries of plate having been sent to Dublin to be assayed and stamped.'[4]

The original town mark which was stamped on Cork plate, consisted of parts of the City Arms. Early in the 18th century this was changed. From about 1709 till 1840, the town mark stamped on Cork plate consisted of the word STERLING in various forms. The spelling varied as follows - sterling, starling, stirling, starlin, and sterlin. The word was often abbreviated to STER, STERg; sometimes it was found in two parts STE / RLING - STER / LING. The letters were always capital Roman letters.

The word STERLING nearly always accompanied by the maker's mark but instances occur of STERLING alone. It was probably thus used by journeymen silversmiths who were not empowered to strike their marks.

1. Westropp, pp. 1, 2.
2. Jackson, p. 679.
3. Jackson, p. 679.
4. Woods, C., The Goldsmiths of Cork, p.2.

The shape of the punch containing the word sterling also varied; generally it was long and narrow, with rectangular or rounded corners and often the outlines were serrated. Shaped punches were uncommon, though sometimes a bow shaped punch occurs. Rarely, the word Dollar is found instead of STERLING.

The maker's marks also varied a good deal. From about 1730 to 1840, the mark generally consisted of the maker's initials only, in a rectangular, oval or rarely in a shaped punch, though exceptions occur. Sometimes the name in full with or without the initial of the Christian name occurs and either in a punch or in incuse letters alone.[1] A great variety occurs among the marks of the Cork goldsmiths as seen from the following list of these marks.[2]

In some cases a single goldsmith employed as many as five different stamps.

From about 1807, when the duty on plate was increased, the Dublin hall marks are found in addition to the word STERLING, on Cork plate; but generally the Cork goldsmiths simply stamped their initials on it before sending it to Dublin to be assayed. Entries occur in the books of the Dublin goldsmiths up to about 1830, of Cork plate having been stamped in Dublin. It speaks well for the quality of Cork plate, when referring to the various entries in the Dublin goldsmiths' books of Cork plate being sent up for assay. Cecil Woods could state:
"I have not come across any instance of it having been broken for being below standard".[3] No date letter was used in Cork and such occurs only on Cork plate stamped in Dublin, so the only means of arriving at the approximate date of any piece is a knowledge of the working life of the goldsmith and the form and decoration of the article.

1. Woods, C., The Goldsmiths of Cork, pp. 2 and 3.
2. See list separate sheet p. 115 b.
3. Woods, C., The Goldsmiths of Cork, p.3.

The Goldsmiths of Cork

MARKS ON CORK PLATE.

TABLE VIII.—FROM ABOUT 1800 TO ABOUT 1838.

The dates are approximate.

DATE.	MARKS.	MAKER'S NAME.	ARTICLES AND OWNERS.
1800-20	GIBSON STERLING	Joseph Gibson.	Table-spoons: The Cork Club.
,,	HEYLAND ,,	William Heyland.	Do.- : Do. do.
,,	,, TOLEKEN	John Toleken.	Sugar-bowl: Mr. Dudley Westropp.
1795 / 1807	T&W ,,	{Carden John} Terry & Williams.	Cream ewer: The late Mr. Cecil Woods.
1805	SG STIRLING	Samuel Green.	Tea-spoons: The Cork Club.
1805-14	SG STERLING SG	} Do. do.	Flat-bottomed cream-jug: Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	T&W STERLING	Terry & Williams.	Dessert-spoons: Mr. Woods.
,,	MONTJOY ,,	Thomas Montjoy.	Table-spoons: Noted by Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	JN NN ,,	John & Nicholas } Nicolson.	{Sugar tongs: Mr. C. Deane Oliver. Tea-spoons: Mr. Dudley Westropp.
1807-21	T&W STERLING	{Carden Jane} Terry & Williams.	{Forks and knife-handles: Rev. Samuel Hobart Dorman. Various other articles with Dublin marks 1807-21.
1808-20	CORBETT STERLING	Daniel Corbett.	Tea-spoons: Mr. Dudley Westropp.
1809-30	JS STERLING	James Salter.	Fluted and engraved sugar bowl: The Day Collection.
,,	RG ,,	Richard Garde.	Table-spoons: Mr. M. Falk.
1810	MONTJOY STERLING	Thos. Montjoy.	Bright cut sugar tongs: Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	CONWAY STERLING	} James Conway.	Table-spoons : Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	JE STERLING	John Egan.	Plain O.E. spoons: Do. do.
,,	PW STERLING	Peter Wills.	Fiddle-pattern tea-spoons: Mr. D. Westropp.
1810-20	WS STERLING	—— Steele?	Do. do. : Do. do.
,,	I SOLOMON STERLING	Isaac Solomon.	Do. dessert-spoons: Do. do.
,,	JS STERLING	John Seymour.	Do. tea-spoons : Do. do.
,,	I SOLOMON ,,	Isaac Solomon.	Do. do. : Mr. Woods.
,,	RS ,,	(*Not identified.*)	Flat-bottomed cream-jug: Noted by Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	PG STERLING	Phineas Garde.	Fiddle-pattern tea-spoons: Mr. D. Westropp.
1810-40	IS ,,	{Isaac John} Solomon, or Seymour.	Do. do. : Do. do.
1812	GARDE STERLING	Phineas Garde.	O.E. pattern gravy spoon: Do. do.
1820	SEYMOUR STERLING	John Seymour.	Plain sugar-tongs : Do. do.
1820-40	KM ,,	Kean Mahony.	Communion cup: Killanully.
,,	EH ,,	Edward Hawkesworth.	Tea-spoons: Mr. Woods.
1824	OBRIEN STERLING	Francis O'Brien	Fiddle-pattern table-spoons: Noted by Mr. Dudley Westropp.
,,	MAHONY STERLING	} Kean Mahony.	Plain mug: Noted by Mr. Dudley Westropp.
1838	MSB STERLING	(*Not identified.*)	Large finger ring: Do. do.

The following list of Cork goldsmiths was compiled from Corporation records, the Court of d'Oyer Hundred Book, records of the Cork Goldsmiths' Guild and supplemented by various names found in Directories, and Parish Registers, by Mr. D. Westropp. The dates are approximate except where the articles are known to be contemporaneously dated.

LIST[1]

The situation of Cork with its natural harbour extending in a direct line with the Spanish Peninsula and the West of France, afforded unparalleled advantages for intercourse with these countries, whence the city received not only supplies of silver and gold but also immigrant craftsmen who brought with them the knowledge of designing as practised by goldsmiths on the continent of Europe. Much of the Cork plate was wrought from Spanish dollars and it was not unusual for a Cork Goldsmith, to stamp his plate with the mark dollar, to indicate the quality of the metal of which it was wrought. The continental origin of many of the Cork goldsmiths is displayed by names such as Bagley, Byrom, Mountjoy and Garde, which are to be found in the list of craftsmen who worked in Cork at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The influence of these men upon the design and execution of the goldsmiths' work which was executed in the city, can still be seen in the examples which resemble the contemporary style prevailing on the Continent.[2] In contrast to the extensive foreign element, it may be remarked how little the native element figures in the list of Cork goldsmiths. With the exception of a few names, the O's and Mac's are absent from the list.

The term 'goldsmith' was used not merely with reference to goldsmiths, but also as comprising the workers in silver.[3] Carden Terry was one of the most famous of the silversmiths who flourished in Cork

1. Jackson, p.644. See separate sheet. p. 116 b.
2. ibid., p.681.
3. ibid., p.1.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CORK GOLDSMITHS

Name.	Earliest Mention.	Remarks.	Latest Date or Death.
John Hillery G.S.	Mentd. 1762		d. 1785
Carden Terry „	1766	Free 1785	d. 1821
Richard Walsh S.S.	1768		1783
Alexr. Douglas G.S.	1770		„
John Nicolson S.S.	„		1805
John Foley G.S.	1772		1800
Bligh Harrison J.	1775		1789
John Warner G.S.	Free 1775		1799
John & Saml. Nicolson S.S.	Partners, c.1775		c.1780
Peter Wills J.	1777		1789
Samuel Reily G.S.	„		1812
Joseph Kinselagh J.	1780	Mentd. 1783	
John Humphreys S.S.	Mentd. 1783		
Wm. Roe G.S.	„		1795
Charles Purcell J.	„		1787
John Egan S.S. & J.	„		1795
Thomas Campbell S.S.		1784	
Thomas Harman „	1786		
George Seymour, pewterer		Master, 1787	1799
George Aicken W.M.	1787		1795
		In Cork Directories.	
Patrick Ryan S.S.		1787	
John Sheehan „	1787	„	1795
Joseph Nicolson G.S.		„	
Thomas Donallan S.S.		„	
Michael Hartnett „		„	
Rd. Williams W.M.		„	
Joseph Craven „	1787	1787-95	1795
Matt. Bagnell „	„	„	„
John Elliott „	„	„	„
Wm. Uppington „	„	„	„
John Montjoy W. & C. M.	„	„	„
Henry Wherland C.M.	„	„	„
Jnthn. Wheeler W.M.	„	„	„
Tim. Conway „	„	„	„
Joseph Gibson G.S.	„		1820
Richd. Bagley W.M.	„	„	1824
Wm. Ross „	„	„	1810
Wm. Byrom „	„	„	1824
Richd. Stevens S.S.	Free 1788		1830
Wm. Reynolds „	1790		1795
Michl. Cooper „	„	1790-5	„
—— Tolland „	c.1790		c.1800
John Williams „	1795	1795	1807
Carden Terry & John Williams "	Partners, 1795		1806
Thos. Austen W.M.	„	1795 & 1810	1810

Name.	Earliest Mention.	Remarks.	Latest Date or Death.
		In Cork Directories.	
Wm. Harman W.M.		1795	
James Uppington		„	
Richd. Montjoy C.M.	1795	„	1810
Ann Ryan S.S.		„	
Saml. Fryer „	Free 1795		1830
James Heyland „	Mentd. 1795		1812
John Long „	„		1800
John Toleken „	„		1831
Wm. Teulon „	„		1844
James Warner „	Free 1799		1830
*J. Dorsey „		1800	
*F. Marquand „		„	
John Nicholson „	1805		1824
John Whelpley „	1800		„
Nichs. Nicholson „	1807		1830
J. & N. Nicholson „	c.1810		c.1820
Isaac Solomon „	1807		1847
†Jane Williams „	„		1821
James Heyland G.S.	„		
Thos. Montjoy „		1810	
George Stotesbury WM		„	
Wm. Greaves „		„	
Daniel Corbett J.		„	
James Conway W.M.	„	„	
John Seymour S.S.	1809		1842
Wm. Heyland G.S.	1810		1824
Thos. Brooks W.M.		„	
Wm. Bagley „		„	
John Carroll „		„	
J. Easterby „		„	
S. Green S.S.	1811		1812
Phineas Garde „	1812		1845
George Wyburd „		1824	
‡James Salter „	1820		1840
Rd. Garde „	„		„
John Garde J.	1824	1824	
Edwd. Hawkesworth J. „			1850
John Armstrong G.S.	„		1828
Wm. Egan J. & S.S.	„		1850
Kean Mahony S.S.	„		„
James Hackett J.	„		„
Joseph Barry W.M.		1824	
Wm. Carroll „		„	
John Callaghan J.		„	
Daniel Danahy C.M.		„	
Henry Obree G.S.		„	
Francis O'Brien W.M.		„	
Mark O'Shaughnessy W.M.		„	
James Mangan W.M.		„	
Samuel Haynes „		„	
Robert Milliken „		„	
John D. Montjoy „		„	
John Murphy „		„	
Thos. Garde S.S.	1826		1830

* Mr. Dudley Westropp has noted the marks "I. DORSEY," and "F. MARQUAND" respectively, on table-plate (probably Cork-made), *c.* 1800.

† Widow of John Williams and daughter of Carden Terry; carried on business under the style of "Terry & Williams."

‡ James Salter with his family emigrated for New Zealand in 1840, in the "Sophia Pate" which was wrecked on the voyage, and all save one boy were lost.

for fifty years, extending over the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. He died on 16th July, 1821 aged 79 years. He took his son-in-law, John Williams, into partnership early in the 19th century. A unique set of pistol handled knives and forks, made by this firm are extant bearing a joint stamp:

C T
J W

and the Dublin hall marks of 1814. The partners produced in their shop a remarkable quantity of silver plate, according to contemporary accounts. Among the most highly prized products of the firm were the following: a pair of dish rings made of two spirally twisted bands connected by three others, marked CT and STERLING; a circular salver, with a cast, chased and pierced border of festoons, medallions and vases that rests on three feet of a corresponding character. The book plate here produced is Carden Terry's own work both in design and execution. It is chippendale in character and combines the Jacobean hatched base and the floral surroundings that were coming into fashion at the beginning of the 19th century.[1]



The craft of the goldsmith was not new in Ireland in the 18th century. It is a very ancient one which goes back to the Golden Age.

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. VIII, 1902, 2nd series, p.123.

Neither pure gold nor silver were used by the goldsmiths of Cork when practising their art in the early 19th century. The pure metal was much too soft for their purpose, so that the required hardness had to be obtained by the insertion of some other metal of less value, called 'alloy', (from the French a la loi = according to law) the amount of base metal which may be added to pure gold or silver, by provision of the law. In the case of gold, the alloy used was either silver or copper, or an admixture of both and on the nature of the alloy the ultimate colour of the manufactured plate, depended. The bright yellow of pure gold partakes of a greenish tinge when alloyed with silver, of a reddish hue when alloyed with copper and of a paler yellow, when alloyed with both silver and copper.[1]

For silver, the alloy always used was copper.[2] The craft of the goldsmiths was subject to legislation, at this time. In virtue of an Act passed in 1803[3] the duty on gold was increased to 16/- an ounce and that on silver plate to 1/3 per ounce. In 1814 the duty on manufactured gold was increased to 17/- per ounce and on silver to 18d. per ounce. The price of manufactured plate in the home market, rose accordingly. The offence of forging the marks was regarded as felony punishable by transportation.

The standards for both gold and silver were fixed by law. The standard for silver coinage established in 1300, was as follows:[4]

THE TABLE OF SILVER STANDARDS

A.D.	Reign	Silver Wares	
		Per 12 oz. plate	
1719	6 Geo. I	Pure Silver	Alloy
		11 ozs. 2 dwts. +	18 dwts.

Silver of this standard was called "sterling" and this standard has remained.

1. Jackson, pp. 4, 5.
2. ibid., p.4.
3. 44 Geo. III, c. 98.
4. ibid., pp. 22, 28.

The standard for gold wares was a s follows:

THE TABLE OF GOLD STANDARDS

A.D.	Reign	Gold Wares	
		Pure Gold	Alloy
1798	33 Geo. III	22 carats	2 carats
	38 Geo. III	18 carats	6 carats

The additional standard of 18 carats fine was added to the single standard of 22 carats previously in use with the provision that it should be marked with a crown and the figure 18. (38 Geo. III, c.69).

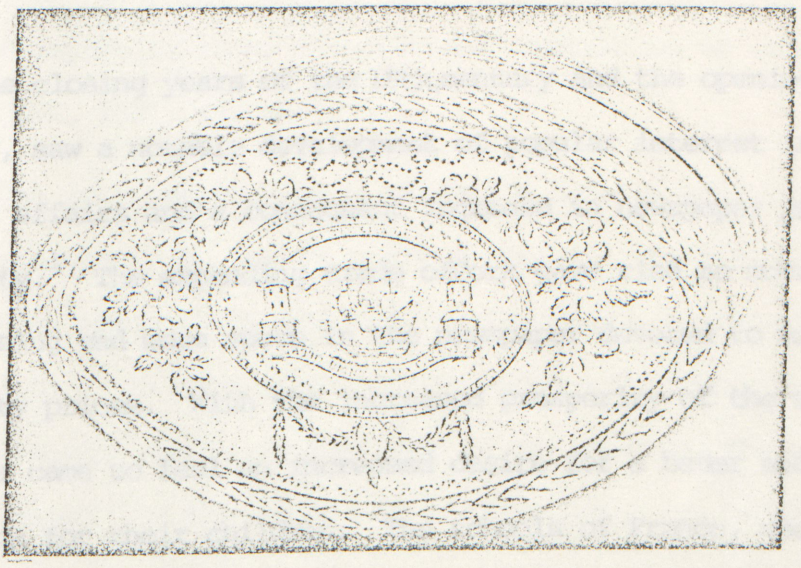
The industry of the gold and silver smiths catered principally for the home market. It supplied the needs of the elite of Cork city and county as well as specializing in the manufacture of altar vessels for churches of different creeds. It also gained special publicity on occasions. The records of theCorporation of Cork for the 18th century have frequent reference to the freedom of the city being granted in silver boxes and in gold caskets, when the honour was conferred on members of the Royal Family, or upon the Lord Lieutenant. Such a custom remained in practice during the early years of the 19th century. The event was usually published in the Cork newspapers as follows:[1]

This day, the Common Council of this city resolved that an address of congratulations should be presented to His Excellency, the Duke of Richmond on his appointment as lord Lieutenant of Ireland, together with the freedom of this city in a golden box. The freedom of this city was also voted to be presented in silverboxes to Sir. A. Wellesly and Right Hon. General Canning.

A copy of the gold box is reproduced here illustrating the highly decorative art of the Cork goldsmiths. The cover was richly ornamented with wreaths of flowers and a central oval frame, enclosing the arms of the city of Cork. The underneath portion was filled with a long

1. Cork Advertiser, 23rd April, 1807.

inscription that told its own story of a how a good and noble man was honoured in the city for acts of generosity and philanthropy, the memory of which was kept alive in letters of gold on the beautiful example of Cork goldsmiths' art, that was reproduced in, and reflected credit upon, the workship of .....(name of goldsmith), who marked his manufactured plate with a stamp bearing his own initials.[1]



1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. VII, second series, 1901, p.232.

(a) THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER - GROWING DEMAND FOR THE PRINTED WORD - CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLE TO THE GROWTH OF THE PAPER INDUSTRY IN CORK CITY - THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURING PAPER AS PRACTISED IN CORK IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY - TAXATION

(b) THE PRINTING INDUSTRY - THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF THE ACT OF UNION ON THE PRINTING BUSINESS - THE CORK TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY - LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY - THE ART OF PRINTING IN CORK CITY IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY - THE OUTPUT OF NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

(a) The closing years of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th century, saw a notable development of popular interest in home and foreign affairs and a consequent increase in newspaper production in Cork city.[1] The expanding trade of Cork gave rise to more commercial advertising and more space in the newspaper devoted to market news and commodity prices. With the increased prosperity of the war years many citizens came to feel an increased desire for a better and more liberal education for their children. The schools of France, where in times past, a large proportion of Irish youth could be educated, were now closed against them by the political disturbances of the war. The first result of this was the establishment of a number of new schools. A list taken from the Cork Directories[2] indicates that over and above the number of charitable schools for both Catholic and Protestant children, practically every street in Cork could boast of a private school for the better class children, in 1810. To this number was added, "The School of the Gentlemen of the Monastery", later known as the North Monastery School, for Catholics, and in 1812, The Lancastrian School for children of every persuasion was opened. A second result was the establishment of a number of learned Societies: The Library Society in 1792; The Royal Cork Institute in 1803, which was the fruitful

1. Cork Public Museum Guide - The Newspaper Press in Cork. p.52.
2. J.C.H.A.S., Series I, Vol. I, 1892, p.9: and Vol. XLVII, 1942, pp. 45, 51.

parent of many societies, the first being the Cork Literary and Philosophical Society. This was followed by the Scientific Society and the Philosophical and Literary Society in 1813.

It is not surprising to find against such a background, a flourishing paper and printing industry in Cork during the early 19th century.

William Preston, in his "Essay on the Natural Advantages of Ireland, the Manufactures to which, they are adopted and the best means of improving those manufactures" commenting on the paper industry of Cork, 1801, stated:[1]

"This is a manufacture to which the natural advantages of Cork seem particularly to lead her; the number of pure streams of finest water which abound, are particularly favourable to the working of paper mills." To this he could have added a further advantage which Cork possessed, namely an abundance of raw material for the manufacture of paper. In the early 19th century,paper was manufactured from rags and shreds of linen. Where an abundance of linen was made and consumed the manufacturer of paper had the basic raw material at hand. Such was the happy position of the paper manufacturer in Cork city. The shreds and the fragments that remained from the seamstress and the milliner, as well as the quantity of decayed linen, inapplicable to any other use but that of making paper, constantly supplied the manufacturer with raw material on the cheapest terms; it cost no more than the expense of collecting it. The principal expense of the manufacturer consisted in rent, for the machinery occupied quite a considerable space of ground; the first cost of buildings and apparatus, repairs and workmen's wages - the materials in addition to rags, were shreds of parchments or vellum and for the purpose of making size, vitriol and roche allum. To these were added oxygen, which was employed

1. Preston, W., Essay on the Natural Advantages of Ireland, the manufactures to which they are adopted and the best means of improving those manufactures; Royal Irish Academy Transactions, Vol. IX, 1801 - '3, p. 272.

in whitening the macerated mass of line, and smalt or some other blue colour, which was generally used in the composition of writing paper.

The operation of hot pressing paper to give it a gloss somewhat resembling vellum, was analogous to the process of the calendar, in smoothing and glazing linen diapers and calicoes. It was regarded as a matter of great importance, to attend particularly to the careful assortment of rags, with respect to firmness and fineness so as to have the whole heap intended for every particular class or species of paper as nearly as possible of the same quality. Much care was also necessary with regard to the steeping and fermentation of rags, before they were subjected to the action of the mill for mashing, for if this operation was continued too long and the fermentation and putrefaction became violent, the texture of the paper, to be made from the rags would be proportionately weak.[1]

Compared with the English manufacturers, the Irish paper makers carried on their business under comparatively advantageous conditions during the 18th century. In both countries the paper making industry was protected by the imposition of Customs duties on foreign paper, but the Irish did not suffer from the vexatious British Excise Tax known as the Paper Duty, until 1798.[2]

In February, 1798, the following proposals for the imposition of Excise duties on paper made in Ireland were agreed to and embodied in a Bill which became law. (38 Geo. III. c. 5):

Writing, drawing, printing, elephant and cartridge papers	2d.per lb.
Coloured and whitened brown papers, other than above	1d.per lb.
Brown wrappings	½d.per lb.
Other sorts	2d.per lb.
Paste board, millboard and scaleboard	10/- per cwt.
Glazed paper for clothiers	5/- per cwt.

Cap. 29 of the same year was "An Act to secure the collection of the duties on Paper made in Ireland and to prevent frauds therein",

1. Preston, pp. 271-275.
2. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No. 6., (London, 1909) p.9.

which set up regulations on the lines of those imposed in Great Britain. In May 1799, a further Act on the same subject (39 Geo. III. c.42) received the Royal assent. An Excise duty of 1d. per lb. was laid on Irish paper hangings, and others of 10/- per cwt. on sheathing paper and ½d. per lb. on button paper or board. The owners of the paper mills in Ireland had henceforth to take out licences, dating from March 25th in each year, at a cost of £2 with a 1/- fee for the Collector who issued them. The penalty in case of default was a fine of £50 and forfeiture of all the raw materials and finished paper in the offender's mill.

Every room, vat, press, beating engine, etc., had to be minutely detailed, as regards size, to the Excise officer and in order as far as possible to prevent fraud, duty had in future to be paid on the capacity of the beater. For every such appliance not exceeding 12 feet in length, 5 feet in breadth and two feet in depth, the mill owner had to pay £16-13-4 a month and for larger engines in proportion. If he made more paper in the month than this payment covered, then, he was liable to be charged with duty on a weight basis in the usual way. If, however, he made less paper (i.e. so that the duty on it did not amount to £16-13-4 in the month) he was still charged with the difference, and thus compelled to make up his output accordingly, unless he had been making low grade papers, on which the duty was not more than ½d. per lb., and that only one vat, not exceeding 6 feet long, 5 feet broad and 4 feet deep had been used with the engine and that the value of his output in these circumstances did not average more than £100 a year. This arrangement about paying on the capacity of the plant seems to have been peculiar to the Irish Paper Duty Act and suggests perhaps a lack of faith in the veracity of the Irish paper makers. A beater of the capacity stated would carry 1½cwt, the time occupied in beating which quantity of pulp would be 3 to 3½ hours if a breaker was used, or double that time if there were no breaker. £16-13-4 is equal to 1d. per lb. on 36 cwt. of paper, or 2d. on 18 cwt., so that in the former case the contents of the vat would be used only

about once each day on an average, during the month, according to Excise estimates.

In August, 1800 the monthly duty on beating engines was raised to £20-16-8 by Act 40 Geo. III. c. 76. It received the Royal assent on the day on which the Act of Union was sanctioned. The schedules annexed to the latter provided for the imposition of certain contervailing duties on papers imported into Ireland from Great Britain or vice versa. These were as follows:-

Writing, drawing, printing, cartridge papers	2½d. per lb.
Coloured, and whitened - brown wrapping papers	1d. " "
Brown wrappings	½d. " "
Glazed paper	5/- per cwt.
Other sorts of paper	2½d " lb.
Pasteboard, millboard	10/- " cwt.

In addition, an ad valorem duty of 10% was directed to be levied, until 1820, on imported hangings. On importation into Great Britain from Ireland these amounts were levied on the goods in the form of an Excise duty, the rate for boards being, however, 10/6 per cwt., and on glazed paper 6/-. Books bound and unbound had to pay 2d. per lb., and hangings 1¾d. per sq. yard.[1]

For two years after the Act of Union no further legislation interfered with the Irish paper trade. The Excise duty was however beginning to take effect. The number of paper mills in Co. Dublin had dwindled to a third of what it was two years earlier. There is no evidence to show that a like diminution took place in the number of paper mills in and around Cork city at this time.

From July 1802, an extra 3 3/5 % was levied on all foreign paper imported, and this was no refunded on exportation except to Great Britain, whilst from July, 1803, an extra 10% on the amount of the old import duty was added and an export duty of 1% on paper shipped to European ports.

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No. 18, (1910), pp. 8,9.

In March, 1804, a new scale of import duties was imposed on foreign paper entering Ireland. All these duties were refunded on exportation of the goods, but although the duties on imported hangings was 8d. per sq. yd., only 5d. was refunded on exportation. The Excise duties on paper made in Ireland were greatly increased: 3d. per lb., was charged on writing, drawing, printing, elephant and cartridge papers, 2d. on coloured and whitened brown wrappings; ld. on brown wrappings, £1 per cwt. on boards and sheathing papers, 3d. per lb. on other sorts of paper and 2d. per sq. yd., on hangings.

These increases in some cases doubling what was paid hitherto must at least have had a discouraging effect on the paper making industry in Cork as elsewhere in Ireland. But the English Government still at its wits end to raise money for the prolongation of war, by Summer 1805, discovered that "the laws in force in Ireland for the collection of duties on paper made in Ireland were insufficient and it was expedient to have them amended." The necessary amendments were made by Act (45 Geo. III C. 106). This Act increased the monthly duty on beating engines to £32-19-8, although it fht paper were made of such inferior quality as not to be chargeable with a higher rate of duty than ld. per lb., the monthly payment stood at £16-13-4, but in such case, six daysnotice had to be given to the Excise officer that the engine would be so employed. Paper stainers had to enter into a bond of £25 for each "stamping table" they used on which in addition, there was a monthly duty of £4-3-4. [1]

In 1807 further legislation affected the Cork paper trade. The Act 47 Geo. III., c. 38, made the clauses in that of 1805, which related to the paper hanging trade perpetual. This Act also altered the classification of paper for Excise purposes. All ordinary paper was brought into the first class dutiable at 3d. per lb., brown or button paper or board constituted the second class, dutiable at ld. per lb., and sheathing paper the third class, dutiable at 21/- per cwt.

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No. 18., p.10.

The scale also included a duty of 1½d. per square yard on hangings in addition to the duty on the paper used in producing them. The engine duty was fixed at £200 a year, these amounts being payable monthly. In the case of paper dutiable at not more than 1d. per lb. the charge in each case was reduced to £100 a year. Every engine and vat was supposed to work throughout the year and unless six days notice were given that on a certain date it would be shut down; and similar notice had to be given when it was started again. The regular hours of work in the Irish mills seem to have been from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. and there was £10 penalty for working the engine or vats at any other time.

From the end of June, 1808 the stamp fee for a licence to make paper hangings for sale was raised to £5 - 5, and to merely sell them, £2 - 2, in Dublin and a guinea elsewhere. Paper makers, had also to take out a two guinea licence for each mill they operated.

From 1809 to 1814 the Irish paper trade had a rest from the legislation of the previous decade. With the commencement of the latter year however, the British Government made still another attempt to checkmate the desire of some members of the trade, who apparently wished to "best" the law. The Act 54 Geo. III., c. 120, provided that unpaid excise dues could be recovered from Irish paper makers by distraint on their raw material, paper, or plant, which was directed to be sold by auction at six day's notice; the impecunious ones being, however, allowed to redeem them at any time during that period by payment of the amount due.[1]

A consideration of this legislation which affected the Irish paper trade from 1799 onwards leads to the conclusion that the manufacturers of paper in Cork city and elsewhere were greatly hampered by a heavy burden of taxation and considerable interference from Excise officers.

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol.LIV No. 21, p.8.

In spite of the heavy burden of taxation, the manufacture of paper in Cork flourished during the first quarter of the 19th century. Cork manufacturers displayed enterprise and initiative. In 1811, Mr. M. Maddock of Cork, brought before the Dublin Society specimens of paper made by him from vegetables and approved by the booksellers and paper manufacturers of Cork. He also submitted paper made of potato stalks that was almost waterproof. Experiments in the use of straw for the making of paper, were carried out by other Cork manufacturers and about 1850, Sullivan of Golden Bridge, Dublin, and Seery of Clondalkin paper mills purchased the patent for manufacturing straw paper in Ireland. A few years later there were four mills manufacturing straw paper in Dublin as well as the mills at Dripsey.[1]

The principal paper mills in Cork were those at Dripsey and Blarney. With reference to the latter, John Boyle gives an interesting account in his magazine, of its progress and its success in ousting the British manufacturers out of the Cork market and invading the English market. He states as follows:[2]

"It must afford no small pleasure to the friends of Irish manufacturers to see the high perfection to which the manufacturing of paper is brought in this country by the enterprise and perseverance of Mr. J. B. Sullivan. The immense sums that used to go from this side to the other side, in the importation of this article are now not only kept at home, but exports of it forced into the British market, to that degree so alarming to the jealousy of the manufacturers there, as to urge them into conspiring to crush it. This combination aided by the chicanery of the Board of English Excise, put under seizure last year, for three months detained as contraband, at the Port of London, a considerable quantity of the gentleman's paper fairly and duly entered. So powerful was the host of jealousy that the gentleman

1. D. J. Clarke, F.L.A.I.; Paper Making in Ireland, pp. 5,7.
2. Boyle's Magazine, 27th October, 1806.

had to contend with, that despicable and unfair as this advantage was it would have been made sufficient for the condemnation of his paper and thereby of the annihilation of his trade, had it not been for the peculiarly manly conduct of himself. Mr. Sullivan has lately at a vast expense erected new sets of machinery and the mills at Blarney and Dripsey are in one perpetual motion, giving bread to surrounding multitudes of men, women and children."

Four years later, Will West commented on the business as follows:

"The extensive concerns of Mr. J. B. Sullivan may vie with those of the Sister Kingdom, in the number of hands constantly engaged, the machinery employed and the improvement of the article manufactured." [1]

He also gave the following very impressive account of the Dripsey Paper Mills:

"The Dripsey mills are the most extensive Paper Mills in this kingdom - the property of Mr. Sullivan - the same as in Blarney. Mill No. 1 is a mill of 200 feet long containing 6 vats, 6 presses and 3 water wheels ; over this extensive range is a drying house of equal magnitude and more lofty. Behind these is another building purposely erected for a new piece of machinery, the most curious and elegant that modern times can boast of. It cost several thousand pounds and is constructed for the purpose of making paper of any dimension. Building No. 2 consists of a stable for 24 horses, built in most excellent manner. Building No. 3 is a store or drying house upon a corresponding scale." The proprietor of the Dripsey and Blarney Mills had a Paper Warehouse in 23 North Main Street, where he had for sale a general assortment of writing, printing, wrapping, whited brown and linen paper.[2] Mr. White was working paper mills at Douglas in 1801.[3] In 1805, H. Hardum and Co. opened a new paper manufactory in the city.

1. West, W. Cork Directory, 1810, pp. 36-39.
2. Hibernian Chronicle, 16th May, 1799.
3. Cork Advertiser, 22nd October, 1801.

On August 26th, the following notice was published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle:

NEW PAPER MANUFACTORY

H. Hardum & Co.,

Informs their friends that they have now for sale every kind of white paper, also lapping, tea, whited brown and brown paper at Mr. Merrick's North Main Street.

In 1812 William Phair & Sons owned a paper manufactory in North Main Street.[1]

1. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.

(b) THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

The printing industry in Ireland suffered a severe blow as a result of the Act of Union. The "Copyright Act" was thus extended to Ireland depriving the Irish publishers of the right to re-print British publications for the supply of the home market.[1] This Act undoubtedly affected the Cork printers, yet there is ample evidence to show that they were an important group of business people in the city at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1806 they established the Cork Typographical Society to protect their rights as members of the printing profession. The society to-day enjoys the privilege of being the oldest printers' Union in the Kingdom. The privileges bestowed upon the early members of the society, denote the esteem and respect in which the profession was held, one of which was the freedom of the city; an honour conferred even on all apprentices bound to the printing. The following were the first members of the Society. The numbers reflect the extent of the industry at this date:[2]

COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF CORK TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, 1806

Mr. Corley, President
Mr. Fitzgibbon, Secretary
Mr. A. Campbell
Mr. Smith
Mr. Haly
Mr. Dowman
Mr. Crowe
Mr. Tanner
Mr. Rorke, senior
Mr. Rorke, junior
Mr. Johnson
Mr. James
Mr. Dennehy
Mr. Savage
Mr. Clarke, senior
Mr. Clarke, junior
Mr. Kelly
Mr. Crowe
Mr. Donovan
Mr. P. Dennehy
Mr. Cronin
Mr. Hickil
Mr. W. Martin
Mr. Dudley
Mr. J. Grey, senior
Mr. J. Grey, junior
Mr. G. Sullivan
Mr. Warner

In these early years of the Society's existence, Castle Street, French Church Lane and Patrick Street were the main seats of the printing industry. No fewer than 4 printing offices were situated in Castle Street, 2 in French Church Lane and a larger, though fluctuating number in Patrick's Street. A considerable number of the prin-

1. O'Brien, G. The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, p.368.

2. Cork Typographical Society Centenary Record, 1906, p.7.

ters were involved in presswork, which was a distinct branch in itself, while others were engaged in printing a great variety of school books, religious tracts and manuals, journals, magazines and broadsides.

The proprietors of some of these printing establishments were engaged in a number of occupations - some were compositors, others editors or reporters while others combined newspaper production with shipping agencies and the sale of cure-alls. James Haly, printer, stationer, and book seller of King's Arms, Exchange Cork, on his business card informs:[1]

"all persons travelling that he is constantly supplied with portable soups, Brodum's Cordial Syrup, and with every medicine of established repute."

Will West, owned an auction + sales room in addition to his printing office, situated at the corner of Faulkner's Lane or Nelson Place. The extent of his business can be seen from the following notice which he published in 1810:

NELSON PLACE, CORK
ADVERTISING, AUCTION, SALE MART
WILL WEST

apprises the public thatin addition to his general printing office, auction and sales rooms, he has commenced a new and cheap advertising plant and is ready to receive all orders for advertisements from the public, newspapers and otherwise, bills,cards and posters, which he will regularly take in and post up in his rooms at the moderate expense of 1/8 each and 5d. per week if continued. To those who have had bills printed by him, he will place them in his rooms without any additional charge whatever. Will West has just printed and in a few days intends publishing.

1. J.C.H.A.S., Series 2, Vol. VIII, 1902, p.95.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE * LIBRARY *

The Court of Appollo

with other pieces of original poetry and some specimens of translation from the

Minor Greek Poets

by Abraham Shackleton, many years master of Ballitore School; also just published

EPICTETUS

translated from the original Greek

The Life of Bonaparte

A Sketch of Universal History - price 1/3, half bound

Several thousand copies of childrens' books - from ½d. - 8d. each. including "Reading made easy" and "Child's New Plaything", upon which he will allow 30% to wholesale dealers. He also has in the press 4,000 copies of "West's improved edition of the Universal Spelling Book", to be sold @1/4 each, bound in leather; or 10/- a dozen to shopkeepers or schools.

In 1810, Will West published the "Directory and Picture of Cork and Its Environs".

John Bolster, whose business house at No. 7. Patrick Street, Cork was the favourite lounge and resort of the literary men of the city, published Bolster's Quarterly Magazine and also in1814 "Bolster's Improved Spelling Book" or "The Easy Guide to the English Language", had on his business card the following:

John Bolster's

State Lottery and Printing Office, Account and Schools Books Manufactory, Juvenile and Circulating Library, Book, Stationery and Fancy Ware House.

No. 7, Patrick Street, Cork.[1]

Jeremiah Danahy, printerin St.Barry's was also a vintner, in 1812. John Connor, reputed printer of the Grand Parade, was also owner of a circulating library.[2]

1. J.C.H.A.S., Series 2, Vol. VIII, 1902, pp.95-98.

2. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.

Purcell & Co., printers and stationers of 124, Patrick St., established in 1797, outlived every one of its early and many of its later contemporaries in the trade and"by the enterprise of the successive proprietors of the business, sustained its prestige as the leading house, in this department of commercial activity in the city." The printing works were situated at the rear with entrance from Lavitt's Quay. Its various departments included, letter-press, account-book-making, paper ruling, label making and book-binding. The production of ths house for generations enjoyed an enviable reputation for "superior excellence of style and finished workmanship".[1]

Judged by present-day standards the productive methods of the early newspaper printers were elementary.[2] There are no exact figures available concerning the circulation of newspapers. None were of daily publication.

In the printing operation, the paper was moistened and subjected to the action of types and copper plates. Presswork required a good deal of knowledge and experience, for the pressman had to make his own tympans, which were generally of parchment, also to cut his finials to meet the requirements of his job. He generally worked to points fixed on the tympan, which assured him a perfect register.[3] The presses were operated by man power. The sheets were printed one by one and on one side. The formes were then changed and the other side of the sheets then printed.[4] It is a vast distance between the old presses and the rotary machine of to-day.

The early machinery for obtaining news was as rudimentary as that for printing the paper. There were no telegraphic machines pouring in news from all parts of the world. For foreign intelligence, the

1. Stratten's Dublin Cork and South of Ireland (1892),pp. 154,155.
2. The Newspaper Press in Cork, Cork Public Museum Guide. p. 52.
3. Cork Typographical Society, Centenary Record, 1906, p.9.
4. The Newspaper Press in Cork, Cork Public Museum Guide.

printers depended on letters from abroad, and on the London and Dublin papers which arrived days after publication. Each copy of a newspaper carried a Revenue Stamp, paid for in advance.[1]

In spite of the inevitable slowness of presses operated by man power, the following list indicates that the output of newspapers in Cork was quite considerable:[2]

The New Cork Evening Post , printed by James & Henry Knight of Castle St., was established in 1791 and continued to be published on Mondays and Thursdays until September 10th, 1810, at 2½d.

The Cork Herald started its career in February, 1798, and in 1799 it became the CorkAdvertiser , which name it kept until the 1820's. It advocated Tory principles.

In January, 1799, The Cork Constitution made its appearance as The Cork Advertiser and Commercial Register . The printer in 1802 was Edward H. Morgan, Patrick St., Cork. It was essentially a commercial journal, inserting however, English Parliamentary debates in its columns, but seldom venturing to make any comment on them. This paper was published on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The price remained at 4d. until 1808, from which date it was 5d. The office of the paper remained in Patrick Street but the personnel of the printers changed. The printer for the years up to 1816 was John Bettson.

The Cork Mercantile Chronicle was established in 1801, and for several years took the lead amongst the local newspapers. It was mainly the organ of the Roman Catholics and until the schism produced by the veto of 1815, it was a very prosperous concern.

Boyle's Magazine started in 1806. It was printed by John Boyle and was for sale at his office, 21, Paul St., Cork. No. 12 is dated February 2nd, 1807,and shows that the office has been changed to 3 French Church St. In No. 13, dated February 16, 1807, the proprietor bids a temporary farewell to his readers and "hopes to appear before them with The Southern Reporter about the middle of April". The

1. The Newspaper Press in Cork, Cork Public Museum Guide, page 52.

2. Madden, R., The History of Irish Periodical Literature from the end of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century, Vol.II,(1867), pp. 169-190.

Southern Reporter was established in 1807 under the title Boyle's Southern Reporter and was ranged on the side of the Liberal Party. No. 67 appeared on Saturday, 20th February, 1808, printed for the proprietor by J. Higgins. It continued to be published on every Wednesday and Saturday and was available at 5d. The printer in 1810 was D. J. Murphy and in 1813 was Charles McCarthy.

A fortnightly publication with the title The Patriotic Magazine appeared in April, 1809, printed by John Daly. It reached its 26th No. in April, 1809.

The Nettle was published fortnightly in 1809 and reached at least its 15th no.

What seems to have been the first daily paper in Cork, made its appearance on Monday, February 13th, 1809, The Patriot or TheCork Daily News Letter . The imprint was Cork - printed by John Stephenson, at No. 10 Castle Street where all orders and communications for the paper will be received . The opening address to the public contained the following passage: "We aim in the first degree at the character of a prompt and impartial intelligence to the commercial interests of Cork." The Patriot reached its 90th number in 1809 after which date it does not appear to have been published.

A Committee of the Cork Institution conducted a very useful periodical entitled: The Munster Farmer's Magazine , which began in April, 1811. It was published quarterly and each number cost 1/3 and each four formed a volume. The imprint was Cork: Printed by J. Geary, at the Stanhope Press Printing Office, King's Arms, Exchange: Sold there and by all the book sellers in town and country. This magazine reached its 14th number in July, 1815.

The Cork Morning Intelligencer appeared in 1810. It cost 5d, and was printed and published by John Rorke for the proprietor.

A monthly periodical containing 36 pages, was started in 1814 under the title of The Religious Miscellany , The imprint of the second volume was Cork: Printed by J. Bolster, Bookseller, No. 7. Patrick St. The contents consisted mainly of moral discourses.

The Cork Phoenix or West's Daily Advertiser & Morning News Letter reached its 80th number on Friday, January 1st, 1813. It cost 3d. The issue on Monday, September 19th, 1814 is marked Vol. II, No. 25 and itwas published at 6d, printed by Joseph Haly for Will West.

One of the most remarkable of early 19th century periodicals appeared in 1813, entitled Boyle's Freeholder . It was conducted by John Boyle and dealt chiefly in personal anecdote and local gossip.

S. Ó Casaide, A History of the Periodical Literature of Cork from the beginning up to A.D. 1900, pp. 23-74.

BANKING AND CURRENCY IN CORK - THE PRIVATE BANKS - LARGE NOTE CIRCULATION - THE FAILURE OF THE HOUSE OF COTTER AND KELLET - THE SHORTAGE OF SMALL COINAGE - FOREIGN COINAGE - A CURRENCY WHICH ORIGINATED IN CORK - "SILVER NOTES" - EXCESSIVE CIRCULATION OF "SILVER NOTES" - CHANGE IN CURRENCY AFFECTING COMMERCE - HOPES FOR A RELIABLE CURRENCY FROM THE GOVERNMENT NOT REALIZED.

The Bank of Ireland established in 1783, was given virtually a monopoly of banking facilities within a wide area surrounding Dublin. It made no attempt to provide such facilities in other parts of the country. As a result of the neglect to organize and encourage local credit, for almost 40 years the banking business of the country outside the capital was forced into the hands of innumerable small banks, none of which because of the restriction on the number of partners, was able to acquire the capital necessary to ensure stability or success. The increase in the number of private banks in Munster continued steadily under the impact of the Napoleonic Wars.[1]

After the Act of Union, Cork gained an unexpected impetus from the increased use of Cork harbour as a British naval base and as a centre for provisioning the fleet and merchant ships. This sudden growth of prosperity encouraged banking in Cork city. Payment of Bank of Ireland notes in specie was suspended in 1797. In practice this was taken to mean that private banks could honour their commitments to the holders of their notes by payment in Bank of Ireland notes rather than in specie as well. The expansion of trade therefore, was financed by a great increase in bank note circulation in Cork. The bulk of transactions came to be effected in notes, rather than in cash.[2]

The high level of economic activity in Cork was reflected in the

1. O'Kelly, E., The Old Private Bankers of Munster, Part I., (1959) Preface.

2. Cullen, L., An Economic History of Ireland since 1860, (1970) p. 101.

large note circulation emanating from its five Private Banks. These had been established before 1800. The partners of Pike's Bank, situated in Hoare's Lane, were at this date, Richard & Joseph Pike. Richard retired from partnership so that when the bankers registered in October, 1800, the sole proprietor, was Joseph Pike. He held this position until 1826.[1] While there are no precise figures available to show the extent of the bank's business in these early years, the record of stamp duty paid on its notes by Mr. Pike after 1800, afford some information:[2]

STAMP DUTY

Year end 5th June.	1½d.	3d.	4d.	Total
1802	108,000	2,000	100	£700- 13 - 4
1803	69,000	-	-	£416- 14 - 0½
1804	64,100	-	-	£402- 5 -10

Stamp Duty on notes or Post Bills:

Not exceeding 1½ in value = £3 - 3 - 0
" " 3d " " = £10 - 0 - 0
" " 4d " " = £50 - 0 - 0

Taking the average annual issues of the bank to have been:

Duty @ 1½d	3d	4d
80,000	600	nil

the issues would have been valued at about £127,000. Allowing for the daily redemption of notes returned to the house in the ordinary course of business, it is thought that a reasonable estimate of the average actual circulation might be taken at around £63,000. This figure would indicate that the Bank's business was on a fairly substantial scale.

Mr. Pike had his own difficulties to contend with on occasion. One such instance sheds an interesting light on the temper of the times.

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. I A, 1892, p.224.

2. O'Kelly, E., p. 41, Report on the Circulation Paper, the Current Coin and Exchange of Ireland, 1804, Appendix K, pp. 148-149.

Apparently, the Parliamentary election of 1812, caused some bitterness in Cork city. The ballot continued for some days and each morning, the newspapers published the names of those who had voted, showing for whom they had voted. From a contemporary report[1] it appears that a very considerable run was made on the Bank of Joseph Pike and many of his notes were cut and defaced in consequence "of his having exercised his elective franchise in voting for Sir Nicholas Colthurst", in place of Hely Hutchinson, upholder of Catholic claims. The continuance of such improper practices towards the bank, caused measures to be taken to counteract such attempts; Lords Shannon, Bandon, Bantry and Bernard, The Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross and 30 gentlemen of highly respectable landed interests in the county and vicinity of Cork have come forward to afford every possible support and protection and to prevent the deprecation attempted to be cast upon the notes of Joseph Pike or the preference attempted to be given to the circulation of other bankers of that city or county.[2] Mr. Pike's bank encountered no further difficulty until 1826.

The important and celebrated bank of Cotter & Kellet, was a development of Falkiner's Bank. When Sir Riggs Falkiner died in 1799, Cotter became the head of the firm, which was then styled "Cotter & Kellet." When the bank was registered, as required by law on 27th March, 1799, three partners were in the firm. Within a few months another partner was admitted, a step which required further registration. When the re-registration was done on July, 14th, 1800 the partners then were : Sir J. Laurence Cotter, B.R. Kellet, Sir R. Kellet and W. Augustine Kellet. This partnership continued until the disastrous failure of the bank occurred in 1809. The return of stamp duty paid on the firm's notes after 1800 was as follows:[3]

1. Limerick Chronicle, 18th November, 1812.
2. O'Kelly, p. 42.
3. ibid., p.56, Report on the Circulating Paper, 1804, Appendix K, p.153, 152. See page 140b.

No. 5131 Guinea Bank Note £1:2:9

Cork 7 Nov 1806

I Promise to pay Gee or Bearer on Demand ONE POUND TWO SHILLINGS & NINE PENCE St. in Bank of Ireland Notes Value received

For Sir Jam.s Lau.a Cotter Bar.t Rich.d Kellett Sir Rich.d Kellett Bar.t and Will.m A. Kellett

One Guinea

P. [illegible]

No. 23/560 Cork Bank £1.11.1½

One Pound Fourteen Shill.s & 3 Half Pence

Promise to pay Mr. Tro.s Maylan or Bearer on demand ONE GUINEA & HALF in Bank of Ireland Notes Value received

Cork 6 Feb 1806 No. 23/560

For Stephen Roche & James Roche

Jamis Roche

STEP.N & JAMES ROCHE.

£1.11.1½

ONE GUINEA & HALF.

Ent.d W.M.

No. 4991 CORK BANK £1.00 No. [illegible]

I Promise to pay the Bearer on Demand by a Bank of Ireland Note ONE POUND Value rec.d Cork 5 [illegible] 1807

For Sir Thomas Roberts Bar.t James Bonwell & John Lee

ONE POUND

[illegible]

(By courtesy of the Public Museum, Cork)

STAMP DUTY

Year end 5th June	1½d.	3d.	4d.	Total
1802	163,727	1,200	-	£1,638 - 5 - 10½
1803	61,615	2,500	1,000	433 - 0 - 2½
1804	146,800	1,400	-	935 - 0 - 0

Duty on Notes or Post Bills

Not exceeding 1½ in value = £3 - 3 - 0
" " 3d. " " = £10 - 0 - 0
" " 4d. " " = £50 - 0 - 0

Stamp duty figures would indicate that in the three years shown, the bank issued paper to the value of £789,784. It has been calculated that an average actual circulation of at least £131,630 (representing the amount issued in a 6 month's period) can be inferred.

It is difficult to imagine that an issue of such magnitude was justified by the Bank's resources and it is not surprising to find that the firm failed disastrously a few years later.

On the 8th June, 1809, the Bank failed to open as usual and issued the following notice:[1]

The House of Cotter & Kellet having for some time past laboured under difficulties, it has been recommended to them by a meeting of some of their most respectable friends, to suspend their payments for the present, in order to allow of time to bring into effect their funds, which upon a statement, intended to be laid before the public will appear to be abundantly more than adequate to the discharge of all their engagements. A Committee was appointed to supervise the liquidation. Five years of protracted and costly litigation followed.[2]

The partners of the Bank of Sir Thos. Roberts Bart & Co. in Patrick Street, later known as Leslie's Bank, were in 1799, Sir Thomas Roberts Bart, James Bonwell and John Leslie.[3]

1. Limerick Chronicle, 10th June, 1809.
2. O'Kelly, p. 59.
3. Report ... 1804, Appendix K, pp. 152,153.

In 1810, the name of James Bonwell disappeared from the firm and two new partners came in. The names then were: Sir T. Roberts Bart, Walter Roberts and Charles H. Leslie[1]. According to the Directories the founder and senior partner, Sir. T. Roberts Bart, appears to have retired in 1814. The extent of the business done by Roberts & Co., can be glimpsed from the fact that the firm paid for the year 1803, stamp duty on a note circulation of 128,000 notes of sums under 3 guineas and of 3,000 notes under £3.[2]

Amongst the numerous banks that sprung into existence throughout Ireland after the year 1798, one of the most well known was that established by George Newenham, a merchant in the North Abbey. This bank was probably established in 1800.[3] Mr. George Newenham registered himself as a banker on the 3rd April, 1800.[4] Within a few months he took into his partnership his son, George Newenham, Junior and John Lecky, so that on the first of June, 1801 the partnership was registered in these three names.[5]

The Newenham bank notes carried the crest of the family and showed the family's motto: "Deo averso Leo vincitur". It is known that the bank was situated in Patrick Street in 1805 and remained there until the partnership ended.[6] Lecky became, to all intents and purposes, the head of the firm.[7]

One of the main objectives of all the private banks of the period was to build up a large and presumably remunerative note issue. Although Newenham is known to have issued small notes for sums of less than a £1 known as "silver notes",[8] the name of the bank does

1. The Gentleman's and Citizens Almanac compiled by J. S. Stewart for the years 1802: O'Kelly, p.64.
2. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. I A, pp. 242, 246.
3. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. I A, p. 244.
4. Report . . . Appendix K, pp. 152-3. 5. ibid.
6. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.
7. O'Kelly, p. 81.
8. Paper on "'Silver Notes" in the county of Cork"' in JCHAS, Vol.I Second Series, 1895, p.33.

not appear in the official list of bankers who paid stamp duties on ordinary note issues duringthe years 1801, '2, '3.[1] They did however issue notes for sums such as 1 guinea. As the law stood, the names of all partners in a banking firm had to be shown in all notes. The note dated 1809, shows only the names of two partners, the Newenhams, father and son. Although it has been stated that Lecky remained in the firm until 1821, I have found no evidence to prove that this was the case.

The banking firm of Stephen & James Roche, of Camden Place, was first registered on 1st June, 1800.[2] Many years later, James Roche stated that his capital when he entered the banking business in 1800, was worth £24,000.[3] When the Roches opened their bank there were already three old established banks in the city and the fourth bank, had been opened by George Newenham only a few weeks before. Mr. J. Roche has left it on record[4] that during these early years the bank carried on a very large business which "was prosperous" and had made very large profits. He stated that in the beginning of the year 1814, he considered himself worth between £80,000 and £90,000.[5]

The following account of the stamp duty paid on the notes of the bank afford some idea of the extent of the business carried on by the bank in these early years:[6]

STAMP DUTY

Year end. 5th Jan.	1½d.	3d.	4d.
1802	6,001	3,301	300
1803	59,739	800	2,000
1804	35,004	2,075	-

1. O'Kelly, p. 81. 2. Report ... Appendix K, p.153.

3. Limerick Chronicle, 22nd July, 1820.

4. ibid.,- Kelly, Statement during the bankruptcy proceedings, 15th July, 1820, p.87.

5. ibid.

6. Report on the Circulating Paper, the Current Coin and Exchange of Ireland, 1804, Appendix F and G.

Some idea of the scale of the bank's operations in 1813 may be inferred from the fact, that in June of that year the bank's notes inthe hands of the public, amounted to approximately £295,000 (Irish). This bank issued notes of all denominations in use at the time; for amounts such as 1 guinea, 20/-, £10, 3 guineas, etc. The bank made remittances to Dublin by means of Bills drawn on John Roche & Co. the firm of the wealthy elder brother.[1]

There is in the Cork Museum an old note issued in the year 1813 by one Denis Moylan of Cork.[2] The issue of notes at that time was not confined to properly established banks or bankers and as I have found no evidence that Denis Moylan had set as a banker, it is probable that this note issue was one of those indulged in by merchants to finance their seasonal purchase of corn or other farm produce and which after a brief and local circulation were paid off by the issuers when the produce had been sold.

During the war years, the monetary economy became subject to a fairly sharp price rise. Grain prices were forced up to an exceptionally high level. The value of land soared and bankers were induced to make advances against the inflated value of such security. When prices fell, Cork bankers were to find themselves in difficulties.[3]

THE CURRENCY:

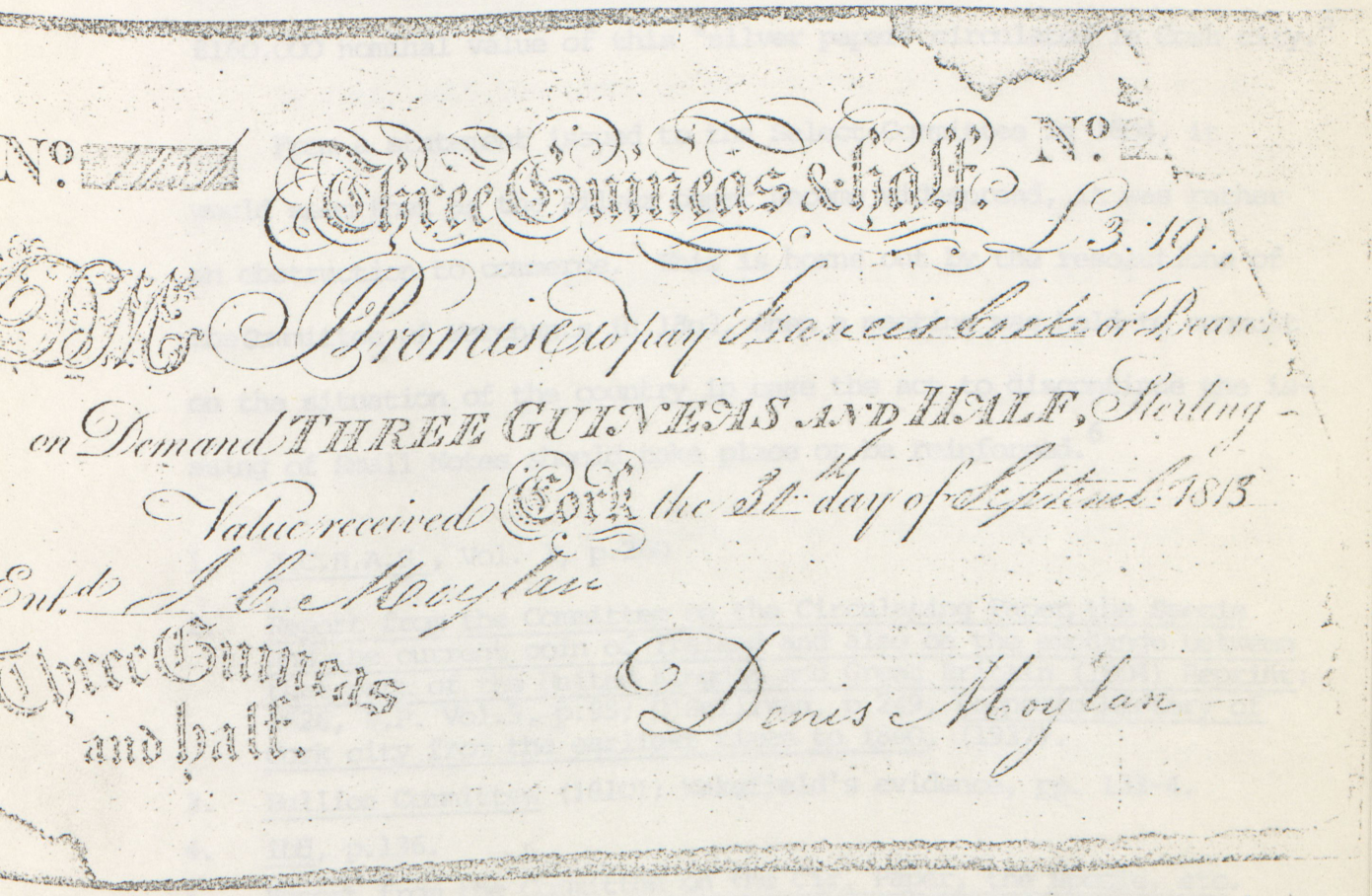
The problem of the currency, present in Ireland since the 18th century, continued in the 19th century, mainly due to inflation.[4] The principal need was a small coinage to meet the purpose of ordinary everyday buying and selling. In Cork where trade and commerce had increased, the problem was particularly acute. Despite the fact that foreign coin had been forbidden to pass current in 1775, it still circulated in Cork. The circulation was however inadequate for the com-

1. O'Kellyp. 93. 2. See page 144b.

3. L. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (1970), pp. 101, 112.

4. Lynch and Vaizey, Guiness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, (1960) p. 29.





(By courtesy of the Public Museum, Cork.)

mercial expansion of the city, during the closing years of the 18th century, when Cork became remarkable in the fact that it produced a currency of its own. The origin of this currency may be ascribed to Mr. Sadlier, a man of repute at the time in the cotton industry. This enterprising employer experienced great difficulty in paying his employees and in 1798, hit on a plan of issuing promissory notes of small denominations as payment to them on account of the deficiency of small coinage.[1] This origin is corroborated by official evidence.[2] This enterprise proved so successful that in the course of a few months others followed the example of the cotton manufacturer so that in time, the notes were issued by "every publican and shopkeeper" in Cork city and also in Youghal. These notes were generally known as "Silver Notes" and were in defiance of the law but that did not hinder the activities of those responsible for their issue. In time they spread over the neighbouring counties.[3] In most cases they were disguised as invoices, weighbills, etc., and thus managed cleverly to evade legal proceedings.[4] A witness giving evidence to the Committee in 1804, estimated that from £150,000 to £160,000 nominal value of this "silver paper" circulated in Cork city.[5]

From a statement issued to the Select Committee in 1804, it would seem that as the silver paper became widespread, it was rather an obstruction to commerce. This is borne out by the resolutions of the Committee of Merchants in 1803, when a meeting was held to consult on the situation of the country in case the act to discontinue the issuing of Small Notes should take place or be reinforced.[6]

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. 3, p.260
2. Report from the Committee on the Circulating Paper, the Specie and the current coin of Ireland and also on the exchange between that part of the United Kingdom and Great Britain (1804) Reprint: 1826, P.P. Vol.5, p.95; O'Sullivan, p.249, Economic History of Cork city from the earliest times to 1860, (1937).
3. Bullion Committee (1810); Wakefield's evidence, pp. 133-4.
4. ibid, p.136.
5. Report from the Committee on the Cir. Paper, the Specie, etc. 1804, p. 78.
6. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes 19th November, 1803.

As a result of these debates the following resolutions were passed a few months later:

> That the immense circulation of I.O.U's and notes on demand is a grievance.
>
> That the increase of country banks depending on profits on note circulation is a grievance.
>
> That the silver notes, even of the Cork banks, issued to the extent they are, cannot be defended by us.[1]

The Cork Mercantile Chronicle commenting on the state of the currency at the time in the city stated:

> COMMERCIAL REPORT
>
> The difficulty of the want of gold and silver for the change of notes in retail trade embarasses business and even impedes the circulation of money. If all the mischief to trade from all the many instances of inconvenience caused by the scarcity of silver money, were taken in an estimate together, we should certainly find that merely by this small matter, the loss to Great Britain and Ireland is not less than £100 a day.[2]

John Carr, an English visitor to Cork during the following year stated:

"In consequence of the "silver tokens" being inadequate to the wants of the trade, the small "silver bank notes" although declared illegitimate continue clandestinately to circulate".[3]

In June, 1805, the shortage of coin was relieved to some extent when "several tons of copper coinage arrived in town which the wretched state of our currency renders a very desirable circumstance. A supply of 10p. silver tokens has also been received which is not a less seasonable relief, as the facility of little dealing was in no degree obstructed by the baseness and want of weight of what was in circulation as silver. Those tokens are equal in weight to a standard 1/- and therefore are not only convenient, but the full and intrinsic value they represent".[4]

The Committee of Merchants resolved to confer with the bankers to devise a plan to restrict the circulation of "those checks which

1. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes, 13th March, 1804.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th January, 1804.
3. Carr, J., The Stranger in Ireland, 1805, p. 147.
4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th June, 1805.

were in direct violation of those equitable maxims of policy, which in a commercial country are a basis of the credit; and which ought to restrain the circulation of paper within the limits prescribed by the natural operation of trade."[1]

Nothing seems to have resulted from the activities of the Committee and two years later they again convened a meeting of the bankers in the Council Chamber and extracted from them a guarantee not to issue paper under 20/- face value.[2] Having got this the members of the Committee subscribed individually £10,000 to buy silver currency for the accommodation of the public. To this end they sent 19 men to Dublin to bring down silver from the Bank of Ireland, under military escort:[3]

6 to bring £1,000 each
4 to bring £500 each
1 to bring £400
8 to bring £200 each

The Committee, a few months later passed a resolution advocating the entire suppression of these "silver notes", indicating that their former remonstrances were of little avail.

It appears that the trade of the city was also considerably obstructed by the crying down arbitrarily of one sort of currency and the substitution of another. Notice to this effect appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th April, 1808:

On Friday last a public notice was given to the inhabitants of the city by His Worship, the Mayor, intimating that the current value of dollars was in other towns and cities 5/- and suggesting the prudence of reducing their value in this city to the same standard. The consequence of this measure has been a sudden reduction in the value

1. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes, 26th February, 1805.
2. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes 20th and 23rd February, 1808.
3. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes 25th February, 1808.

of this sort of specie from 5/5 to 5/-. It is very much to be regretted that the Government do not make some effort to relieve the public by a proper legitimate coinage, from the shocks and capricious depreciation to which every sort of specie is liable. For the want of a proper coinage the public have to encounter the most serious difficulties and embarassments. The general trade has been thrown into disorder frequently by the arbitrary crying down of one sort of coinage and the substitution of another. The currency of dollars continues to be a necessity. There is no circulating silver medium to facilitate retail business, or by which the wages of labour can be conveniently paid except through dollars and their insignificant assistants the 10d. and 5d. bits.....The 6/- token bears an invariable rate and the dollar which is of as much value is sunk as the opinion of a Mayor or Magistrate up or down may direct. A new silver coinage is a matter now indispensably wanting..... Until that is accomplsihed there should be as little meddling as possible with the variation of all temporary currency, more especially the dollar."

There is no evidence to show that the hopes for a "reliable and legitimate coinage from the Government" were fulfilled during this period. As late as February, 1813, the scarcity of coinage was still an acute problem in Cork city. In Boyle's Freeholder the editor made the following interesting comment on the causes of the scarcity of "change", and the remedy for same:

CIRCULATING MEDIUM

The evils and inconveniences arising from the scarcity of change amongst all ranks of our fellowmen are too deeply felt to require much illustration. Buyers cannot oftimes procure those articles they may stand in need of, without a great disadvantage from the scarcity of change, by being obliged to purchase more than they actually want; and sellers cannot vend them from a deficiency of circulating medium. This scarcity of change is not confined to one particular district but exists throughout the country, which would seem to imply that the silver is removed from this island, yet when we know that the bank

tokens, the only circulating medium that we have, were exclusively received from this country, we cannot yield to this presumption.

The most probable cause of the evil is the hoarding of the farmers and others, who imagine that these silver tokens possess more intrinisc value than any other currency: but if the Government or Bank were to reduce their nominal value and to issue some other medium of some less value or of the same value, it would speedily emit a sufficient supply for all purposes and oblige those hoarders to regorge their useless superfluities. In fact under the present circumstances of theEmpire, we cannot perceive a more immediate source of relief than a recoinage. It is but just under the present difficulty of raising taxes, that the Government should draw profit and the public require nothing more than an abundant circulating medium to give activity to trade.

Private bankers and even individuals are permitted to issue notes on demand to an indefinite amount - to increase their individual profits at the expense of the public, without a sufficient revenue being drawn from such a source of private enrolment. Is it not the duty of the Government to protest this abuse of public credulity? It is not improbable that these bankers may have contributed by hoarding to this shortage of silver coinage, to oblige the public, to possess and keep in circulation a greater quantity and variety of their notes above £1 for the purpose of lightening the demand for change and of facilitating the intercourse of business.

We may presume that the Government will stimulate the bank directors to make a new issue to satisfy the public necessities or demands in the way of trade. Perhaps the silver intended for this purpose was obliged to be sent for the payment of troops in the Peninsula, as it is understood that a large sum has been remitted recently on this account.....

THE ROLE OF THE MERCHANT IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE CITY

(a) THE INSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS - CONTROL OF THE BUTTER MARKET - INFLUENCE IN MATTERS AFFECTING MUNICIPAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE CITY - THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS CHALLENGED

(b) ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE "CHAMBER OF COMMERCE"

(c) ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS CO.

Merchants were at the centre of economic life in Cork city at the beginning of the 19th century. The famous body known as The Committee of Merchants originated in 1769, when a group of Cork merchants met in answer to an advertisement which appeared in the Cork Evening Post, 13th March, 1769. It proposed "to establish a Committee of Merchants in Cork, which would be of the utmost advantage not only to the trade thereof, but also the county in general. The merchants are requested to meet in Mr. Rigg's Tavern on the 14th inst. to form said Committee."[1] The fame of this body became associated particularly with the Cork Butter Market, its pre-eminence being attributed to the careful management of the Committee of Merchants. This body was purely voluntary and consisted originally of 14 exporters, 7 brokers or butter buyers and three repesentatives of the tanning trade all elected annually by the members of their own respective trades. Real control was vested in a sub-committee of seven exporters, and seven butter buyers who met weekly. The chairman could only hold office for three months and the Treasurer was elected from among the Committee. The funds of the Committee were derived from the butter trade and from the fee for inspecting hides. Out of these funds a salary had to be paid to the inspector of casks and hides, the weigh-master, the agent in communication with the Government as well as paying for the upkeep of the Market and the rent for the Committee room.[2]

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XI, p. 144.

2. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade of Ireland, 1826, P.P. Vol. V, p. 124; O'Sullivan, p. 258.

The work of the Committee was not however exclusively confined to the Butter Market. Mr. William Fagan, member of the Committee giving evidence to the Select Committee on the Butter Trade of Ireland in 1826, summarized the work of theCommittee as follows: "They appoint inspectors at the empty firkin crane and also inspectors at the butter market; they transact the general public business of the merchants of Cork and have an agent to whom they pay a certain salary for communicating with the Government on certain points relating to commercial business".[1]

This evidence was elaborated on by Mr. Thomas Fitzgibbon, broker from Cork, in his statement to the same Select Committee. Referring to the Committee of Merchants he stated:

"They undertake the superintendence of the general trading concerns of Cork; if there be a petition to Parliament in progress or any public matter that is desirable to be accomplished, they are generally the medium through which the business is done. They apply the butter fund to these purposes. At the time a mail coach was established between Cork and Waterford, it was deemed useful to the trading interests of Cork and our Committee allowed the proprietor £100 a year for several years in order to encourage him and that was taken out of the butter fund".

There is an abundance of evidence available particularly in the Minutes of the Committee, to testify to the veracity of the above statements and to the vitality of the Committee of Merchants in matters affecting municipal and economic affairs in the city. Prior to the establishment of the Harbour Commissioners, the Committee were actively engaged in many matters connected with the port, river and quays of the city. Their concern for the safe lighterage of goods and practical measures to secure same is evident from the following

1. Report, p. 136.

notice which appeared on 23rd January, 1800, in the Cork Advertiser and Commercial Register:

NOTICE RESPECTING LIGHTERMEN

The plunder and extortion of the lightermen on this river has increased to such an alarming extent, as if not speedily checked, must be severely felt by all who have occasion to employ them. The merchants of this city for the purpose of putting a stop to said villainy, have entered into a subscription, to defray the expense of bringing all such offenders to condign punishment and have appointed William Phillips, Esq. their law agent, to whom all persons aggrieved in these respects are requested to apply, he being directed to carry out the necessary prosecutions, free of expense to the individual. And the merchants call upon owners of lighters to co-operate with them, in rendering the lighterage of goods on the river more safe, by immediately providing each lighter with heads, fore and aft, put up in such a manner as to prevent any possibility of communicating with the Hold below the Deck .

The system of pilotage in the harbour was apparently greatly in need of reform. Suggested reforms were submitted by John Roche, of Cove to the Committee of Merchants in February, 1805. The latter immediately adopted certain regulations based on these suggestions, which were published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on February 15th, 1805, as follows:

The Committee of Merchants having adopted certain regulations respecting pilots for the port, gives notice to all those who wish to offer themselves for that profession, that they have appointed John Roche, John Urqhart and Mr. D. Baxter of Cove to examine and grant certificates to such men as they find properly qualified. [1] The merchants continued to exercise their authority over the elected pilots

1. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes of the Committee of Merchants 1792-1819, dated 5th February, 1805.

and withdrew the certificate of pilots for improper conduct.[1]

It was the Committee, in concurrence with the surveyors principally concerned, who arranged the schedule of fees payable by all shippers in the different districts of the harbour.[2] When different quays were unsafe for vessels to lay at, the committee took cognizance of this and communicated to the water bailiff the urgency of having the situation remedied.[3]

It was through the Committee of Merchants that communications with the Post Master General concerning the safety of mail; change in the course of letters to and from Cork ; the adoption of new mail coaches and the time of departure and arrival of mail coaches, were made.[4]

The concern of the Committee for the welfare of the distillers is evident from the following outcome of a meeting held by the Committee on 28th May, 1801:[5]

Ordered: That the President signify the opinion of the Committee that allowing the importation of rum into this Kingdom from the U.S.A. under any pretence whatever would do serious evil to the West Indies trade, the British navigation and the distillers of this Kingdom; and that unless such indulgence be granted to the Americans trading in Great Britain, it should not be allowed in this Kingdom by any means whatsoever .

The Committee showed a practical interest in the financial welfare of the citizens. When it became evident to the Committee that the issue of "silver notes" was excessive in 1804 they arranged for a meeting with the bankers of the city "to devise some plan of remedying the defect without injuring trade".[6] When in 1805 an Act was

1. Minutes - dated 29th April, 1806.
2. Minutes - dated 2nd February, 1802.
3. Minutes - dated 20th September, 1802; 8th August, 1805; 14th September, 1811.
4. Minutes - 29th October, 1800; 2nd December, 1803; 22nd February, 1804 30th June, 1810; 14th September, 1814.
5. Minutes - 28th May, 1801.
6. Minutes - 13thMarch, 1804.

passed "to allow the circulation of bank notes under 20/- for a limited time and to restrain the further issue of them", the Committee called on the citizens of Cork "to adopt this resolution as the only means of averting those evils which experience has shown to be inseparable from a forced circulation of paper".[1]

It would seem that the advice of the Committee was not generally put into practice for at a meeting of the Committee held on 23rd February, 1808, the merchants took practical steps to stem "the unlimited issue of silver notes" by resolving "not to pay or receive, or suffer to be received by any person employed by us any notes or cheques under the sum of 20/- or any notes in the form of bank notes except those issued by registered banks."[2] Two days later when it was evident that trade was particularly obstructed by the shortage of silver the Committee sent 19 men to Dublin to bring down same to the value of £10,000 under military escort.[3] Seeking further to alleviate the distress in trading circles owing to the shortage of money in September, 1808, the President of the Committee requested the authorities of Dublin Castle "to remit portion of the pay to the troops in tokens in order to combat the shortage of money and the unlawful circulation of small paper".[4] The President received a letter in return to the effect that the troops would be paid for the next three months in silver and copper coins.[5]

In the Cork Advertiser, 8th August, 1807, the following notice appeared:

The President of the Committee of Merchants this day received a letter from Mr. Foster, stating that the 6% duty bill had been relinquished. This we understand proceeded from a Memorial of the Merchants of this city to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, showing the impolicy

1. Minutes - 26th February, 1805. 2. Minutes - 23rd February, 1808.
3. Minutes - 25th February, 1808. 4. Minutes - 27th Sept., 1808.
5. Minutes - 24th February, 1809.

of the measure."

The abandonment of this measure evinces once again the due attention paid by Government authorities to the representations of the Committee.

The Committee regularly enlisted the services of the four members of Parliament from the city and country of Cork, "to use every means to prevent the passing of bills injurious to the trade of this city".[1] They also called upon them to use their influence to secure privileges for the trading interests of the city. Such an event occurred in 1802, when the merchants were concerned about gaining the privilege of receiving goods free of charge of customs duty until taken out for home consumption.[2]

That the Committee exercised considerable authority over the gathering of tolls in the city is evident from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle 28th November, 1806:

NOTICE

THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS

Having received information that the greatest extortion has been practised and is still practising by the toll gatherers of this city, give this public notice, that they have appointed a law agent for thepurpose of prosecuting all those concerned in such extortion, and that any application made on this subject to the Committee will meet with immediate attention.

Thomas Cuthbert,
President of the Committee of Merchants,
Cork, 28th November.

A thousand handbills of the above was distributed among the country people.[3]

The Mayor and the Committee duly recognised and respected each other's authority. The following is a typical example of this:[4]

1. Minutes - 17th March, 1802.
2. Minutes - 10th Dec., 1802.
3. Minutes - 27th November, 1806.
4. Cork Advertiser, 15th Jan., 1807.

SALT MEASURERS

The Mayor gives notice that on Tuesday, the 27th day of January, he will appoint twelve persons to measure salt in this city and harbour for the ensuing year. He will not give a warrant to any person to act as a measurer of salt who shall not be primarily approved of by the Committee of Merchants. Those who can secure such recommendations are desired to attend at the Mansion House.....

At the next Committee meeting of the Committee of Merchants held on 23rd February, 1807:[1]

Resolved:

That the following thirteen be recommended to the Mayor to be sworn as salt measurers.

The Committee also recommended to the Mayor when it was desirable to withdraw the warrant for measuring from a particular salt measurer because of improper conduct.

The Committee often intervened in a practical way to promote the trade of the city. In 1805, there was a petition forwarded to Mr. Pitt, 1st Lord of the Treasury, by the Committee, requesting among other things that the trading privileges granted to the U.S.A. by treaty be repealed, as being detrimental to the provision trade of Cork.[2] Their further concern for this trade was shown in September 1808, when they requested the presence of four butchers from the city, at their Committee meeting and required of them to sign the following resolution:

"The merchants of Cork have requested of us, the undersigned butchers, to limit the work in our respective slaughter houses to such a quantity as can be well done. We do pledge outselves not to exceed the number of oxen or cows annexed to our names on any day: and for their conceiving it essentially necessary for the protection of the provision trade of this city, that cattle should not be slaughtered as quickly after

1. Minutes - 23rd February, 1807.

2. Minutes - 12th February, 1805.

arriving in town as heretofore, we do promise that we will not henceforth slaughter a beast unless it shall have remained in town 58 hours to be dated from the time the beast passes through the yard." At that same meeting the Committee resolved . . . ."in order to effect improvement in the pork trade, that situations be sought in North and South Liberties where pigs shall rest on their journey to Cork previously to being slaughtered".[1]

Letters addressed by the Admiralty to the Mayor concerning the time of sailing of convoys to the West Indies, best suited to the trade of Cork were duly passed on by the Mayor to the Committee,[2] who, in concurrence with the general body of merchants made the most suitable arrangements.

The authority of the Committee did not, however, remain unchallenged for long. In those early years of the 19th century, large meetings of the merchants and inhabitants of the city of Cork convened by public advertisement, were quite frequent. At such meetings, commerical and industrial affairs were discussed and appropriate resolutions passed. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle of 20th July, 1814, describes as follows one such meeting held at the Commercial Buildings on Wednesday, 20th July, 1814:

At a Meeting of the Merchants and traders of Cork convened by public advertisement and held at the Commercial Buildings on Wednesday, 20th July, 1814

Sir A. Perrier in the Chair

The following resolutions proposed by Isaac Morgan were put to the chairman and unanimously adopted:

Resolved:

That we have seen with surprise a paper signed by "Gerard Callaghan, President, dated, Committee of Merchants Room, 5th July,

1. Minutes - 27th September, 1808.
2. Minutes - 17th May, 1808; 10th November, 1812; 20th July, 1814.

stating that an arrangement had been made with the Surveyor General of Customs and Storekeeper of this port, whereby the sampling and inspecting of warehoused goods should be confined to one day a week.

Resolved:

That such an arrangement having been entered into without our knowledge, or concurrence, by a self-created body, improperly styled The Committee of Merchants of Cork, who however respectable the individuals may be, have no authority to legislate for, or represent us, it is not in the least obligatory and we humbly protest against it.

Resolved:

That the aforesaid arrangement, if acted on, would be highly injurious to the commercial interests of this city and that we cannot consent to relinquish any right granted us by the Legislature, at the same time we shall ever be ready to accomodate the officers of the Revenue in the performance of their duty.

Resolved:

That to protect our own rights and to further the general trade of Cork, it is necessary to form an association, from the Merchants and traders at large who will possess the public confidence.

Resolved:

That such a body be called the "Chamber of Commerce": that it consist of 24 members, a third of whom are to withdraw annually and the vacancies to be filled by the Merchants and traders at a General Meeting, and that no two individuals of one house, shall be members at the same time.

Resolved:

That the present members be requested to act for the present year.

James Keene	Thomas Wise
Sir. A. Perrier	Fr. J. Moloney
Nicholas Murphy	J.K.Cummins
Thomas S. Reems	Robert Burke
J. B. Foley	Denis Moylan Sen.
Sam Lane	John Browne
Sam Perrott	Robert McClure
Richard Nettles	Bartholomew Gibbings

Frederick Honan	William Large
Owen Madden	Patrick Purcell
Thomas Dunscombe	Henry Hewitt
Joseph King	James Church

Sam Lane Secretary
Anthony Perrier Chairman

Such was the origin of the body henceforth known as "The Chamber of Commerce", which has played such a conspicuous role in the commercial life of the city to the present day.

The resolution of July 20th, 1814, however, was followed by an interesting episode in the commercial history of the city, which relates how The Committee of Merchants and The Chamber of Commerce contested for public recognition, each at the expense of the other. The determination of the Committee of Merchants to hold their authoritative psoition is evident from the resolutions made at the next Meeting of the Committee of Merchants held on Saturday 26th November, 1814:[1]

Resolution;

That the term of our late President, Gerard Callaghan, esq., having in rotation expired, we deem the present the proper time to mention a publication dated 20th July last, containing resolution of a meeting on that date, purporting to be a meeting of the Merchants andTraders of Cork, wherein, Committee of Merchants is stated as a "Self Created Body" and the traders at large are called on to form an association which will protect their rights, possess the public confidence, and further the general trade of Cork.

That the name of our late President having been introduced into the publication alluded to we feel ourselves called upon thus publicly to acknowledge the diligence, zeal and ability with which as Chairman he discharged all the duties of that situation.

That we deny the Committee of Merchants being a "Separated" Body, because the Committee was originally founded by the Merchants and Traders at large in the year 1769, and is since continued by an annual

1. C.B.M. Ms . Minutes dated 26th November, 1814.

election of Members in conformity with the prescribed rules as appearing in the Minute Books of the Committee.

That the Committee of Merchants professes to hold no other authority but what the acquiescence, for nearly half a century of the Merchants and Traders at large in the utility of the Institution - the character of the individuals composing it - their gratuitous labours - the rectitude of its acts and its acknowledged services in advancing the trade of Cork, have acquired for it.

That it is at all times competent to the body of merchants and traders from whom the Committee of Merchants derives its appointment to make such changes either in its form or in its regulations as they shall see fit and that it is the duty of the Committee of Merchants to acquiesce in and give effect to any alterations which shall appear to conduct to the advantage and prosperity of the trade of Cork.

That defying all malignity to point out any act of the Committee of Merchants which is not grounded on positive good or expediency we will continue to act governed by the same principles as ever for the prosecution of the objects for which it was instituted provided that the Committee of Merchants continues to possess the full confidence of the Body at large.

That as the existence of two associations whose object should be the same - the promotion of our trade - is inconsistent and may prove injurious, we direct that our President address Vice Admiral Sawyer, our Port Admiral, and such other authorities as usually correspond with this city, on the subject of its trade, requesting that their communications may for the present be addressed to the Mayor of Cork.

That these resolutions be signed by each individual of the Committee in order that the public may judge whether those who transact such a part of the trade of Cork are qualified by the interests they have at stake to guard its commercial rights or watch over its Commercial Concerns.

The above being signed accordingly by the individuals of the Committee was ordered to be inserted in the Cork newspapers.

Signed
Thomas Harvey

Four days later the following notice appeared in the Chronical indicating a like determination on the part of the Chamber of Commerce, to justify their existence as a body and to safeguard their rights:

At a meeting of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce held in their Chamber, Commercial Buildings, on Wednesday, 30th November, 1814

Sir A. Perrier, President, in the Chair

It was resolved unanimously:

That the resolutions of individuals calling themselves "The Committee of Merchants", dated the 26th instant do not contain any justification for their conduct, from the several charges already publicly made against them. That their attempt to withold or delay official mercantile information from the body of traders at large is most injurious and unjustifiable and that we are determined to communicate any that may reach us with the same openess and promptitude we have always done and shall request the public functionaries who have hitherto honoured us with their correspondence still to continue their favours.

That having been appointed at an open, full and highly respectable meeting of the merchants and traders held at the Commercial Buildings 20th July last, to protect their rights and to further their commercial interests (and being the only body so elected) we shall continue our existence on their behalf until that power which invested us with authority shall again withdraw it.

A. Perrier.....President

Some understanding of the attitude of the inhabitants of Cork city towards the contest between these two bodies can be gleaned

from the following notice which appeared in the newspaper nine days later:[1]

Commercial Contest

To the Public

...We assume the right of observing on the merits of their respective pretensions:

Referring to the Senior Body, an opinion has been long entertained not favourable to their pretensions ...their capacity has been doubted, and their firmness called into question.

It is evident from their own resolution, as indeed it must be when there is neither charter nor legislative permission to sanction it, that the Committee of Merchants are a self-created body. I say, without fear of contradiction that as "The Committee of Merchants" it is at an end.....Would the late and present investigations in the Custom House have taken place, or would there have been any necessity for them, if the Committee of Merchants had done their duty.

I would beg leave to defy them to act as the Committee of Merchants which I conceive they are not...Turning to the Chamber of Commerce. It is admitted, I believe, on all hands, that for their conduct since they have acted officially, they are entitled to some degree of respect - there appears to be some objection to the manner of their appointment, I venture to suggest that both parties resign into the hands of the merchants and traders at large, such authority as they may conceive vested in them and that fair and impartial selection be made upon liberal principles of a Committee who will be likely to give general satisfaction.

A.B.C.

This advice was not accepted, but there is ample evidence to show that both bodies succeeded in gaining recognition and continued

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 9th December, 1814.

to play important roles in the commercial life of the city. It was significant however, that before the end of the year 1814, some of the former functions of the Committee of Merchants were now being performed by the Chamber of Commerce. The following notice to that effect, appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 27th July, 1814:

A Letter received from the Secretary of the Admiralty,by the Mayor of Cork, relative to the sailing of the West Indian Convoys for one year, from next October, requesting as speedily as convenient, to know at what periods it will suit the general interests of the trade, that the convoys alluded to, be fixed for, that the same may be committed to their Lordships, has been handed on to Sir. A. Perrier, President of the Chamber of Commerce. A meeting has been called by the latter for the 28th upon this subject and as the commercial interests of this city are so deeply involved, a full attendance is expected.

Such letters had been hitherto passed on to the President of The Committee of Merchants.

From a notice which appeared in the Chronicle on 22nd November, it appeared that the Chamber of Commerce had taken on a further task previously undertaken by the Committee of Merchants.
It stated as follows:[1]

A Petition to Parliament against the late additional duties on timber and window glass, lies for signature in the room of Sir. A. Perrier, President of the Chamber of Commerce.....

1. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd November, 1814.

(c) COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

The steps taken by the merchants of Cork city to provide the inhabitants with Commercial Buildings adequate to their needs, is but a further indication of the important role played by the merchant bodies in the commercial life of the city. In 1708, the commercial building, known as "The Exchange", was erected at the western end of Castle Street.[1]



The Exchange, Castle Street, Cork, 1793.
(From a Drawing by Grogan.)

By November, 1805, the merchants had subscribed £2,000 towards the erection of larger commercial buildings.[2] In 1808 a voluntary association was formed, mainly of the mercantile community, the main object of which was to provide a suitable building where merchants could meet to discuss business matters and arrange contracts in relation to foreign trade, etc. For this purpose, the merchants agreed to contribute £100 each. On the 12th April, 1808, 15 members of the association, petitioned the Lord Lieutenant General and Governor General of Ireland, on their own behalf and on behalf of the merchants and traders of the city, to obtain for them a Charter of incorporation.[3] The following extract from the Charter gives details

1. Windele, J., Historical & Descriptive Notices of the city of Cork and its vicinity. (1848), pp. 17, 18.
2. Tuckey, F.H., The county and city of Cork Remembrancer 1837, p.228.
3. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XIVII, p. 84.

concerning the purpose of the association and the steps that had been taken towards the erection of a building.

THE CHARTER

OF THE

Commercial Buildings Company of Cork.

The Index refers to the following numbers and to the numbers of the pages.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth. To all unto whom these presents shall come, GREETING:

No. I. The King's Titles and direction of Charter.

WHEREAS our trusty and well beloved subjects, Sir Richard Kellett, Baronet, Sir Patrick O'Conor, Knight, Bernard Shaw, Cooper Penrose, Stephen Roche, William Beamish, John Lecky, John Cotter the elder, John Cotter the younger, Charles Cole, William Maxwell, Robert Burke, William Crawford, Daniel Callaghan and Thomas Harvey, esquires, all of the city of Cork, on behalf of themselves and other persons Merchants and Traders of the said city of Cork, have by their petition to our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Charles Duke of Richmond, our Lieutenant General and General Governor of that part of our United Kingdom called Ireland, SET FORTH, that the convenience of commercial dealing and intercourse within the said city of Cork, would be essentially promoted by the founding of buildings to be appropriated to that purpose, situated in a central part of the said city, and properly constructed and regulated. And that the Petitioners and the said other Persons had entered into a voluntary Society, and had subscribed sums of Money in shares obligatory on each Subscriber to the amount of one hundred pounds sterling, for each share, towards constituting a Capital Stock for the formation and support of such an establishment, and had appointed a Committee of Management, consisting of fifteen Members of the said Society, with certain powers by virtue whereof the said Committee of Management, on behalf of the said Society, had been empowered to take a Lot of Ground situate on the South Mall, in the said city of Cork, and had received from the Members of the said Society respectively, certain rateable deposites in money, in part payment of the said Subscriptions, in order to enable them to carry into execution the above mentioned plan of Improvement. And the said Petitioners,

No. II. Recital of petition for Charter, by certain persons on behalf of themselves and others;

stating the object for which they had entered into a voluntary Society;

and had subscribed sums of money;

and appointed a Committee of Management consisting of 15 Members,

who had agreed for the purchase of ground;

and had received and expended part of subscription.

A

The association was incorporated by Royal Charter on 31st May, 1808, as follows:

Grant of Incorporation

KNOW YE THEREFORE, that agreeably to our uniform desire of encouraging institutions fitted to promote the convenience of the commercial dealing and intercourse of our trusty and well beloved subjects exercising trade within the said city of Cork, in that part of our united Kingdom called Ireland, WE, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent of our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Charles Duke of Richmond, our said Lieutenant General and General Governor of that part of our united Kingdom called Ireland, and according to the tenor and effect of our letters under our privy signet and royal sign manual, bearing date at our Court at St. James's, the 31st day of May, in the year of our Lord 1808. and in the forty-eighth year of our reign, and now enrolled in the Rolls of our High Court of Chancery in that part of our united Kingdom called Ireland, HAVE made, ordained, established, authorized, constituted and appointed, and by these PRESENTS, for us, our heirs and successors, DO make, ordain, establish, authorize, constitute and appoint our trusty and well beloved Sir Richard Kellett, Baronet, Sir Patrick O'Conor, Knt. Bernard Shaw, Cooper Penrose, Stephen Roche, William Beamish, John Lecky, John Cotter the elder, John Cotter the younger, Charles Cole, William Maxwell, Robert Burke, William Crawford, Daniel Callaghan and Thomas Harvey, esqrs. and all such other persons, whether natives or aliens, as now have and are possessed of, or hereafter shall have and be possessed of, any share or shares in the Capital Stock of the said Subscribers, or in any augmentation of the said Capital Stock hereafter to be made, either as original Subscribers or otherwise, according to the provisions hereinafter contained, for and during such times as they shall respectively have and be possessed of such share or shares, and no longer. AND ALSO, all such other persons, whether natives or aliens, as shall at any time or times hereafter be appointed and admitted Assistant Members of the Corporation hereby established, according to the provisions hereinafter contained, for and during such times as they shall respectively continue Assistant Members thereof, and no longer, to be and to be called for ever hereafter one Body Politic and Corporate in deed and in name, by the name of "THE COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS COMPANY OF CORK," and by the same name to have perpetual succession and continuance conformably to the provisions hereinafter contained, for the purposes of founding, constructing, regulating and maintaining all such buildings and other improvements, as they or their successors in their said Corporate Capacity shall deem necessary for the convenience of commercial dealing and intercourse, and for the accommodation of persons exercising trade within the said city of Cork; and that in all times coming, they and their successors in their said Corporate Capacity shall be able and capable by the same name to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, act and defend before all Judges and Ministers, and in all Courts of Law and Equity, in all actions, pleas, suits and complaints of what nature or kind soever, as fully to all intents and purposes as any Body or Bodies Politic or Corporate within that part of our united Kingdom called Ireland, and by the same name to purchase, have, hold and enjoy the said lot of ground, the intended scite of the said Commercial Buildings, and to purchase, have, hold and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, of whatsoever nature or kind, not exceeding in the whole the clear yearly value of 2000*l.* sterling, at the time of purchasing such estates. AND ALSO all manner of goods, chattels and personal effects necessary and useful to the purposes for which they are hereby incorporated; and by the same name to grant, alien, mortgage, or demise at rent, upon receiving or without receiving any fine for making any such demise. AND ALSO to sell, assign, or otherwise dispose of all their estates, revenue and effects, or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure; and by the same name to perfect and deliver securities for the payment of money, or for the due observance and performance of covenants, agreements, or other engagements to be made by them, or their successors, in their said Corporate Capacity, which shall be valid and effectual in the law to bind and charge them and their successors, and their estates, revenue and effects; and by the same name to take and accept of securities for the payment of money, or for the performance of duties, or for the due observance and performance of covenants, agreements or other engagements to be made to them and their successors in their said Corporate Capacity: And that in all

With consent of Lord Lieutenant.

Description of the Members.

The other clauses of the Charter were concerned with capital stock, the constitution of the Company, its powers and duties, as follows:

CLAUSE

V... subscription by voluntary society shall be part of the stock... deposits paid by members of the Committee of Management shall be allowed as part of the shares of capital stock.

VI.. 15 Directors shall be chosen from the members having shares in stock, who shall constitute a Committee of the Company; three of whom to be appointed by the said Committee shall be keepers of the common seal.
The petitioners were nominated the first Committee of Directors until the second annual general assembly of the Company.

VII. Members may meet in General Assembly and herein or by the Committee may manage affairs of the Company.

VIII Capital stock shall consist of shares of £100 pounds each, and shall not exceed £20,000 unless increased as herein mentioned. The Annual General Meeting may augment stock to any sum not exceeding £50,000, such augmentation to be ratified by a subsequent General Assembly within 7 days.

IX.. The first General Assembly to be held within 40 days of the incorporation of the Company.

X... General Assembly shall be held annually in the month of March. Each General Assembly shall represent the whole Company. Acts of the majority shall bind the whole Company.

XVII Each succeeding Committee shall be elected out of the members... Election to be by ballot.

XIX. No person shall be a Director after he shall cease to be a shareholder. No Director shall be entitled to pay.

XX.. 4 or more Directors shall be a quorum.

XXIV The Committee of Directors shall appoint or remove, the Treasurer, Secretary or other officers and pay them suitable salaries. They may admit assistant members not exceeding 50. The General Assembly may ordain, alter and repeal the Bye-laws of the Company.....

The first meeting of The Commercial Buildings Company, was held according to the Minute Book, at the Merchants Committee Room, Tontine Coffee House, on the 20th March, 1809, pursuant to the 10th clause of The Charter of Incorporation. A contract for £7,000 was entered into for the erection in the South Mall, of the Commercial Buildings, in 1811. Sir Thomas Deane being the contractor. The Building was completed in 1813; the total cost including furnishing and lighting, amounted to about £10,000. It comprised a newsroom and restaurant;

and provided sleeping accommodation for a small number of people. The first annual general meeting held in the new building after its completion, took place on the 29th March, 1813.

According to the balance sheet submitted at the Annual General Meeting of The Committee held on 26th March, 1814, the total capital subscribed by the shareholders was 125 shares at £100 each. In addition to this there was a sum of £500 - 10 - 0 from 44 members who did not fully pay up their shares, which were declared forfeit.

The Commercial Buildings Company, on finding their funds inadequate for the support of their building and its further extension, in 1813 petitioned Parliament for leave to bring in a bill "levying a duty of 1/- British on all entries inwards and outwards in the Port of Cork (coast entries only excepted), to be collected by the collector of the Port and paid to the Treasurer of your Petitioners said Company; one half whereof to be by said Company applied towards completing and maintaining said Commercial Buildings and the other half towards improving the Quays and River of Cork...."

The petition was successful and resulted in the passing of the Commercial Buildings Act of July 14th, 1814,[1] which entitled the Company to the above named fund. The Commercial Buildings henceforth became a forum for public and private discussion and provided accommodation for the various meetings of merchants and tradesmen of the city.

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XVII, pp. 84, 85; 54 Geo. III.

(a) PUBLIC WORKS - THE EXPANSION OF THE CITY

The prosperity of the city was truly reflected in the many improvements made in the approaches to the city and in the buildings erected during this period. The South Mall which was for the most part a canal crossed by a few wooden bridges, was in 1801, arched over and the present handsome structure formed. By 1805, several other broad streets had been added to the city by filling up the canals that ran through them.[1] In 1806 Parliament Bridge leading from the South Mall to what was called Red Abbey Marsh, was erected on the site of the old stone bridge built subsequent to 1761.[2]

The accounts of presentments passed at the Assizes held during this period indicate the amount of money expended in the promotion of public works and the general improvement of the city. The following description of the presentments passed at the Assizes held on 22nd August, 1808, illustrates the general trend in expenditure:

"For covering over and filling 80 ft. of Lapp's Island dock and making sewers £200: £149 for arching over 112 ft. in length of the Watercourse Stream; £135 for building a fan-arch over part of the Watercourse Stream; £57-12-9 for building walls at each side of the ditch from the Mardyke to the ferry opposite Sunday's Well; £17-2-6 for taking down 158 ft. in length of the Old Wall, to widen the road leading from Cork to Blackrock."[3]

Tuckey remarked in reference to the city in 1808:

"The appearance of the quays was greatly improved and the safety of the passers by promoted by the erection of parapets on the quays. Several streets which had not been so before, were labelled and so distinguishable."[4]

1. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.
2. O'Daly, D., History of the county and city of Cork, 1927, pp. 98, 99.
3. Gibson, Rev. C., History of the county and city of Cork, Vol. II, (1861), p. 311.
4. Tuckey, The county and city of Cork Remembrancer, 1837, pp. 234,233.

Townshend, commenting on the city in 1810, stated:

'Among the later improvements is a very handsome bridge over the North branch of the river, nearly a quarter of a mile lower than the old one. There are also two additional bridges over the south branch, one of which has been lately rebuilt and consists of one handsome arch of hewn stone.'[1]

He aptly described the city's advancement as follows:

"The appearance of Cork is greatly amended of late from the number of new and handsome houses. The enlargement of Patrick Street and the erection of new bridges has encouraged the building of many new houses on the north side of the river, which has become one of the most fashionable places of residence. The rapidity of the city's advancement may be comprehended from the great increase in the yearly rent arising from the tolls. For some years the income amounted to £500, it is now considered to be worth £2,000. In all parts of the city population and improvement has made rapid advance more particularly along the sides of the river. The roads leading to Glanmire in the north and to Blackrock in the south are now almost converted into streets from the number of summer lodging houses."[2]

(b) SHIPPING - REVENUE OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE

The shipping returns of the period reveal a general growth of trading activity in the ports of Ireland and a marked increase in the cross Channel trade. The great bulk of the vessels at the commencement of the century were still worked by sails. The ports at which the vessels were registered arranged in order of tonnage, were Belfast, Cork, Dublin.[3] There are no exact statistics available concerning the annual number or tonnage of vessels entered inwards or cleared

1. Townshend, Statistical Survey of the county of Cork, (1810), p.690. et seq.
2. ibid.
3. Burke, J.F., Industrial History of Ireland, 1940, p. 271.

outwards from the port of Cork during this period. The following returns however of the gross revenue of Customs and Excise received at each of the ports of Ireland in 1802, give some indication of the comparative importance of the port of Cork:[1]

PORT	REVENUE OF CUSTOMS	REVENUE OF EXCISE
DUBLIN	£858.695 - 5 - 11	£73,260 - 12 - 2
CORK	£254,673 -15 - 3¾	£53,635 - 4 - 6½
Limerick	£ 54,809 - 9 - 5¼	£13,310 - 0 - 4½
WATERFORD & ROSS	£ 89,782 - 5 - 4½	£16,806 - 7 - 7
BELFAST	£241,125 - 2 - 11	no return

Adjutant General's Office, 13th June, 1825.

R. Cooper.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, July 22nd, 1825.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE - EXTREME POVERTY IN CERTAIN AREAS, FAMINE AND DISEASE PERIODICALLY - EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH DISEASE - CAUSES OF POVERTY - EFFORTS TO RELIEVE POVERTY - COMBINATIONS

In this period of general prosperity one circumstance most commonly noted by contemporary writers and visitors to Cork was the condition of extreme pauperism which prevailed in certain parts of the city. The poor were in such a state of poverty that every bad season produced a famine. Tuckey describes one such occasion on February 24th, 1801:

"Provisions being at this time very dear, a number of starving artists and labourers collected in the northern suburbs, but upon being recommended to disperse, they selected a deputation, which attended at the Mayor's House, and piteously lamented the want of employment and the enormous price of provisions. General Myers, who was present exhorted them to behave peaceably and their wants should be taken into consideration. In consequence a Committee was appointed to procure a regular supply of corn in the public markets to examine the high price of provisions and to consider how the evil might be remedied: to provide additional soup-houses and to ascertain who required assistance. The corn holders and millers also came forward and pledged themselves not to permit any grain to be sent from the city."[1]

According to the returns made by the Committee of the persons needing charitable aid, the number was nearly 30,000.[2]

The Report of the "Committee of the Society in Cork, for bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the Poor", in 1801 gives further information concerning the condition of the poor. It states:[3]

1. Tuckey, F.H., The county and city of Cork Remembrancer (1837), p.214.
2. West, W., Cork Directory, 1810, p. 65.
3. Report of the Proceedings of the General Committee of the Society in Cork, for bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the poor, 1801, p.3.

'Your Committee has been for the most part occupied by the pressing exigencies of temporary distress and directed to the alleviation of the difficulties occasioned by two successive seasons of scarcity. Your Committee turned their efforts wholly for the time to the establishment and superintendence of Soup-Houses, the procuring and retail at low rates of meal, rice, etc., and other measures, by means of which numbers were saved from sinking under the dearth of provisions.'

The sufferings of the poor were greatly intensified by the fact that fever often accompanied famine. Dr. John Milner Barry of the Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, describes 1801 as follows:

'In 1800-'1 which was a period of great distress, from the scarcity and dearness of the prime articles of living, contagion spread so extensively, that there were no less than 4,000 persons in contagious fever attended by physicians of the Dispensaries of this city.'[1]

At the suggestion of Dr. Barry, it was determined that the best expedient for the preservation of health among the poor would be the establishment of a Fever Hospital or House of Recovery. The scheme was recommended to the public and was adopted by the Benevolent Society.[2] The Fever Hospital was established on St. Patrick's Hill, in 1801 and the House of Recovery opened on 8th November, 1802.

The distress of the poor was not however confined to times of famine. In 1805, John Carr, an English visitor to Cork, commented on the city as follows:[3]

'The poor of this city are very numerous and bear a dreadful proportion to the whole population; although there are many beneficient institutions, they are not adequate to shelter and support the many distressed objects of every province who flock to the city for relief', in contrast to this picture he remarked: 'The shops are well supplied and many are elegant. The Mardyke is very beautiful -

1. Report of the House of Recovery & Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, November 1816-1817, p. 11.
2. Report of the Committee of the Society for bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the poor, 1801, p.7.
3. Carr, J., "The stranger in Ireland; or a tour in the southern and western parts of that country in the year 1805, pp. 410, 404.

from this spot I made a sketch of the city. It has many very handsome houses and the society is refined and elegant'.

Horatio Townshend in 1810 stated with reference to Cork city: 'With respect to modes of living, the fault imputable to many cities is too observable in this: luxury and want exhibit a melancholy and mortifying contrast'.[1]

The year 1810 and succeeding years were periods of great suffering among the labouring and manufacturing poor from want of provisions and deficient employment. In the former year, fever became so general among the poor, as to have excited considerable alarm.[2]

On account of the continued poverty of the lower class there were many directed efforts on the part of central and local authorities to provide some method of relief for the destitute. The Grand Jury already empowered in 1801 to levy £100 at each Assizes for the support of the newly established Fever Hospital, was in 1814 granted the power to increase this sum to £250.[3]

The Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, was untiring in its efforts to alleviate the suffering of the destitute. In 1801 theCommittee reported as follows:[4]

'For the purpose of setting on foot Schools of Industry so immediately necessary, where unfortunate children could be received, the sum of £200 which lay in the hands of your Treasurer, was granted to the Schools of Industry. The schools, one male and the other female contain each fifty children who are taught such simple and profitable arts and manufactures as could be devised for their employment. They are supplied

1. Townshend, Rev. H., Statistical Survey of the Co. of Cork, 1810,p.696.
2. Report of the House of Recovery & Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, November, 1816-1817, by H. M. Barry, M.D., p. 12.
3. 43 Geo. III, c. 44; 54 Geo. III, 1814: Report..ibid., p.5.
4. Report of the Gen. Comm. of the Soc. in Cork for bettering the Conditions and increasing the Comforts of the Poor, 1801, to the Parent Society in London, pp.3-5.

with ample allowance of good food and have lately been clothed in neat uniform.'

The same report described the measures that had been taken to supply The Soup-Houses and to provide and retail at low prices, meal rice, etc.

The Cork Friendly Society was established in 1802, to enable poor labourers, by paying a small subscription monthly, whilst in health, to provide a sufficient support for themselves in sickness or old age without dependence upon the uncertainty of charity. The funds were considerably aided by the donations of the wealthy especially by Messrs. Beamish & Crawford of the Cork Porter Brewery.

The Cork Charitable Loan, founded in 1786 on the principle of assisting the poor through their own efforts by lending them sums of money to be repaid with or without interest at stated times, greatly aided the able-bodied of the lower class. In 1802 sums of 3 guineas were lent to each poor person, who was well recommended and could procure security approved by theCommittee.

In 1808 The Indigent Room Keeper's Society was established. Its object was the relief of those who by age, misfortune or infirmity were incapacitated from exertion. In addition to the Hospitals founded by Act of Legislature in the 18th century namely the North and South Infirmary, the Lying-in Hospital in Nile Street was established in 1810 for the care of the poor in particular,[1] and was supported by tax on coals.

There were in the city a number of Alms Houses founded by charitable individuals who left funds for their support. Some were maintained by parishes where parishioners weekly subscribed towards their

1. Hincks, T.D., A Short Account of the Different Charitable Institutions of the city of Cork, 1802, pp. 10-14: J. Carr, The Stranger in Ireland or a Tour in the sourthern and western parts of that country, in 1805, pp. 410-412.

maintenance. The Blue Coat Hospital supported by funds bequeathed to it under the care of the Corporation, received children recommended by the aldermen, in rotation and clothed, dieted, lodged and educated them. The Green Coat Hospital also supported by a fund left for the purpose, clothed and educated poor boys and girls.

The House of Industry established in 1771 catered for many of the indigent.

In times of scarcity soup shops were adopted for about 6 months, where above 11,000 quarts were daily distributed. With the return of plenty these were dropped excepting one at which soup continued to be sold at ½d. per quart, chiefly intended for beggars who got tickets instead of money. Most of the charitable institutions were supported by voluntary contributions.[1]

Low wages were not the only cause of complaint among the poor in these years of prosperity for the commercial and landed class. Carr noted another cause. He stated in 1805:[2]

'The rigorous exaction of the hearth money tax has been much complained of amongst the poor'. A more constant subject of complaint in contemporary records was the high price of the necessaries of life and particularly coal. Cork coal supply came from a distance by sea. The price was most changeable to the great injury of those who could not lay up a large store when it was cheap; and whenever a contrary wind prevented the arrival of colliers which was often the case for many weeks together, in winter, the retailers demanded the most exorbitant prices.[3] To counteract the activity of the retailers, in 1799 the Council issued a proclamation to stock public coal yards with 4,000 barrels of coal. The function of the public coal yards was,

1. Hincks, T.D., p.37-42.
2. Carr, p. 420.
3. Hincks, T.D., p.17.

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imbursed together with the interest of £6 per cent, provided that he gave 3 months previous notice to the Committee, but he would not be entitled to any claim on the Provisional Fund, unless he continued his subscription for three years.[1]

It was arranged that the Public Coal Yards were to be opened by the Mayor on November 27th, 1800 and that the coal was to be sold in small measures, at the rate of 7½d. per barrel, the average price per barrel being 18/4 with the retailers on the previous November.[2] The Cork Coal Co. continued to provide coal for the poor at a much lower rate than that of the retailers. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle had the following words of praise for the Cork Coal Co. published on 27th October, 1802:

The Cork Coal Co. holds its claim to our undiminished approbation in that it affords coals cheaper to the poor at this moment, than they can be purchased in any other place in the Empire.

Rev. T. D. Hincks, Secretary of the City of Cork Society for the Bettering the Condition of the Poor remarked:[3]

'Since the establishment of this Company the prices of coal has continued moderate at all seasons, so that persons of every station have derived benefit from this institution'. A similar arrangement was made with regard to the sale of meal in times of scarcity.

Another Institution which was responsible for much benefit to the poor was the Repository. This was established in 1800 by some young ladies, who took upon themselves the management of the business thereof. "They received works of taste, elegance, and utility, which were sold for the benefit of those who sent them or for that of the Institute." The expenses of the Institute were defrayed by the sale of

1. Cork Advertiser, order of 10th June, 1800
2. ibid., 10th June, 1800 and 22nd November, 1800.
3. Hincks, A short account of the different Charitable Institutions of the city of Cork, 1802, pp. 17, 18.

articles given to the Institution, by annual subscription,by annual profit of a ball and by subscriptions. The profits were applied to the purchase of articles of clothing for the poor, which were bought on advantageous terms, made up by persons employed by the Governesses and sold at a reduced price to those who brought a proper recommendation. Employment was thus given to many deserving people, and those who could not afford to purchase at common shops were enabled to get clothing free, at the Depository.[1]

COMBINATIONS:

There are many references in the pages of the Council Book of the Cork Corporation to riots in the city during the 18th century, many of which were caused by the extreme want and misery which prevailed amongst the poor. Others were due to combination among the tradesmen, particularly those whose livelihood was threatened by the importation of articles of clothing the manufacture of which, had been an important feature of the industrial life of the city.[2]

The early 19th century witnessed a continuance of the spirit of independence that animated the Cork workman during the last decade of the 18th century. It is hardly a coincidence that labour troubles in Cork increased after the formation of the combination of weavers in the north of England in 1799. These combinations resulted in the passing of an Act by the British Parliament on 1st July, 1799.[3] Under this Act, a workman who joined with his fellowmen to bring about an increase of wages or a lessening of the hours of employment, rendered himself liable on conviction before a single magistrate to imprisonment for three months. The same penalty awaited those who attempted to persuade others to quit their work, or who refused to work with any other person. The penalties for these offences were more severe

1. Hincks, A short account of the different Charitable Institutions of the city of Cork, 1802, p. 18.
2. Council Book, pp. 620, 779, 865, 866, etc.
3. 39 Geo. III, c. 81.

in Ireland as the accused or convicted was liable to be sent to prison for six months, or to be three times publicly whipped.[1]

By the provision of an Act passed for Ireland in July, 1803, the laws against combinations of workmen were rigorously strengthened and it was made practically impossible apart from the illegality, for workmen to combine. All contracts (except those between masters and employers) made with a view to obtaining an increase in wages, to change hours of work, or to decrease the amount of work done, were declared illegal. The penalty for such offences was imprisonment in jail for a term not exceeding six months, or in a House of correction for a term not exceeding three months. A similar penalty was imposed for forming combinations, for trying to prohibit a workman from doing his work, for attempting to make a workman leave his employment and for refusing to work with any workman. For attending, or for inducing any journeyman to attend a meeting for the purpose of making an illegal contract, a similar penalty was imposed. A similar penalty awaited those who left their work during the term of their engagement, but any master workman who engaged such an absentee had only to submit to a fine of not less than £5 and not more than £20.[2]

Referring to the English Combination Laws of 1799 and1800, Woodward notes that they applied to masters as well as men, but writes, "the combinations of master were tolerated because they were not politically dangerous".[3] Dr. Chart, writing on the same subject states that while in theory the laws were intended to apply to employers who combined against their workmen, justice was rarely invoked against the former, while the men's leaders were being constantly persecuted.[4] Accounts of Court proceedings published in contemporary newspapers bear testimony to the fact that the scales were usually thus weighted

1. 3 Geo. III, c. 34 (Irish).
2. 43 Geo. III, c. 86.
3. Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815-1870, p. 70.
4. Chart, Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation, p. 43.

against the workman in Cork city.

Such prohibitions did not however deter Cork workmen from trying to improve their conditions in the early years of the 19th century. During this period there was a struggle to form combinations of workmen mainly with a view to increasing wages, an attempt that was strongly resisted by employers, the local authorities and Parliament itself. The following is a typical example of the mode of procedure of masters in opposing combinations:[1]

We the undersigned Master Builders of the city of Cork, being determined by all lawful means, to resist the combination for Increase of Wages, entered into by the Journeymen, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers and Sawyers, thus publicly call upon our fellow-citizens, to co-operate with us in opposing a conduct highly illegal in itself and its tendency and consequences most prejudicial to the community at large and hope that after this notice, no employer will for any temporary convenience encourage the extortion of the journeymen by increase of wages:

Samuel Hobbs	John Conway
William Kerns	John Walsh
Alexander Deane	Francis Cottrel
Edmund Marks	John Hayes
William Flaherty	John Coleman

A well-wishing traveller to Cork pointed out the evil effects of such combinations as follows:[2]

"A few observations applicable to this city. I will not now take notice of the ruinous effects of combination to the families of those misguided men who will not work under certain price, or with a particular class of tradesmen, but simply remind them that half a loaf of bread is better than no bread. Does not the stagnation of building proceed as much from the high price of labour as from the

1. Cork Advertiser, 26th April, 1800.
2. Cork Advertiser, 5th March, 1801.

high price of materials? Employment could be found for many who are now out of work if they were willing to work at reduced rates."

A rise in the price of commodities was sometimes the result of combination as the following notices indicate:[1]

The price of meat has fallen considerably in our market from what it was three weeks ago; that of mutton is now 2d. per lb. lower than it was, being now 7d. per lb. The consumer will naturally attribute this to the progress of the present admirable season, and no doubt the change is in part attributable to that cause. But will the public believe that two butchers who are brothers contributed very much to this reduction of price? It is but justice to state what we know to be the fact - that being ashamed of the unconscionable profits taken by their brothers in the trade, they actually struggled for three successive Saturdays to reduce the price - and at last by going themselves to the country, and buying large numbers of sheep, which they sold at the rate to which they wished to reduce the market to, they actually accomplished their purpose.

We deem it the duty of a public printer to give the utmost notoriety to such praiseworthy action. Nor do we mean to throw any very harsh reflection on the combination among the butchers which was thus broken through; it being just as natural for them to league together to enhance their gains as for their betters to do so.....

No sooner had it been announced in the city that leave was given for distilling to commence on the first of January next, than the monopolisers distributed themselves throughout the corn-market, and bought up quantities of corn in consequence of which, wheat and oats got up 5/- or 6/- per barrel.[2]

1. Cork Advertiser, 23rd May, 1801.
2. ibid., 24th October, 1801.

The year 1802 saw further combinations of tradesmen in Cork for the purpose of forcing a rise in wages. Such was the case among the coopers who laid their case before the public as follows:[1]

TO THE MERCHANTS OF THE CITY OF CORK

The journeymen coopers of the city of Cork beg leave with great humility to lay before you their case, relative to the present misunderstanding between them and the master coopers. They trust it will not be considered as the effect of any turbulent spirit of Combination to pray that the merchants of the city may be pleased to observe that all the journeymen coopers of Cork claim from their justice and honour, is merely to be put on a similar footing with persons of the same description in the other cities of the Kingdom. The difference is trifling to wealthy employers but of consequence to poor men, who hold in view the desire to bring up their families decently and those who would do their utmost for the Merchants and master coopers of this city. They humbly hope that when the case comes up to be considered they will have the generosity and good will of the merchants of this city in their favour.

Combining journeymen were usually brought to justice and such was the case with regard to the journeymen coopers as appears from the following resolution made at the meeting of the Committee of Merchants, 26th November, 1802:[2]

Resolved:

That the sincere and unanimous thanks of the Committee to be presented to Mr. Sheriff Cole for his active and persevering exertion in bringing to justice two of the combining journeymen coopers of this city, whose wanton conduct was calculated to strike at the root of the manufacture and trade of this Kingdom. That the foregoing be printed in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford Newspapers.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 25th October, 1802.

2. C.B.M. Ms. Minutes dated 26th November, 1802.

Resolved:

That the President be requested to transmit the thanks of the Committee by letter to Mr. Barry and Mr. Newman, tanners - for their spirit in coming forward to prosecute and bring to justice two of the combining journeymen coopers of this city."

Conflicts between Masters and journeymen over wages were normally resolved at the General Session held for the purpose of arranging wages or equitable terms. The case of the journeymen coopers was brought before the Court on 29th October and apparently the existing difference between them and the masters was terminated as there is no further reference to it in contemporary records.[1]

Wages rose in Cork after the Union, but owing to the fact that the wage rise did not keep pace with the rise in the price of the necessaries of life, the poor and the tradesmen were dissatisfied.

John Carr, made the following observation concerning the price of labour in Cork in 1805:

'Upon the banks of the river Lee the price of labour has advanced greatly within these last years; but the comforts of the lower classes have not grown with its growth, in consequence of the prices of the necessaries of life keeping equal pace with the advance of wages, which in these parts are now 16d - 18d per day, the average price throughout the Kingdom is 8d. except in harvest-time when it is nearly doubled or trebled.'[2]

The Catholic working class comprised the lowest stratum of society, the labourers, but did not belong to any guild so that there is no reference to combination of labourers for rise of wages.[3]

Tradesmen who did belong to guilds continued to combine. In opposition to them the masters often combined and had recourse to various devices for the defeat of the journeymen. The following notice in-

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 29th October, 1802.
2. Carr, p. 419.
3. O'Sullivan, The Economic Hist. of Cork city from earliest times to the Act of Union, p.217.

N.B. Journeymen Cordwainers coming to terms will meet with every encouragement.

Five days later the journeymen cordwainers justified their position as follows:[1]

The journeymen cordwainers of this city finding their conduct misrepresented by an advertisement of their employers, inserted in the Mercantile Chronicle, think it their duty to inform the public that there is no unlawful combination between them nor do they want any more wages, than they have received these eleven months past, which wages their employers have now reduced.

So harassed were the Master nailors by combination of journeymen nailors that they had the following statement published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 20th October, 1806:[2]

We the master nailors of this city . are determined to prosecute such journeymen so in combination as far as in our power and any person or persons who shall employ any of them, as the law directs .

In 1807 the Committee of Merchants succeeded in checking combinations by having recourse to the Generals of the army stationed in Cork to supply the artificers belonging to the Regiments to take the places left vacant by the workers in combination. The co-operation of the Generals evoked the following resolutions passed at a Meeting of the Committee of Merchants held on 16th June, 1807:[3]

Resolved:

That the thanks of this Committee be given to Lieutenant General Trench for the readiness which he has at all times shown to assist in the suppression of Combination amongst the different workmen of this

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 27th January, 1806.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 20th October, 1806.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 19th June, 1807.

city by permitting the artificers belonging to the Regiments under his command to work at such trades, as manifested this destructive spirit which has been effectively checked.

Resolved:

That the thanks of this Committee be given to Lieutenant General Walker of the 50th Regiment and to Colonel Smith of the 82nd Regiment for their readiness and attention in selecting from their Regiments under the orders of the Earl of Clancarthy, such soldiers as were best calculated to supply the places of those workmen who had illegally quitted their employment.

Thomas Cuthbert,
President of the Committee of Merchants

In 1808 the master boot and shoe makers of the city of Cork combined and adopted a unique method of attack on combinations. They decided as a security measure against future combination, not to employ any man who would not take the following oath:[1]

Form of Affidavit

County of the city of Cork - to wit

A.B. of the city of Cork, journeyman shoemaker came and voluntarily made oath upon the Holy Evangelists of God, that he will not for the space of three years to be computed from this day, directly or indirectly, belong to or become a member of any Body, Society or Club of journeymen formed for the purpose of regulating the prices or concerns of the trade of a shoe or bootmaker, in the city of Cork; and that he will not during the said period in any manner contribute or pay any money to or for the use of any such society or body or adopt or be governed by the rules or regulations of any such society or club.

Sworn by me this.....day of.....1808

C.D. Magistrate.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 18th and 20th July, 1820.

Journeymen who did not submit to this regulation, were discharged from the employment of the masters.

It is evident from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Advertiser on 22nd January, 1807, that both rich and poor suffered in consequence of a combination among the bakers:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CORK ADVERTISER

Sir,

It is obvious that the inhabitants of this city in general and the poor classes in particular are extremely distressed by the resolution of the bakers not to supply them with household bread in the usual manner. It is alleged and universally believed that most of the bakers have entered into an association and have agreed to persevere in their present system as finding it more productive of emolument to themselves than their former mode. In justice to the Chief Magistrate, I must acknowledge that he has enjoined the bakers to provide for sale of wheaten bread and household bread in equal quantities but this order is obstinately disobeyed. The public of the opulent inhabitants is therefore called upon to devise some expedient to bring the bakers to reason.

HUMANUS

It would appear however, that the measures taken by the Army Generals were effective in checking combinations, as contemporary records indicate that the years 1808-'15 were conspicuous for the absence of labour troubles in Cork city.

An Act of Parliament of 1812-1813 'for the better regulation of the cotton manufacture in Ireland'[1] was concerned in a large measure with the question of settling disputes between employers and weavers and showed some appreciation of the rights of workers. Disputes between masters and weavers were for the future to be settled by two referees appointed by a Justice of the Peace. One referee was to be

1. 53 Geo. III, c. 75.

a master manufacturer, or his agent or foreman, residing in the neighbourhood. The referee for the workers had to be an employee living in the neighbourhood who had a thorough knowledge of the cotton manufacture. If either side to the dispute disagreed with the choice of a referee, the justice after allowing two challenges, appointed two referees who had to be accepted. If the referees agreed on a line of action their conclusions had to be accepted by both sides, but if there was a disagreement, the justice settled the dispute and his decision was binding on both parties.

REVIEW OF THE PERIOD 1801 - 1815

Reviewing the progress of the city during these years, it can be seen that in many ways very definite progress had been made. Evidence of this progress was visible in the expansion of the city, in industrial vitality, and in the establishment of the Commissioners for Deepening, Widening and Improving the River and Harbour of Cork under whose management the primitive condition of the "Upper Harbour" was gradually transformed and new trading possibilities opened up, and the Chamber of Commerce whose contribution towards the commercial development of the city was significant. The general prosperity of the city was noted by contemporaries and visitors to Cork.

On the whole the passing of the Act of Union and the activities of the United Parliament of Great Britain & Ireland, brought about no great commercial changes in Cork city. The main impact of the Act of Union on the export trade of Cork was to open up the Corss-Channel trade with Great Britain. This trend was further strengthened during the period of Napoleon's Continental System, which closed most of the European ports to Cork. A further consequence of this system was an increase in the export trade from Cork to America and the West Indies. The main items of trade remained unchanged. Cork was still the great emporium for salted provisions, which apart from victualling the army and navy, exported large quantities of beef, butter, pork, hams, flitches, hides and tallow. The most significant change in the provision trade was an increase in the export of livestock and a slight decrease in the export of beef. This was accompanied by an increase in the export of cereals while the Continental system was effective.

No impressive industrial innovations occurred in the city as a result of the Act of Union. Industries that had been in existence before 1800, in general, prospered during the following years. Foremost among the prosperous industries were the brewing and distilling industries, whose supply to local and foreign markets was steadily increasing. Little change in technique was evident in the textile industries. Under the impact of the special consideration shown by the Act of Union, the cotton industry flourished, with the exception of those years when the

supply of raw material was difficult of access. The linen industry, though not as highly protected, also flourished, greatly encouraged by the Linen Board.

Progress was not so evident in the woollen and worsted industries during this period even though they too were protected by Union duties.

With the growing popular interest in home and foreign affairs, and in education, the manufacture of paper and the printing business prospered. The city was also enriched by the labours of its gold and silversmiths and glass manufacturers.

The high level of economic activity was reflected in the large note circulation emanating from the city's Private Banks. This was accompanied however, by an acute currency problem arising from the lack of any reliable coinage and the shortage of small coinage, which periodically obstructed commerce. Excessive note circulation led to the failure of one bank and heralded that of other banks.

While prosperity was more or less the general rule during this period, not all classes shared in this prosperity, so that industrial progress was often interrupted by combinations among journeymen artificers, seeking a rise in pay in face of the increasing cost of living. Side by side with the prosperous merchants were the poor, who in spite of the efforts of local authorities, societies, and individuals to alleviate their distress, suffered periodically from famine, disease and insistent poverty.

Allowing for the gap which still remained between the rich and the poor, evidence on the whole would indicate that Cork city entered into the next period of its history in a fairly flourishing and prosperous condition.

PART TWO

POST-WAR DEPRESSION 1815-1819

The end of the Napoleonic war marked the beginning of a period of economic depression in Cork city. Cork, being the great rendezvous of the navy and the army during the war, was buoyant while the war lasted, large sums of money were constantly circulating and the labouring classes were generally employed. This employment which was forced, attracted a number of the peasantry from the country. When this ceased and the great expenditure on the fortifications was discontinued, many artizans and labourers were deprived of their customary support. Discharged seamen and soldiers returned to the city to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Signs of progress were no longer visible. The expansion of the city, the building of bridges and the erection of public buildings slowed down considerably. The general trend in the export trade was downward with the exception of the butter trade. All the city's industries with the exception of glass, paper and printing, experienced a period of depression, which gave rise to unemployment and industrial unrest. This period was not however, devoid of significant achievements. The launching of "The City of Cork", the first steamboat built in Ireland, placed Cork in the foreground among the ship-building ports of the United Kingdom, and marked the dawn of a new era in river and ocean navigation; while the establishment of the Cork Savings Bank afforded the "industrious poor" for the first time, a safe and profitable mode of saving their small earnings.

GENERAL EFFECTS OF THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

The termination of hostilities on the Continent, which brought such relief to the industrial population of Great Britain by the fall of prices, only served to increase the distress in Ireland. In that country no renewal of trade followed the war; on the contrary, peace came as a calamity to many of the people, for the profits which they had made from the war prices for their provisions now came to an end.[1]

In Cork city also the prosperity which in general had existed during the war years came to an end. The effects of the transition from war to peace were not confined to any one class. They were in fact felt widely and unfortunately coincided with a bad harvest in 1816.[2] The following notices, typical of those which appeared in the Cork newspapers during the year, were indicative of the distress experienced by different sectors of the community:[3]

FAILURE

We abstained from mentioning the report of the embarrassment of the House of Harvey, Deaves and Harvey, which was for some days prevalent in the city, in the hope that some accommodation might take place. We have now no delicacy on the subject and join with our fellow citizens in regretting that the pressure of the times should have injured a firm always respected as it was.

BANKRUPT MEETINGS
COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, CORK

Joshua Hughes, a bankrupt

The Commissioners will meet at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th instant. Assignees will be chosen and proof of debts will be received.

By order of the Commissioners,
W.F. Gregg, Messenger [4]

1. Murray, A.E., A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the period of the Restoration, (London, 1907), p. 375.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 16th Sept., 1816. 3. ibid. 1st Jan.1816
4. ibid., 12th January, 1816.

STATE OF THIS COUNTY

TO The Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle

Sir,

The unexampled state of distress to which we are reduced, is so general in its nature and calamitous in its consequences that the most indifferent observer cannot fail of experiencing some serious alarm for the safety and preservation of his county.

Our streets are infested with groups of strolling and starving manufacturers on whose emaciated countenances the pencil of poverty has strikingly traced the sad lineaments of poverty and woe. Our land exhibits the strange phenomenon of peace without comfort, plenty without ease. The tradesmen unable to purchase; the merchant with nothing to export, but his list of debts; and nothing to import but draughts on his establishment; an impoverished gentry, a vast population increased by a host of disbanded soldiers and several without thehope or means of employment - the finest and most respectable establishments gradually annihilating.

The present situation demands the timely intervention of Parliament.

Your obedient servant,

Cato.[1]

BANKRUPT SALE 25th March, 1816.

The Assignees of Robert Jeffens, Bankrupt, will sell by auction, at the shop in south Main Street, lately occupied by Mr. James Daly, the following articles - late property of the bankrupt-

Linens, muslins, printed calicoes, shawls and handkerchiefs, stockings, stuffs, etc.....[2]

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS

We may be accused of being gloomy prophets - we may be accused of iterating the same uncomfortable topics ad infinitum but in good truth we cannot forbear - The commercial world which suffers deeply, cannot, however be induced to believe that the distress of the agri-

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th March, 1816.

2. ibid., 25th March, 1816.

culturalists is four-fold what they endure. To those sceptics we shall state a case which we know is almost general.

Suppose a farmer had an income of £250 a year clear, it was because the produce of his farm amounted to £1,500 and his rent and taxes to £1,250 but his expenses are still £1,250 whereas his receipts are only £750; of course, so far from having any income he sustains an annual loss of £450.[1]

COMMERCIAL DISTRESS

Each week, almost every day, furnishes fresh and fearful instances of the vicissitudes of Commerce; within the last few days how many have fallen from the eminence to which industry had raised them. All stimulus to commercial exertion is at an end; for there is no one to buy.[2]

Some citizens who found it impossible to bear the burden of taxation still imposed upon them, made the following appeal to the Committee for the Relief of The Poor:[3]

TO the Committee for the Relief of the Poor

It is now high time to solicit for Cork and its county the favourable exercise of the power given to the Commissioners of Excise for the express purpose of alleviating the burden of taxation in such disastrous times.

Such a solicitation was made by the Mayor, Sheriff, Messrs. Beamish & Crawford and other respectable inhabitants of the city. The result was published in theCork Mercantile Chronicle on August 18th, 1816, as follows:

MANSION HOUSE

In consequence of the application having been made by the Mayor, Sheriff, Messrs. Beamish & Crawford, and other respectable inhabitants

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th June, 1816.
2. ibid., 17th July, 1816.
3. ibid., 24th July, 1816.

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1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th June, 1816.
2. ibid., 17th July, 1816.
3. ibid., 24th July, 1816.

of this city to the Commissioners of Excise, the Mayor has the pleasure of informing his fellow citizens that he received this morning an answer thereto, accompanied by the following notice:[1]

NOTICE

By the 37th section of an Act, imposing certain duties and taxes in Ireland on Fire Hearths, Windows, Carriages, Male Servants, Horses and Dogs, passed in the present session of Parliament, the yearly amount thereof may be made payable by certain instalments in such places as the Commissioners of Excise and Taxes may appoint.

The Commissioners of Inland Excise and Taxes, by virtue of the said power, and in consequence of the Representation made to them, think it expedient to order and direct that the said Duties and Taxes now payable be received by two equal payments in the city and county of Cork, in the following manner and under the following regulations, namely:

That one half of the Charge of Assessment together with the amount in arrear of former year, shall be discharged on or before the 5th of September next and the remaining half of the assessment on or before the 25th November following.

By order of the Commissioners,
Edward Hardman

Excise Office, Dublin, 9th August, 1816.

An eye-witness described the overall change which took place in Cork city as follows:

'Perhaps there is no city in the Empire which has felt the cessation of war or the transition from war to peace more grievously than the city of Cork. Possessing little manufactures, her commercial wealth was the chief source of employment and of actual support for her inhabitants. The vast increase of failures in trade of vacant stores and of untenanted shops and houses, are sad proofs of the reduced state of our trade and commerce.'[2]

Dr. J. Milner Barry, Report of the House of Recovery & the Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, 1816-1817, p. 17.

It is significant however, that in Cork newspapers of the years 1818 and 1819 references to bankruptcies, bankrupt sales and agricultural distress are conspicuous by their absence.

This affords some proof that by then the county had recovered from the great depression that followed immediately on the termination of the Continental hostilities and that trade was on the upgrade.

THE PROVISION TRADE- DEPRESSION - ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF EXPORTS - SIGNIFICANT TRENDS - MARKETS - FALL IN PRICES OF PROVISIONS AT THE CORK MARKET - DECLINE IN THE DEMAND FOR CEREALS - ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF THE EXPORT OF CEREALS, FLOUR AND OATMEAL - PETITION TO PARLIAMENT PLEADING FOR STEADY MARKET AND PRICES - CAUSES OF THE DISTRESS OF THOSE ENGAGED IN THE PROVISION TRADE - LOCAL EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS

The end of the Napoleonic War marked the beginning of five years of severe depression for the Irish provision trade; and as the artificial demand never reappeared, it marks the beginning of the downward trend in this export trade.[1] The following figures indicate how Cork export trade was affected by the general depression.[2]

EXPORT OF PROVISIONS AND LIVESTOCK FROM CORK 1815 - 1819

Year end 5th Jan.	BEEF (brls)	PORK (brls)	HAMS (cwts)	FLITCHES No.	LIVESTOCK No.	HOGS No.
1815	21,525	55,017	335	11,128	1,365	10,544
1816	20,989	46,210	1,176	12,036	2,528	21,764
1817	18,059	34,177	1,562	7,071	1,380	17,404
1818	25,271	41,885	2,553	13,725	4,802	6,852
1819	23,650	34,700	668	15,917	4,029	7,297

Apparently, Cork provisions were still on demand in foreign markets, as these figures do not indicate a severe depression in the export trade when compared with the figures for the wartime period. The most significant trend in the provision trade during the latter period, namely the increase in the number of livestock exported, is still observable in the export figures for the years 1815-1819. The fall off evident in the export of pork can in part be explained by the alteration with respect to the foreign salt used in the preparation of the cask provisions. The advantage hitherto enjoyed by Ireland came to an end when the duties on salt imported into England and

1. J. O'Donovan, The Economic History of Livestock in Ireland, 1940, p. 158.

2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

Ireland were equalized at the termination of the war, thus one of the great advantages of getting provisions made up in Cork necessarily ceased with it.[1]

The increase in the number of livestock compensated somewhat for the decline in the provision trade.

Though the large contracts supplied by Cork for the victualling of the British fleets were at an end when the European war ended,[2] a steady market for provisions was conveniently provided by the Victualling Yard in Cork and Haulbowline as illustrated by the following typical notice which appeared regularly in the Cork newspapers:[3]

CORK VICTUALLING YARD

The Commissioners will receive tenders for delivery of

150 cwt. Biscuit
2,358 Tierces of Beef
9,600 lbs. Flour
10 Tons Oatmeal

J.W. Dunsterville

Further, in 1819 Messrs D. Callaghan & Sons, Cork were declared contractors for the entire quantity of provisions wanted by the Government:[4]

12,000 tierces of Beef
12,000 tierces of Pork

at £7 - 12 - 6 a tierce a fall from £8 -7 - 5, the price fixed in the previous year.

The fall in price occurred very soon after the war. Beef which was 154/- per tierce in 1815, was only 100/- in 1816. The following table illustrates the sharp fall in prices generally at the Cork Market with the return of peace:[5]

1. J. F. Maguire, M.P.,Mayor of Cork: The Industrial Movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852. pp. 48, 49.
2. A. Marmion, The Maritime Ports of Ireland, p. 536.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 15th February, 1816.
4. J. O'Donovan, The Economic History of Livestock in Ireland, (1940) p. 158.
5. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1814, '15, '16.

CORK MARKET PRICES

DATE	WHEAT (bags) 20 st.	OATS (brl)	BARLEY (brl)	PORK (cwt)	BEEF (lb)	MUTTON (lb)
20 Apr. 1814	26/- 30/-	28/- 30/-	48/- 52/-	52/-	11d 1/3	10d 1/-
21 Apr. 1815	24/- 34/-	23/- 27/-	- -	28/-	6d. 9d.	7d. 9d.
19 Apr. 1816	30/- 36/-	19/- 20/-	22/- 24/-	21/-	5d. 7d.	5d. 7d.

The rise in the price of wheat in 1816 was probably due to the bad harvest which coincided with the termination of hostilities on the Continent.[1]

Following on the collapse of Napoleon's Continental System, England was able to import large quantities of grain from the Continent causing a decrease in the demand for grain from Ireland and hence from Cork. This decrease is reflected in the following figures when compared with the export figures already quoted for the period 1801-1814:[2]

EXPORT OF CEREALS, FLOUR and OATMEAL FROM CORK 1815-19

YEAR end 5th Jan.	WHEAT (brls)	BARLEY (brls)	OATS (brls)	FLOUR (cwts)	OATMEAL (cwts)
1815	22,876	10,325	75,995	45,675	162
1816	32,216	26,619	70,268	7,030	2,176
1817	27,467	38,893	68,884	7,483	135
1818	9,411	18,564	69,615	3,325	1,363
1819	14,685	5,551	107,252	3,213	3,054

The Munster Farmer's Magazine made the following interesting comment on the distressed state of the farming population in the whole of south west Munster in March, 1816:[3]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th June, 1816.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd March, 1816.

NO. XVI MUNSTER FARMER'S MAGAZINE

It is of course easy to conceive what the general distress must be when both corn and potatoes are a mere drug and what is much worse than being cheap, when it is difficult to find buyers even at the lowest prices, many a farmer being obliged to return with goods unsold, after travelling many a weary mile to find a purchaser.

Were it simply the reduction of private incomes that were to be apprehended and were everything paid and everything received to be reduced in equal proportion, the results would be of little import. But to say nothing of groceries, liquors, cloths, etc., which have not fallen or very little in price, how will it be possible to meet the exigencies of the State, or to pay in a situation of general impoverishment, those taxes which were with difficulty raised in a situation of general prosperity. The thing is altogether impossible.

Evidently, the landed interests and the merchants of Cork were gravely concerned about the depression in trade, for on February 6th, 1816 they held a meeting at the King's Old Castle, Cork "to consider the present distressed and alarming condition of the agricultural interests of the county and the propriety of sending a Petition to Parliament on the important subject". As a result of this meeting, the following petition was sent to Parliament.[1]

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE NOBILITY, GENTRY, CLERGY, MERCHANTS AND FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF CORK

Your petitioners beg leave to observe that the Southern part of Ireland, being since the Union with Great Britain, solely dependent on agriculture, and having no other resource from whence it could derive the means of support for the great and increasing population is at present at such an outstanding state of pecuniary difficulty as to excite the most serious alarm; nor is the difficulty partial or confined to one class- it is universal - it is ruinous. In vain will taxes be expected if there be neither agriculture nor commerce to support them. Successful industry alone can produce revenue.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 7th February, 1816.

Another most serious consequence your petitioners beg leave to state, is greatly apprehended from the present depression in the price of agricultural produce, not only are a general neglect and despondency apparent among the occupant farmers but numbers have fled from their lands, or resigned them to their landlords, who can neither cultivate them themselves nor find tenants to occupy them for that purpose.

Your petitioners look with confidence and expectation for such regulations as may insure to the farmers markets for their produce at a steady price, proportioned to the changes to which they may be liable. From the laws passed in the last session of Parliament, the agriculturalists still hope some benefit may be ultimately derived. That benefit has been retarded and your petitioners dread, that unless some further means can be derived for their immediate relief, the agricultural interests of the county will receive such a shock as may blast for ever the rising hopes of Ireland.

The following account furnished by a member of the landed interest, gives a very graphic description of the effects of the above mentioned depression:[1]

"I took a farm five years ago, of 1,000 acres @ £2 per acre. I brought in a capital of £2,000. I bought plows and carts, built barns, stables, cow houses and stocked my farm. But wheat was then 15/- the quarter, I exported my corn to Spain and Portugal. I sold fat bullocks to the salesmaster @ £15 to £20. I cleared from £700 to £1,000 a year. I contended that the taxes were necessary and I said in my joy, if this be war, may we never have peace. At the moment that Napoleon was defeated, down tumbled the market. The salesmaster would not give me within £5 of previous prices. The bankers around me began to break, one after another. No such thing as discount. From that time to the present instead of growing better, times are growing worse. Wheat came down to half-price, oats two-thirds, in fact everything came down but the rent, the tithe and the taxes. I still endeavour to keep

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th June, 1816.

my head above water. But my capital is all gone. My landlord, it is true came down a quarter but instead of saving £500 a year, I am loosing £500.

To make matters worse, the Irish harvests were deficient after 1816. In the following year the oatcrop was very poor and a plentiful potato crop was injured by persistent rain. Land in some cases was turned into pasture to provide the rent which otherwise could not be paid.[1]

It would appear from the following notices, that practical steps were taken locally to relieve the distress near Cork city in 1816:[2]

Good landlords have voluntarily abated their rents and curtailed their incomes in order to mitigate the general suffering.

The Rev. S. Webb Terry, of Sunday's Well has made abatements to his tenants of 20 and in some instances of 40% in all recent settings.

Mr. Putland has made very considerable abatements to his tenantry, on his estate near Blarney.

The absence of references in Cork newspapers during the years 1818 and 1819 to grave agricultural distress locally would suggest however, that the severe depression of 1816 was of a temporary nature.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 19th April, 1816.

THE CORK BUTTER MARKET - TRADE PROSPEROUS - EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE EXPORT FROM OTHER IRISH PORTS - ANNUAL QUANTITY OF BUTTER WHICH PASSED THROUGH THE CORK WEIGH HOUSE - CHANGE IN THE FEE FOR THE INSPECTION OF BUTTER - CHANGE OF NUMBER IN COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS AND IN METHOD OF ELECTION - OPPOSITION TO "THE BUTTER MARKET SYSTEM" - REFORMS DEMANDED AND IMPLEMENTED - CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF BUTTER AT THE CORK MARKET - EFFECT OF COMPETITION FROM DUTCH BUTTER IN THE LONDON MARKET - MARKETS.

The Cork Butter Trade did not share in the general depression which accompanied the return to peace in 1815. Export figures for the next four years, as compared with those of the previous period , indicate an increase in the export of butter from Cork. The quantity of butter exported from Cork far exceeded still, the amount exported from the other ports, as the following figures show:[1]

PORT	TOTAL EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK in cwts., compared with the export from other ports.			
	1816	1817	1818	1819
Dublin	27,233	34,443½	29,756	36,283
Cork	140,490	132,321	131,612¾	152,367
Belfast	34,532	28,010½	42,178	52,156
Limerick	11,710	21,214	20,471¾	21,273
Waterford & Ross	99,365	111,208	94,811	122,528

William Irving,
Inspector General of Imports and Exports,
Inspector General's Office,
Custom House, London.

1st May, 1826.

QUANTITY OF BUTTER SHIPPED FROM THE DIFFERENT PORTS OF IRELAND IN SUMMER 1815

PORT	FIRKINS	PORT	FIRKINS
DUBLIN	60,000	Wexford	30,000
ROSS	30,000	WATERFORD	200,000
CORK	300,000	Limerick	30,000
SLIGO	30,000	DERRY & COLERAINE	20,000
BELFAST	70,000	NEWRY	70,000
DUNDALK	10,000	DROGHEDA	10,000

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd May, 1826.

TOTAL = 860,000 firkins.[1]

The Report of Receipts and application of the profits arising from the Weigh House Tolls, published in the Cork newspapers on 12th August, 1816, was a further indication of the prosperous state of the Cork Butter Trade; the following statement being an abstract from the Report:[2]

WEIGH HOUSE TOLLS

To the Wide Street Commissioners for the year ending July,1814-£499-19-11

" " " " " " " " " July,1815-£732-12-0

" " " " " " " " " July,1816-£836-16-0½

To the Harbour Commissioners and the Weigh House Committee, a like sum.

The following figures indicate the amount of butter which passed through the Cork Weigh House during this period:[3]

ACCOUNT OF THE TOTAL ANNUAL QUANTITY OF BUTTER in FIRKINS and KEGS which passed through the Cork Weigh House for the years 1816-19

Year end. 8th May	FIRKINS	KEGS	TOTALS
1816	253,453	7,932	261,389
1817	261,280	7,264	268,544
1818	222,774	8,721	231,496
1819	232,113	11,922	244,036

The increase in the butter trade was accompanied by certain changes. The fee for the inspection of butter and hides was increased owing to the insufficiency of funds in consequence of the advance for the building of a New Weigh House. At a meeting of the Committee of Merchants on the 26th June, 1815, the following resolution was passed:[4]

"That the funds of the Committee not being sufficient in consequence of its advance for the building of the Weigh House and to support

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 16th February, 1816.
2. ibid., 12th August, 1816.
3. CBM. MS. C.38, Cork Public Museum.
4. CBM. MS., Minutes of the Meeting dated 26th June, 1815.

its establishment respectably, that from the 1st July next, the inspection fee on butter be charged at 2d. per firkin and 1d. per keg, and on hides 1½d.-each being an increase of ½d. on butter per firkin and on hides ½d.

A change also took place in the body which controlled the organization of the market. Since its establishment, the Committee consisted of 21 members. At a meeting of the Committee 8th May, 1815, the following resolutions were passed:[1]

That it is expedient for the good of the trade of the city that the Committee shall in future consist of 21 export and import merchants and of six gentlemen of the butter trade, there shall not at any one time be 2 members of any one house.

That the election of new members in future shall be by the remaining 14 members setting down each the names of one gentleman which they would wish to select and the whole committee electing seven from these 14 names.

It appears however, from the following that the organization of the Cork Butter Market in 1816, was possibly not beyond reproach and that the country gentlemen were determined to promote the necessary reforms:[2]

AGRICULTURAL & COMMERCIAL MEETING

At an agricultural and commercial meeting held at the Cork Institution the object of which was to devise such regulations as would be advantageous to the butter trade and to the sale of hides, the disadvantages which the country gentlemen alleged the farmer labours under in bringing the former articles to the market were:

1. That there was reason to believe that there was partiality shown in the inspection at the Weigh House.
2. That there was more severity than usual observed in the inspection.
3. That owing to that severity there was an increased proportion of inferior qualities.

1. Minutes - dated 8th May, 1815.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 17th April, 1816.

4. That there existed an unusual difference in value between the respective qualities, especially the inferior kinds

5. That the present system of fixing the currency (that is the price allowed to the country by the butter merchants) was radically bad.

Counsellor O'Connor, a landowner from Kerry, addressed the meeting. He dwelt on the causes of complaint enumerated above - there was also, he stated, a set of persons called "shifters" and "clatterers", who were known to remove the stave of the firkin when the brand had been marked, in order to put in another. He advised modes of redress.

He particularly dwelt 'on the occasional close of the Market . . . an injury to the countryman, who ignorant of what moment persons may choose to adapt such a measure, sets out from the distant part of Kerry and on his arrival at Cork, finds the market shut, he is then required to deposit his butter in the Weigh House, the option of giving it to a butter merchant not being with him and it frequently happened from this cause that it became so deteriorated in quality, from its being exposed that it was of no more value than grease.'

Mr. Newton, a butter merchant, complained in common with the country gentlemen, of the influence which the Committee of Merchants possessed in the appointment of the butter inspectors and the partiality which was sometimes shown.

Mr. John Cotter proposed that the country gentlemen should elect any given number to form a part of that body (Committee of Merchants) to watch their motives and guard the prosperity of the trade in which they were so interested; they would then have a full share in the appointment of the inspectors.

Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Beamish as members of the Committee of Merchants, expressed their assent to this proposal.

Mr. Charles Sugrue, alluding to the close of the market, undertook to explain the reasons why sucha measure was resorted to . . . he said:

'it was to protect the countryman from the merchants ... At the commencement of the season the merchant had his information as to the supplies which were to come in and he delayed to purchase until the market was so glutted, that the article must fall. It was necessary therefore, to stop this constant supply, until the quantity come in had found vent., and this was best done by closing the market, so that instead of being of detriment to the countryman, this measure was resorted to for his defence.'

RESOLVED:

That it is indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the trade in the dairy produce of the county of Cork and Kerry and such other parts of the province of Munster as transmit their produce to the Weigh House of this city, that the Inspectors of butter should be elected, continue in office and function in such a manner as to preclude the least doubt of their being influenced by any other motive but the fair and impartial discharge of their duty.

RESOLVED:

That it is further necessary for the prosperity of those engaged in the trade of dairy produce, that a just and satisfactory method should be adopted by those engaged in the butter trade which should regulate the value of butter by some fixed principle of reciprocal benefit to the buyers and sellers of that article and remove the objections which now exist of there being frequently no fixed price for the country, at the same time that a constant sale is kept open between the butter buyers and the exporting merchants.

RESOLVED:

That a permanent Agricultural Committee for the counties of Cork and Kerry be appointed to watch over the interests of agriculture; that it be empowered to communicate with the Committee of the Committee of Merchants and to request their assistance in removing the grievances complained of in the above resolutions; also to take such other measures as may be necessary for the regulation of the Butter Trade.

RESOLVED:

That the permanent Committee composed of the noblemen, members of Parliament, and principal landed gentlemen of the county of Cork and Kerry, be now appointed and that they meet from time to time, that 5 members be a quorum and that three members have power to convene a general meeting.

RESOLVED:

That a subscription be entered into for the purpose of carrying the above resolutions into effect.

Lord Carberry
Chairman.

The Committee of Merchants did not yield entirely to the demands of the country gentlemen; they did however make the following concession, at a meeting of the Committee, held on 18th April, 1816:

RESOLVED:[1]

That the President be empowered to enrol 3, 5 or 7 gentlemen, which the county may select to represent the agricultural interests of this county who would be summoned on all subjects in which the county is concerned.

Change was also evident in the price of butter in the Cork market during these years.

The following table illustrates the fall in price in 1816 and 1817 in line with the general downward trend in the price of provisions during this period as compared with the prices already quoted in the previous section for the years 1814 and 1815. There is no reference, however, in the minutes of the meetings of the Committee of Merchants to the dissatisfaction of butter buyers or farmers with the price of butter during these years. A possible explanation of this may be that the increase in the quantity of butter sold (as seen from the Weigh House Account for the years 1816 and 1817) served to mitigate the

1. Minutes - dated 18th April, 1816.

effect of the fall in price. This fall was only a temporary one as the figures quoted for the year 1818 indicate a considerable rise in the price of butter. [1]

CORK MARKET - BUTTER PRICES

TO THE MERCHANTS

BRANDS	19th April, 1816	21st May, 1817	24th September, 1818.
1.	118/-	104/-	134/-
2.	100/-	100/-	130/-
3.	70/-	90/-	126/-
4.	56/-	80/-	122/-
5.	-	-	118/-
6.	-	-	104/-

TO THE COUNTRY

1.	104/-	94/-	122/-
2.	86/-	90/-	118/-
3.	56/-	80/-	114/-
4.	64/-	70/-	110/-
5.	-	-	104/-
6.	-	-	92/-

(1 Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1816.
2 " " " 1817.
3 Cork Advertiser, 1818).

From 1816 onwards, Cork butter trade with Great Britain suffered in consequence of the competition with Dutch Butter in the London market. The effect of this competition is evident from the following notice:

COMMERCIAL

The letters from London admit very large arrivals of Dutch Butter which added to the importation of Irish in the preceding week and produced a decline in our market on Friday of 4/- per cwt.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd September, 1816.

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1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd September, 1816.

The following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on 22nd March, 1816 would indicate that the Cork Butter Market was not the only one affected by the importation of foreign butter:

'A Petition of the Waterford Chamber of Commerce against the importation of foreign butter was presented to the House of Commons..... The Ross merchants are forwarding a like petition.....'

Mr. Henry Harben, importer of Butter from Cork, in his evidence given to the Select Committee on the butter trade in Ireland, in 1826, gives the clue to the preference for Dutch butter in the London market. He stated:[1]

'The Cork butter would be better fit for the London market all the year around less salted - the extra quality of salt gives it a very bad flavour.' On the other hand he adverted to the advantage which the Cork butter held over that of Holland in the foreign markets:

Referring to the latter he stated:

'Dutch butter is not as fit for taking salt and so not fit to send abroad.'

The following extract from a London letter received in Belfast in November, 1818, is interesting as an indication of the increase in the butter trade between the main ports of Ireland and London in 1818, and of the comparative importance of the export from the port of Cork:

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE LIBRARY

BUTTER TRADE

Port	1817	1818
Ross	5,720 firkins	3,565 firkins
Wexford	3,150	6,520
CORK	22,514	48,940
Dublin	4,378	27,373
Belfast	3,938	24,966
Newry	200	10,314

(The Cork Advertiser and Commercial Register, 10th Nov., 181

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Butter Trade 1826, P.P.Vol. V., p. 237.

The superiority of Cork casks and the peculiar quality of Cork butter, still guaranteed it a constant market in countries as far distant as the West Indies, America and Africa.

OTHER INDUSTRIES AND TRADES ALLIED WITH THE PROVISION TRADE

DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF TALLOW - INCREASE IN THE EXPORT OF CANDLES - ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF THE EXPORT OF UNTANNED HIDES - TANNING INDUSTRY PROSPEROUS - ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF EXPORT OF TANNED HIDES, SHOES AND BOOTS -GENERAL TREND IN THE EXPORT OF SOAP - DECLINE IN THE COOPERING BUSINESS

Cork was the only Irish port from which tallow was exported during this period. The following figures would indicate a severe fall in the export of tallow in the immediate post-war years.[1] A possible explanation of this may be found in the following table which indicates an increase in the export of candles.

EXPORT OF TALLOW FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1815-19.

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwt.)	From Ireland (cwt.)
1815	141	141
1816	44	46
1817	98	98
1818	159	159
1819	88	88

England no longer provided a market for tallow; the main market now was that of Jamaica.

In contrast to the trend in the export of tallow, the following figures indicate a rise in the export of candles which combined with the home consumption, would suggest that the manufacture of candles was not adversely affected by the post-war depression:[2]

1. Custom House Records, National Library, Dublin.
2. ibid.

EXPORT OF CANDLES FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND
1815 - 1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwt)	From Ireland (cwt)
1815	5,816	9,148
1816	7,000	11,094
1817	8,674	14,893
1818	7,991	13,723
1819	5,966	9,133

Returns for the export of untanned hides show that this export was mainly to England and on the increase except for the year 1817, when the figure was extremely low. The export however, did not reach the pre-Union export level:[1]

EXPORT OF UNTANNED HIDES FROM CORK AND IRELAND 1815-1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork No.	From Ireland No.
1815	3,967	19,631
1816	4,836	21,998
1817	2,786	46,624
1818	9,777	86,455
1819	4,862	43,721

The following figures for the export of footwear would indicate that the tanning of leather was by no means diminishing but on the contrary was supplying an expanding foreign market in the export of footwear:[2]

EXPORT OF SHOES AND BOOTS FROM CORK AND IRELAND 1815-1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (lbs)	From Ireland (lbs)
1815	5,590	11,131
1816	3,768	7,078
1817	9,769	13,762
1818	13,849	20,455
1819	18,209	29,940

1. Custom House Records, National Library, Dublin.
2. ibid.

The number of boot and shoemakers engaged in the manufacture of footwear in the city had increased from48 in 1811 to 78 in 1817. (Holden's Triennial Directory, 1809,'10,'11: Connor's Cork Directory 1817).

This fact combined with the increase in the export of both shoes and boots from Cork would indicate that the manufacture of footwear in the city was progressive.

However, from a notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle it would seem that the manufacture of shoes as pradised in the City in 1816, called for certain reforms. The notices is also of significance for the light it throws on the role of the Guild of Shoemakers.

GUILD OF SHOEMAKERS

Messrs. Thornell and Down were yesterday sworn into office by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, as Masters of this Guild, under a Charter granted by James I. We hope such wholesome regulations may be adopted as will correct the various abuses existing in that trade. The wretched and unmerchantable work daily exposed for sale must be very injurious to business in a general way and cannot but equally affect the Journeyman and theEmployer. We find that a great power of control is given to the Guild over the Tanners; we should, therefore, hope that steps will be taken to improve the quality of leather; however, we look to the activity of the gentlemen sworn into office. They will have it in their power to remove some of the existing evils. We hope that other trades will follow the example.[1]

The following would indicate that Messrs. Thornell and Down took practical steps to secure improvement in the quality of leather available for the manufacture of footwear in the city:

NOTICE TO TANNERS

In consequence of the decision of a late trial before Sir David Perrier Knight and that no person should plead ignorance - THE GUILD OF SHOE-

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 4th December, 1816.

MAKERS, do give further public notice, that they will put the law in force against any Tanner or other persons who shall offer for sale as tanned hides any skins not tanned or curried as the Law directs agreeable to the Statute in that case made and provided.

Cork, 25th July, 1817[1]

Apparently, the above notice was effective as there are no further references to inferior leather being offered for sale in the city during the years 1817 - 1819.

A further indication of the flourishing state of the tanning industry after 1816 was the marked increase in the export of tanned hides. One reason for this was most probably the availability of oak bark from America from the end of war there in 1814. The following figures indicate the trend:[2]

EXPORT OF TANNED HIDES FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1815-1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (lbs)	From Ireland (lbs)
1815	7,118	9,418
1816	1,948	16,289
1817	31,595	42,360
1818	138,952	176,581
1819	159,116	162,467

The increase in the number of master tanners from 9 in 1809 to 10 in 1817, reflected the flourishing state of the tanning industry. (Holden's Triennial Directory, 1809, '10, '11; Connor's Cork Directory, 1817).

The following table illustrates how far flung in 1818 were the markets for Cork tanned hides:[3]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 28th July, 1817.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. ibid.

EXPORT OF TANNED HIDES FROM CORK 1818 (in lbs).

England 2,192	Streights 870	Portugal 107,071	Canada 3,680
Trinidad 1,622	Nova Scotia 15,180	Barbados 4,973	Jamaica 3,360

The export of soap though higher than that of the war years was on the decline. This however, would not necessarily indicate a decline in the industry as the local consumption very probably increased with the increase in population.[1]

The increase in the number of soap and candle manufacturers in the city from 9 in 1805 to 19 in 1817 would suggest that in fact the manufacture of soap was progressive. (Holden's Triennial Directory 1805, '6, '7; Connor's Cork Directory, 1817).

The following figures show the general trend in the export of soap:[2]

EXPORT OF SOAP FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1815-1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwt)	From Ireland (cwt)
1815	4,040	11,711
1816	3,239	11,759
1817	3,601	9,716
1818	3,657	7,978
1819	3,007	13,565

In contrast with the increase in the number of tanners employed in the city during the period 1816-1819, the number of master coopers declined with the decline in the provision trade and the brewing and distilling industry. It fell from 46 in 1817 to 31 in 1820.[3]

1. Census of Ireland 1821.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Connor's Cork Directory, 1817; Pigot's Commercial Directory, 1820

THE BREWING INDUSTRY - DECLINE - CHANGE IN SALES OF BEAMISH & CRAWFORD - CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF PORTER- DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF BEER - DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF BREWERS

The effects of the return to peace were immediately seen in the brewing industry. Helped by the legislation of 1795 and then by the wartime boom, the sale of beer had increased. The end of wartime demands combined with the crop failure of 1816 and 1819 caused a serious decline in the brewing industry in Ireland.[1] This change was reflected to some extent in the sales of Beamish & Crawford. The following table reflects the trend in sales in general in Cork city during these years:[2]

TOTAL SALES OF BEAMISH & CRAWFORD 1815-1819

Year beg.1st August	TIERCES
1815	85,689
1816	80,884
1817	78,928
1818	83,875
1819	77,971

Yet Beamish & Crawford were still the leading brewers in Ireland.[3] Their output in 1816 brought a profit of £27,682- 0- 3.[4] In 1818 their business gave employment to 500 people.[5]

In line with the decrease in output a marked decline took place in their purchase of barley as the following figures indicate:[6]

ANNUAL PURCHASE OF BARLEY by BEAMISH & CRAWFORD

Year beg. 1st August.	VALUE
1815	£45,811-11-10
1816	£38,265-14- 0
1817	£57,206- 8- 7
1818	£ 5,905-14- 3

1. Lynch, P and Vaizey, J., Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759-1876, pp. 6, 33.
2. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.
3. Lynch & Vaizey, p. 90.
4. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.
5. O'Brien, G. The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, 1921, p. 345.
6. ibid.

Change in the price of porter due to an increase in the malt duty characteristic of the period 1801 - 1815, was also evident during the period 1816 - 1820.

In the Cork Mercantile Chronicle 5th March, 1815, the following notices appeared:

THE CORK PORTER BREWERY

The proprietors beg leave to inform the public, that in consequence of a large additional duty, laid on malt, they are under the necessity of advancing theprice of porter to 40/- British per Tierce, with the usual allowance of 1 tierce to the score, from this date

THE ALE BREWERS OF CORK CITY

Beg leave to inform the public that in consequence of a large additional duty laid on malt, they are under the necessity of advancing the price of Porter to 40/- British per tierce.

The following table reflects the general trend in the price of Porter sold by Beamish & Crawford during the period 1815-1819:[1]

PRICE OF PORTER sold by BEAMISH & CRAWFORD

Year beg. 1st August	Average price of Porter per tierce
1815	£1 - 19 - 1
1816	£1 - 15 -11
1817	£1 - 15 -11
1818	£1 - 15-- 7
1819	£1 - 17 - 2

This table also reflects the general trend in the price of Porter sold by other Cork brewers as the Association of Brewers, to which Beamish & Crawford belonged, fixed the price and conditions of sale of such drink.[2]

1. Beamish & Crawford - Ledger.
2. Lynch & Vaizey, pp. 98, 122.

A considerable decline is evident in the export figures for beer during these years:[1]

EXPORT OF BEER FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland. (in barrels)

Year end. Jan. 5th	From Cork	From Ireland
1815	2,529	6,930
1816	2,557	7,516
1817	877	2,216
1818	120	120

These export figures for beer seemed very low when compared with the output of Beamish & Crawford brewery (the chief exporter of Cork beer) as quoted in the table of annual sales for the period 1815-1819; a satisfactory clarification of the situation was however, found in the Journals of Beamish & Crawford which indicated that the company's local sales had increased considerably during this period, and had extended to places as far distant as Dublin.[2]

The Report of the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital of the city of Cork 1816-1817, suggests a further cause for the decline in the export of beer from Cork in 1817. It stated on November 8th, 1817, in reference to the city:

"Fever has extended so generally that it has produced a marked sensation through the whole British Empire. At this moment, vessels from the city of Cork are compelled to perform quarantine at Lisbon to the great injury of our trade." [3]

The decline in the export of beer was accompanied by decline in the number of brewers at work in the city. The number had fallen from 17 in 1812 to 11 in 1817:[4]

It is not unlikely that some had failed in the general commercial

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. Beamish & Crawford Journals.
3. Report of the House of Recovery & Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, November, 1816, '17, p. 10.
4. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812 and 1817.

depression which prevailed after the ending of the war with France in 1815.

THE DISTILLING INDUSTRY - DECLINE - CHANGE IN STILL CHARGES- CHANGE IN OWNERSHIP OF DISTILLERIES - CHANGE IN LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE SALE OF SPIRITS - CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF WHISKEY - EFFORTS TO PREVENT DISTILLATION - ANNUAL DISTILLATION OF HEWITT & CO. - EXPORT OF SPIRITS FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL EXPORT FROM IRELAND

The return to peace in 1815 did not bring prosperity to the distillers of Cork city. On the contrary, in company with the other distillers in Ireland, they suffered from the increase of illicit distillation due to the fall in the price of corn.[1] They also suffered from the spirit duty which remained at the high rate of 5/7½ per gallon until 1823. Moreover, the tempo in the race between the distillers and the Legislature increased, to add to the distillers' difficulties.[2] This race had begun as early as 1799. In that year an attempt had been made to limit the extent of evasion of duty by prescribing a minimum revenue from each still. The minimum was based on the estimated number of times a still could be worked off in 28 days.[3] This still charge continued to increase with the passage of time. The following table shows the increase in still charges during the period 1815-1817.

STILL CHARGE on 500 Gallon Still per month

Year	1815	1816	1817
Charges	144	172	189

Morewood gives the following statistics concerning the stills in Cork city in 1818:[4]

Name	Size of still	Monthly charge	Weekly produce
John Morrough	1,021 gal.	154	13,756 gal.
William Wise	501	189	8,285
Sam Perrott	500	189	8,268
P.W. Callaghan	500	189	8,268

1. O'Brien, G., The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, (1921), p. 351.
2. McGuire, E. B., A History of Distilling in Ireland, (1973), p. 184.
3. 20 Geo. 3, c. 12.
4. Morewood, S., A Philosophical and Statistical History of Liquors, 1838, p. 725.

The ownership of the North Mall Distillery changed. In 1818 William Wise was the licensed dealer. He replaced the large 1,516 gallon still by a smaller one of 501 gallon content. He also had another still in use.

By 1816 the Teulon share in the Watercourse Distillery had been assigned to James Morrough. The firm however, continued to trade as Hewitt & Co.

In 1818, P. W. Callaghan was listed as the distiller of the Glen Distillery. Anthony Perrier, the original owner, may have continued his interest in the business, for in 1822, he was using a still of 500 gallon content.

It appears from the directory[1] that there were a number of other distillers at work in the city. Possibly these had smaller stills in use. Stills of between 100 and 200 gallon content bore 304 charges per month. This meant that such stills had to go through the process of distilling 11 times each day for 28 days of the month. A recounting of this fact gives some idea of the hectic rush which must have prevailed daily in these distilleries.[2]

Further legislation brought about change during this period and not all of it was favourable to the distillers. In 1819 the industry received encouragement in the form of an extension of the allowance from the still licence duty of a ¼ of the full charge to all distillers who used turf as fuel [3]---an interesting instance of the United Parliament's encouragement of the development of Ireland's natural resources.

Up to 1818 the grocers were only allowed to sell spirits for consumption off the premises in quantity of not less than two quarts and since the year 1813 were obliged to pay a licence duty equal to three-quarters of the sum paid by a retailer of spirits for a retail licence,

1. Connor's Cork Directory, 1817.
2. McGuire, E.B., pp. 375, 355, 378, 170.
3. 57 Geo. 3, c. 110 sec. 3.

so that a grocer's spirit licence in Cork was £30.[1] In 1818 the grocers were allowed to sell less than two quarts, but the cost of the licence duty was further raised to the same level of that of a retailer. This was a heavy burden on the Cork grocers.[2]

The following reflects the general trend in the price of whiskey in Cork during the years 1816-1819:[3]

PRICE OF WHISKEY - HEWITT & CO.

Year	Average annual price per gallon
1816	8/10
1817	9/-
1818	9/9
1819	7/4

Nature itself seemed to militate against the prosperity of the Cork distillers in 1816. The failure of the potato crop in that year made the poor dependent on grain for food. This resulted in a shortage of grain for distillation. The following letter addressed to the Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, dated 3rd January, 1817, gives an insight into the needs of the poor but also an indication of the amount of spirits being distilled in the city even at this time:

TO THE EDITOR

With famine staring us in the face our Cork distillers are at work; 6,000 gallons of whiskey are distilled daily, consuming 120,000 lbs. of corn, being more than sufficient, for the maintenance of the entire population of the city - it is equally criminal to effect the death of a fellow citizen by famine as by a sword.

CATO

So distressed were the poor that a number of the Cork citizens sent a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant on January 6th, appealing for the prohibition of distillation of grain and of the export of corn.[4]

1. McGuire, pp. 201,- 205. 2. ibid., p. 171.

3. Hewitt & Co., Ledger, 3 & 4.

4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, January 7th, 1817.

A few days later the following reply was received:[1]

TO JOHN REYNOLDS ESQ., SOUTH MALL, CORK

Dublin Castle, January 15th, 1817.

Sir,

I am commanded by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., transmitting a Memorial from the manufacturing tradesmen and the labouring classes of the city of Cork and to acquaint you that His Excellency hears with great concern that the Memorialists are suffering severe distress from the want of employment and the dearness of provisions. His Excellency further desires me to acquaint you that he does not consider it advisable to prevent the exportation of corn from the county, or the continuance of distillation from grain.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Robert Peel.

Apparently, the revenue from distillation was of more concern to the Government than the plight of the poor of Cork city.

The following figures taken from the records of Hewitt & Co. are an indication of the general trend in distillation at this period. The low figure quoted for the year 1817, is not surprising in view of the high demand for grain as food consequent on the failure of the potato crop in 1816.

TOTAL ANNUAL DISTILLATION OF HEWITT & CO.

Year	No. of gallons
1815	314,155
1816	338,147
1817	180,690
1818	203,654
1819	208,991

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd January, 1817

Decline in distillation was also reflected in the change which the export trade in spirits from Cork experienced between 1816-1819:[1]

TOTAL EXPORT OF SPIRITS FROM CORK compared with the export from Ireland (in gallons) 1815-19.

Year ending 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland
1815	595,971	886,616
1816	175,810	527,579
1817	45,279	191,969
1818	37,140	46,743
1819	12,527	38,256

Such evidence as is available bears witness to the downward trend in the distilling industry during the period 1816-1819.

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY - DEPRESSED STATE OF THE INDUSTRY IN IRELAND IN GENERAL - UNREST AMONG WEAVERS IN CORK CITY - COMPETITION FROM DUBLIN WEAVERS - EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE CORK MANUFACTURES - BOOM PERIOD SPRING 1818, FOLLOWED BY LULL IN 1819 - GENERAL TREND IN EXPORT OF MUSLIN - ANALYSIS OF RETURNS OF EXPORT OF PLAIN AND COLOURED COTTON AND CALICO

In the general depression of commerce, which followed close after the termination of the war with France, the cotton manufacture in Ireland suffered severely. Goods fell 30% to 40% in price many merchants were forced to suspend payments and as a natural result, the operatives endured their share of the losses borne by the employers. Production for a time was almost suspended and where weavers did get work, the scale of wages was lowered to a point, which at the high rate current for the necessaries of life left the most industrious with the bare means of subsistence. Flour rose to 26/- a cwt.; oatmeal 13/- to 14/-; and potatoes 2/- to 2/6 a weight; Sugar was sold at 10d. to 1/- a lb.; tea, 6/9 to 9/- a pound. The weaver rarely had the power to purchase even a small quantity of the latter. Workers blamed the manufacturers for the depressed state of the industry.[1]

Discontent became very prevalent among the workmen in Cork city at this time and combination against manufacturers got up by the workers, caused great unrest.[2]

Employers were denounced. According to the explanations they provided, the reduction of wages was unavoidable in justice to themselves, since some finished goods had fallen one-third in value.[3]

The deficient harvest of 1816 was follwed by great scarcity of food, so that market prices rose to famine standard. Extreme dullness of trade caused the calamity to fall with unusual severity on the working

1. H.McCall, Ireland and her staple manufactures, 1870, pp.502,503.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 24th June, 1816.
3. McCall, p. 510.

classes. Many cotton weavers were unable to find employment and as the farm labourers had fallen into the same position, poverty gradually increased, until it became direct privation over the county. In the spring of the following year, fever of a very virulent type made its appearance in Cork,[1] and amid its ravages, both rich and poor suffered.

Another serious cause of depression in the cotton industry arose in 1817, namely the competition from Dublin manufacturers. The following interesting letter was sent to William Beamish, chairman of the Cork Committee for the Relief of the Poor, who at this time was involved in relieving distressed woollen manufacturers:[2]

'The condition of the cotton manufacturers appeared mysterious to your Committee. The raw material for that manufacture being exotic,and regularly entered all our ports, it must be a matter of surprise, why more cotton goods, should be received in one week from Dublin, into our city, than we manufacture for the entire year'. The writer went on to suggest means of alleviating the suffering of the cotton weavers..... 'To give a season's employment to hundreds of your fellow countrymen is certainly within your power. This plan is practicable. Summon the numerous and respectable members on your subscribers' list and engage them in an association for the encouragement and protection of Cork manufacture, raise a loan for this purpose, which if it amounts to £10,000 will certainly complete your object, without the possibility of a 1/- loss. Take from the Cork stuff manufacturers, in addition to the elegant stock preparing, a quantity of beautiful patterns already on hands, which can be early consumed by the middle and upperclasses of your friends during the spring; order from the cotton manufacturers a sufficient quantity of new and elegant patterns which will be ready for and adapted for the summer season; open a public repository for the reception of these goods and pay for them on delivery. The respectable drapers of the city

1. Report of the House of Recovery & Fever Hospital, 1817.

2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 15th January, 1817.

will vend them in preference to any articles imported. The demand for these articles will immediately procure employment for an immense number of citizens, and the saving to your Charitable Institution will be considerably more than the interest of the sum necessarily advanced.

I am respectfully,

John O'Connell"

Kerry Hall, 13th January, 1817.

It would appear from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle later, that Mr. Beamish took immediate steps to implement John O'Connell's suggestions:[1]

The Honourable Mrs. Beamish has presented 20 guineas to the Governors of the Charitable Repositary, to be employed by them in the purchase of stuff of Cork manufacture.

A Cork citizen suggested a further reason for the decline in the cotton industry in 1816:[2]

The present Mayor of Cork, Mr. Sadlier, was the first who established the cotton manufacture in the south of Ireland where it has flourished most and where he built several manufactories: it was he who for many years gave daily employment to 10,000 persons. He often warned the workmen that the decline of the cotton manufacture in this part of the Kingdom would be the certain consequence of their looking for more wages than was paid in other places and time verified his prediction.

There are no statistics available concerning the exact number of cotton weavers in the city of Cork at the beginning of the year 1817, however, the following letter would suggest that the number of unemployed weavers was numerous:

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 20th January, 1817.

2. ibid., 6th March, 1816.

TO THE EDITOR

BLACKPOOL, CORK, 17th January, 1817.

Sir,

The present unhappy circumstances of this Kingdom induce me to offer to the Public, through the medium of your paper, a plan for relieving the numerous body of your population, who are at this period suffering privation of the severest kind. The body I allude to, is that of the Linen and Cotton Weavers of your city, numbers of whom are out of employment, but willing to work and many of these but a few months ago, possessed the means of purchasing materials for themselves, but from the general calamity that prevails, their small capitals have been consumed to preserve a wretched existence.....

McCall notes, however, that in the spring of 1818, the cotton trade in Ireland bounded as it were into new life. Goods of all description were in better demand and the weaver's wages rose considerably. Towards the close of that year another of the periodical lulls which occasionally hit the cotton trade, was experienced in most branches of its industry. Finished goods fell 20% to 30% in value. New Orleans cotton ran down from 22d. to 15d. a lb. Brazils from 24d. to 18d. Bengal from 11d. to 8d. a lb., and Surat from 12d. to 8d. a lb. Yarns rapidly receded in price and spinners could only force off qualities at great discount. Financial difficulties consequent on the return to cash payments, as laid down in the banking bill of Robert Peel, intensified the stagnation. A large decrease in production immediately followed and hundreds of hands were thrown out of employment; while wages fell one-third below those current a year before.[1]

It would appear from the available statistics that the cotton industry in Cork city gradually progressed after 1816.

The following tables are indications of the general trend of the industry there during the period 1815-1819:[2]

1. McCall, Ireland and Her Staple Manufactures, pp. 511-513.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

IMPORTS 1814-1819

Year	COTTON WOOL (cwts.)	COTTON YARN (lbs.)
1814	9,777	30,165
1815	211	24,065
1816	223	22,053
1817	774	61,524
1818	1,529	164,447
1819	1,867	184,516

While these figures would suggest that the industry made a gradual recovery after the depression of 1815-1816, when compared with the import statistics for 1814, it is evident that its wartime level had not yet been reached.

The following figures for the export of muslin exhibit considerable fluctuation:[1]

EXPORT OF COLOURED MUSLIN FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland

Year end. 5th Jan.	FROM CORK (yds.)	FROM IRELAND (yds.)
1815	-	-
1816	3,200	3,200
1817	54,937	59,937
1818	-	-

There is no indication that the fabric made of a mixture of cotton and linen formerly exported from Cork continued to be exported during this period.

The export figures for plain calico fell considerably during these years. Such evidence by itself would not necessarily indicate a decline in the manufacture of calico. It is at least probable that the demand for such cloth in Cork city increased with the increase in population.[2] The export figures for plain calico were as follows:[3]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. Census of Ireland, 1821.
3. ibid.

EXPORT OF PLAIN CALICO FROM CORK in yards;
compared with the total export from Ireland 1816-19

Year end. 5th Jan.	FROM CORK	FROM IRELAND
1816	54,916	56,277
1817	798	11,668
1818	2,715	4,629
1819	612	612

The export of plain and coloured cotton however, increased considerably after 1816 as is evident from the following table:[1]

EXPORT OF PLAIN AND COLOURED COTTON FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland

Year end. 5th Jan.	FROM CORK (value)	FROM IRELAND (value)
1816	£45	£45
1817	£1,165-18- 9	£1,165-18- 9
1818	£2,380-18- 0	£2,456-16- 7
1819	£2,414-18- 6	£2,765- 5- 6

These figures however, indicate the official value of the exports which were below their real value.[2]

It is evident from accounts derived from the statistics of exports and imports in the Parliamentary Papers of the first quarter of the 19th century that the difference between the official and current, or real, value of Irish exports was in fact, considerable.

The evidence of Robert Marshall, Inspector of Imports and Exports shows that the current value of Irish exports for the year ending the 5th January, 1803, differed so materially from the official value, as to make a difference of above £1,800,000 in that year.[3]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. J. F. Burke, Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland, (Dublin, 1940), p.266.
3. Report of the Circulating Paper, the Specie, the Current Coin, 1804 reprinted 1826, PP. 1826(407), V. 461, p. 99.

The balance with the imports and exports computed on official rates was £996,858- 8- 8¼against Ireland. This balance, according to the prices current, was £917,299- 1 - 7½ in favour of Ireland, the amount of exports of that year being according to current prices, the sum of £8,571.412-17 - 6½ and of imports, the sum of £7,654,113-15-11, making the above excess in favour of exports.

Connor's Cork Directory for the year 1817 indicates that the following were engaged in the manufacture of cotton in the city:

Joseph Bullen	-	York Street
Pat Clancy	-	Clarence Street
Wm. Curtin	-	Maypole Road
Daniel Magrath	-	Duncan Street
Daniel Murphy	-	Clarence Street

This figure being two in excess of the number quoted in the Directory for 1807,[1] may be taken as a further favourable indication of the general trend of the cotton industry in Cork city after the depression of 1816.

1. Holden's Triennial Directory, 1805, '6, '7.

THE LINEN INDUSTRY - REPORT OF PETER BESNARD, INSPECTOR GENERAL, ON THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRY IN THE COUNTY, AND CITY OF CORK - ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORK LINEN COMMITTEE IN 1816 - ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE INDUSTRY BY THE LINEN BOARD - GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE INDUSTRY - EXPORT OF LINEN FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL EXPORT FROM IRELAND

In 1816 the Linen Board showed a sudden revival of activity owing probably to an increase in the export trade and to a desire to reorganize the trade after the war. Peter Besnard, Inspector General of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, was sent on a tour of inspection of these provinces. One of the main purposes of his mission was to see how the system of open markets could be improved. In his report he gives the first detailed account of the linen industry in Co. Cork. He found that North Cork had made little progress in the cultivation of flax, and that no attempt had been made to manufacture linen for sale as a general business, "until within the last few months when the Earl of Mount Cashell opened a monthly market in the town of Kilworth where he gives a premium for the two best webs sold at each market. Lady Jane Moore has also encouraged the spinning business by establishing a spinning school and by giving premiums of a wheel for the largest quantity of best yarn sold in the market. Lord Mount Cashell was also erecting a scutching mill and was encouraging the growth of flax by giving seed gratis to his tenants". In Fermoy progress was being made due to the exertions of the Farming Society which had procured 200 wheels and a number of reels that had been distributed amongst the poor for the small sum of 3/- each, which were paid for by the "instalment system" @ 6d. per week. Mr. Walker, landowner, also contributed to the progress by purchasing flax seed and giving it to the spinners to be worked up. In respect to the linen market at Charleville, Besnard stated that it was little worthy of the name of market because of its irregularity, not only in the character of the goods sold in it, but also in other respects. In Mitchelstown, he found that though Lady Kingston had taken great pains and expended large

sums in establishing spinning and weaving schools for females, success did not keep pace with her endeavours. This he attributed to the fact that finer goods were attempted to be made than the material used was properly suited for, the flax of the district being applicable to coarse goods only. With reference to Mallow, Besnard stated that a fund had been raised to purchase flax which was given to spinners and from there some excellent webs had been sent to the Cork Linen Hall. In the Parish of Imokilly, he found the industry was making progress due to the exertions of the Farming Society which gave premiums for the cultivation of flax and the spinning of yarn. Owing to the liberal grant of the Linen Board, he found that 250 families formerly unemployed, were now at work at the "wheel" in Fermoy.[1]

In contrast with the situation in the north, Besnard stated that the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of coarse linen was affording useful employment to thousands of persons in south Cork. He found the following mode of carrying on the business in practice there:[2]

'Many persons engaged in the trade have moderate capitals, wherewith they purchase yarn and manufacture it into pieces for the next market and when their means are sufficient they employ one, two, or more weavers in addition to their own families'. He stated that not less than 20,000 or 30,000 persons were engaged annually in the cultivation of flax and that there was scarcely a cottage or a house from Innishannon to Bantry but some branch of the Linen business was to be met in it. The articles made were entirely coarse ones and in war time, paid the manufacturer uncommonly well having been on great request for slops for the navy and for army clothing, but since the return of peace, demand had lessened. He remarked however, that there were efforts being made to introduce coarse diaper for the London market; and that the striped ticken trade had begun to revive which

1. Report of a Tour of Inspection through Leinster, Munster and Connaught by Peter Besnard, Inspector General of these Provinces, 1817, pp. 31-34.

2. ibid., p. 34.

during the war, from the high price of linen yarn and the comparatively low price of cotton ticken, was greatly depressed. From the extreme low price of labour and yarn in 1816, Besnard stated that he did not think it possible for any country in Europe to undersell the Cork Linen, so that he was very hopeful as regards the future of the industry there.

He described Clonakilty as the greatest linen market in the county. When trade was brisk from £700 to £1,000 value of linen was sold at a market; the goods being generally in pieces from 100 to 150 yards in length. Each buyer had a stand house where he purchased the goods, which he sent to Bandon where they were assorted and packed for the English market, the greater part going to London, some to Bristol and some to Liverpool. The country people brought their webs to market on the backs of small horses or mules. As yet there was no regular market place in the town but the Earl of Shannon was erecting a Linen Hall at his own expense in the town. The goods manufactured in Clonakilty were unlike any Besnard had seen in other areas in Cork. These consisted of Vitery's, Osnburghs, Greyticken cheese-cloths and Starner's stuff from 21 to 41 inches in breadth, made of excellent pound and two-hank yarn. A great proportion of the 27 inch pieces received a kind of half-bleaching with lime and were called "Bawneens". These he found exposed for sale in Clonakilty, Bandon and Cork markets where "they were purchased in great quantities; hundreds of thousands of these being sent to the London Market, previous to which they were run through the hot and cold calenders in Cork which entirely changed their appearance."

He stated that the linen industry was flourishing at Dunmanway but because of a lack of a home market, the weavers were obliged to send their goods to Cork at a considerable inconvenience to themselves and sometimes at a loss. He also stated that the yarn market at Skibbereen was extensive but that little linen was manufactured there. In spite of the efforts of the Earl of Bantry and Rev. Mr. Smith, the

industry in Bantry evidently was only in its infancy. Rosecarberry was entirely a manufacturing town and employed nearly 200 weavers. The principal buyers of the district resided in Bandon, where an extensive manufacture of striped bed tickens was carried on as well as in the neighbourhood. This manufacture, he stated, was of special significance being the first of its kind in Ireland.[1] The following detailed description of the Brown Linen Market in Cork city gives a very clear picture of how this important market, the largest in the county, was conducted.[2]

BROWN LINEN MARKET

CORK

1. There is a daily market
2. The market commences at 10 o'clock and terminates at 5
3. The market is held in a covered hall, the property of a private person. The sole seal master of Cork and his Deputy give constant attendance here. In this building all linens for Bounty are packed and exported by the Port Inspectors of linens.
4. The goods sold in this market are of various kinds; all coarse articles of different lengths, from 60 to 160 yards and from 23 to 40 inches in breadth; some bed-tickens are sold in this market.
5. The average price of linen, sold in this market, is as follows:

   27 inch Osnburghs or Vitery's, 4½d to 5d per yard
   36 inch 6d to 7d per yard
   Coarse Diaper 8d to 10d per yard
   Bed Ticken 16d to 2/- " "
   Cheques 8d to 11d " "

6. All linen coming to this market is in a brown state, except the bedtickens and cheques, which are striped.
7. The linen sold in this market are for the most part shipped for London and West Indies except the cheques which are all sent to the West Indies.
8. The sale of all linen in this market continues from 10 in the morning until 5 every evening.
9. There can be no correct statement given of the number of pieces as they vary in length, but the average value of each week's sale for 12 months may be called £200.
10. There are 10 weavers attending this market. The goods are in general brought from Rosscarberry, Skibbereen, Bandon, Dunmanway, by persons who buy these in the county and get them made on their own account.
11. There are about 4 buyers in this market.

1. Report, pp. 34-36.

2. APPENDIX to the Report of a Tour of Inspection through the Provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, by Mr. P. Besnard, Inspector General of these Provinces, 1817.

12. The following are the names of the buyers:

Mr. James Oldham, Principal
Mr. Joseph McMullen, do
Mr. Flanagan, Commissioner
Mr. Spencer, do

Merchants frequently purchase in the Hall for the West Indies, and latterly for U.S.A.

Mr. Besnard described the effects of the transition from war to peace on the linen industry of Cork city as follows:[1]

'In Cork city there were two spinning mills at work - Messrs. J. Besnard & Co., and Mr. Denis Connor's, and these establishments from a decrease in the consumption of sail cloth, have not made in the last year more than half their usual work. The other mills in the neighbourhood of Cork are totally unemployed. The manufacture of Cork being chiefly dependent for the consumption of sail cloth on ships trading at that port to join convoy during the war, felt more sensibly than most others, the sudden transition to peace. Prior to the last war the great market for Cork sail cloth was in U.S.A., where it was in high repute; but during that war the difficulty and delay that often occurred in procuring licences induced the Americans to try other places and they are now almost entirely supplied from Russia. Another considerable consumption of sail cloth has been lost to Cork namely the supply of His Majesty's Revenue Cruizers, who were hitherto supplied with it at Cork, but they are now supplied from England. Cork, however, still supplies the Cruizers with sails and cordage'.

The Cork Linen Committee established in August, 1816, claimed Besnard's particular attention, "not only by reason of the judicious dispositions which they have made of the liberal grant from the Linen Board but because their transactions when generally known, may excite a general spirit of emulation in other places and tend to establish similar associations. The objects the Linen Board had in mind when

1. Report...p.66.

making this grant have been fully accomplished and the comforts of the poor promoted".[1]

The Linen Board henceforth made grants to the noblemen and gentlemen of the county and city of Cork for extending the cultivation of flax, hemp and the common branches of the linen trade, through the Committee. The following accounts illustrate the nature of these grants:[2]

To Peter Besnard, Esq.,
Secretary of the Linen Trade Committee of Cork.

The Linen Board 2nd October, 1816

The following bounties, rewards and regulations:

1. The Board will repay the actual cost of the first 6 Breaking and Scutching machines which shall be arranged to any mills so as to be worked thereby in the province of Munster not exceeding £50 each, the same to be paid upon proof, on oath, of the money having been expended and of the machinery having been employed in the working of flax or hemp for at least 1½ of the 6 months to be computed from 1st November, 1816.

2. 40 spinning wheels at 10/- each, and 10 hackles will be given to every person, who shall have such machinery so annexed to a mill ready for work within the province of Munster, from this day to the 1st June, 1818.

3. The Board will give bounty value 10/- to each girl instructed in any school established within the present year who shall have made such progress as to be fully instructed and capable of spinning at home if she chooses, before 1st June, 1818, and a bounty of 10 spinning wheels shall be given to the mistress of every school who shall have instructed 10 scholars entitled to receive the same premium, which wheels she may dispose of as she thinks proper, or receive a loom in lieu thereof if she prefers it.

4. 500 spinning wheels and 50 hackles will be granted to the Committee of noblemen and gentlemen of the county of Cork to be distributed by them in such manner as they think fit.

5. All persons who are to sew Hemp next spring are to acquaint Mr. P. Besnard thereof, stating the condition and quality of the ground in order that an importation of seed for the purpose may be encouraged by this Board, as far as they deem it necessary.

By Order,
James Corry

1. Report, p. 72.

2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 28th October, 1816.

Following on the reception of this letter by Mr. Besnard, an arrangement was made to hold a meeting of the Committee of the Linen Trade of Cork in November to consider the best mode of disposing of the utensils, Peter Besnard, Inspector General gave the following interesting account of the meeting:[1]

At a Meeting of the Linen Trade Committee, at the Linen Hall, Cork on Friday, 16th November, 1816:

The Right Hon. Lord Carbery in the Chair

The Committee having met to consider the best mode of disposing of the utensils granted by the trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland:

RESOLVED:

That the formation of Sub-committees in the various Baronies, seem indispensable to the carrying into effect the objects of this institution; that the following appears to us to be the most suitable division of the county and the undermentioned distribution of wheels and reels be, for the present, made to the sub-committee of the several districts:

DISTRICTS:	WHEELS	REELS
Beer & Bantry	10	2
West Carbery	15	3
East Carbery including Skibbereen	25	5
Barret's & East & West Muskery	20	4
Kinnolea & Kerricurrhy	15	3
Barrymore	20	11
Imokilly & Kilnabalton	20	4
Fermoy, Condon & Clongibbons	25	5
Duhallow, Orrery and Kilmore	25	5
East Carbery, Ibane, Barryroe Courcies and Kilnameaky	35	8

It is evident from the following letter and others of the same note, that the Linen Trade Committee of Cork was regarded as having been authorized by the Linen Board to regulate the Linen trade of the entire county, and expected to act accordingly:[2]

1. Report...p. 74.

2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 25th December, 1816.

THE LINEN MANUFACTURE

Letter to Julius Besnard Jun., Secretary to the Committee of Linen Manufacture, Linen Hall, Drawbridge Street.

.....The country manufacturer is not the exporter - he sells to a middle-class of merchants who sell again in large quantities what they buy up in small. A refusal to receive deteriorated linens would have checked the growing deterioration.

.....No effectual steps have been taken to prevent illicit bleaching or to check frauds committed by weavers or spinners.....
The principal thing to be done is to point to manufacturers, weavers and employers, the species of cloth most likely to bring a fair price and a steady demand--for which purpose some little bounty upon the best qualities first brought to market would operate as a useful stimulus.....

He continued to recommend that 'Mr. Besnard visit the principal markets, requesting the attention of gentlemen and soliciting their support for the measures recommended.'

Signed: Horatio Townsend

The progress of the Linen Industry in the county during these years, was greatly attributed to the exertions of the Cork Linen Committee. At a meeting of the Committee held in the Linen Hall, Perry Street on 11th April, 1817, Mr. Oldham, an extensive purchaser in the city for the London market, acknowledged the trade "to be lately improving, particularly since the establishment of the Committee in this city."[1]

As a result of the encouragement of the Committee there were 4,025 acres of flax sown in south Cork in 1818, being an increase of 1,033 acres from 1817.[2]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th April, 1817.
2. Cork Advertiser, 10th December, 1818.

The following table illustrates the progress of the industry was reflected in the export of linen from Cork during the period 1815-1819:[1]

TOTAL EXPORT OF LINEN FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland (in yards)

	PLAIN LINEN		COLOURED LINEN	
Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1815	1,373,758	54,675,622	360	2,204
1816	1,543,546	43,383,732	2,888	7,688
1817	1,242,561	68,692,181	95,817	100,992
1818	1,527,307	49,921,386	111,053	119,855

The following figures indicate the importance of the linen sales of Cork as compared with those of other counties:[2]

VALUE OF THE LINEN SOLD AT THE MARKETS IN THEPROVINCES OF LEINSTER, MUNSTER AND CONNAUGHT 1816

County	Market	Value of Annual Sales	Total Value of sales of each co.
Meath	Kells	£1,300	£1,300
Louth	Drogheda	£182,000	
	Dundalk	3,120	£185,120
King's Co.	Clara	£11,440	
	Tullamore	£15,600	£27,040
Longford	Longford	£26,000	
	Granard	£26,000	
			£52,000
Kerry	Dingle	£10,400	
			£10,400
Sligo	Sligo	£20,800	
	Colooney	£10,400	
			£31,200
Mayo	Castlebar	£31,200	
	Westport	£20,800	
	Newport	£11,440	
	Ballina	£15,600	
	ClareMorris	£2,600	£81,640
Galway	Galway	£2,600	
	LoughRea	£624	
	Tuam	£7,030-8	
			£10,254-8
Cork	Kilworth	£456	
	Charleville	£2,080	
	Bandon	£15,600	
	Cork	£10,400	
	Clonakilty	£18,200	
			£46,736
Clare	Kilrush	£2,080	
			£2,080
Limerick	Limerick	£3,640	£3,640

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

2. Report, pp. 70-72.

Four bleach-greens were engaged in bleaching for the county, the proprietors being:[1]

Mr. Orr, Innshannon
Mr. Atkins, Dunmanway
Mr. McGivern, Dunmanway
Mr. J. Besnard, Cork.

Five scutching mills were also at work in the county. These were erected by the following:[2]

Colonel Hodder, Hodderfield
J. Besnard, Jun., Donnybrook
Edward Pope, near Bandon
W. H. Holland, Muskerry
Imokilly Farming Society

It is evident from the following that at least one of the proprietors of the Cork Bleach-Greens was aware of the progress of the Linen industry in the north of Ireland in 1818 and was open to adopting new methods:

DOUGLAS BLEACH-GREEN

This Establishment being hitherto limited to summer bleaching, the public are respectfully informed that arrangements have been made upon the most improved northern system, for the convenience of the country manufacturers, to prepare goods for Market throughout the year.

The following agents are now ready to receive linen goods:[3]

William Thornley.....Douglas
John Besnard & Co.....Merchant's Quay, Cork
Michael Spencer.....Hammond's Marsh, do
Thomas Ledsam.....Linen Hall, Fermoy
Michael Vanstan.....Charleville
Anthony Chapman.....Buttevant
John Lomasmy.....Midleton
John Smith.....Newmarket
Thomas Bolster.....Mallow
John Kinston.....Clonakilty

And the proprietor, Julius Besnard, Junior
No. 2, Linen Hall, Perry Street.

26th June, 1818

In buying through their own agents, the bleachers were gradually changing the commercial organization of the industry in Cork. These

1. Report...p. 38. 2. ibid., p. 79.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd February, 1818.

linen buyers tended to do the work that once belonged to the drapers, who lived solely by their trade as middlemen. As the days of the small dealer were coming to an end, so too the independent worker was gradually giving place to the manufacturer. Those who were beaten in the struggle would have eventually to abandon the trade or become agents for their rivals.[1]

1. C. Gill, The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, (1925), p. 249.

THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY - CAUSES OF DEPRESSION IN THE INDUSTRY - DISTRESS OF THE BROADCLOTH WEAVERS - EFFORTS TO SUPPORT HOME MANUFACTURE - DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF NEW AND OLD DRAPERY, WOOLLEN and WORSTED STOCKINGS - TREND IN THE EXPORT OF WOOL AND WOOLLEN YARN

The woollen industry shared in the general industrial depression which followed the return to peace in 1815. The fall in wages and employment following on the decline in demand for manufactured goods, combined with a rise in the price of food and the poor harvest of 1816, followed by the fever of 1817, made the condition of those employed in the woollen industry in Ireland fairly desperate.[1]

The following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1st January, 1816, indicates further reasons for the distress of the broadcloth weavers in Cork city:

We understand that cloths of a very fine quality are making by our townsman, Thomas Crofts, at his manufactory at Blackpool and we are proud to learn that they are much sought after and their use likely to be very general. Mr. Crofts has obtained repeated premiums at the Cork Institution for the superior manufacture of his clothing and we are told it is a fact, that English cloths of an inferior quality, imported into this city have often times been dressed and pressed by Mr. Crofts's machinery and his men, so as to make them sell at 4/- to 5/- a yard above their prime cost. Surely a fair trial and preference ought to be given to our own manufacture, particularly if it should be found of equal durability and texture to that which may be imported and for which so much money is paid and sent out of this country. By that measure we would not only encourage manufacturers, but enable them to give employment to a numerous and industrious class of people, many of whom have returned from sea and are thrown as a burden on the community.....and thus hundreds of men and women, formerly employed by the manufacturers of this city, would be put into activity again, and not present the wretched

1. McCall, H., Ireland and her staple manufactures (1870), p. 502.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

appearance they now do, upon our streets.

In the following month a letter appeared in the same paper, describing the extreme wretchedness of a numerous portion of the workers of the city due mainly "to the many bales of Old Cloths coming into the city."[1] This was followed by a further letter to the Editor of the Chronicle appealing to the Government to intervene as follows:[2]

LETTER to the EDITOR

Never, never were there so many hundreds perishing in this city for want of employment....only visit the north suburbs..... We cannot expect that the legislature will prohibit the importation of English cloths into this country. But why may they not lay such duty on the many bales of Old Cloths imported into this city, as would prevent us not only from being infected but our course trade of being outrivalled in our own market? We have made our situation known to our fellow citizens (from whom alone we can expect redress, by their giving a preference to our manufacture)but they have taken no notice of us. When they neglect a fair encouragement of Irish manufacture, they cease to be citizens.

There are cloths now making in Blackpool, fine enough for any gentlemen to wear; and there are Wellborees, etc., made there, fit for Ladies of the first rank in society. But what avail all that.....We ask for labour..we are suffered to famish in idleness. What are men in these circumstances to do? Will it be said, if you cannot get employment in your native country - seek it in another? Gladly would we do so, but strange to relate, Sir, we are prohibited by Proclamation.

A BROADCLOTH WEAVER

There is no evidence to show that the above-named duty was levied on imported goods of English manufacture. The Committee for the Relief of the Poor however, took immediate steps to alleviate the suffering of

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 26th February, 1816.

2. ibid., 1st March, 1816.

the unemployed by entering into a subscription to set up Soup Houses to provide food for the needy. The extent of the need can be glimpsed from the following notice, which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 30th December, 1816:

The acting members of the Soup Committee of Carey's Lane, district, finding the applications for relief increase beyond calculation, The Mayor intervened and convened a meeting at the Mansion House, 4th December, 1816, at which the following resolutions were passed:

RESOLVED:

That a subscription be immediately entered into by way of aloan to procure £20,000 for the purpose of procuring potatoes and corn to be retailed to the poor of this city and liberties in such manner and at such prices as a Committee to be named shall consider expedient.

RESOLVED:

That a committee be appointed to give employment to labourers in this city....that inhabitants be asked to limit the consumption of bread in their families and corn in the feeding of cattle.

RESOLVED:

That the Treasurer give a £100 per week for the Soup Houses in place of £50 hitherto afforded.

The Committee for the Relief of the Poor made the following efforts to secure employment for the unemployed weavers: [1]

RELIEF OF THE POOR

At a meeting of the Superintending Committee which was appointed yesterday at a General Meeting of the subscribers for the Relief of the Poor, held this day at the Commercial Buildings

William Beamish in the Chair

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th January, 1817.

The following resolutions were agreed to and ordered to be published:

RESOLVED:

That this Committee earnestly entreat the different gentlemen who have already received or may receive hereafter orders for the exportation of potatoes, to decline complying with them.

At an adjourned meeting held on Friday, 10th. inst.

RESOLVED:

That the ladies of Cork be earnestly requested to appear on or before Monday, 2nd February, wearing dresses in stuff of Cork manufacture of the patterns this day furnished to this Committee.

N.B. The shopkeepers of Cork will be furnished with these patterns by the Secretary of this Committee.

Signed by order,
R. O'Driscoll....Secretary

Foremost among the members of the Committee for the Relief of the Poor, was Martin Mahony of the established woollen and worsted manufactory. On January 27th, inst. news of his intervention was published as follows in theCork Mercantile Chronicle:

RELIEF OF THE POOR
Cork Manufacturer

The Committee were busily occupied all this day and Mr. Martin Mahony intimated that it would be well to request the ladies not to appear in Cork manufacture until the 9th of February, though he had employed many additional men, the badness of the weather prevented the perfection of the work. He exhibited some finished pieces of the new patterns which were highly admired.

The first delivery of the "Cork Manufacture" to the drapers took place on 3rd February, with the promise that in future a regular supply could be had.[1]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 4th February, 1817.

It would appear from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on February 26th inst. that the efforts of Mr. Mahony contributed in no small way towards the improvement of the condition of the weavers:[1]

CORK STUFF MANUFACTURE

Messrs. Mahony have employed 130 additional looms in Cork, 50 in Bandon in consequence of the encouragement of Cork Stuffs: and the weavers earn much more than they have at any time these five years past.

The following address delivered to the Committee for the Relief of the Poor on 12th March, 1817, gives a further indication of a change for the better in the fortunes of the worsted weavers:

TO THE GENTLEMEN, THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR IN CORK CITY

We, the Worsted Weavers of the city of Cork, respectfully beg leave to offer our sincere thanks and gratitude for the important advantages which we have derived from your timely, humane and judicious recommendation of the use of local manufacture, by which upwards of 200 wretched families have obtained beneficial employment and relief from the most grievous and alarming distress.....

We shall endeavour to manifest our lively sense of gratitude by carefully avoiding every species of disorder or combination and by inflexibly adhering to those industrious habits which have obtained for us the esteem and consideration of our Fellow Citizens.

To your kind protection we look with humble and earnest confidence and trust your influence will secure a continuance of that patronage for Cork manufacture, which has already not only obtained us ample employment, but also increased our earnings to more than double what they had been at any period for several preceding years.

Signed for ourselves and Fellow Tradesmen

.....

The Editor's comment on the above address was significant. Among other things, he stated: '.....at least 1,200 individuals - for such is

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 12th March, 1817.

the computed amount of the families of the Worsted Weavers, have been employed in consequence of the encouragement given to the use of the Fancy Stuffs, arising from this manufacture.

The benefits, we beg leave to add, are not confined to this city alone. After giving employment to all unemployed Worsted Weavers of this city, the Messrs. Mahony have likewise put into use a number of idle looms in Bandon.....' [1]

It appears from contemporary accounts that Messrs. Mahony, who owned the most extensive woollen and worsted manufactory in Cork, were mainly responsible for securing employment for the majority of the weavers and were greatly revered because of their charity towards the poor. The following extract from the editorial of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 5th January, 1818, in reference to the death of one of the partners of the firm of Messrs. Mahony, bears striking witness to the esteem in which the Mahony family was held:

Tim Mahony, Esq.

On the day of his internment the whole city gave spontaneous proof of its feeling - every shop was closed, every eye was bedewed, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the Protestant, the Catholic and the Quaker, all pressed forward to pour out the effusions of their grief, and he well merited it from all.....in the intercourse of civil society, he was the friend of all. His funeral.....was the assembling of the inhabitants in the streets that the body may be borne along accompanied by the immediate attendants; the tear in the eye, the half-stifled sob, pathetically told that they came to see the Good Man's coffin, and to bewail his departure.

The packet vessels and the ships in the river had their flags lowered to half-mast height. What struck most forcibly many of those in the windows, was the emblems of sorrow exhibited by the poor; scarcely a woman of the thousands who accompanied their benefactor to the graveyard but contrived to have a black ribbon or a black handkerchief.....

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 12th March, 1817.

We know this city for many years and we have never known it to sustain a greater loss than in the death of Mr. Mahony...

In spite of the efforts locally to encourage the manufacture, the export of woollen and worsted manufactured goods declined sharply during this period:[1]

EXPORT OF NEW AND OLD DRAPERY FROM CORK in yards compared with the total export from Ireland.

	New Drapery		Old Drapery	
Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1816	-	31	2,636	10,121
1817	1,071	2,342	56	3,152
1818	1,361	2,874	618	2,382
1819	-	12,084	40	1,957

The Irish woollen industry as a whole was beginning to suffer from the competition of the more advanced, large scale manufacturers in England. The export figures for woollen stockings also show a downward trend:[2]

EXPORT OF WOOLLEN & WORSTED STOCKINGS FROM CORK in pairs compared with the total export from Ireland, 1816-1819

Year end. 5th Jan.	Woollen Stockings		Worsted Stockings	
	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1816	-	-	3,048	3,156
1817	-	-	8,554	8,560
1818	4,584	4,776	4,444	4,444
1819	1,624	1,696	6,009	6,977

Cork export returns for these years indicate however, that the export of worsted yarn to England carried on in the period 1801-1815, continued during the years 1816 to 1819 as well as the export of a considerable amount of wool and woollen yarn. In 1816, the year of great-

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

2. ibid.

est depression in the industry, 8,689 stones of wool, as well as 8,167 stones of woollen yarn were exported to England, contributing thus, towards the progress of manufacturers whose competition was the greatest hindrance perhaps to the prosperity of the Cork woollen manufacture.[1]

While accounts of the distress of broadcloth weavers are conspicuous by their absence from the local newspapers of the years 1817-1819 as contrasted with those of 1816, yet the available evidence indicates that the overall trend in the woollen industry in Cork city during these years, was still downward.

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

(A) GLASS MANUFACTURE - PROSPEROUS - THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WATERLOO GLASS HOUSE CO. - VARIETY OF PRODUCTS - CHARACTERISTICS OF DECORATION - THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TERRACE GLASS WORKS - CHANGE IN THE METHOD OF DECORATION - ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF EXPORT OF GLASS WARE AND BOTTLES

The year 1815 was an important landmark in the history of the Cork glass industry. In that year a second glass manufactory was opened in No. 16 Hanover Street. The site is occupied to-day by Beamish & Crawford brewery, on whose premises stands the old Glass House chimney. The new company was known as "The Waterloo Glass House Co." Daniel Foley who appeared in Cork Directories in 1810 as the proprietor of a glass ware room in Hanover Street, was the proprietor. Some idea of the extent of the manufactory can be got from the following notice which appeared in the Overseer, a Cork weekly newspaper:[1]

By the forming of the Waterloo Glass House Co., Mr. Daniel Foley is giving employment to more than a hundred persons. His workmen are well selected, from whose superior skill the most beautiful glass will shortly make its appearance.

Geoffrey O'Connell was taken on as partner by Mr. Foley in 1816:[2]

Though this new glass house was advertised as specializing in the making of flint and bottle glass, it also embarked on the manufacture of a variety of cut and engraved articles. The impressed examples of The Waterloo Glass House, bear a marked resemblance to the impressed examples of the earlier Cork and Waterford manufactories. Although made of Waterloo moulds, the decanters have been created with a strong Penrose (Waterford) similarity, where weight, lip, neckrings and body profile are concerned and the jugs have been created with an equally close resemblance to the earlier Cork jugs.[3] Regardless of weight, which generally pleads for decoration by cutting, the Waterloo vessels

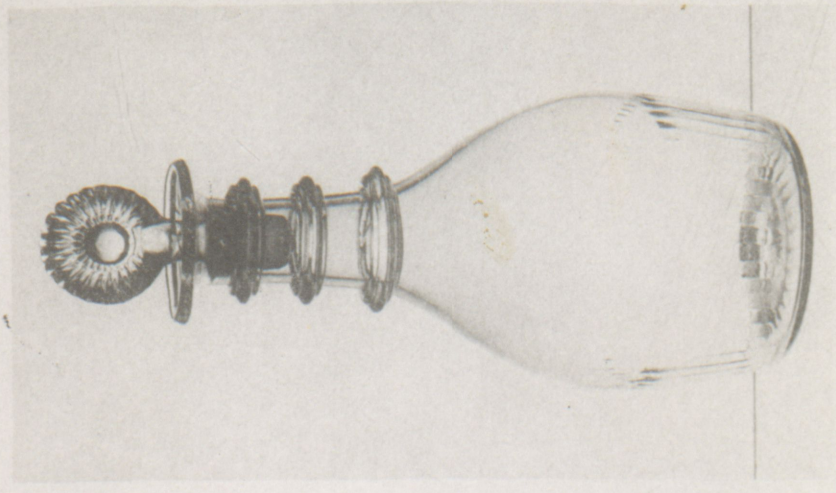
1. Westropp, M.S., Glass Making in Ireland, (1911), p.50.
2. ibid., p. 52. 3. Warren, P., Irish Glass; The Ageof Exuberance, 1970, p. 75.

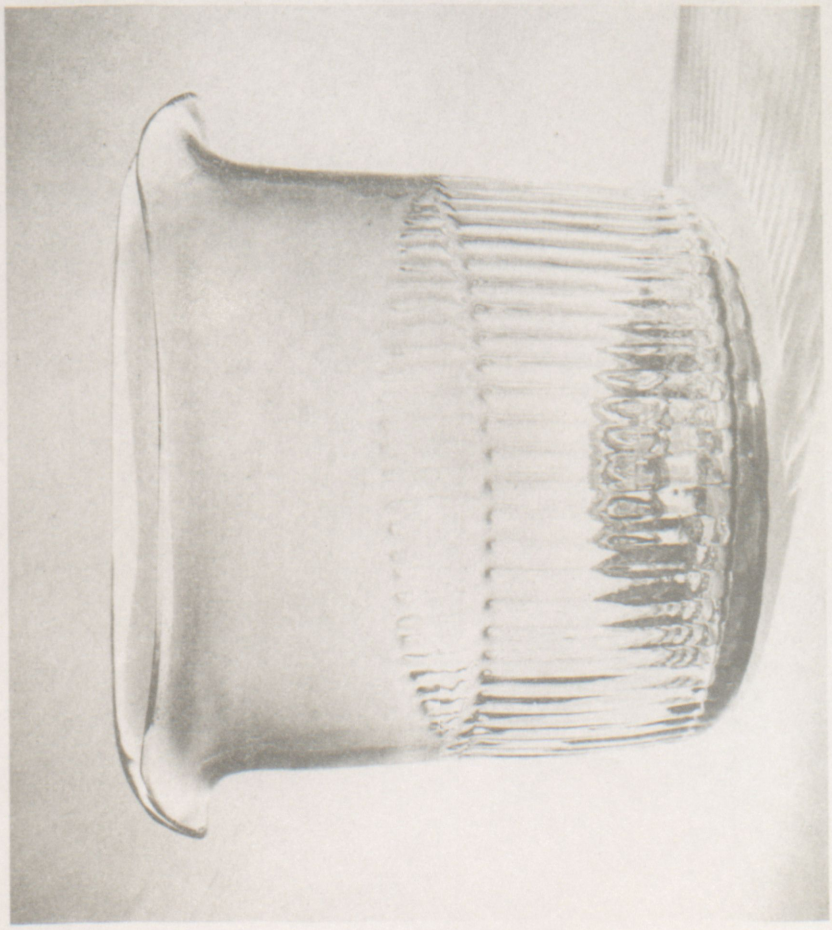
are ornamented chiefly by engraving, which has an unique character. The basic Waterloo decanter shape is shown in plate 14B.[1] Here are the wide lip, three triple neckrings and the generous swelling body as in Penrose examples. In bottles, (plates 15A, 15B, 15C)[2], the Waterloo engraved characteristic makes its appearance. It consists of a bow knot and flower motif, the former generally with a loose end of a ribbon depending from it, and the latter generally cross hatched within after the fashion of Cork Glass Co. vesica. The several motifs are joined by a frond motif. The bottles in plate 15A and 15B carry the small engraved device in two bands around the upper shoulder, noted in Cork Glass Co. examples. In 15C those dashes have been replaced by light hollow facets. Waterloo jugs exhibit typical Waterloo engraving with minor variations. The shape of the Waterloo decanters shown in plates 18A, 18B[3], which are cut and not engraved, is essentially that of Penrose Waterford. The decoration, it will be noted, consists of a combination of motifs from both Cork and Waterford - the cut vesica and splits of Cork Glass Co. - decanters with the star motifs therein replaced by a Waterford type strawberry diamond.[4]

In 1818, the old Hanover Street Glass House was offered for sale. The proprietors stated "that the premises extended from Hanover Street to Lamley's Lane, and had a quay at the south side of the river; that the glass house contained every accommodation for working glass flint and black bottles; that the glass cutting warehouse was modern and had a moving power a steam engine lately erected." There is no indication that this business was kept on by new proprietors. It is reasonable to assume that some of the men left unemployed after the closedown of the Cork Glass Co., would have been taken on by the Waterloo Glass Co. Westropp also noted that Messrs. Graham and Browne had a glass cutting shop at Glanmire, close to the city, during these years.[5]

A contemporary competitor to the Waterloo Glass Co., was the third

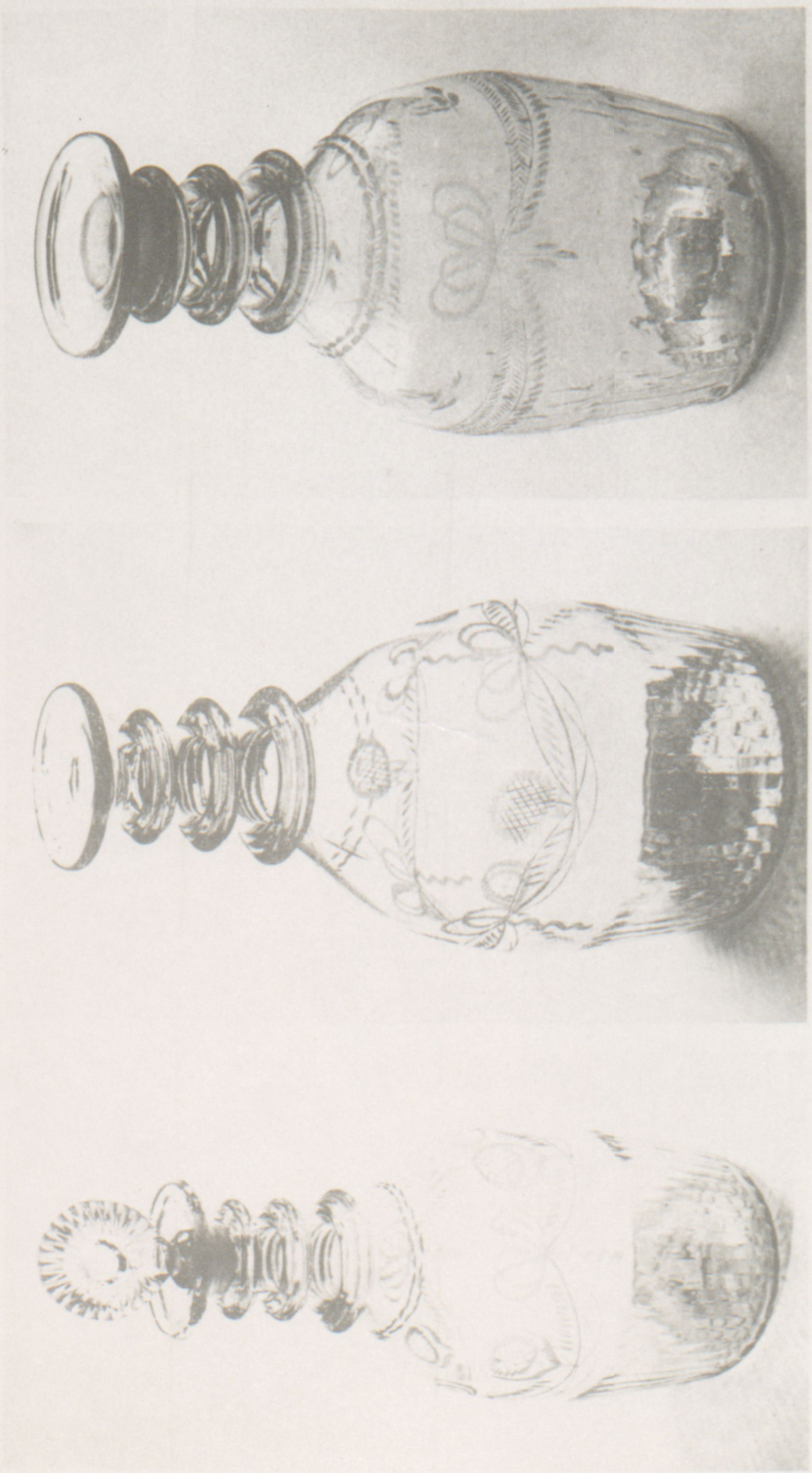
1. See page 250a. 2. see page 250b. 3. see page 250c.
4. Warren, P. Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance, 1970, pp. 75, 76.
5. Westropp, p. 50.





14A. Finger bowl, marked *Penrose Waterford*. Ht. 5⅜ in.; dia. top, 4⅛ in. *c.* 1783–1799. Author's Collection. (See pages 74–75, 137)
14B. Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork*. Ht. 9 in. with stopper. *c.* 1815–1820. The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio). (See page 75)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.



15A. Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork*. Ht. 10½ in. with stopper. *c.* 1815–1820. Manchester City Art Galleries, Lloyd Roberts Bequest. (See pages 75–76)
15B. Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork*. Ht. $8\frac{3}{16}$ in. *c.* 1815–1820. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 76)
15C. Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork*. Ht. 7 in. *c.* 1815–1820. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 76)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.

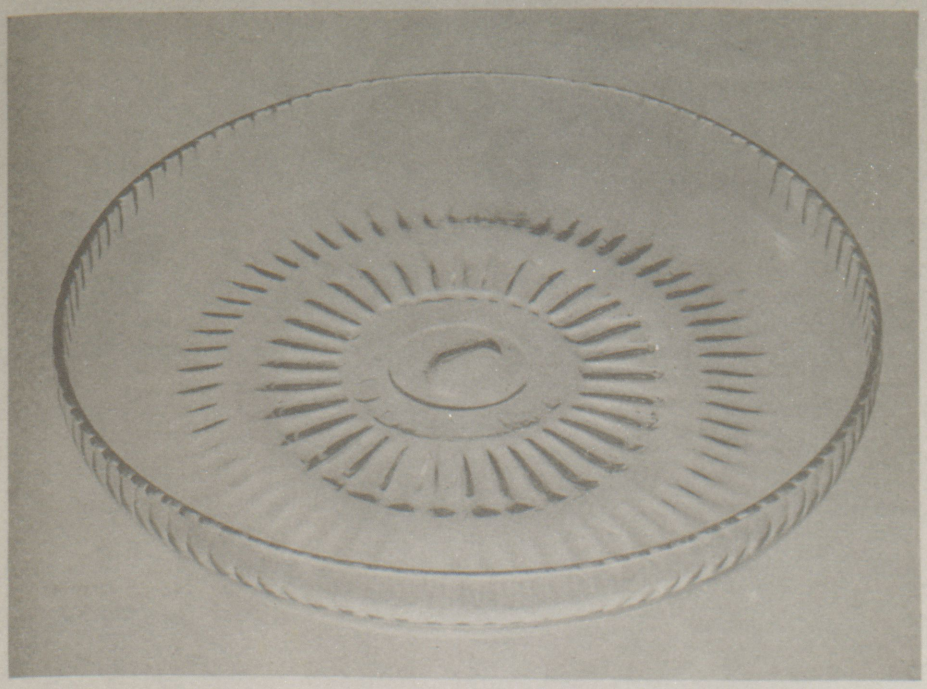


18A.
Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork.*
Ht. 8 in. *c.* 1815–1820. By courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland. (See page 77)

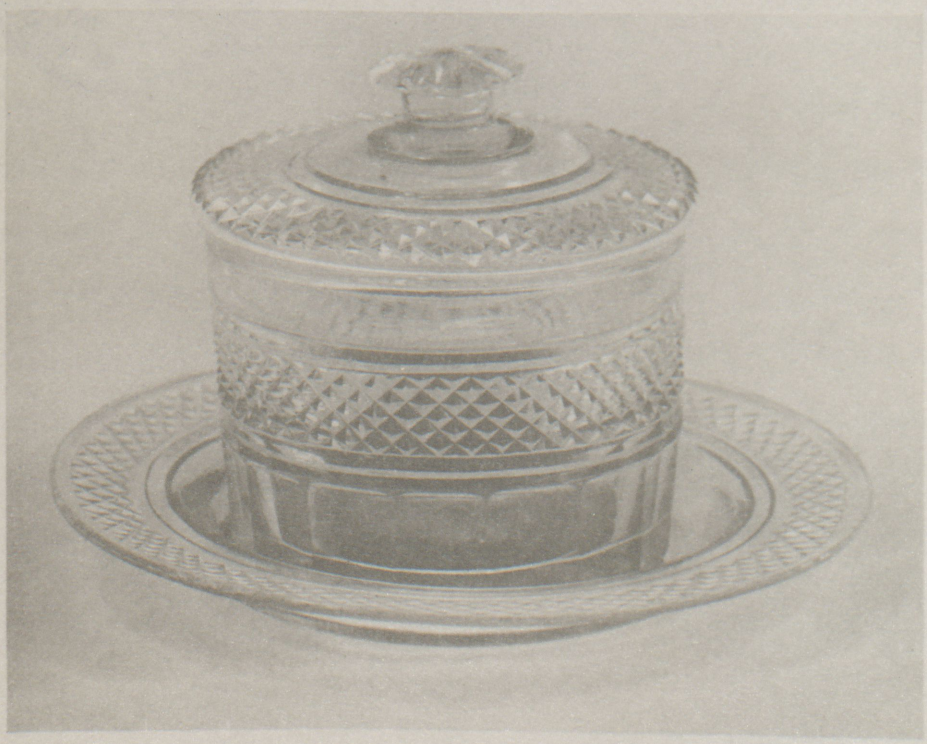


18B.
Decanter, marked *Waterloo Co. Cork*
Ht. 10¼ in. *c.* 1815–1820.
Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. (See page 77)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.



9A. Dish, marked *Cork Glass Co.* Dia. 7⅛ in.; Ht. rim 1 in. *c.* 1783–1818. Collection, Mr. Knollys Stokes, Cork. (See pages 72–73)



9B. Butter cooler, cover, with stand marked *Cork Glass Co.* Max. dia. 7⅛ in. *c.* 1783–1818. Collection, Crawford Municipal School of Art, Cork, Barrett Bequest. (See page 72)

P. Warren, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance.

Cork Glass House called "The Terrace Glass Works." This manufactory was erected in 1818, at the western end of the South Terrace. The proprietors were Edward and Richard Ronayne. Later, Mr. Norris, a retailer and J. Griffin became associated with the business. The proprietors, when advertising their products, stated that they made "cut glass lustres Grecian lamps of the most perfect and brilliant metal", as well as a number of articles of a more utilitarian nature. This manufactory continued in existence until 1841.[1] The opening of two new glass houses after The Union, reflects the prosperity of the industry during this period.

The first known introduction of steam in the manufacture of glass in Ireland was in 1818, when the Ronaynes founded their Glass Works. Prior to the introduction of steam power, the cutter's wheel was turned by hand, the hand of a boy usually. With the introduction of steam power the cutter obtained a uniformity of speed to his cutting wheel previously denied him. Furthermore, he now controlled the speed. With the handpower, irregularities resulted from a failure in co-ordination between the man who worked the wheel and the man who cut the glass. The introduction of the steam-driven wheel gave the cutter more confidence in his skill. As this confidence increased, so did the cutter's virtuosity. This resulted in an ever increasing display of the cutter's mastery of the machine and the scope which the machine provided. The products of the Terrace Glass Works bore testimony to such mastery.[2]

The export figures for Cork glass during this period exceeded that of the highest figure for the previous period. The following table shows the trend, as well as the relative importance of Cork glass export as compared with the total export from Ireland:[3]

1. Westropp, p. 51; Warren, pp. 50-52.
2. Warren, p. 64.
3. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

EXPORT OF GLASS WARE FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland
1815-1819 (to the nearest £)

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (value)	From Ireland (value)
1815	£3,914	£7,774
1816	£4,836	£27,962
1817	£4,306	£21,991
1818	£6,604	£20,651
1819	£4,179	£9,692

No figures are given inthe Custom House Books for the export of drinking glasses from Cork for the period 1815-1819.

It is evident from the following table that the export of glass bottles was on the decline up to the year 1818. The figures were as follows:

EXPORT OF GLASS BOTTLES FROM CORK
compared with the total export from Ireland 1814-1818

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (doz)	From Ireland (doz)
1814	1,052	4,549
1815	280	6,215
1816	152	8,683
1817	233	4,386
1818	1,125	8,596

Since however, glass of its very nature, requires renewal it is very probable that both drinking glasses and glass bottles were manufactured in the city during these years to cater for the home market which supplied a growing population.[1]

1. Census of Ireland, 1821.

(B) GOLD AND SILVERSMITH WORK - DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF GOLDSMITHS - CAUSES OF DECLINE - INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WATCH AND CLOCK MAKERS -- PRODUCTS OF JAMES MANGAN'S MANUFACTORY

The heyday of the Cork goldsmiths seems to have passed by 1820 as their number gradually declined during the years immediately preceding. The only goldsmiths working in the city in 1817 were:[1]

Thomas Montjoy Isaac Solomon Richard Garde Phineas Garde
John Seymour John & N. Nicolson

John Francis Maguire, M.P. and Mayor of Cork suggested the following reasons for the decline:

'want of encouragement to the native manufacture and complete indifference on the part of the customer, as to where the required article was made..together with the gradual absenteeism of the Irish gentry consequent upon the extinction of the Irish Legislature'.[2]
To these reasons might well be added the effects of the post-war depression from which the landed aristocracy did not escape.

There was, however, a significant rise in the number of watch and clock makers in the city to meet the demands of a growing commercial population.[3]

The most famous of the watchmakers of this period was James Mangan, who established his manufactory in Patrick Street in 1817. His genius and mechanical skill later found a fitting field in the order of the Cork Corporation for a clock for the Church of St. Anne's Shandon. This clock, still in use, is one of the largest in Europe. Its dials four in number, are 15' 8" in diameter. The foursets of hands with their works weigh five hundred weight. The frame of the clock is 148 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet wide and 5 feet high and weighs with its machinery, two and a half tons. The striking hammer weighs a hundred lbs., and falls through a space of 12 inches. The chime ham-

1. Jackson, J., English Goldsmiths and their marks, (1921), p. 644.
2. Maguire, J.F., M.P. Mayor of Cork, The Industrial Movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852, p. 135.
3. Jackson, p. 644.

mers, four in number, each weighs 26 lbs. The striking work is made on the repeating principle; the lockings on a plan of Mr. Mangan's own invention and the escapement is dead-beat, with jewelled pellets. The pendulum is 14 feet long, and the ball weighing 3 hundred weight. St. Paul's clock in London, whose dials are a few inches larger, are but two in number whilst Shandon Clock has four.[1]

The labours of this man were not confined however to works of such magnitude. He specialized in the manufacture of watches and clocks to meet the individual needs of his many customers from town and country - a tradition which has lived on in the Mangan family down to the present day. James Mangan & Co. Ltd., Watchmakers, Jewelers and Opticians, have to-day a prosperous concern in No. 3, Patrick Street, Cork.

1. Maguire, pp. 141, 142.

(A) THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER AND THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

The termination of the war with France in 1815, did not result in a lightening of the burden of taxation borne by Cork manufacturers of paper. In the summer of 1815, there was a general re-arrangement of the excise duties on Irish paper, by the Act 55 Geo. III, c. 112. The old engine dues were abolished and in their stead a charge of 10/- per month was made in respect of every cubic foot of capacity of the beater, calculated on the greatest length, breadth and depth thereof, without taking into account any peculiarity of shape or make. This charge was regarded merely as a payment on account of the excise duty on paper made, any excess of weight of the latter having of course to be paid extra for. The capacity of the beaters had to be specified by the paper maker in his usual return to the Excise Department. Six days notice had to be given before any new plant laid down could be made use of and when once started up it was assumed to be in constant work, and taxed accordingly, unless similar notice was lodged of an intention to shut it down. Nor could it be shut down (or at any rate escape duty) at any other time than in the morning of the 5th of one of the two months May and October inclusive. In order to ensure that such a shut down was genuine, the beater was fastened up by the Excise man and the bars and plates delivered up to him, to be kept in custody until they were wanted by the paper maker to start work again.[1] These elaborate regulations which were never made in connection with the paper duty in Great Britain, suggest that the Irish paper maker was regarded as a rather artful individual, always ready to take advantage of the Government.

For the purpose probably of preventing smuggling out of the mills of odd lots of paper, it was directed that paper be put in reams only and had to be weighed and charged with duty within four days after

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No. 21, (1910), p.9.

making. The paper maker had now to keep a book for the Excise officer's inspection, specifying in minute detail thepaper made and the plant used with particulars of date, weight and kind. No paper could be removed from the mill for sale without a signed permit, to forge which was an offence punishable with 7 years transportation.[1] Such legislation if implemented, made the lot of the Cork manufacturers of paper, by no means a happy one.

In June 1816, a new Act[2] was passed. This was still more formidable than the previous acts. It stipulated that in the case of rope browns that the materials used were not to be washed or bleached in any way. The Irish paper maker had now to enter into a Bond in two sureties, for £300 in respect of every beater he operated. He had also to be very careful that the cubic capacity of his beater was correctly stated in the particulars he furnished to the Excise Department, as if he only understated it by 3 feet he was liable to a fine of £50. Paper had to be put into quires or half quires, and subsequently into reams and all boards into parcels containing dozens of sheets, not less than two or more than six. The Excise Officer could open the parcels and sample them and if the paper was found to be of a different class to that described on the wrapper, then the paper was forfeited and the maker fined £50. The penalty for forging the Excise stamp on labels was a fineof £500. "When the paper was weighed, the turn of the scale was to be in favour of the Crown but the maker had an allowance of 2%." The operation concluded and the duty ascertained, the officer stamped and signed the wrapper. Every paper maker was furnished with a "Specimen Paper", which he had to affix to a board and hang up in a conspicuous place in his Mill. On this the Excise Officer entered details of the dates of his visits, the quality and description of the paper then weighed. When an officer called in at a mill, he could demand to see all the paper in stock and if he suspected any to be concealed, could apply to a J.P. for a search warrant. No stationer or paper dealer

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No.21 (1910), p.10.

2. GEO III., c. 78.

could buy less than a ream of Irish made paper and he was forbidden to return the wrappers to the mill but had to destroy them under penalty of £100. Parcels of foreign paper, imported into Ireland had to be stamped by the Excise Officer and could not be bought in any less quantity than a ream under pain of forfeiture.[1]

No further legislation affected the Cork manufacturers of paper until May, 1818, when the engine duty was increased to 12/6 per cubic foot per month. No licence was granted for any new beater of less capacity than 50 cubic feet. When a mill owner's licence expired, the Excise Officer could enter the establishment and fasten up the beaters and if such an owner had decided to go out of the trade, the beaters, bars, etc., had to be removed to the Excise Office.

These rules were still in force together with such of the old ones as were not altered by them, at the commencement of the year 1822 when an enquiry was made into the collection of Revenue in Ireland.[2] They reveal the policy of a Government which seemed mainly concerned with the collection of an ever increasing amount of revenue and not with the progress of the paper making industry in Ireland.

In spite of the greater burden imposed on the Cork paper manufacturers by the legislation of the years 1815 to 1818, there is no indication in contemporary records of paper manufacturers closing down during these years. On the contrary, a new manufactory was opened on 27th November, 1816 in Patrick Street at the corner of Fish Street. The Proprietor's name was Francis J. Moylan.[3] It is evident, also from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 19th November, 1817, that a change of ownership took place in the Dripsey Paper Mills:

DRIPSEY PAPER MILLS

These extensive concerns are now in the possession of Peter Reeves

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LIV, No. 21, (1910), p. 10.
2. ibid. Vol. LV., No. 4, 1911, p. 7.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 9th December, 1816.

& Co. Their warehouses are stocked with paper of every description. Prior to this date the mills had been owned by Mr. J. B. O'Sullivan.

(B) THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

One of the most striking features of the Cork newspapers of the early 19th century compared with the newspapers of the present day, is their dullness. In this they were akin to the majority of the other Irish Newspapers published at this time. They contained very few illustrations, no headlines and few variations of type. Reports, articles and despatches were arranged in columns with little effort to sub-edit them. The bulk of the material used was foreign. A possible explanation of this was that foreign news could be extracted free by the editor from English newspapers which arrived by post, whereas to obtain Irish news he would have to pay somebody. The great part of the Cork newspapers, apart from advertisements, consisted of English and colonial news. The home news reported mainly referred to robberies, murders, executions and sudden deaths. Articles on Irish subjects - politics or religion - normally took the form of a letter to the editor under a pen name.

Many of the newspapers which were published in 1815, continued to be published after that year. Among these, The Cork Advertiser & Commercial Register which had been printed by John Bettson, was printed in 1816 by T. Leahy. The office of the paper was retained in Patrick Street. The content and style of the paper did not change. It was still a commercial journal, having English Parliamentary debates inserted in its columns here and there with little or no comment. The price of the paper changed from 4d. to 5d. in 1816.

The Cork Mercantile Chronicle which had been a prosperous concern from 1801 - 1815, and in fact had taken the lead amongst local newspapers, as the organ of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of the south of Ireland, gradually fell after 1815 mainly due to the schism produced by the "veto question". It continued to be published thrice

weekly (on Monday, Wednesday and Friday). James Haly had printed the paper at No. 12, Patrick Street up to 1815 but from 2nd June, of that year, the name of the printer was Harding Tracy.[1]

The Southern Reporter, first established in 1807, under the title of Boyle's Southern Reporter, continued to be published after 1815 and was ranged with the Liberal Party. Its style of narrative was easy and pleasant, and its correspondence was informative. The proprietors of the newspaper after 1815 resided at No. 4 Patrick Street. The printer's name was Charles McCarthy.

The Cork Morning Intelligencer established in 1810 continued to be printed and published by John O'Rorke.

The monthly religious periodical known as The Religion Miscellany, whose contents consisted mainly of moral discourses was printed by J. Bolster, Book-seller, No. 7, Patrick Street and published by Mr. Daly at the Religious Tract Depository, No. 16 Broad Lane, until April, 1816. With No. 12 of Vol. II, the editor announced "the close of the present labours".

Boyle's Freeholder established in 1813 continued to be conducted by J. Boyle. It was mainly on demand from those who were interested in personal anecdote and local gossip.

In 1818, the Southern Industry and the Cork Weekly Magazine were added to the number of papers in circulation in Cork city. There are no figures available concerning the extent of this circulation either in the city or the county.[2]

In all papers the predominant impression of dullness continued to prevail,/ This no doubt reflected poverty of invention which in turn may be attributed to lack of funds. The chief reason for this was the overall cost of the newspaper. This is readily explained as follows:

even in the newly established papers.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd June, 1815.

2. S. O Casaide, A History of the Periodical Literature of Cork from the beginning up to 1900, pp. 62-73.

at the top corner of the first page of a newspaper of the early years of the 19th century there appears a Government stamp, worth 2d. Each copy published had to bear this stamp. A tax had also to be paid on each advertisement printed; a duty on the newsprint used and a tax payable to the State had to be paid for the privilege of publishing a newspaper. By the time that all taxes had been paid it meant that the usual four-page newspaper could not be sold for much less than 5d. which was quite a considerable sum for those days. In practice this meant that only a small minority could afford to buy the newspapers and consequently the newspapers did not attract advertisers. The latter were discouraged by the advertisement tax. Without a good revenue from advertisements, the press could scarcely expand by employing better writers and using more advanced methods of production.[1]

One seeks in vain for a Cork editor, who prior to 1820 took his newspaper along a strong independent line. The relationship which existed between the press and the Government at this time gives some clue to the situation. It appears that the Government did not regard the press as an independent entity, existing as a day-to-day mouthpiece of the people. Editors were apparently expected to support the Government and to provide reasons for its decisions. Editors who did this were rewarded by being given Government advertising, which was quite extensive in those days. This type of newspaper did not attract a great number of readers. The editor who wished to take a strong independent line was discouraged by the Government who could and did proceed against independent newspapers in the courts. A striking example of this occurred in the case of John Magee, a young Protestant, who in 1813 was fighting for Catholic Emancipation in his Dublin Evening Post. Robert Peel, who had just come to Ireland as Chief Secretary, "succeeded with the help of packed juries in having Magee sentenced to two years imprisonment and a fine of £500."[2]

1. McDowell, R.B., Ed., Social Life in Ireland (Dublin, 1957), Brian Inglis, The Press, pp. 98, 100.

2. Inglis, p. 101.

There is no evidence that any Cork editor prior to 1820 exposed himself to a like sentence by his stand for Catholic Emancipation.

The value of the Cork newspapers of the period 1815-1819 is considerably lessened by their having been written as heretofore, primarily in the interests of a minority of the people in the city and county - a minority largely out of sympathy in religion and politics with the great majority of the people. Outside the walls of the city, the Irish Language was the general medium of intercourse until after the Famine. Even in the city it was the language generally spoken by the majority of the labouring class. These Irish speakers had no paper to represent their views or to communicate to them news of the outer world.[1] However, after 1815 the newspapers and magazines adopted a more sympathetic attitude towards the interests of the great mass of the population, namely the poor. This was particularly evident in the appeals for aid for the destitute which became a common feature in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, during the period of distress which followed the transition from war to peace in 1815. Concern for the poor was also evident in the letters advocating social reforms, which appeared from time to time in the newspapers, at this time.

From the following list of printers whose names appear in the Cork Directory for 1817, it would seem that the printing industry was flourishing in the city:[2]

James Baird, Paul St.
Edmund Barber, Brown St.
John Bolster, Patrick St.
John Connor, Cook St.
H. Denmead, Patrick St.
C. Dillon, Castle St.
W. Ferguson, Grand Parade
Edwards & Savage, Castle St.
J. Geary, North Main St.
J. Hennessy, Sunday's Well
J. Hurley, Christ Church Lane

1. S. Ó Casaide, A History of the Periodical Literature of Cork from the beginning up to 1900, p. 2.

2. Connor's Cork Directory, 1817.

BANKING AND CURRENCY - THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CORK SAVINGS BANK 1817 - THE AMALGAMATION OF THE EXCHEQUERS 1817

(A) BANKING AND CURRENCY

At the opening of the 19th century the position of the monetary and credit system of Ireland was very unsatisfactory as already indicated.[1] This was still the case at the transition from war to peace in 1815. The privileges conceded to the Bank of Ireland had forced the country to depend upon a large number of private banks, whose capital, seeing that they could not consist of more than six partners if they issued notes, was still too small. Moreover, the continued suspension of cash payments resulted in the production of a large paper currency. Even though the Government had issued an order in 1804 that private banks should not issue notes below £5 and that silver tokers of 6/- each, issued by the Bank of Ireland would take the place of counterfeit money, there was such a shortage of silver currency that recourse was taken in Cork city as in other places to notes for small amounts.[2]

Following on the defeat of Napoleon and the collapse of his Continental system, Britain was able to import large quantities of continental grain, causing a sudden and substantial fall in prices. In this fall many of the Cork merchants sustained heavy losses and were unable to meet their commitments. Lands which formed the principal class of securities held by the banks declined sharply in value and proved virtually unrealizable, so that many of the private banks of Cork found themselves in grave difficulty, many of which had issued notes with insufficient liquid assets to withstand a crisis. The commercial crisis of post-war year caused a run on a number of these private banks. No sudden ending of the postwar recession, occurred to relieve the Cork bankers of their unsupportable burdens of debt. Though there were no immediate bank failures, James Roche attributed the eventual failure of his bank in 1820 to the exceptional difficulties experienced by merchants

1. See Page 138.

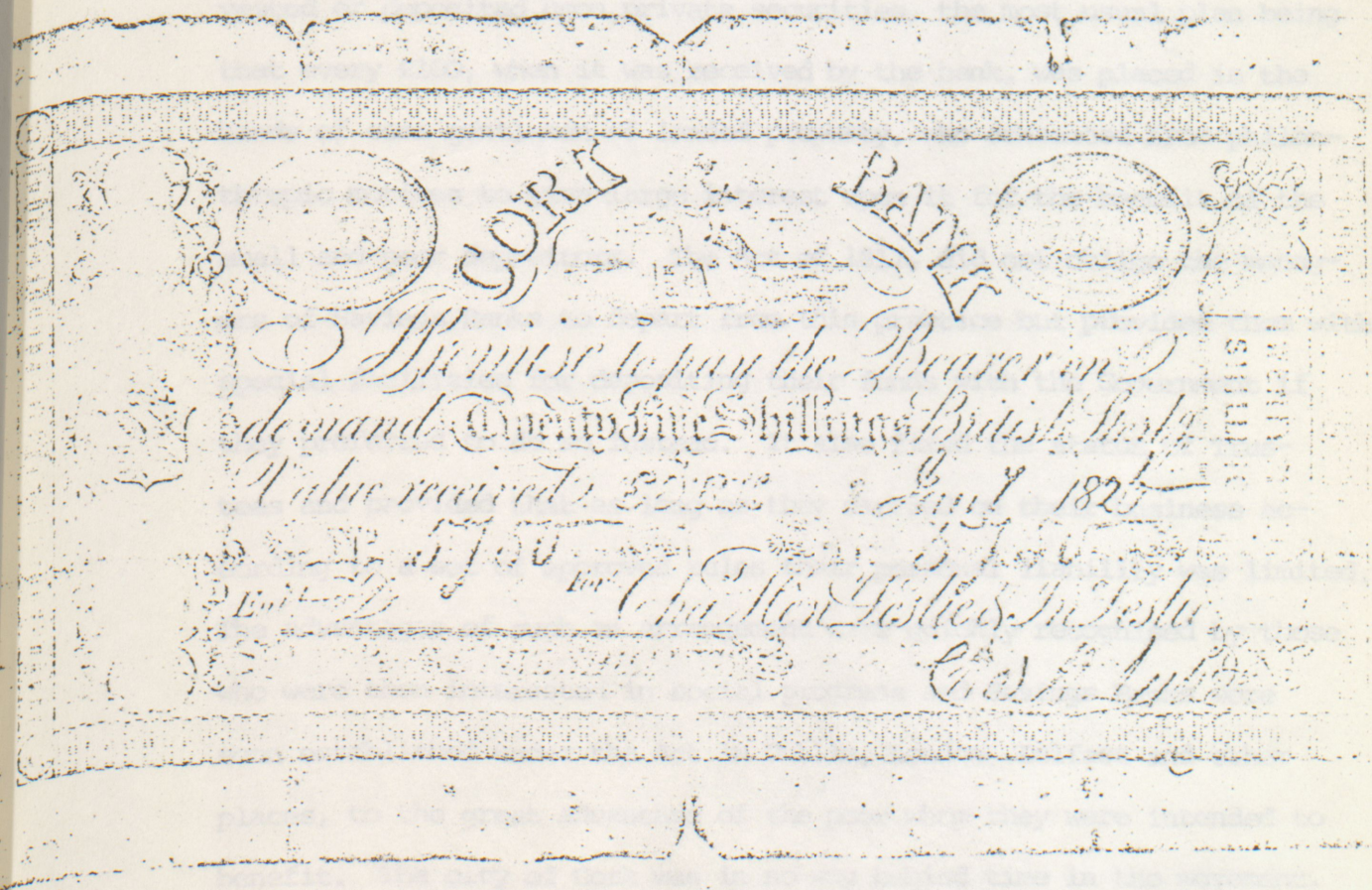
2. Burke, J. F., Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland (Dublin, 1940), p. 277.

in 1814 and after and to the losses sustained by the bank as a result.[1]

The measures taken by the friends of Mr. Pike in 1812,[2] apparently were effective as his Bank continued to enjoy the confidence and support of the public during this period.

Sir Thomas Roberts Bart of the firm of Sir. T. Roberts & Co. died in 1817 when the partners were: Sir Walter R. Bart, Charles H. Leslie and J. Leslie.[3]

Sir W. Roberts was a partner as late as 1819 but must have retired from the bank in that year for his name does not appear in connection with the difficulties experienced by the bank in 1820. The bank was then well known as Leslie's Bank - the names of the partners in the firm now being: Charles H. & John Leslie.[4]



(By courtesy of the Public Museum, Cork)

1. Limerick Chronicle, 22nd July, 1820; O'Kelly, Eoin, The Old Private Bankers of Munster, (1959), Part I, pp. 88, 93.
2. See page 140.
3. Connor's Cork Directory, 1817. 4. Connor's Cork Directory, 1820.

The name of Newenham, a former Cork Banker, does not appear in the list of bankers given in the Cork Directories for the period 1816-1820. Local newspapers are however, silent concerning the fortunes of this banking house during these years.

(B) CORK SAVINGS BANK

The year 1817, a year of potato failure, famine, fever and high food prices, was not without a ray of hope for the poor in Cork city. On July 11th of this year "An Act to encourage the establishment of Banks for Savings in Ireland,"[1] received royal assent. On the following day a similar act was passed as applying to England. It was not until two years later that a Savings Bank Act was passed for Scotland. Previous to the passing of these acts, Savings Banks had existed in many parts of England and Scotland, but the funds were entirely invested or deposited upon private securities, the most usual plan being that every £100, when it was received by the bank, was placed in the hands of some gentleman of landed property, who consented from philanthropic motives to give large interest upon it for the benefit of the small and poor depositors. The Act of 1817, did not oblige the managers of Savings Banks to depart from this practice but provided them with special facilities for depositing their funds with the Government if they preferred to do so instead. It also fixed the status of Trustees and provided that as long as they carried on their business according to a set of approved rules their personal liability was limited. The advantages of such an arrangement were quickly recognised by those who were then interested in social progress and Savings Banks were soon established under the Act in Dublin, London, Belfast and other places, to the great advantage of the poor whom they were intended to benefit. The city of Cork was in no way behind time in the movement. By December 2nd 1817, a scheme for a Bank in Cork was so far advanced that it was laid before a public meeting specially called for that purpose, at the Commercial Buildings, South Mall.[2]

1. 57 Geo. III, cap. cv.

2. The Cork Savings Bank, 1817-1917, by a Member of the Committee of Management, p. 3.

The purpose for which the bank was intended was clearly outlined in the following advertisement for the meeting which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1st December, 1817:

SAVINGS BANK

A meeting will be held on to-morrow Tuesday, 2nd December, at the Commercial Buildings for the establishment of a Savings Bank in this city. An opportunity is now about to be afforded to the industrious and labouring classes of a safe and profitable mode of saving up their small savings, where this will be secured by Government Debentures and where they will accumulate by the addition of interest, until they may be wanted either in sickness, old age, want of employment or for any other cause. It would exceed our limits if we were to point out the advantages that are likely to result from the establishment of a Savings Bank, to all classes for whose benefit it is intended - all those whose earnings depend on their own exertions, may take advantage of it - tradesmen, clerks, merchants, servants of both sexes may deposit any sum not less than 10d. at each payment and not more than £50 in the year. The habits of independence, sobriety and industry which this is likely to produce, will be attended with best consequences and may eventually tend to raise the lower ranks of our population from that state in which they now appear.

We have seen a list of the names of those gentlemen who are about to engage in conducting the business and observe that it includes a great part of the rank, talent and wealth of this city. At the meeting the Bishop of Cork will take the chair and the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy will propose the plan. Thus supported, the best consequences may be anticipated from its establishment.

The meeting took place on the following day as arranged and the Protestant Bishop of Cork and Ross, the Hon. and Right Rev. Thomas St. Lawrence, took the chair. No list of those who attended is available but the newspapers of the time described the meeting as "very numerous and respectable". The Catholic Bishop, The Right Rev. J. Murphy, was

the principal organizer who proposed the first resolution. He set forth the advantages which the labouring classes would derive from a bank established in their midst upon the lines which he indicated. These provided for the appointment of 30 Trustees and 60 managers; that the clerical work of the bank should be done entirely gratuitously by the trustees and managers and that interest at the rate of 4% should be paid upon deposits. Mr. W. Beamish seconded very briefly, expressing entire concurrence with the Bishops proposals. The Rev. J. Quarry urged that a higher rate of interest should be paid and that there should be more than one Savings Bank in a city as extensive as Cork. He was firmly opposed by Mr. W. Beamish, Mr. Clear and Bishop Murphy who declared that to command respect, the bank must be self-supporting and independent and that when one bank was successfully working, it would be time enough to have branches formed in other quarters of the city. Dr. Herbert Baldwin, pleaded for private security investments instead of depositing funds with the Government. He was opposed and it appears that the meeting got slightly out of hand for the chairman advised an adjournment, which was agreed to and the following men were appointed to re-consider the original plans and to submit fresh proposals at the next meeting the following week; The Recorder of Cork, Counsellor McCarthy, Dr. Baldwin, John Clear, Sheriff Newsom, Counsellor Connell, Rev. J. Quarry, George Whately, Mr. W. Beamish, J. Roche and M. J. Farrell.[1]

The adjourned meeting was held in the Commercial Buildings on 8th December, 1817. The Bishop of Cork and Ross took the chair. It was announced that the Committee, so far from agreeing upon proposals had come to the determination of dissolving themselves. The meeting which consisted of 119 persons, was unanimous on the main principle of desiring the establishment but a long discussion took place on the question of Government versus private security and on a poll being taken a decision in favour of the former was recorded by a majority of 15.

1. The Cork Savings Bank 1817-1917 by a Member of the Committee of Management, p. 4.

Other resolutions were then put and carried unanimously. Finally, upon the motion of Mr. Beamish it was resolved thatthe clergy of every persuasion be permitted to attend at every meeting of the Trustees and the Managers.[1]

The meeting of December 8th, was given very full coverage in the Cork newspapers. The following account appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle affording detailed information concerning the management of the bank and rules pertaining to depositors:[2]

RESOLVED: upon the motion of Right Rev. Dr. Murphy and seconded by William Beamish:

1. That the establishment of a Savings Bank would be of the greatest benefit to the city of Cork and that an institution be now founded called The Cork Savings Bank.

2. That the institution shall be managed by a President, 3 Vice-Presidents, 30 Trustees and 60 Managers and that it be governed by the provisions of the Act of the 57 Geo. III. c. 105, entitled "An Act to encourage the establishment of Banks for Saving in Ireland".

3. That the Trustees and the anagers shall be empowered to employ a clerk or clerks when they see fit and to fill up by ballot at a special meeting to be called for that purpose any vacancy that may occur in the number of Trustees, Managers or other officers of the Institution.

4. 3 or 4 of the Managers shall attend at the Savings Bank every Saturday from 12.30 to 2.30 p.m. to receive deposits and to pay such sums as the depositors may desire to withdraw.

5. No sum less than 10d. shall be received as a deposit; no interest shall be allowed on any payment less than 12/6, on which interest at 4% computed by calendar months will be allowed, every additional 12/- that may be lodged will bear interest, but no fractional part of a month or of 12/6 will be taken into interest account.

6. Every depositor shall be furnished with a check or pass book, for which he shall pay the sum of 5d.....in which every receipt or payment shall be regularly entered at the time it is made, the duplicate shall be received at the end of the year. The amount of the sum already paid in together with the interest due, being transferred to the new duplicate and a corresponding entry being made in the books of the office. If a check book be lost, a new one shall not be granted except upon payment of 1/3 which fine shall be carried to the general fund.

7. A cash book and ledger shall be kept in the Savings Bank, in which the deposits and payments shall be immediately entered. The cash book shall be regularly balanced at the conclusion of business every

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th December, 1817.

2. ibid.

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Saturday and verified by the Managers present, who shall pay over the balance to the Treasurer, taking his receipt for the sum which shall be filed in the Savings Bank.

8. The sums of money paid into the hands of the Treasurer, when of sufficient amount, shall be exchanged for Government Debentures, bearing interest, having only such sums as are necessary to meet the demands of the Savings Bank.

9. No person shall be allowed to deposit in the Savings Bank a greater amount than £50 in each year.

10. No person being Treasurer, Trustee or Manager of this Institution, or having any control in the management there of shall derive any benefit of such deposits, but the persons depositing them shall have the sole benefit of such deposits and the produce thereof, save only such necessary charges and expenses incurred in the management of the institution.

11. No sums of money deposited in the Savings Bank shall be transferable but any depositor may choose a nominee who, in case of absence or illness, shall be allowed to act for him upon providing the check book and whose name at the time of his or her appointment, shall be inserted therein.

12. Any Friendly Society, established under any Act in force in Ireland, shall be allowed to deposit the whole or part of their funds in this Institution, but shall not be entitled to draw out the sum without lodging at the Savings Bank, a notice 14 days previous thereto, under the hands of the Treasurer and two members of this Committee of Management of the said Friendly Society, of their intention to draw such payment.

13. In the case of the death of any depositor without making a will, who shall hold in the Savings Bank a sum not exceeding £20, such a sum may be divided among his or her nearest of kin, according to the Statute of Distribution, without the expense of administration but when the sum shall amount to £20, letters of administration not chargeable with stamp duty, shall be taken out and the money shall be paid to the person entitled to receive it.

14. In case any difference shall arise between the managers of the Savings Bank and any person acting for or under them and any depositor or executor administrating as next of kin, or other person in any way claiming on behalf of any deceased person, the matter so in dispute shall be referred to His Majesty's Attorney or Solicitor General for the time being or to any Justice of the Peace for the county of Cork, not being a Trustee or Manager of the Savings Bank whose decision shall be binding on all parties and shall point out by whom the expense of the reference shall be defrayed.

15. A list of managers with their appointed days of attendance shall be posted in the Savings Bank- summonses shall be sent to them three days previously by the Secretary and any Manager neglecting to attend personally at the regular hour, without finding a substitute (who must be a Manager) shall be fined 5/-, which shall be given to the general fund.

16. A report shall be submitted to the President, Vice-Presidents, Managers, every three months, who shall be specially summoned by the Secretary for that purpose, every Monday succeeding the 1st January, 1st April, 1st July and 1st October. Special meetings may be called at other times, upon the requisition in writing of 2 Trustees, or 3 Managers addressed to the Secretary - 7 members to be considered a Board.

17. A Report shall be annually prepared of the proceedings with a statement of the funds of the Institute, signed by 3 auditors and such a report shall be submitted to a General Meeting of President Vice-Presidents, Managers and depositors to be convened by Public Advertisement.

18. After the consideration of the Report at a General Meeting, the election of President, Vice-Presidents and Managers shall take place for the ensuing year and every depositor who shall be possessed of funds in the Savings Bank to the amount of £10 for 6 months preceding, shall be entitled to vote at such election for Trustees and Managers in conjunction with the Trustees and Managers for the previous year.

19. Every person making a deposit shall be required to subscribe to the regulations and any depositor refusing to comply, or behaving in an unbecoming way, shall be liable to be discharged by a majority of the Committee assembled at any ordinary or extraordinary meeting of the managers, upon being paid the sum, principal and interest due to him or her.

RESOLVED: The following gentlemen to be appointed Trustees:

The Mayor of Cork
The Recorder of Cork
The Sheriffs of Cork
W. Beamish
D. Callaghan
J. Cotter
W. Crawford
T. Cuthbert
N. Cummins
D. Galwey
P. Goold
R. Harvey
H. Hewitt
R. Lane
D. Lane
J. Lecky
J. Leslie
W. Leychester
W. Maxwell
P. Maziere
R. McClure
I. Morgan
D. Moylan
J. Murphy
Sir. A. Perrier
St. Roche
Th. Walker
W. Wise

The following gentlemen to be appointed as Managers:

S. Abbot
G. Atkins
H. Bagnell
J. Barret
J. Besnard
J. Burne
R. Carr
J. Carroll
E. Casey
W. Clear
J. Cotter Jun.
W. Crawford
G. Crawford
J. Morgan
N. Murphy
C. Newman
C. Travers
W. Penrose
J. Cummins
M. Daly
T. Deane
T. Exham
M. Farrell
T. Fitzgibbon
D. B. Foley
D. Goold
J. Grant
S. Hardy
F. Harvey
J. Hodder
R. Hare
A. Spearing
C. Sugrue
J. Topp
W. Peet
R. Honan
F. Honan
T. Jennings
J. Ingram
J. Lane
W. Lecky
J. Leyash
W. Mahon
J. Mark
H. Manin
J. McClure
G. Mazier
E. McSweeney
F. Mahony
S. Wily
J. Parke
G. Whately

That in order to promote the objects of this Institution, it be strongly recommended to all persons employing workmen, labourers and others, to pay them their wages on Tuesdays instead of Saturdays.

Upon the motion of Mr. Beamish, seconded by Mr. Whately, that the clergy of every persuasion be permitted to assist at the meetings of Trustees and Managers without possessing the right to vote.....

The bank commenced business on Saturday, 20th December, in a room at the Cork Institution. The first Secretary was Mr. J. Clear, The choice of a Treasurer was significant, being James Roche, of the firm of Stephen and James Roche, bankers, Camden Place--a man well versed in the banking business. The hours of business were Saturday, 12.30 - 2.30. Interest was at the rate of 4% but was not allowed for any broken part of a month, nor to any depositor whose balance to credit did not amount to 12/6. It is noteworthy that in contrast with present day practice, the greater part of the work connected with the Banks business was done by the Managers gratis, of whom three were summoned in rotation for duty each Saturday, and any one of these who was summoned and did not attend was fined 5/-. During the following twelve months the sum of £27,455 - 16 - 1 was deposited by 1,269 depositors, and in the same period a sum of £5,568 with interest of £65 was paid out to depositors, leaving the bank at the end of the first year with 911 depositors on its books to whom it owed £22,236 - 15 - 2 including interest. The working expenses of the year were only £45 - 16 - 0 and there was a surplus of £14 - 4 - 0.

It may be inferred from the account given of the first Annual General Meeting, that the bank was encouraging thrift and promoting the welfare of the lower class in Cork city. Apparently, however, the high rate of interest had attracted depositors other than those for whom the bank was intended because among other observations contained in the report, was one which deprecated the fact that 94 of the depositors appeared to be persons who were too prosperous to expect to benefit by the use of the bank, for it was pointed out that this species of deposits if continued, would eventually close the bank as no gentleman could be got to give their time gratuitously as managers to conduct the money dealings of their equals and in many cases their superiors in rank and property.[1]

1. Cork Advertiser, 22nd January, 1819: Cork Savings Bank, p. 6.

(C) THE AMALGAMATION OF THE EXCHEQUERS

According to the financial arrangements of the Act of Union, "for the next twenty years the ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly according to the proportion of 15 : 2; that is Great Britain was to defray $\frac{15}{17}$ and Ireland $\frac{2}{17}$ of the whole expenditure. At the end of twenty years unless Parliament had determined that the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom was to be indiscriminately defrayed by equal taxes in both countries, the respective contributions of Great Britain and Ireland were to be fixed in such proportions as would seem suited to the respective resources of the two countries."[1] The great war expenditure from 1801-1815 rendered the financial arrangement of the Act of Union one which the resources of Ireland were totally inadequate to bear. Between 1801 and 1817 the Irish debt almost quadrupled. As Irish revenue by taxation could not cope with such a debt, the only way of defraying expenses was by borrowing. As result therefore of the almost complete exhaustion of Ireland during the war, the power of raising money on Irish credit nearly came to an end. By far the greater part of the Irish loan had to be raised in Great Britain. By 1817 the Irish debt had reached £112,000,000 and as the British debt by this time was £737,000,000, they were thus in the proportion to each other which had been fixed by the Act of Union, as a preliminary condition for any possible amalgamation of the two Exchequers. It was however, the fact that Ireland was on the verge of bankruptcy that finally led to the amalgamation of the Exchequers and the abolition of the system of proportional contribution. The Act 56 Geo. III. c. 98 provided that all revenue in Great Britain and Ireland were from and after January 5th, 1817, to constitute one general fund, called the "Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom" and that fund was to be charged with and indiscriminately applied to the service of the British and Irish debts, the Civil List and all other services previously charged

1. Murray, A.E., A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration, p.334.

on the separate funds of the two Kingdoms.[1]

The actual result of the amalgamation of the Exchequers was to stop the impending bankruptcy of Ireland and place her in a comparatively solvent position. Under the new arrangement Ireland only paid half the amount that had been fixed as her fair share. In spite of the decrease in Irish liabilities, Ireland continued to pay as much as she could raise, so that there was no relief from taxation.[2]

In fact, although the Act for the consolidation of the Exchequers did not in itself provide for the unification of taxation between Great Britain and Ireland, the rates of some duties were however, assimilated at different dates between 1817 and 1853, which brought about an increase in indirect taxation in Ireland. From 1817 the tea duties were levied at the same rates in both countries. In 1819 the Irish tobacco duties were raised to the level of those previously in Great Britain. This involved an increase of from 1/- to 3/- in the lb., on unmanufactured tobacco and from 1/- to 16/- on manufactured tobacco. These duties were raised still higher later.[3]

This increase in indirect taxation which followed on the amalgamation of the Exchequers, weighed heavily on some citizens in Cork city, still suffering as a result of the commercial and industrial depression which followed the transition from war to peace. It thus contributed to the difficulties experienced by the Private Banks of the City unprepared for the run made upon them during this period of depression.[4]

1. Murray, A.E., A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland fom the Period of the Restoration, p. 375
2. ibid.
3. Burke, J.F., Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland, p. 286.
4. Limerick Chronicle, 22rd July, 1820.

(A) CORK HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS - PLANS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF HARBOUR AND RIVER - HANDICAPPED FROM LACK OF FUNDS - EFFORTS TO OBTAIN FUNDS - ACHIEVEMENTS

The trade depression which followed the peace of 1815 did not hinder the Harbour Commissioners from going ahead with their task of widening, deepening and improving the river and harbour of Cork. Their first decisive step in 1815, was to engage Alexander Nimmo, Civil Engineer, F.R.S. to make a survey of the river and harbour and to suggest improvements.[1] His plans for improvement insofaras they were later referred to in matters of harbour improvement, were important. His scheme was divided into three parts: the first dealing with the deepening and repairing of the river above Blackrock.[2]; the second with the construction of docks at the back of the Navigation Wall[3] and the third with the construction of a canal from King's Quay, Blackrock to Lough Mahon. The cost of such a scheme however, was far beyond the resources of the Commissioners at this time.[4]

The financial books for these years are not available and the Minutes only record two portions of the Weigh House dues being received; £499-19-11, in respect of the year ending 31st July, 1814,[5] and £143-9-7 for the quarter ended 31st January, 1815.[6] The Commissioners were so handicapped by lack of funds that they could only, relying on their own funds, undertake the carrying out of such urgent repairs as would keep the port open.

In 1815, however, as a result of a complaint made on behalf of 64 masters of vessels from the Committee of Lloyd's Coffee House, London, regarding the unsafe condition of the quays of Cork[7] a petition was sent to Parliament for a grant to complete the Navigation Wall[8].

1. P.C.H.C., dated 5th April, 1815.
2. Appendix I.
3. Appendix II,
4. Appendix III.
5. P.C.H.C., dated 24th September, 1814.
6. ibid., 18th February, 1815.
7. ibid., 18th February, 1815.
8. ibid., 18th March, 1815.

At the end of the year the petition was repeated.[1] These petitions were of no avail, so in January of the following year, a petition was submitted to His Excellency, Charles, Lord Viscount Whitworth, Lord Lieutenant General and Governor General of Ireland:

....."for a grant of money to complete a work so long ago commenced under the auspices of the Parliament of Ireland". In the petition the memorialists stress the fact "that Cork is a great resort for ships and vessels employed in private as well as in public service and that there are established packets hired by and under the control of Gover-nment, plying between it and Bristol; that it is a principal port at which to embark and debark troops and that most generally the baggage of theRegiments is shipped from and landed at the Quays of Cork - that the coal trade is carried on exclusively by English vessels which being frequently prevented working up to Cork by strong Westerly winds, rapid floods and shallows of the river, suffer considerable detention while the inhabitants also suffer from the want of fuel". The memorialists base their claims for financial aid on the fact that from 1723-1813 the nomination of Weigh Masters, a prerogative of the Corporation, was assumed by Parliament and that the persons so appointed received fees for their own private use and benefit, amounting to almost £130,000 during this period. They claimed that this sum was not only sufficient for the purposes of completing the New Wall but many times exceeded the amount of Parliamentary grants in 18th century; and that their income established at £700 per annum was not sufficient to complete the work or maintain the quays in proper condition. The petition was refused.[2]

It is evident however, from the following letter written to John Boyle and published by him in the Freeholder on June 14th, 1817, that there was room for much improvement in the condition of the river and quays in 1817:

1. P.C.H.C., dated 19th December, 1815.
2. ibid., dated 2nd March, 1816.

BOYLE'S FREEHOLDER

Mr. Boyle,

I beg that you will through the medium of your paper, state the inconvenience that vessels labour under, in trading to and from this city, owing to the shameful situation the quays or city walls are kept in and the many sand or gravel banks in the bed of the river; which may now be seen from the upper end of the coal quay down to Lapp's Island, which are generally washed up in the winter season, but should be taken away in the summer, or otherwise handled so as to prevent any vessel from getting aground thereon, as such neglect often endangers both vessels and cargoes. On the different quays there are many rings necessary to moor vessels.

It has been suggested that if those grievances are not shortly remedied the masters of vessels trading to this city have it on contemplation, either to stop the dues they are charged with or otherwise lay the disgraceful situation of the harbour before Lloyd's.

A friend of Commerce

Cork, June 14th, 1817.

The funds available to the Commissioners were still in 1817, inadequate to enable them to implement the necessary improvements required by the condition of the quays and harbour. Undaunted however, by the refusal of the Lord Lieutenant to grant a favourable response to their appeal for financial assistance in March, 1816.[1]

In 1817 the Commissioners appealed for a loan from "The Fund for carrying on Public Works in Ireland,[2] but this application was also rejected.[3] In 1818 a request was made to the Collector of Customs at Cork for a contribution towards the repair of the Custom House Quay[4] but this was also refused.[5]

1. P.C.H.C., dated 2nd March, 1816.
2. ibid. dated 19th May, 1817.
3. ibid. dated 13th December, 1817.
4. ibid. dated 15th August, 1818.
5. ibid. 8th December, 1818.

The Commissioners were therefore obliged to limit their activity to the accomplishment of the most urgent improvements such as clearing rubbish from the bed of the river, which cost £400.[1]

They also spent £999- 4- 6 towards repairing a gap in the New Wall,[2] and £1,962- 4- 5½ for the rebuilding of 400 feet of Merchants Quay and other works[3]. Such improvements no doubt, facilitated the movement of vessels - both to and from the city and thereby helped to promote its commercial prosperity.

(B) STEAM NAVIGATION - LAUNCHING OF "THE CITY OF CORK" - THE FIRST STEAM BOAT BUILT IN IRELAND - EFFECTS OF PROGRESS IN SHIP-BUILDING

The motto which appears on the city's coat of arms, "Statio bene fida carinis", safe anchorage for ships, is indicative of the important part of the shipping activities of the port have played in the development of the city. At the beginning of the 19th century an imposing fleet of Cork sailing ships were engaged in trading to many parts of the world. This trade was not new however in 1801. As far back as 1776, Cork Merchants owned 80 vessels.[4] These vessels traded with England, France, Spain, Portugal, The Mediterranean, Africa, Australia, the Balkans, America and the West Indies. A glance at the exports from the port in 1812 will give a fair idea of the type of cargo which left the city in Cork sailing vessels before 1815:[5]

Brls. of grain	Cwts. of flour	Brls. of beef	Cwts. of butter	Brls. of pork
57,156	2,896	34,750	127,084	64,999
Flitches of bacon	**Bullocks & cows**	**Hogs**	**Plain Linen**	**Coloured Linen**
4,812	5,000	10,000	1,337,987	105,394

1. P.C.H.C., dated 1st April, 1815.
2. ibid., 2nd July, 1817. 3. ibid., 28th June, 1819.
4. Cork, Past and Present: A Handbook for the Irish Convention on its visit to Cork, September 27th, 1917, p. 16.
5. E. B. Anderson, Sailing Ships of Ireland, 1955, p. 93.

The principal imports brought back in these vessels, were: cotton, flax-seed, tar, resin, large quantities of groceries, hardware, earthenware, coal, cloth and manufactured goods, mainly from England.

For half a century a large fleet of West Indiamen were owned in Cork by prosperous West India merchants, and this trade gave steady employment to the vast majority of the big square-riggers registered in the port between 1800-1864. These were built as carriers and were sturdy sea-boats usually of 200 to 300 tons burthen and rarely exceeding 400 tons. Until the 1840's, Cork almost exclusively supplied the West Indies with candles; pickled butter and beef made up the remainder of the cargoes. Sugar and coffee were carried home in large quantities. Trade with the West Indies was not, however, confined to the above-named exports. Amongst the old houses in Cork who exported large quantities of bleached linen and other cloths to the West Indies, was Messrs. Thomas Lyons & Co. Cloths were also exported from the mills of Dripsey and Blarney. The names of these West India merchants were numerous and amongst them, Joseph Wheeler, Joshua Carroll, Morgan & Reeves, Large & Adams and McMullen, were all large shipowners. Geo. Bickerton & Co., who were agents for most of the big ships, which visited the ports, were also shipowners in the early 19th century. Much of the largest fleet in the port was owned by Simeon Hardy & Sons. Brigs and even schooners, were frequently sent across the Atlantic until about 1835. After that date most of the small craft disappeared from the trade. It is fairly certain that all the wooden barques and brigs were built by Robinson, Brown or Wheeler, while the smaller schooners may have been constructed by any of the half dozen shipwrights such as Samuel Ahern of Cork, or Michael Hayes of Queenstown, who built many of the crafts for the coastal and cross-Channel trade.[1]

The year 1815 was a very significant year in the history of the Cork ship-building industry. In that year, Cork shipbuilders gained

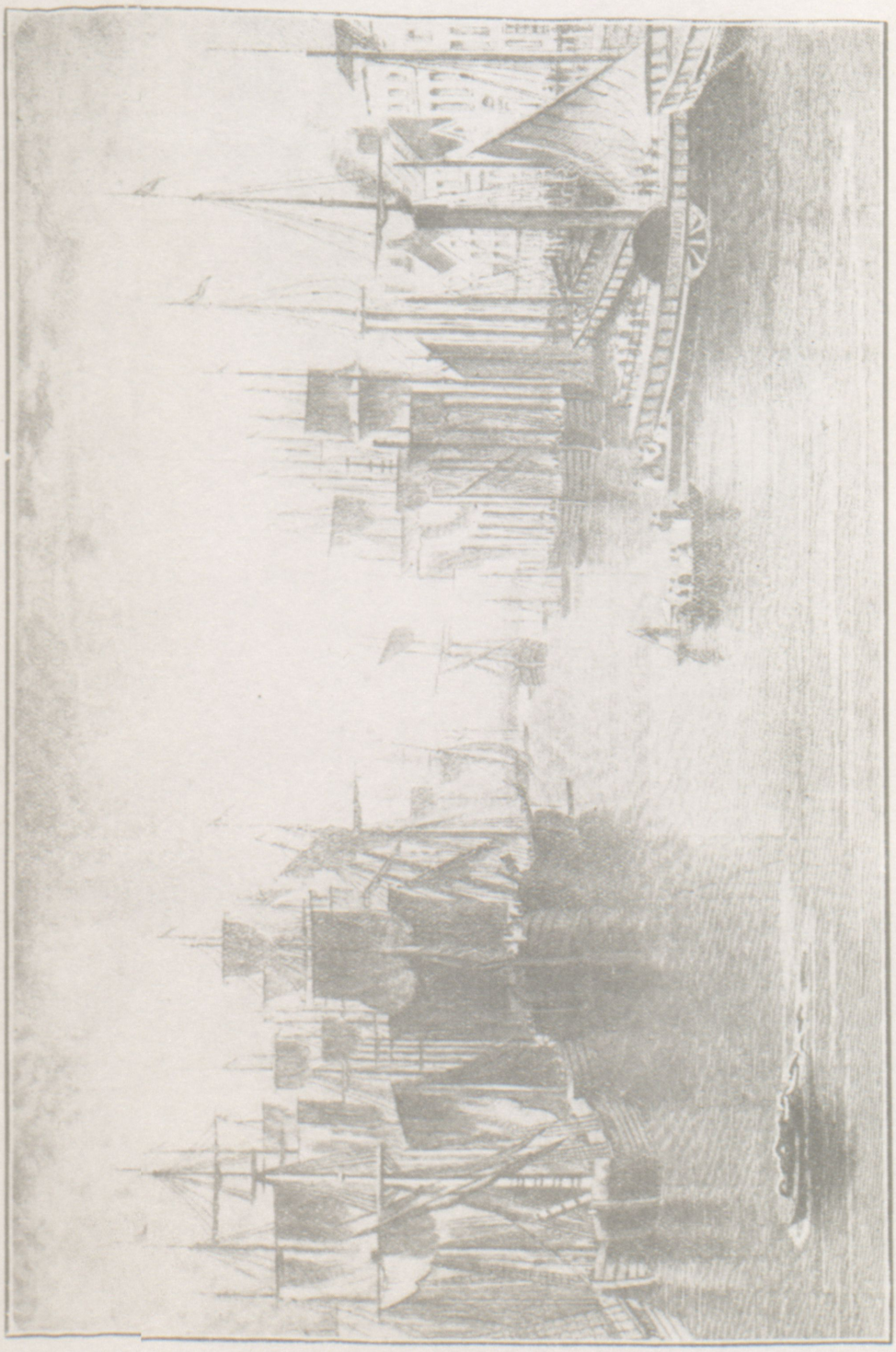
1. Anderson, pp. 102, 103, 242.

renown as the pioneer builders of steamships in Ireland, within three years of the inauguration of the first paddle-steamer service in the world. In 1812, Henry Bell of Glasgow, had applied steam to a trading vessel, "Comet", on the Clyde. Three years later, a like feat was performed on the River Lee. With the launching of the "City of Cork", Cork took its place among the important ship-building ports of the United Kingdom. The vessel was built at Passage on the site of the present railway station, by Andrew & Michael Hennessy. The Southern Reporter of 13th June, 1815, gave the following interesting account of the launch:

"The first steam boat ever built in Ireland was launched at Passage, near this city, on Saturday, the 10 inst., amidst a vast concourse of people. She is named "The City of Cork" and will doubtless prove of great utility to the inhabitants of Cork and Passage..." The vessel was built for Captain Michael O'Brien, who owned an army accoutrement shop, known as "The King's Arms", at the north side of Tuckey Street and Mr. Christopher Owens of Cove. The steamer had a large saloon cabin and a good promenade deck. Her engine was made by Bolton & Watt, of London and was 12 horse power. The steamer was 86 feet long, 13 feet broad, 9 feet deep, having 1 mast and a square stern. Her best speed was about 6½ miles an hour; taking about two hours to run from Cork to Cove. Return fare to Cove was 10d. and 5d. and the steamer was advertised as "having good salt-water baths (piped in at Cove every morning); splendid steam cooking arrangements and a good supply of Cork and London papers, on her cabin table."[1] The boat became the subject of the celebrated poem "The Steamboat" by Henry Bennett.

In the following year, a second steamer, the Waterloo,[2] of 67 tons, was also built at Passage by messrs. Hennessy for Messrs. Barrett & Denny, who had an oil and colour store on the Marsh. The engine of this steamer, however, was made by Messrs. Barnes of the "Hive Iron

1. J.C.H.A.S., 2nd series, Vol. XXIII, 1917, pp. 3, 13.
2. See page 278b.



THE "WATERLOO" AT MERCHANTS' QUAY IN 1828.

(From a Lithograph in the possession of Mr. H. F. Tew, J.P., Monkstown.)

Works" in the city. It was the first steamer wholly of local manufacture. The vessel was 88 feet long, 13 feet broad and 8 feet deep. It had one mast and a square stern. There was keen rivalry in these early days of steam between the City of Cork and the Waterloo. This is indicated by the following extract from the doggerel lyric, "The Town of Passage":-

> Oh, 'tis there you'd see the steam boats sporting
> Upon Lough Mahon, so fair to view;
> Bold Captain O'Brien and his colours a-flying.
> And he a-vieing with the "Waterloo".[1]

The advent of these River Steamers greatly speeded up the transport of both passengers and goods between Cove and Cork.

(C) SHIPPING - INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SHIPS CLEARING OUTWARDS AND ENTERING INWARDS AT THE PORT OF CORK - LOSS TO EXCISE REVENUE DUE TO SMUGGLING

The following figures indicate that in spite of the general depression which followed on the peace of 1815, the number of vessels entering inwards and clearing outwards after 1816, was on the increase.[2]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF VESSELS, WITH THEIR TONNAGE THAT HAVE ENTERED INWARDS AND CLEARED OUTWARDS AT THE PORT OF CORK

Year ending 5th January	ENTERED INWARDS		CLEARED OUTWARDS	
	No. of vessels	Tons	No. of vessels	Tons
1817	1,512	133,873	1,569	122,552
1818	1,768	160,138	No record	
1819	1,647	141,576	1,883	134,654

There are no statistics available concerning the gross receipt of the revenue of Excise and Customs received at the port of Cork during this period but the following extract from the Official Report of the Collector of Customs and Excise at Cork, 1819, throws an interesting light on the trade of the port:[3]

1. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XXIII, pp. 149, 150, 2nd series, 1917.
2. Accounts & Papers, 1831,Vol.XVII, p. 14. From authentic records. Jas.Smyth, Collector;F.W. Vander Kiste, Comptr.
3. Report Customs & Excise Collection,1778-1837 by G. Shumacher,Public Record Office, Dublin.

"illicit distilling does not prevail here - as bad an evil however does prevail and that in a very great and shameful degree - smuggling - chiefly tobacco with some spirits, tea and coffee. The neighbourhood of the Gilling Bend between Ross and Clonakilty is the principal landing place. The smuggler in a very light sailing vessel well acquainted with the coast runs in at night, to a cove called Dirk and discharges cargo in three or four hours. The people of the country, who delight in such exploits, assist at the unloading in hundreds and before morning it is carried off in various directions towards Cork, Kerry and other towns. Armed parties meet it at the appointed places and take charge of the cars on which it is conveyed. These parties are generally too strong for the Revenue Officers of whom there are not a sufficient number to match the smuggler's parties. The Garrison at Clonakilty ought to be reinforced; a party should be stationed at Ross and a better accompaniment formed near the Gilling Bend. There are cruizers on the coast but they are ineffectual, being watched by the smugglers and other friends on the shore, by which means the moment they quit or are blown off the Station, the smuggler runs in and discharges cargo. The loss to the Excise in the duty on tobacco within the last year has amounted to an immense sum".

It is not surprising to learn that such smuggling was carried on, in view of the high duties levied on the abovenamed imports. Following on the amalgamation of the Exchequers in 1817, the rates of duty on tea was raised to the level of that which prevailed in Great Britain. In 1819, the Irish tobacco duties were likewise raised. This involved an increase of 2/- in the lb. on unmanufactured tobacco and 15/- on manufactured tobacco.[1]

1. J. F. Burke, Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland, p. 286.

(A) THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS - INCREASE IN NUMBER - INVOLVEMENT IN MATTERS MUNICIPAL AND ECONOMIC - LOSS OF CERTAIN POWERS

(B) THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE - RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROOM DRAWN UP - FUNCTION OF THE CHAMBER DEFINED - COMMITTEE APPOINTED

(C) COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS CO.

(A) THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS

Far from giving any intimation of their intention of retreating before the newly established Chamber of Commerce; the Committee of Merchants took steps to strengthen their position by increasing their numbers, ostensibly for "the good of the trade of Cork". At a meeting of the Committee held on the 8th May, 1815, it was resolved:[1]

....."that it is expedient for the good of the trade of this city that in future the Committee shall consist of 21 export and import merchants and six gentlemen of the butter trade"..... (The original number of export and import merchants was 14).

The Committee continued to play a very active role in endeavouring to promote the commercial welfare of the city as is illustrated by the following petition which was drawn up by the Committee, approved of at their meeting on 20th July, 1815 and requested to be sent to the merchants of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick and Belfast requesting their co-operation:[2]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT WHITWORTH, LORD LIEUTENANT AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF IRELAND

The Memorial of the undersigned memorialists of Cork.

That being informed by His Royal Highness's speech at the last session of Parliament, that negotiations for a commercial treaty are now in progress between His Majesty's Government and that of the U.S.A., your memorialists cannot refrain from conveying to Your Excellency the great

1. Minutes.....8th May, 1815.
2. ibid., dated 20th July, 1815.

anxiety they feel that no condition should be agreed to in that Treaty to permit the importation from the U.S.A. in any vessel whatever into any of the British colonies or settlements in the West Indies or North America, of any flour, fish, salt provision, butter, lard, soap, or candles, in any contingency or under any circumstances.

Your memorialists take this opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency their sincere hope that the authority given by virtue of the 46 Geo. 3. cap. III, and continued by the 55 Geo. 3. cap. 9, to the Governors of our respective colonies to admit the importation from U.S.A. as well as from other countries of certain articles of use and of necessity will soon expire - because under the cover of such qualified permission other articles, not authorized, were introduced into the colonies, because the precarious exercise of that authority had deterred your memorialists from sending out the supplies which the Mother country and North America were capable of furnishing in sufficient abundance - the law itself being the cause of the evil it intended to correct.

With reference to the separate interests of Ireland in whose trade and wellbeing your memorialists are deeply concerned, when at the end of a long war it became necessary to seek out new sources of vent, for those products which agriculture, her chief source of wealth, yields an increasing redundancy of - it is due to her especially, to afford her that protection and as a member of the parent Empire she has eminently earned - by returning to that fundamental principle of colonial connexion "mutual monopoly of market and mutual preference of supply".

In adverting to pending negotiations, your memorialists hope that they will be excused for expressing their solicitude that the exclusive right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Coast of Labrador as heretofore enjoyed by British settlers and subjects, should be preserved to them - that by adequate arrangements and safeguards they should be protected from the incessant encroachments of the Americans.

Your memorialists request that Your Excellency make known these sentiments to the British Government..and support the objects of the memorialists.

With a view to winning the approbation of the landed gentry it was resolved at the Committee meeting of 18th April, 1816, "that the President be empowered to enrol 3, 5 or 7 gentlemen which the country may select, to represent the agricultural interests of this country - who would be summoned on all subjects in which the country is concerned."[1]

The Committee continued to take practical steps towards facilitating communication between Cork city and elsewhere. The following resolution passed at the Committee meeting of 18th October, 1817, illustrates their efforts in this regard:[2]

RESOLVED:

"That this committee will be satisfied to pay Mr. Mortimer £100 per annum for two years more for the running of his Waterford coach"

Being dissatisfied with the mode in which corn was being marketed in the city, the Committee elected a sub-committee to draw up regulations for the betterment of such marketing.[3]

Their concern for the corn trade was further in evidence in 1818 when they appealed to the Government for a Commercial Charter with a view to the establishment of a Public Corn Market.[4] This appeal bore fruit eventually in 1822.[5]

The authority exercised by the Committee hitherto, over the regulating of harbour fees, pilotage and lighterage on the river and supervision of the condition of the city quays, was completely taken over by the Harbour Commissioners since 1813. The control and management of

1. Minutes - dated... 18th April, 1816.
2. ibid., 18th October, 1817.
3. ibid., 24th October, 1815.
4. ibid., 19th October, 1818.
5. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 5th July, 1822.

the Cork Butter Market however, remained entirely in the hands of the Committee of Merchants.

(B) THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber of Commerce took an increasingly active part in the commercial life of the city during this period. Its meetings were regularly held in the Commercial Buildings, not having as yet acquired a permanent building. On November 8th, 1919 a new chapter in the history of the Chamber was opened, when at a meeting of the subscribers held at Mr. Shinkwin's Room, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:-

"That a committee be appointed for the purpose of proposing rules for the government of the Room and for the selection and ordering of such newspapers and commercial documents as may be necessary for the Room; this committee to continue until January next and all subsequent committees to be elected annually by ballot: the committee to consist of ten members, as well as a Treasurer and Secretary."

RESOLVED:

That the Room be called "The Chamber of Commerce".

The following committee was then set up:

Mr. Jeremiah Murphy - Treasurer	Mr. William Bullen
Mr. Jerome Daly	Mr. F. Moloney
Mr. J. Murphy	Mr. Arthur O'Leary
Mr. Tim Cogan	Mr. Richard Ronayne
Mr. Fitzgibbon	Mr. John Murphy
Mr. R. O'Driscoll	Mr. Thomas Lyons - Secretary

The following papers were ordered:

London Courier; Globe; Morning Chronicle;
Grices Price List Current; Lloyd's List, London imports & exports;
Liverpool Advertiser and London Mercury; Dublin Evening Post;
Carrick's Morning Post; Limerick Chronicle; Waterford Chronicle;
Cork Southern Reporter; Mercantile Chronicle; Morning Intelligencer;
Cork Advertiser;
Imports and Exports weekly Cove List; Dublin and Mallow Mail Coach returns; Weigh House returns and Cove Note.[1]

The above mentioned list of papers ordered by the Committee was indicative of the particular function which continued to be associated with the Chamber of Commerce and not hitherto associated with the Commit-

1. Chamber of Commerce Minutes....8th November, 1819.

tee of Merchants namely, that of acquiring and disseminating useful and up-to-date knowledge concerning manufacture, agriculture, trade and commerce.

The Room called "The Chamber of Commerce" was let by Mr. Shinkwin to the committee for one year at a rate of sixty guineas and Jerh Mc Auliffe was the first servant employed therein witha salary of 9/- per week. The diligence with which the Committee set about their task is evident from the resolution passed at the meeting held on 12th November, 1819:[1]

"That a fine of 1/8 to be levied on members of the committee who shall absent themselves without leave of absence 5 minutes after the hour appointed for meeting".

At a general meeting of the subscribers to the Chamber the following rules relative to the government and function of the Chamber of Commerce, were submitted, unanimously adopted and remained in force during the period covered by this thesis:[2]

1. This Room shall be the property of the subscribers in virtue whereof the right is exclusively theirs of either refusing or consenting to grant the use of it on any public occasion.
2. A Committee of Management to consist of 12 members shall be annually elected by the subscribers, the election to take place on 1st June, and the mode of election to be by ballot.
3. Petitions to Parliament and requisitions for public meetings whether upon statistical, commercial or charitahb subjects may be freely introduced into this Room for signature.
4. The annual subscription to be 1 guinea for all persons resident within the city and Liberties and theRoom free to country gentlemen and strangers on being introduced by a subscriber.
5. No introduction necessary for any gentleman of the army or navy.
6. Half yearly subscriptions will be received from gentlemen of the Revenue or other public departments who are liable to be removed.
7. All subscriptions to commence on 1st November - any person in arrears on the 1st December no longer to be considered a subscriber.

1. Minutes ... dated 12th November, 1819.
2. ibid., ... dated 13th November, 1819.

8. Any person taking away, tearing or defacing any newspaper or paper belonging to this Room, shall be forthwith expelled, by order of the Committee, who shall not have the power, if the fact be established, to mitigate this rule.

9. If any cause of complaint exist against the waiter or waiters, it is requested the same be signified to the Committee, whose duty it is to provide attendants.

10. No newspaper to beheld longer than 15 minutes after being applied for.

11. It is competent for 12 subscribers to call a general meeting, in posting a notice thereof 3 clear days before each meeting, for any purpose connected with the Establishment.

12. The Room to be opened from 25th March to 29th September, at 7 o'clock and for the other six months at 8 o'clock; to close every night at 10.

Resolution unanimously agreed on.....

That the subscribers do appoint with the Committee, 3 auditors of the Treasurer's account who are to submit the same to the Annual General Meeting of subscribers.

The first rule was immediately implemented. Before the close of the meeting it was resolved "to give up the Room for a day on request for a Public Dinner".

The Chamber made no delay in taking effective measures to increase its membership and funds. At the next meeting it was resolved, "that 3 members be requested to procure additional subscribers and share-holders in the south district of the city; 3 to procure them in the middle district and 3 to procure them in the north district of the city".[1]

The purpose of gaining shareholders was with a view to providing funds for the erection of a permanent Chamber of Commerce. At a meeting of the shareholders held on 26th November, 1819, the following important resolutions were passed:[2]

RESOLVED:

That we recognise a fundamental rule under no pretext to be departed from, that the subscribers of the Room shall at any future time when the funds enable them be entitled to cancel their shares in the Buildings

1. Minutes...dated 15th November, 1819.

2. ibid.,....dated 26th November, 1819.

allowing at the rate of 6%.....that when all the shares are so cancelled the establishment do become the property of the subscribers of 1 year previous standing and to be perpetuated to future subscribers.

RESOLVED:

That a committee be voted by ballot to find a site for building, to consult agent and report to the General Meeting.

Martin Mahony in the Chair

The minutes of the following meeting relate how the Room had administered to the needs of the subscribers and how the funds were spent providing extra lights, pens, ink and waiters for the Room, etc. To the original list of papers was added "Cobbet's Register". The number of subscribers to the Room had risen to 303 by November 20th, 1819.[1]

(C) COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS COMPANY

The Commercial Buildings figures frequently during this period as the venue for meetings of merchants, particularly the Committee of Merchants and the Chamber of Commerce prior to the erection of the Victoria Hotel on 10th June, 1822.[2]

In 1816, the company embarked on a further enterprise. It was decided by a large majority to erect a "hotel and tavern" (at the rear of the building, now known as The Imperial Hotel) in Pembroke Street adjoining the premises of the Commercial Buildings Company. The new building was completed in 1819, and let to Mr. Joyce for a period of five years from 1st August, 1819, at a rent of £700 per annum. In these early days of its history, the hotel was known as "The Imperial Clarence Hotel" and proved most accommodating to the commercial interests of the city.[3]

1. Boyle's Freeholder, 20th November, 1819.
2. The Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 10th June, 1822.
3. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. XLVII, p. 85.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS - DISTRESS OF THE LABOURING CLASSES - FEVER 1817 - MAIN CAUSES OF DISTRESS - RELIEF OF THE POOR - COMBINATIONS

The post-war years were fraught with hardship for the poor of Cork city. Dr. Milner Barry of the Fever Hospital gave the following description of the condition of the poor at this time.[1]

'The want of employment, precluded the poor from purchasing provisions even when the prices of the necessaries of life were greatly reduced, as happened immediately after the peace. The failure of the crops of 1816 and the bad quality of the provisions, rendered this state of things still more distressing. Besides its own poor, numbers crowded into the city from the country to seek for employment or to partake of the benefits derived from the numerous soup shops which were opened at the expense of the richer inhabitants. The suburbs and lanes were crowded beyond measure by a needy population, with which the city was overburdened and the general distress augmented. In the former seasons of scarcity, which occurred during the war, the deficiency of employment had not taken place in the same proportion, the attention to e cleanliness was greater and the persons who laid claims to charitable assistance were less numerous.' Want of employment was not, however, the only cause of distress among the poor. Dr. Barry describes a further cause as follows:

'In the spring of this year (1817) the fever began to exceed the accommodation of our Institute. As a result of public subscription three additional wards were added to the hospital. Benevolent persons procured a school house in Peacock Lane and it was opened for patients under the name of the Dispensary Fever Asylum. I have constructed the following table which shows the extent of the fever in 1817 as compared with former years:

1. J. M. Barry, Report of the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital of the City of Cork, November, 1816-1817, pp. 5, 13, 17.

YEAR	Admitted	Discharged	Died
1803	254	241	9
1810	432	400	17
1811	646	627	19
1815	717	705	21
1816	1,026	958	37
1817	2,707	2,503	100

So widespread was the fever that the Barracks had to be converted into a Fever Hospital. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle commenting on the state of affairs in the Hospital on December 1817, stated:

'In the south part of the city, there have been since the opening of the Barracks as a Fever Hospital, sent into it by Dr. Warren, 110. Dr. Crofts has had removed into the Fever Hospital:

Males 109 Females 169

As to the extent of the poverty, Dr. Barry made the following statement:

'Nine out of ten of the labouring poor have been compelled to pawn their clothes and in most instances their bedding and bed-clothes during the recent scarcity. The effects of cold and moisture in disposing the body to the action of contagion, must have operated very decidedly on these unfortunate people'.[1]

Other contemporary writers emphasize the fact that the misery of the poor was due not alone to the want of employment and the high cost of the necessaries of life but also to the influx of the poor from other areas into Cork city at this time. Amongst these writers Tuckey, referring to May, 1817, stated:[2]

"The great influx of beggars was complained of in this day's paper; it was also affirmed that within the previous week, 150 beggars passed

1. J. M. Barry, Report of the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital, p. 21.

2. F. H. Tuckey, The City and county of Cork Remembrancer, (1837) p. 259.

through one of the toll-gates in the neighbourhood of the city, on their way from Dublin and the interior of the country.

It is evident from many references in Cork newspapers of the years 1816 to 1819 that the window tax was regarded by many of the citizens of the city as well as those of Dublin and Belfast, as unjust. It was, in fact, one of the great sources of grievance held against the Government. The following extract from "A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE IMPOST, AS IT EXISTED IN 1804 AND AS IT EXISTS IN 1816", gives an indication as to why the tax met with such opposition:[1]

WINDOW TAX

Window Tax	1804	1816
	£ s. d.	£. s. d.
7 windows	8 - 8	1 - 1 - 8
8 windows	11 - 11	1 - 14 - 8
10 windows	18 - 5	3 - 0 - 8
20 windows	4 - 3 - 5	12 - 3 - 2½
30 windows	7 - 8 - 5	21 - 5 - 2½

In the Petitions drawn up consequent on the meetings held by the inhabitants of Cork city, further reasons were given for the opposition. The following is an extract from one such Petition:

"The continuation of this grievious tax is as unjust, as it is impolitic and oppressive - with respect to its injustice, its continuance is a direct and absolute breach of faith, which in any walk of life should be stamped as dishonourable and dishonest; for on the introduction of this tax, the Minister solemnly declared that it should be only a war tax and therefore its continuance is most arbitrary and unjust. Now as to its impolicy and oppression there can be no doubt, to tax light and air of Heaven none but some imp of Hell could ever think.....

In this lamentable state of things is it not rational to seek relief.....from the actual sums we are obliged to pay, all the neces-

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 30th December, 1816.

saries of life being greatly enhanced in price, in consequence of the multifarious rates, taxes and duties.....".

No change took place however, in the legislation regulating the window tax until May 23rd, 1817. Notification of the new legislation was published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on 29th June, as follows:

WINDOW TAX

Provisions of "An Act to explain and amend an Act made in the 48th year of His present Majesty's reign for repealing the duties of Assessed Taxes, and of granting new duties in lieu thereof; and to exempt such dwelling houses as may be employed for the sole purpose of trade, or of lodging goods, wares, or merchandise from the duties charged by said Act" - 23rd May, 1817

"Tenements which have been occupied as dwelling houses shall be exempt from charges when employed solely for the purpose of Trade or as Warehouses.....

Assessments made on such premises for the years ending 5th April, 1816, and 5th April, 1817, to be discharged and money paid under such assessments to be repaid by the Receiver General.

Mills or places of manufacture, etc., not attached to a dwelling house, not liable to duty, though a servant licensed to guard same abide therein. Exemption for one glazed window in a Dairy in a Farmhouse".

These provisions did not in fact, alleviate the suffering of the poor. A determined attempt continued to be made by the Irish members in Parliament to secure some revision of this taxation in Ireland. In April, 1818, it was finally moved that the Petitions from various parts of Ireland for the repeal of the Window Tax, should be referred to a Committee. It was represented that it was a war tax, that it was "intolerably inquisitorial and that it was a tax on health". The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he was bound to oppose the motion, for though the Window Tax might have been a war tax originally, yet

having been from to time enacted and at length pledged as a security for certain charges on the Consolidated Fund, it appeared to him to have lost that character and it could not be repealed without breaking faith withthepublic creditor". He would allow however, that "the assessed taxes and particularly the Window Tax had been increased with a rapidity and to an extent which defeated the object sought to be attained - that of producing a steady revenue. For this reason, he was about to propose to relieve the people of Ireland from the additional 25% imposed a few years". In fulfillment of his promise, on the 13th May, he announced that as regards Ireland, he would make a reduction of 25% on the Window Tax (imposed on all houses with more than 7 windows), and would charge only 1/- per window on houses let in lodgings to poor people.[1]

This reduction of the window tax brought a measure of relief to the poor in Cork city. A further strong attempt was made by the Irish members in Parliament, 1819, to have the tax abolished entirely but without success.[2]

There is ample evidence to prove that the window tax did in fact contribute to the spread of the Fever epidemic in Cork city in 1817.

Dr. Milner Barry, reporting on the fever epidemic in the city in 1817 stated:[3]

"In one place called Hughe's Lane, I am well assured that from 3 to 5 windows in each house have been stopped up, to avoid taxation, within the current year and from this cause, combined with the intolerable filth and distress of the inhabitants, this lane has become infected from one end to the other. Were I to pronounce what cause was most productive of fever, I would certainly say -- the want of a constant supply of fresh air." He went on to explain how the Mayor had inter-

1. W. Smart, Economic Annals of the 19th century 1801-1820, (London, 1910), pp. 631-632.
2. ibid., p. 679.
3. Report of the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital of the city of Cork, November, 1816-1817, pp. 18, 19.

vened to rectify the situation somewhat:

"On application to Government, the Mayor has obtained permission to cause such windows and hearths to be re-opened as have been closed within the past year to evade the tax, in situations where the exclusion of the air has obviously contributed to spread the contagion."

It is clear also from the prices quoted at the Cork Markets, that the price of the necessaries of life made it well nigh impossible for many of the poor to purchase sufficient food to enable them to live above subsistence level. The following table illustrates how the price of bread soared in 1816, and indeed, continued to remain at a very high level until 1819:[1]

PRICE OF BREAD AT CORK MARKETS 1816-1819

DATE	QUARTERN LOAF
3rd January, 1815	8d.
14th June, 1816	12d.
18th November, 1816	18d.
20th October, 1817	12¾d.
17th October, 1818	11½d.
9th January, 1819	11d.
1st May, 1819	10½d.

RELIEF OF THE POOR:

Local efforts to relieve the distress of the poor were numerous. The Committee of the Society for bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, as well as the many Charitable Institutions of the city came forward to aid the most destitute. Foremost among the private individuals who took practical steps to provide food for the poor at a lower price than that available in the retail shops, were Messrs. Beamish & Crawford. The following notice illustrates their attempt to alleviate the suffering of the poor in April, 1817 - a time of great shortage of provisions and fever epidemic:[2]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819.
2. ibid., 4th April, 1817.

RELIEF OF THE POOR

We understand that Messrs Beamish & Crawford will commence on to-morrow the delivery of large quantities of potatoes at 8d. and oatmeal at 1/7 per weight to Poor Housekeepers and indigent tradesmen. The stock purchased for this benevolent purpose amounts to near 400 tons which is to be distributed fully 20% under prime cost.

The Mayor and principal inhabitants of the city met at the Commercial Buildings on the following Tuesday, June 10th and appointed a committee for devising the best mode of procuring a sufficient supply of food for the poor. At the meeting of the committee on June 12th the following resolution was passed:[1]

"That the following bounty be hereby offered for bringing potatoes to this market coastways:

For each ton of the first 100 tons 20/- per ton
" " " " " next 200 " 10/- " "

That the holders of oatmeal, barley, meal biscuit, coarse flour and oats be negotiated to make tenders of any quantity of these articles they may think proper to sell.

That these tenders and applications for bounties be addressed to Mr. J. Clear, Pembroke Street."

William Beamish.....Chairman
John Clear.....Secretary

A subscription was entered into for the relief of the Poor and the committee appointed to manage this money decided that the best means of relieving the most distressed was by distributing soup or pottage gratis to them and to assist the wants of the sick poor by small donations through visitors, appointed in the different parishes. In June, 1817, the committee ascertained by the inspection of the parish visitors that the persons requiring charitable aid amounted to about 10,000 and that nearly 5,000 of that number were unable to purchase themselves a supply of even the cheapest necessaries of life.[2]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 12th June, 1817.
2. ibid., 17th June, 1817.

The Cork Coal Co., continued to alleviate the distress of the poor by providing coal in the Public Coal Yards at the lowest rate for the poor as well as for journeymen tradesmen. [1]

COMBINATIONS:

Combinations were numerous during these years and were of a far more riotous nature than those of the wartime period, mainly due to the extreme want and misery which prevailed amongst the labouring classes. The following account which appeared in theCork Mercantile Chronicle on June 9th, 1817, vividly describes the activities of the riotous poor of the city.

DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE

It is truly afflicting to observe the condition of the labouring classes in this city. Every attempt to export provisions from this port is resisted by these people and even the mercantile stores have been visited for the purpose of compelling the proprietors to send their stocks to market. The aid of the military has been found necessary for their protection and we cannot exactly anticipate the degree of force or of severity, which it may be yet necessary to employ.

A meeting of the principal inhabitants called by the Mayor, was held at the Commercial Buildings, at which it was resolved that a number of gentlemen should be sworn as Peace Officers and if necessary, that the military should be called for. It was also agreed that every protection should be afforded to such persons as provide the markets of this city with provisions. This appeared to be necessary as there was not a single load of potatoes exposed for sale in some of the markets on June 10th. Mobs paraded the streets and subjected an offender to death without benefit of the clergy. A Proclamation was issued by the Mayor and Sheriffs providing for the peace of the city.

1. Cork Advertiser, 10th December, 1818.

A PROCLAMATION

By the Mayor, Sheriffs and Magistrates of the city of Cork

Whereas a number of persons have riotously and unlawfully assembled in different parts of this city and suburbs and attempted to break open stores and to unload vessels laden with corn and to commit other acts of violence under pretence of regulating the price of provisions... We, the Mayor, Sheriffs and Magistrates of the city of Cork, being determined to preserve peace and good order and to protect the property of the inhabitants, do hereby caution all persons unlawfully assembling in the city or suburbs and found committing any act of violence, or found preventing or attempting to prevent the arrival or sale of provisions, we are determined to use military force entrusted to us in the most effectual manner for the preservation of peace and good order. And if any person or persons shall attempt to disturb the public peace they must abide the consequences which may be fatal to many of them.

And we do hereby promise that the fullest protection shall be afforded to any person bringing provisions to the market by land or water and should any person have suffered any loss by reason of the late assemblages he or they be requested to lay a statement thereof before the Mayor.

And when perfect order shall be restored the most prompt and efficient means shall be adopted to procure supplies of potatoes and meal.

Done at the Mansion House in the city of Cork
9th day of June, 1817.

Ed. Allen, Mayor

Charles Perry
Charles Evanson Sheriffs

The local newspapers abound with evidence bearing witness to the necessity of the above proclamation. On the previous day, the rioters had visited the quays where the potato vessels were lying, which they entirely stripped of their cargoes without giving any remuneration

the crews. However, by June 11th, the Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle stated:

"Tranquillity in the sale of provisions has been completely restored".

Combinations were not however, confined to one class of society. The general commercial depression which followed the peace of 1815, led employers to reduce wages and employees to combine in protest.

Such was the case in Belfast where Francis Johnston, an employer of muslin weavers who lived at Peter's Hill tried to reduce the wages of his weavers. The weavers resisted. Some of them attacked his house and set it on fire. Johnston retaliated by making more cuts on their wages and the workers again attacked his house. The attack on Johnston's House was followed by rioting, looting and robbery throughout the town.[1]

The Cork Mercantile Chronicle of 1816 describes the labour unrest and industrial distress of the workers in Cork city, in like terms. The following is a description of how the coopering trade was affected by the combination of journeymen.[2]

RIOT AND COMBINATION

Recorder's Court, 24th June, 1816

The traversers were journeymen coopers of the city and it appeared from evidence and counsel that the master coopers, unable from the change in trade, to pay the journeymen the rate of wages they had been in the habit of doing, and finding that the tradesmen here would not listen to any reduction in wages, several masters were under the necessity of bringing men from Limerick who were prepared to get employment and take such wages as the times enabled the masters to give. This of course gave great offence to the journeymen coopers of this city and

1. A. Boyd, The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions, 1729-1970, (Anvil Bks Ltd. 1972), Tralee, Co. Kerry, p. 27.

2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 24th June, 1816.

since the arrival of the journeymen coopers from Limerick, every attempt has been made to deter these artisans from giving their employment - large assemblages surrounded the houses of different masters, which they attacked, brcke the windows and committed every excess and two of the men who had been engaged in these riots were tried, found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment. It appears that the journeymen who came from Limerick lodged in the house of John Haly, the prosecutor, who lives in Mallow Lane, that on the night of Saturday last, a large mob assembled before the prosecutor's house between 9 and 10 o'clock and threw some stones. The prosecutor came out and asked them what they wanted. They answered "the Limerick coopers". He replied that they should not go out- the party went away but returned after 10 o'clock to the number of 100, threw stones at his house, the door of which they broke down and his wife received severe blows of stones in the forehead. The prosecutor went out, followed the traversers into the public house and identified them, went to the guard's house and prevailed on the sergeant to take a file of the men and five of the Traversers were taken into custody. The Recorder sentenced Blennerhasset to one month's imprisonment and the others to two months and ordered that the coopers should give security for their future good behaviour.

A feature of the labour troubles in Great Britain and Ireland, from this time on, noted by Woodward, was the frequency of attacks on men supposed to be working at cut prices and on manufacturers.[1] This fact serves to explain the disturbances and outrages committed by some of the Cork workers during this period and frequently described in the newspapers. Such descriptions serve to illustrate how the Cork workman, when faced with a desperate situation, tended to respond as did workers elsewhere, in a like situation.

1. Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815 - 1870, pp. 60 - 62.

It is evident, however, from the following notice which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, that at least some of theCork workmen responded in a more magnaminious fashion to the depressed situation which prevailed in the city in 1816:[1]

TO THE PUBLIC

THE JOURNEYMEN CARPENTERS OF THE CITY OF CORK

Respectfully inform the Public, that they have determined to work in future on the following terms:

When employed by gentlemen, per day		3/9½
Ditto	by master carpenters	3/6

The carpenters beg further to state that this voluntary reduction of wages on their part, at a time when the prices of provisions, so far from being moderate or stationary, are increasing every day to a considerable degree, offers a convincing proof of their willingness to make every possible sacrifice for the welfare of the trade of Cork.

Cork, May 8th, 1816.

A like spirit was exhibited by the shipwrights of the port of Cork in February of the following year. Evidence of this was reported in the local newspapers as follows:[2]

REDUCED WAGES

We, the shipwrights of the port of Cork, after mature deliberation on the present state of the trade in this port, have determined upon reducing our present wages to 4/4 per day, as an encouragement to those merchants, Master shipwrights and others, who may be inclined to build new vessels of any description. In the performance of old work we are liable to many accidents, viz, men working on stages in the river are in danger of being drowned and their tools lost; likewise men are in danger of being killed in dock or on bank and subject to loss of time owing to inclemency of weather. However, we have reduced the former established price to 4/10½ per day which we consider the lowest rate

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 8th May, 1816.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 3rd February, 1817.

of wages we should be allowed, no employer being able to afford us permanent work and we are thereby subject to a loss of two-thirds of our time.

Reduction of wages, however, continued to be a cause of complaint to the Journeymen Coopers. They justified their position to the Public as follows, on 9th May, 1817:[1]

TO THE PUBLIC

We, the Journeymen Coopers of the City of Cork, do thus inform the Public, that we are frequently misrepresented in consequence of a late advertisement for 20 Journeymen Coopers. We might be censured as combinators, if we did not thus publicly explain the business. Our wages were reduced last year; our present wages were fixed by Rule of Court. A second reduction is now attempted; this would indeed make our state worse than that of beggars. We could not exist by the proferred wages - This we offer to the Public in consideration of our cause.

Cork newspapers of the period 1815-1820 in general, bear witness only to the employers' attitude towards combinations, an attitude of contempt and suspicion which was no different from that exhibited by employers in the 18th century. The law was no more favourable to combinations. In 1803, Westminster passed an even more repressive Act[2] to deal with the Irish combinations than the law then in force in Britain. There, for example, anyone convicted of being a member of a trade union was sent to prison for three months; in Ireland the sentence was six months from 1803 onwards. The penalty for collecting trade union contributions was £5 in Britain; in Ireland it was £10. The Act of 1803 which was in force during the years 1815-1819 had also reimposed the numerous penalties contained in the acts passed by the Irish Parliament against combinations and these remained in force until the repeal of the combination laws in 1824. Despite the hostility of the employers and the Government, the combination movement gained in strength and popularity in Cork city during the period 1815-1819.[3]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 9th May, 1817. 2. 43 Geo.III.c.86
3. A. Boyd, The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions,1729-1970, pp.29, 9.

REVIEW OF THE PERIOD 1815-1819

Reviewing the period 1815-'19 as a whole, it is abundantly clear that they formed a period of recession rather than one of progress, in the economic history of Cork city. Eye-witness accounts testify to the great distress which prevailed in the city as a consequence of the transition from war to peace. The vacant stores and untenanted shops, the fall in exports and the rise in unemployment figures were among the signs of depression noted by contemporaries.

The end of the war marked the beginning of five years of depression for the provision trade. The opening up of the European ports to Great Britain led to a decline in the export of cereals. The consequences of this decline were aggravated by a fall in the price of provisions. The Cork Butter Trade alone maintained its high level of export to foreign ports though it suffered from the competition of Dutch butter in the London market.

Decline in the brewing industry was reflected in the home sales and export of beer and also in the decreasing number of brewers actively engaged in the industry.

The increase in illicit distillation, due to the fall in the price of corn after the war, combined with the high rate of duty on spirits and the increase in still charges were among the factors which led to a decline in the distilling industry.

The cotton and woollen industries experienced a depression under the impact of an increase in the importation of manufactured goods from England and a decline in the foreign market for goods of Cork manufacture. The efforts of a rejuvenated Linen Board succeeded in promoting the progress of the Linen industry in general, though it failed to maintain the sail-cloth manufacture at Douglas at its high war-time peak.

In contrast with the decline in the textile industry, the manufacture of glass exhibited signs of progress. Progress was also evident in the paper and printing industries, which was reflected in an increase in the number of newspapers and journals printed during this period and

in the number of printers who found employment in the city.

The success of the Harbour Commissioners in accomplishing such urgent improvements as the repairing of the New Wall, the rebuilding of quays, and the clearing of the bed of the river, considerably facilitated the movement of vessels in the "Upper Harbour"; while the launching of "The City of Cotk", the first steamboat built in Ireland, placed Cork on June 10th, 1815, in the foreground among the ship-building ports of the United Kingdom.

The establishment of The Cork Savings Bank in 1817, a year remarkable for famine, fever and riotous combination, gave hope for a better future to the poor.

Allowing for the very real achievements of the Cork Harbour Commissioners, the Chamber of Commerce and the Cork Savings Bank, and the progress in some industries, evidence on the whole, however, would suggest that Cork city entered into the next period of its history still struggling with some of the depressing effects of the transition from war to peace.

PART THREE

A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND REVIVAL TERMINATING IN THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS of 1826

In 1820, Cork city experienced a serious setback in the form of an economic crisis, gradually recovered, but only to experience a further setback in 1826, mainly due to the withdrawal of the Union duties and the commercial crisis in Great Britain. This economic crisis was chiefly reflected in diminishing exports and falling prices. The consequent distress was greatly accentuated by the failure of two banking establishments which led to a financial crisis. The failure of the banks had also a more far-reaching effect, namely that it hastened the end of the era of Private Banks in Cork city and the dawn of the era of joint stock banking. The assimilation of the currency of Great Britain and Ireland in 1826, further affected currency, prices and wages in the city.

The general trend in the textile industries, with the exception of linen was downward up to 1825. In the Spring of 1826, the cotton, woollen and linen industries unable to withstand the full impact of the withdrawal of the Union duties and the commercial crisis in Great Britain, experienced a severe crisis. The manufacture of glass and paper was also adversely affected by the withdrawal of protective duties and increased taxation.

Signs of progress were however, evident in the brewing, distilling, printing and ship-building industries. The clear definition of the powers and the increase in revenue of the Harbour Commissioners by the terms of the Cork Harbour Act of 1820, marked the beginning of a period of constructive achievement in the history of the Cork Harbour Board. The Chamber of Commerce expanded in numbers and in the range of its activities. This expansion was, however, challenged by the Committee of Merchants.

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The effects of the introduction of steam navigation became more evident during this period and slightly changed the nature of the trade of Cork city.

Significant changes also took place in the combination movement. For the first time, a number of combinations confederated to form a body called "The Union of Trades", which considerably influenced the activities of many who were engaged in industry. The Combination Act of 1825 by legalising the status of trade unions, contributed further towards the strengthening of the combination movement in Cork city.

(A) ECONOMIC CRISIS - EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS ON THE PROVISION TRADE - FALL IN THE PRICE OF GRAIN AT THE CORK MARKET - GENERAL TREND IN THE EXPORT OF PROVISIONS AND CEREALS

Cork provision trade experienced a temporary decline in the early 1820's, owing to a major economic crisis which occurred in Ireland in the spring of 1820. It was in the main a consequence of falling prices, induced by falling markets in Britain where severe depression was experienced in 1819.[1] The crisis was greatly aggravated in Cork by the failure of two private banks.[2] The following extract taken from the Cork Morning Intelligencer, 10th May, 1821, gives an indication of the general depressed situation which prevailed both in England and in Ireland even in the spring of 1821:

THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE

It is a fact that taking one farmer with another $\frac{9}{10}$ of the landed interests of England have received no rents for the last 12 months. It is also certain that in several distracts the farmers have not been enabled to satisfy the calls of the taxmen and the tithemen. Hence it is that we see fattened cattle sold for 20% less than they were bought for last year. Wheat at the London Corn Exchange sells for less than it cost the grower in seed, labour and capital.

If such be the condition of the markets in England for the native produce, what must they be for the production of our fields? The exports of corn and cattle are every day diminishing and the truth is that we are thrown back on our own markets. Rents are completely out of the question. In several parts of England, wheat is for 5/- a Winchester bushel. The same quantity may be purchased in Ireland for 4/-. Such is the value of potatoes that several hundred acres in the southern counties have not been dug. They were suffered to rot in the ground. Low as the price of labour is, they would not pay the expense of unearthing them.

1. Cullen, L. An Economic History of Ireland since 1660, (London, 1970), p. 101.

2. O'Kelly, E. The Old Private Bankers of Munster, (1959), Part I, pp. 42, 65.

This is ruin to the farmer and landlord - but it cannot be denied that for the poor the times are good. There is a superabundance of produce and none to consume it but themselves. The potatoes can be had for the digging.

How the Cork agriculturalists viewed their own situation, and what reforms they deemed necessary is illustrated by the following:

AGRICULTURE

At a meeting of the agriculturalists of the county of Cork, lately held for the purpose of taking into consideration the depressed state of the agriculture of this county and the expediency of petitioning Parliament for its relief the following resolutions were passed:

RESOLVED:

That the present distressed state of this county owing to the very low price of all sorts of agricultural produce is such as to occasion the most serious and alarming difficulties and to call for the attention and exertion of all

RESOLVED:

That we are fully aware that the change of the circulating medium from a paper to a metallic currency, must have a material influence on lowering prices to a proportionate standard and we altogether disclaim as far as we are concerned, the expectation or the wish of upholding war prices, or war rents, in a period of profound peace.

RESOLVED:

That we are also aware that the failure of so many of the Private Banks in the south of Ireland must have some influence on lowering the prices, such a large proportion of the circulating medium employed in the south having been thereby withdrawn and no adequate substitution having yet found its way into the country; but when we look at the price question in the other parts of Ireland and see a depression of price nearly as great as in our own markets, we cannot attribute so great an influence to that circumstance as it would at first sight seem to deserve.

RESOLVED:

That making every allowance for the fall in prices, which must be

expected on a change from war to peace and the distress under which the country labours from a deficiency of circulating medium and the consequent difficulty of money negotiation, still it appears that the Irish corn markets are in a state of depression not warranted even by all these circumstances and that if an amendment does not soon take place and the agricultural interests be placed on such a footing as may ensure to the farmer a reasonable remuneration, under a fair rate of rent and tithe, it will be impossible for either the landlord or tenant to meet all the heavy charges to which, directly or indirectly, they are subject and that they can only be relieved by the gradual effects of public and private economy and by the Legislature enabling the United Kingdom to avail itself of those great resources which she possesses within herself and which are the best security for her power and independence.

RESOLVED:

That a petition to Parliament be prepared in which those subjects shall be respectfully laid before it and praying that the Legislature may take same into serious consideration.[1]

The Report of the Select Committee on the Depressed State of the Agriculture in the United Kingdom, in 1821, expressed further views concerning the causes of the depression and how it could be remedied. It stated as follows:

"Your Committee are satisfied by the result of enquiries, that in the present year the price of corn has been further depressed by the general abundance and good quality of the last harvest in all articles of grain and pulse, more particularly in Ireland in which part of the United Kingdom the previous harvest of 1819 was also uncommonly unproductive. Several witnesses have stated their belief that the prices of grain have further been depressed in the present year, by the very large importation of foreign corn which took place before the ports were closed in the month of February, 1819.

1. Cork Morning Intelligencer, 28th June, 1821.

It can scarcely be necessary for your Committee to remark that the growth of wheat has been greatly extended in all parts of the United Kingdom since 1807. Your Committee feel it an important part of their duty to recall to the recollection of the House that in the year 1804 and 1814 - a depression of prices principally caused by abundant harvests and a great extension of tillage excited by the extraordinary high prices of antecedent years - appears to have produced a temporary pressure and uneasiness among owners of land and a corresponding difficulty in payment of rents, in some degree similar to the apprehensions which now prevail.

It would seem that the influence of the general derangement of commerce which the convulsions of the last 30 years have produced in all relations of commerce, in the application of capital and in the demand for labour hours, is not yet spent and exhausted.

As far as depression of price has been produced by redundant production, which at the moment appears to be one of the causes operating to lower the price of corn, both in this and other countries, it admits of no adequate remedy, except that which must arise from the progressive adjustment of the supply to the demand.[1]

It is evident, however, that the price of grain at the Cork Market, continued to fall in 1822. The following table illustrates the extent of the fall in price since 1818:[2]

PRICES AT CORK MARKET

DATE	WHEAT (brl)	OATS (brl)	BARLEY (brl)
24th September, 1818	42/-	45/-	36/-
10th June, 1822	16/-	26/-	28/-
28th December, 1822	14/-	15/-	18/-

The general trend in the export of provisions, cereals, oatmeal

1. Cork Morning Intelligencer, 28th June, 1821.

2. Cork Advertiser, 24th September, 1818: Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 10th June, and 28th December, 1822.

and flour from Cork during the period 1820-1823, is illustrated by the following figures:[1]

EXPORT OF PROVISIONS FROM CORK

Year end. 5th Jan.	BEEF (brls)	PORK (brls)	HAMS (cwts)	FLITCHES No.	LIVESTOCK No.	HOGS No.
1820	17,892	35,428	209	10,012	3,491	28,035
1821	17,540	46,815	325	15,198	1,399	36,467
1822	19,141	45,388	299	21,956	-	36,467
1823	18,381	40,470	345	7,777	-	11,407

EXPORT OF CEREALS, FLOUR & OATMEAL FROM CORK

Year end. 5th Jan.	WHEAT (brls)	BARLEY (brls)	OATS (brls)	FLOUR (cwts)	OATMEAL (cwts)
1820	32,999	1,777	93,601	8,738	1,401
1821	82,097	31,113	119,699	39,125	6,424
1822	63,472	18,715	149,261	39,159	5,800

The above figures show a general increase inexports in 1821 apart from the decline in the number of livestock exported, which would suggest that the agricultural crisis of 1820 was of a temporary nature. Such a view is substantiated by the lack of contrary evidence in local newspapers. The increased output of distilleries and breweries in 1822 would partly account for the fall off in the export of barley in 1822. There are no Cork export figures available for the years 1824-'26. It is evident however, from contemporary records that in the Provision Trade, Cork's reputation for quality in the provision trade still prevailed, a reputation which gained for it the majority of the Government contracts for the navy up to 1837.[2]

This reputation was apparently well merited, as naval officers testified that provisions supplied from Cork in 1824, were found in a perfect state of preservation in 1833.[3]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. J. F. Burke, Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland, (Dublin), 1940), p. 208.
3. ibid.

(B) OTHER INDUSTRIES AND TRADES ALLIED WITH THE PROVISION TRADE - DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF TALLOW - GENERAL TREND IN THE EXPORT OF CANDLES - CAUSES OF DECLINE IN THE TANNING INDUSTRY - GENERAL TREND IN THE EXPORT OF LEATHER, WROUGHT AND UNWROUGHT, FROM CORK AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL EXPORT FROM IRELAND - DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF SOAP

EXPORT OF TALLOW

The export of tallow from Cork dwindled almost to insignificance in the 1820's as the following table shows:[1]

EXPORT OF TALLOW FROM CORK 1820--1823

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwts)
1820	46
1821	86
1822	5
1823	32

Cork was, however, the only port in Ireland from which tallow was exported. The export of candles decreased slightly in 1822. In 1823 an increase was again evident in the export. The following figures show the general trend:[2]

EXPORT OF CANDLES FROM IRELAND, FROM CORK, 1820- 1823

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwt)	From Ireland (cwt)
1820	5,670	10,518
1821	5,694	11,374
1822	4,909	10,066
1823	6,607	11,337

It appears that the export of soap also shared in the general decrease in the export trade from Cork during the period 1820--1823.

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. ibid.

The following export figures indicate a downward trend in the export of soap:[1]

EXPORT OF SOAP FROM CORK AND FROM IRELAND 1820-1823

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (cwt)	From Ireland (cwt)
1820	2,736	6,045
1821	2,100	5,936
1822	2,106	4,170
1823	1,620	5,220

THE MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER

Mr. C. Hely Hutchinson, M.P. for Cork city, presented a petition in the House of Commons from the tanners of Cork from which an insight into the hardships to which the tanners were subjected at this time, can be gained. It also helps to explain why the manufacture of leather was not progressive in Cork city at this time. In that petition it was stated, that there had been a bounty of 40/- a ton on the importation of foreign bark previous to 1809 but since that time a duty of 7d per cwt. had been substituted and the Excise duty on tanning had increased. The petition stated also that due to the decline of the provision trade, the tanners had been frequently obliged to import foreign hides at a duty of 9½d. each; from these causes the manufacture had declined and the tanners were severely suffering, as the premises fitted up for their trade could not be converted to any other purpose. The petitioners prayed for relief by the abolition of the duty on bark imported and the excise duty, which not only made the article produced dear but by limiting the manufacturer as to time prevented him from making good leather.[2] The evidence given before the Revenue Commissioners in 1822, established that the use of imported leather was on the increase, and that the manufacture in Ireland was stationary if not retrogressive. This was attributed to the two causes already mentioned

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 7th June, 1822.

by the Cork tanners in their petition to Parliament, namely the high cost of bark and the excise duty assessed on the capacity of the vessels employed rather than on the output.[1]

There is no evidence to show that any untanned hides were exported from Cork from 1820 onwards. The following table indicates that the export of leather was also on the decline:[2]

EXPORT OF LEATHER, WROUGHT & UNWROUGHT FROM CORK & FROM IRELAND 1820-23

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (lbs)	From Ireland (lbs)
1820	121,422	131,871
1821	66,942	83,712
1822	108,099	103,836
1823	46,084	58,124

The protective duty on the importation of leather goods into Ireland was repealed in 1824 and the immediate result was a further diminution of the industry in Ireland, after the "Hide and Skin Act" came into effect on January 5th, 1825. The one redeeming feature of the Act was the fact that it rectified the method of assessing the Excise duty. Henceforth, duty was to be paid not on the number of cubic feet occupied in tanyards as heretofore, which it was alleged, made for hasty and careless workmanship but on the output of the tanyards.[3]

It is probable that a greater local demand stemming from an increased population,[4] contributed to the decline in the export of leather, soap and candles in the 1820's.

1. O'Brien, G. The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, 1921, London, p. 376.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. O'Brien, G. p. 376; The Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 25th June, 1824.
4. Abstract of Returns of Census of Ireland, 1821.

THE CORK BUTTER TRADE - GENERAL TREND IN RECEIPTS AT THE CORK WEIGH HOUSE - EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK COMPARED WITH THE EXPORT FROM OTHER IRISH PORTS - MARKETS - CAUSES OF DECLINE IN TRADE - CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF BUTTER AT THE CORK MARKET

All available evidence indicates that the general trend in the butter trade ofCork during the period 1820-25, was downward. Such a trend is evident in the following account of the receipts of butter at the Cork Weigh House for this period:[1]

ACCOUNT OF THE TOTAL ANNUAL QUANTITY OF BUTTER IN FIRKINS AND KEGS PASSED THROUGH THE CORK WEIGH HOUSE 1820-'25

Year end. 8th May.	FIRKINS	KEGS	TOTALS
1820	295,641	11,029	306,670
1821	306,224	8,349	314,573
1822--30th April	274,967	8,310	283,307
1823	230,489	5,761	236,252
1824	243,580	5,814	249,393
1825	227,675	7,172	234,847

The export figures for these years reveal the same trend, as the following table illustrates:[2]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUANTITY OF BUTTER EXPORTED 1820--1823 distinguishing THE PORTS FROM WHICH EXPORTED. (in cwts.).

PORT	1820	1821	1822	1823
Dublin	41,292½	24,863¾	31,731	31,352½
Cork	181,164½	146,770¼	137,547¾	126,014¾
Belfast	39,079¾	25,567½	29,241¼	41,451¼
Limerick	33,848	27,379	26,211	41,404
Waterford & Ross	143,074	120,266¾	121,651	138,899½

William Irving,
Inspector General of Imports & Exports
Inspector General's Office,
Custom House, London.

1st May, 1826.

1. CBM. MS c.38. 2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd May, 1826.

The main foreign markets however, for Cork butter during the years 1823-1825, were, as in former years, as follows:[1]

EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK 1823-1825 (in cwts.)

Year	London	Liverpool	Channel Islands	Bristol	Lisbon	Jamaica	Barbadoes
1823	57,339	45,311	21,266	5,965	57,761	16,319	12,787
1824	59,603	41,450	24,803	11,903	57,992	13,671	13,159
1825	43,306	49,033	25,651	13,819	50,145	13,964	12,956

Mr. William Fagan, butter buyer from Cork and member of the Committee of Merchants, giving evidence to the Select Committee on the Butter Trade in 1826, gave the following reasons for the decline in the Cork butter trade:

"Diminution arises from the springing up of two markets to which butter is sent which was formerly sent to Cork, theTralee market and the Youghal market. There is another cause which cause which contributes to the decrease very much, which is the late Tithe Act, which charges tithe equally on pasture land as well as on tillage and induces the farmer to go more into tillage, as being more profitable. That operates where the Tithe Act has taken effect, that is generally Kerry and those counties which have sent in butter to Cork". He went on to enumerate another cause for the decline namely "a decline in the system of advancing money". Formerly the butter trade of Cork had advanced considerably because of this system, at a time of money-scarcity particularly, farmers were in need of advances which were no longer available.[2]

Mr. Thomas Fitzgibbon, broker and commercial agent in Cork, gave further reasons for the decline in his evidence to the Select Committee. He stated as follows:

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, PP. Vol. V., p. 90.
2. ibid, pp. 89, 94, 95.

'The butter trade ofCork is decreasing partly due to some pernicious regulations made by the late Act of Parliament, and partly to the establishment of a market in Tralee. The latter arose in some degree from the vexatious regulations of the Cork market which makes the farmer prefer those other markets. An Act passed in 1822 altered the butter regulations very materially. It altered the size of the casks and introduced regulations that could not be complied with. If the firkin differ in ever so small a degree it is liable for forfeiture. The Act prescribes among other things that all our firkins shall be trimmed with 12 sufficient hoops which would only designate a ¼ bound cask, whereas all our casks must be fullbound to hold pickle. It further says that hoops shall be twigged with fresh twigs; fresh twigs will not answer, they must be seasoned twigs. This Act, if persevered in will ruin the trade altogether, we all feel the necessity of violating the law.

Reducing the size of the casks operates against the trade in a variety of ways; the first is that it increases the charges materially upon the farmer, the exporter, and every person through whose hands it passes; and it is attended with a further disadvantageous effect of rendering the butter more liable to deterioration because there is a greater proportionate surface exposed to the timber and to the air.'[1]

Mr. Joseph Warter, butter dealer, in his evidence to the Select Committee, gave a further reason for the decline of the Cork butter market. He stated in reference to the progress of the Limerick butter market:

'The Chamber of Commerce took it up and has put it upon a footing that is now as good as Cork'.[2]

There is no contemporary evidence to indicate that the farmers or the butter buyers were concerned about the downward trend in the quantity of butter sold at the Cork market and exported. A possible explanation

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade,1826,pp. 123,124.

2. ibid, p. 300.

for this may be found in the following table which indicates that the trend in the price of butter was upwards so that the overall profit to the farmer or butter buyer may not have substantially decreased to any extent.[1]

CORK MARKET - BUTTER - PRICE TO THE MERCHANT'S

Brand	10th June, 1822	7th April, 1823	1st September, 1824.
1.	76/-	76/-	80/-
2.	72/-	72/-	76/-
3.	62/-	62/-	72/-
4.	48/-	53/-	66/-
5.	40/-	40/-	62/-
6.	00/-	00/-	00/-

PRICE TO THE COUNTRY

Brand	10th June, 1822	7th April, 1823	1st September, 1824
1.	66/-	62/-	70/-
2.	62/-	58/-	66/-
3.	52/-	50/-	62/-
4.	00	40/-	58/-
5.	00	30/-	52/-
6.	00	00	00

1. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 1822, 1824; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1823.

(A) BANKING AND CURRENCY - CAUSES OF PRIVATE BANK FAILURES IN IRELAND 1820 - EFFECTS OF CONTRACTION IN THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM - FAILURE OF THE BANK OF MESSRS STEPHEN AND JAMES ROCHE - MEMORIAL OF CORK CITIZENS TO GOVERNMENT FOR RELIEF - RESPONSE OF GOVERNMENT - THE FAILURE OF THE BANK OF NEWENHAM - CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE CORK PRIVATE BANKS

(B) OPENING OF THE CORK BRANCH OF THE PROVINCIAL BANK AND OF THE BANK OF IRELAND

(C) REPORTS OF THE CORK SAVINGS BANK INDICATE EXPANSION - BENEFICIAL EFFECTS FOR THE INDUSTRIOUS POOR

This period was a very significant one in the history of banking in Cork city as it marked the end of the era of Private Banks and beginning of the era of Joint Stock Banks in the city.

During the year 1819 a severe depression was experienced in England. Commodity prices, especially the price of corn and agricultural prices generally, fell very low in Ireland, induced by falling prices and markets in England. Such a fall in prices caused serious distress. These developments had repercussions on the Irish banking system, particularly as many of the private banks had neither the resources nor the experience to enable them to survive a period of pressure. In this same year when the re-establishment of the convertibility of notes into gold was envisaged, the Bank of Ireland, by deciding to keep a tight rein on note issue, contributed to the shortage of credit. In spite of these facts all the banks stood up to the pressure throughout the year 1819; but in 1820 the crisis occurred and with such severity that it brought down sixteen of the thirty-one private banks in the country. This panic first developed in Cork city.[1]

The Cork Southern Reporter of 25th May, 1820, described it as follows:

1. Hall, G. G., The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946, (London, 1948), p.127.

On the 25th May, 1820, theCork bank of Messrs. Stephen & James Roche, one of the largest houses in the south of Ireland, failed and closed its doors. Within the hour, Leslie's felt compelled to suspend payments and immediately closed the bank. A notice placed outside the bank informed the public, that in consequences of the failure of Messrs. Roche they, the Messrs. Leslie, upon the advice of their friends, had closed their doors and that a meeting of merchants was called for 12 o'clock but that the public may have the fullest reliance on the sufficiency of the house to meet all its engagements. There was panic in Cork, the failure of one bank, Roches, the stability of which had been regarded as beyond question and the "suspension", a word which most people considered only as a synonym for "failure", of Leslie's was a calamity. City merchants, remembering then perhaps, the worth of the assurances given by Cotter & Kellet's Bank, 11 years earlier, placed little reliance on the assurances now before them. The meeting summoned by Leslie's was numerous and representative. A deputation being interviewed, the Bankers reported to the meeting:

"The Messrs Leslie state that the effects of the Bank, exceeded all its engagements to the public by the sum of £30,000 - exclusive of the unsettled private property of the bankers which is stated to amount to more than £4,000 per annum. Therefore, allowing for any loss in realising the assets, there appears from this statement a perfect certainty of their paying all their engagements in full. The Leslie's propose to submit their books and securities to the examination of 6 merchants, with a view to investigating the accuracy of this statement and in the full belief that it will be completely borne out".

Trade and business in the city was almost at a standstill. With only very limited coin available and lacking confidence in paper money of almost every kind, it was impossible to carry on any but the smallest transactions.[1]

1. O'Kelly, E., The Old Private Bankers of Munster, 1959, p. 65.

The following Memorial was drawn up by the Mayor and principal citizens and sent to the Lord Lieutenant appealing to the Government to take steps to relieve the situation; and a deputation of three merchants interviewed Mr. Gregory, the Secretary at Dublin Castle:

COPY OF MEMORIAL

The MEMORIAL of May, 1820, to the Government from the Merchants, etc., of Cork.

Letter of 7th June, 1820, written by Samuel Perrott, a member of the Memorial Deputation.

Reply of the Government to the Mayor of Cork.

From "*Cork Southern Reporter*", of Saturday, 27th May, 1820.

The MEMORIAL to the Government from the Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders and Country Gentlemen of Cork:—

To his Excellency, Charles Chetwynd, Earl Talbot, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The Petition of the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Merchants, Manufacturers and principal Inhabitants of the City of Cork.

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH—

That a calamity, unprecedented in its extent, has befallen the South of Ireland, by the failure of two of the Banks of this City, the outstanding Notes of which to the amount of about £350,000, comprised four-fifths of the circulating medium of the Counties of Cork and Kerry, and parts of the adjacent Counties.

That, in consequence, all confidence, as well as Trade, is suspended, there not being a sufficient currency to represent property in its transfer—that the Manufacturers, and other Employers of the Industrious Population, are obliged to dismiss their workmen—that the Merchants, unable to dispose of imported goods, cannot purchase the produce of the Country brought to market, and the people are deprived of the means of paying the King's duties, rates or taxes.

That pending this confusion and suspension of confidence, individuals are unwilling or unable to afford adequate assistance to maintain public credit; and, in short, that there is no other resource to look to, but the interposition of Government.

May we, therefore, humbly hope and entreat that your Excellency, taking the situation of this important Province of the Kingdom into your consideration, will be graciously pleased to intercede with the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland, to place at the disposal of Commissioners, to be appointed by your Excellency (as in the year 1793 and 1811), such sum to be advanced on the deposit of goods, or other ample security as will effectually re-animate industry, restore Confidence, and sustain Credit, to the great benefit of the Commerce, and the manifest interest of the country.

And your Petitioners will ever Pray.

(The Memorial was presented by a deputation of Cork Merchants to Mr. Gregory, Secretary, at Dublin Castle, on Thursday, 1st June, 1820. Mr. Gregory promised that it would have consideration immediately).

The remaining Cork banks - Newenham's and Pike's - also suspended business, so that Cork city was left without any banking facilities whatsoever. Limerick was the second city struck by the crisis and on the day

following the Cork failures, three Limerick banks failed to open. The cessation of business by all the banks in Cork and Limerick had serious repercussion on the economic life of the community in a number of south-western counties. Previously, the notes of these concerns represented the principal circulating media in that area, with the result that these bank stoppages caused almost a complete breakdown in all commercial activities. A report from Tralee recorded the conditions existing there as follows:

"We are utterly unable to describe the deplorable situation of this town and county, in consequence of the failure of the bank establishments in Cork and Limerick. No notes whatever except Bank of Ireland notes, have now any circulation in the county of which every business is at a standstill".[1] The panic, however, continued on its course. After the Limerick bank failures, two banks in Clonmel were affected and both failed. About the same time, two banks in Kilkenny, as well as the banks in Carrick-on-Suir and New Ross, became involved and they also closed doors. Some days later, the two banks in Waterford failed to open, and the remaining banks in the south of Ireland which were situated at Mallow, Tipperary, andWexford, temporarily suspended business. Thus the entire banking facilities over the south of Ireland were completely suspended.[2]

William Forbes Adams in Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, commenting on the situationin Cork in 1820, described the calamitous effects of the bank failures as follows:

"The failure in May of two banking establishments in Cork, whose notes amounted to £350,000 or 4/5ths of the circulating medium of Cork and Kerry[3] brought trade to a standstill; factories were closed; and the farmers who had a superabundance of grain found it useless to carry their produce to market. Unfortunately for them, England was also well

1. The Freeman's Journal, 3rd June, 1820.
2. Hall, F.S., The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946, pp. 127, 128.
3. Belfast Newsletter, May 30th, June 2nd, 1820.

supplied, during these years and grain prices fell steadily through 1822.[1]

Malcolm Dillon, in the History and Development of Banking In Ireland, corroborates this view, and goes so far as to say that "in towns in the south of Ireland people were actually in a sate of starvation. The food which the country people were in the habit of bringing in was quite withdrawn. No supplies could be obtained, for as no money remained, produce brought into the towns was liable to be seized.[2]

The Memorial drawn up by the Mayor and citizens of Cork city on the 25th May, appealing to the Government to relieve the financial situation, and presented to the Lord Lieutenant, bore fruit. The following is a copy of the letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Mayor of Cork, being the Government's reply to the Memorial:

Dublin Castle,
9th June, 1820.

Sir,

The subject of my conference with the Deputation sent from Cork having been transmitted to England, an answer has been received, in consequence of which I am recommended by the Lord Lieutenant to inform you that his Excellency will have great pleasure in meeting your wishes to the following extent.

Some time since a sum of £250,000 was appropriated under the authority of an Act of Parliament, to relieve the public distress which then prevailed, by advances out of that sum, on the recommendation of Commissioners named for that purpose, and on their approbation of the security proposed, for the repayment of the principal, with 5 per cent. interest.

Of that sum about one-half remains unapplied, and although the present occasion does not come precisely within the terms of the Act, yet in consequence of the present distress, his Excellency will recommend to the Commissioners to consider of any security that may be offered for any sum or sums you may apply for, and if they shall report to his Excellency their opinion in favour of such securities, respectively, and such securities shall be duly approved of, by Counsel if necessary, his Excellency will, as far as the extent then unapplied of the above-mentioned sum, order issues out of the Treasury to be made on the execution of such securities respectively.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
W. GREGORY.

Isaac Jones, Esq.,
Mayor of Cork, etc. 3

3. O'Kelly, E., The Old Private Bankers of Munster, pp. 159, 160.

1. Adams, W. F., Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World, (New York, 1867), pp. 132, 133.

2. Dillon, M. The History and Development of Banking in Ireland, (Dublin 1889), p. 35.

The Lord Lieutenant's peoposal was duly accepted by the Government. In a series of letters to the Bank of Ireland, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, explained that a total sum of £500,000, including the amounts already advanced by the Lord Lieutenant, would be made available for this purpose. Some weeks later a Bill was introduced which reached the Statute Book on 8th July, 1820. The ACT, entitled: "An Act for the Assistance of Trade and Manufactures in Ireland by Authorising the Advance of certain sums for the support of Commercial Credit there," empowered the Lord Lieutenant to appoint Commissioners, who would adjudicate on applications for assistance. It was enacted that loans up to an aggregate amount of £500,000 could be made, provided that the security was considered adequate by the Commissioners. The procedure adopted was that, when an application was granted, a certificate was issued by the Commissioners and the Bank of Ireland was empowered to lend the amount stated in accordance with the terms of the certificate. It was provided that any deficiency incurred by the Bank of Ireland in financing this arrangement would be repaid out of central funds on 11th June, 1821. A large number of advances were approved by the Commissioners in accordance with the terms of the Act. The Cork private banking concern of Leslie and Company, was however, the only private bank which benefitted by the Act.[1]

The six merchants appointed to examine the books and securities of Messrs. Leslie And Co., reported as follows:-

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SIX ON LESLIE'S BANK

The notes of the Bank in circulation on 1st June	=	£114,874 - 0 - 0
The lodgements due to the public	=	£ 64,421 - 0 - 0
Making the total engagements amount to	=	£179,295 - 0 - 0
The property in the bank is		
Cash in hands	=	£4,245 - 0 - 0
Book debts	=	£40,245 - 0 - 0

1. Hall.....pp.132, 133.

Bills not due, which the inspectors consider will be regularly paid in notes of the house, now being thought doubtful.	=	£44,953 - 0 - 0
Debts secured by mortgages, etc.	=	£75,877 - 0 - 0
Debts due by bills and book account	=	£39,609 - 0 - 0
		£204,929 - 0 - 0
Income per annum on property	=	£ 4,271 -12 - 2
John Leslie's property valued at	=	£ 999 - 5 -10

The inspectors requested additional inspectors to investigate the offices of Messrs. Leslie. It was recommended to Messrs. Leslie to continue taking in the notes in payment and also to receive cheques and receipts in liquidation of all debts due to them and that they make further exertion for the collection of debts with a view to the winding up of the offices of the bank. Additional gentlemen were appointed. On the day on which this public statement was made, the notes of the bank were changing hands in Cork @ 15/- to 16/-.[1]

On 2nd August, 1820, the Inspectors' Committee issued the following statement of the bank's position:

STATEMENT

The inspectors having again met to investigate the progress made by the bank in liquidating their engagements, find that there was paid:

From 25th May to 1st June	=	£25,318
" 1st June to 1st July	=	£62,877
" 1st July to 1st August	=	£18,471
		£106,666
The present state of the bank	=	£ 97,947
The property consists of	=	£121,851

Some days later it was announced that "Christopher Allen, Richard Digby, Justin McCarthy were appointed Trustees to Messrs. Leslie's Bank affairs. One half of the bank's engagements have been discharged since its failure".[2]

1. Limerick Chronicle, 7th June, 1820; O'Kelly, pp. 68, 69.
2. ibid, 16th August, 1820.

Following the Government's reply to the Memorial of the citizens of Cork (already referred to) intimating that a fund would be made available to relieve the situation, the Trustees applied to the Commissioners appointed to administer the scheme, for a loan to enable the bank to re-open. Led by the Earl of Shannon, brother-in-law of John Leslie, a number of the residents of the city of Cork came forward to join in a guarantee to the loan Commissioners. The Commissioners, early in 1822 granted a loan of £80,000. Once more in possession of liquid assets, the bank re-opened and continued to carry on business for the next four years. Had the general state of business been good, recovery might have been possible, but this was uncertain and the collection of debts due to the bank proved difficult and slow.[1]

Shortly after Roche's Bank had closed its doors on Thursday, 25th May, 1820, bankruptcy proceedings were instituted against Stephen and James Roche. The following statement of the position was issued:

"The bank at present owes in all about = £258,000

For which there is good available property to meet this demand = £105,000

Doubtful debts amount to = £ 62,000"

The brothers surrendered all their personal property and assets to the Assignees who had now to collect as much as they could of the debts due to the Bank. Among the assets turned over to the Assignees by James Roche was his Library, which was advertised for sale. The esteem in which James Roche was held is evident from a resolution which was passed at a meeting of the Creditors of Messrs S & J. Roche..... "It was resolved among other things that the Assignees be requested to present Mr. J. Roche in our name with such selections from his library as may appear to them most acceptable to his highly literary mind".[2]

After the final examination of the brothers had been closed on 7th November, 1820, the Senior Commissioner stated:

1. O'Kelly,...pp. 70-71.

2. ibid., pp. 89, 90.

"From those examinations it has appeared most clearly that nothing but the awful pressure of the times and a series of the most unexampled losses, have broken them down".

Before the end of 1825, claims amounting to over £150,000 had been proved and dividends of, in all 3/4 in the £1 had been distributed.[1]

The younger Newenham, a member of the former banking family which had suspended business in 1820, thought fit to make another attempt to establish a bank and in the year 1824, he opened an office in the South Mall.[2] It was stated that heavy losses made within the first four months, convinced him that the business was no longer attradive. Once more he paid all the creditors in full and closed the bank.[3]

The litigation concerning the Bank of Cotter & Kellet begun in 1809, was still going on in 1820. The following letter from the Cork Advertiser, shows how the position then appeared to an unfortunate creditor:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CORK ADVERTISER

Sir,

In the present state of the city, everyone is talking about banks, and I wish to call the attention of the public to a fact concerning the firm of Cotter & Kellett's bankruptcy. They have already paid a dividend of 6/8 to the £1; they are about to pay another 5/- and a third, 2/6 is expected making a total of 14/2. The law expenses amount to £60,000. - about 7/9 in the £1. Had this been paid to the creditors instead of to the lawyers it would have made 21/11, and I have no doubt that if the proper means had been adopted in the beginning, that much calumniated firm would have been able to have paid 25/- for every pound they owed.

Sir, yours
A creditor of Cotter & Kellett's[4]

1. O'Kelly, p. 92.
2. J.C.H.A.S., Vol. IA, 1892, p. 245.
3. O'Kelly, p. 82.
4. ibid. p. 59.

The writer of the letter was to meet further disappointment. His expectation of an early dividend was not fulfilled. At a meeting of the creditors held at the Crown Tavern, Cork on 10th April, 1821, the Committee had to report that no further dividend could then be expected. A Bill to facilitate the winding up of the banks affairs was passed by Parliament in 1820[1].

The depression of 1820 disclosed the financial weakness of the Private Banks. The process of liquidation made it quite clear that many of them had issued notes with insufficient assets to withstand a crisis. The collapse was not confined to Cork city. Of the Private Banks which existed in Munster in 1819, only two of the larger and three of the smaller survived the crisis of 1820.[2]

(B) OPENING OF JOINT STOCK BANKS IN CORK CITY

Up to 1821, the Bank of Ireland had a monopoly of joint stock banking in Ireland. Following on the failure of the private banks in Munster in 1820, an Act was passed permitting the establishment of joint stock banks provided that they were outside a radius of fifty miles of Dublin.[3] According to this Act every partner in a joint stock bank must be resident in Ireland. The exclusion of English capitalists greatly restricted the formation of new banks. For four years therefore theAct remained a dead letter. Amending Acts were passed in 1824 and 1825,[4] to remedy this difficulty, enabling persons resident in Great Britain or Ireland to become shareholders. The Provincial Bank, whose head office was located in London, soon published names of towns in which branches would be opened. The first branch was in fact opened at Cork in 1825. The deed of settlement bearing date 1st August, 1825, was signed by 692 shareholders. A total amount of £25 was called up on each share, so that the aggregate paid up capital was £500,000. This bank was administered by a Board of Directors

1. Public General Statutes passed in the 1st year of Geo. IV. No. 50 in Index of Private Acts, p. xxv: O'Kelly,, p. 60.
2. O'Kelly, p. 92.
3. Cullen, L., An Economic History of Ireland from 1660, (1970), p.125.
4. 5 Geo. IV, c.73; 6 Geo. IV, c. 42.

in London, and business was begun in Cork on 1st September, 1825. Messrs. La Touche & Co. were appointed agents in Dublin and acted in that capacity until 1st June, 1838.[1]

The following notice appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd September, 1825:

PROVINCIAL BANK OF IRELAND

At a meeting of a deputation of the Directors of the Provincial Bank of Ireland from London, and of the local Directors from the Cork Branch of the establishment, held on this day at the bank.

Present

Edward Blount Esq.
Moses Montefiore, Esq.
William Medley, Esq.
Dan Callaghan, Esq.
James J. Cummins, Esq.
William R. Hare, Esq.

RESOLVED:

That the Cork Branch of the establishment be opened this day and that the hours of public business be from 11 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon.

Robert Murray, Manager
Thomas More, Accountant

Terms on which the bank transacts business will be had on application to the manager.

Provincial Bank of Ireland, Cork
September, 1st, 1825.

The establishment of the Provincial Bank of Ireland (as it was then called) in Cork was a significant event in the history of the city. Essentially, it indicated that the banking business of the city, which hitherto had been carried on in private banks of native ownership, was to a large extent, taken over by a joint stock bank whose head office was in London and which was financed largely by English capital and directed mainly by Englishmen. The Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle commenting on the opening of this Bank, expressed what were probably the sentiments of many Cork citizens on this

1. Dillon, M. The History & Development of Banking in Ireland from earliest times to the present day, 1889; Hall, F.G. the Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946, p. 141.

occasion, He stated as follows:

There are great advantages likely to emanate from the introduction of this establishment, which we hope to have speedily realized, we mean those which must attend the employment of British capital in the manufacture of our national products, the residence among us of some of leading men from London 'Change, or even their frequent visits will point to them numerous opportunities of converting their capital to a lucrative purpose and promote the best interests of Ireland .[1]

Even the initial decision of the London gentlemen to establish a bank in Cork city had in fact, interesting consequences. This decision provoked the hostility of the Bank of Ireland, which seeing its monopoly in danger, proceeded to enter into active competition with the Provincial Bank.

The operations of the Bank of Ireland had hitherto been confined to Dublin. Alive, suddenly, to the necessity of competition with rivals which were becoming formidable, they reversed this principle and opening branches in the principal towns, pursued a policy of retaliation. On the publication of the Provincial Bank's prospectus announcing the names of towns in which branches would be established The Bank of Ireland decided to open an office in Cork.[2] On March 25th, 1825, the following notice appeared in theCork Mercantile Chronicle:

BANK OF IRELAND

The Cork Office will open on Tuesday, the 29th March, at Messrs. Leycester & John Cotter, juniors, Lapp's Island. The hours of public business will be from 10-2 o'clock.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd September, 1825.

2. Dillon.....p. 54.

The foundation of joint stock banks was productive of an immediate increase in the credit facilities of the city of Cork recently deprived of the services of two private banks. The select Committee on the Condition of the Poor in 1830, reported:[1]

"The banking business of Ireland is now placed on a much better footing than in former times. Prior to the foundation of the joint stock banks, the rate of discount charged upon mercantile paper was 5 or 6%, together with a double commission, postage and incidental expenses. At present the same business is transacted at 4% by the Bank of Ireland and the joint stock banks. There prevails on the subject of the currency a feeling of great satisfaction and entire confidence. The rate of interest upon the securities is stated to have fallen at least 1%".

(C) CORK SAVINGS BANK

In contrast to the failure of the Private Banks the annual reports of the Cork Savings' Bank were records of progress and expansion. Mr. J. Clear seems to have resigned the secretaryship for on 1st February, 1820, when the second annual general meeting was held, Mr. Thomas Exham, was "acting secretary". At this meeting, the chairman was Stephen Roche, of the firm of Stephen & James Roche, bankers, Camden Place. The accounts showed that the funds of the Bank had increased to £29,067 - 16- 11.[2] The third annual general meeting was held on 17th January, 1821. The report showed that the funds had by then increased to £34,523. The following account of the meeting appeared in the Cork Morning Intelligencer, 27th January, 1821:

Third Annual General Meeting of the Cork Savings Bank

From 24th December, 1819 to December 30th, 1820:

To Balance on hands from lastReport	=	£26,955 - 19 - 0
Amount of depositors this year	=	£23,997 - 16 - 1
Amount received from Pass Books	=	13 - 4 - 7
Amount of interest received on Debentures to 21st November	=	£ 1,293 - 0 - 7

1. G. O'Brien, The Econ. Hist. of Irel. from the Union to the Famine, (1921), pp.542,543.

2. Cork Savings Bank 1817-1917 by a member of the Committee of Management (Cork, 1917), p.7.

	£52,260 - 0 - 7
Total amount of property end.30th Dec., 1820 =	£34,525 - 2 - 10
Consisting ofGov. Sav. Bank Debentures for	£35,700 - 0 - 0
Balance in hands ofTreasurer, J. Roche	770 - 5 - 5½
Cash in hands ofG. Callaghan Esq. Tr.	2 -17 - 5
	£34,523 - 2 - 10

CASH	
By amount paid depositors this year	£17,261 - 9 - 10
" " " " " " in interest	345 -17 - 5
Charges paid, Book-keeping, stationery	123 -10 - 0
Balance on hands	£34,523 - 2 - 10
	£52,260 - 0 - 7

Mr. Exham, Secretary was voted an acknowledgement of £50 per annum, while he pleased to fill the situation of Secretary. The Editor of the Cork Morning Intelligencer concluded with a short account of the achievements of the bank to date. He stated:

We cannot omit the opportunity of adverting to the beneficial effects of such an institution. Through its means upwards of £34,000 have been rescued from the gulf into which so much property of the rich and poor of this city has been swallowed by the failure of the local banks. There can be little doubt that the opportunity afforded by the Savings Bank in Cork, the greatest part, if not the entirety of this large sum of money, would have been held by them in the notes of some one or other of the banks which failed and thus be universally lost to the trade and industry of Cork, as well as to its holders. Those who have taken advantage of this institution since its establishment amount to more than 2,000. The balance of the credit of the depositors this year exceeds that of the last year by about £8,000.

No figures are available concerning the bank's work in its fourth year but it may be inferred from those of the next and succeeding years that its annual report was a record of further progress. In 1823, deposits were received amounting to nearly £68,000 and the bank closed its year with a total of £118,715 due to 3,203 depositors for principal and interest. So prosperous was the bank that at the General Meeting

which received that report, Mr. John Lecky moved and Sir A. Perrier seconded:

"That the place where the bank is at present held, is totally inadequate and unfit for carrying on the business and that a Committee be appointed to look out for a situation more eligible for the purpose and to make their report to a General Meeting of the Trustees and Managers". The motion was passed unanimously and the following Committee was accordingly appointed:
Sir A. Perrier, James Murphy, Nicholas Cummins, John Lecky, Jacob Mark, John Swete.

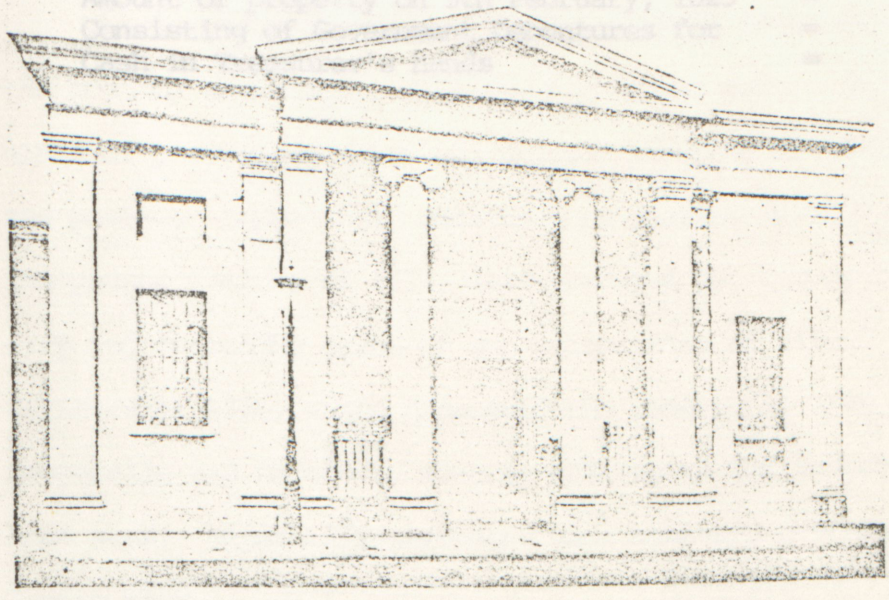
In June, 1824, a plot of ground, 52 feet square, facing on Pembroke Street was leased from Mr. Thomas Deane, at a rent of £24 per annum and a building erected upon it for the purpose of the Savings Bank. A photograph of the building taken before it was pulled down, is reproduced on the next page. The Savings Bank carried on its work there until 1842, when it moved into its present premises. Thomas Exham, Secretary, retired in 1824, when he was replaced by John Besnard, who held the post until 1864.[1]

The fears voiced by Bishop Murphy[2] concerning the future of the Savings Bank, owing to the fact that persons had become depositors, who were too prosperous to expect to benefit by the use of the Bank were allayed when a further Act was passed in 1824, limiting the amount to be deposited by any one person, in the Savings Bank.[3]

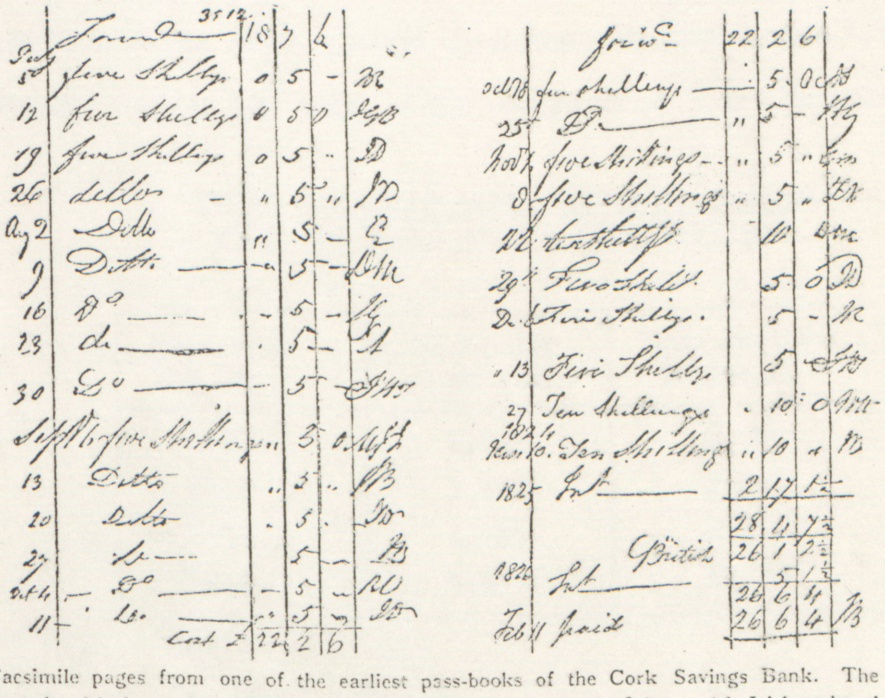
Henceforth, the bank continued to provide the working classes with a safe and profitable mode of saving up their small earnings until these were needed in time of sickness, old age or want of employment.

The following account of the funds of the bank which was submitted at the Annual General Meeting 1825 and published in The Cork

1. Cork Savings Bank....p.7.
2. ibid., p.6.
3. M. Dillon, The History & Development of Banking in Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, (Dublin, 1889)p.104.



THE PEMBROKE STREET BUILDING, ERECTED 1824, AND OCCUPIED BY THE SAVINGS BANK UP TO 1842.



Facsimile pages from one of the earliest pass-books of the Cork Savings Bank. The second, with dates 1824, 1825 and 1826, shows the balance of £28 4s. 7½d. Irish reduced to £26 1s. 2½d. British, at the time the two currencies were assimilated.

Mercantile Chronicle on 14th February, 1825, indicates a further increase in the number of depositors:

Number of depositors, November 20th, 1824	=	4,089
Total amount of Balance	=	£162,667 - 10 - 7
Amount of property on 5th February, 1825	=	£163,352 - 3 -10½
Consisting of Government Debentures for	=	£162,520 - 6 - 9
Cash in Treasurer's hands	=	£ 831 - 17 - 1½

(A) THE BREWING INDUSTRY - ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THE CRISIS OF 1820- CAUSES OF REVIVAL AFTER 1820 - FLUCTUATION IN THE PRICE OF BEER - SALES OF BEAMISH & CRAWFORD - CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY REFLECTED IN THE DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF BREWERS

The fortunes of the brewing industry in Cork city and that of the economy as a whole, were closely linked during this period. The scale of production which had dropped severely in 1816 as a result of the post-war depression, continued to decline in 1820 mainly due to the potato failure of 1819, which reduced the supply of food to Cork city and raised the price of the necessaries of life.[1] The bank failures of 1820, which disrupted the commercial life of the city temporally had no doubt, adverse affects on the industry also in that year. Signs of improvement were however, evident during the following year.

The table of beer exports indicates that the trend was slightly upwards after 1820, though themaximum did not reach half of the export figure for 1814, which amounted to 3,574 barrels.[2]

TOTAL EXPORT OF BEER FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland.

Year end. 5th Jan.	From Cork (barrels)	From Ireland (barrels)
1820	1,500	3,086
1821	1,687	2,155
1822	1,995	4,451
1823	1,072	4,415

The Bristol connection was strengthened after the introduction of the steam packets in 1821,[3] so that the slight expansion in the export of beer for this and following year can be explained in terms of the increase in trade with Great Britain. The recovery of the economy

1. Lynch, P. & Vaizey, J, Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1759-1876, p. 90.
2. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
3. Lynch and Vaizey, p. 131.

from the slump of 1820 and the decline in illegal distillations were also contributory causes for the slight improvement in the export trade.

Unfortunately, there are no reliable statistics available to indicate the trend in the export of beer from Cork over the period 1824-1826.

It is evident from the following table that the sales of Beamish & Crawford were also on the decline, though still considerable and in excess of any other brewery in Ireland.[1]

TOTAL SALES OF BEAMISH & CRAWFORD [2]

Year beg.1st Aug.	TIERCES
1819	77,971
1820	69,517
1821	65,682
1822	58,646
1823	63,086
1824	63,890
1825	69,695

These figures as compared with 118,689 tierces, the total sales for the year 1814 reflect a serious decline in the output of the brewery.

There was considerable fluctuation in the price of beer during this period. Reasons for this change were varied as the following notices suggest:

THE ASSOCIATION OF BREWERS IN CORK CITY

The brewers have reduced the price of their drink so as to enable the publicans to sell it at 3d. the pot. The knock off of the old ½d. in the pot is against the publican, as he looses thereby the advantages of the ¼d. on the pint.[3]

1. Lynch & Vaizey, p. 89. 2. Beamish & Crawford, Ledger.

3. Boyle's Freeholder, 31st August, 1822.

On Wednesday 25th February, 1824, the same Association issued a further notice:

ALE & BEER

In consequence of the enormous advance on the price of malt and hops, the charge will be from this day:

For Ale 27/- per barrel
For Beer 21/6 per barrel
at the respective breweries.[1]

The following table indicates the general trend in the price of porter 1820-1825:[2]

PRICE OF PORTER SOLD BY BEAMISH & CRAWFORD

Year beg. 1st August.	Average price per Tierce
1820	£1 - 15 - 9
1821	£1 - 15 - 7
1822	£1 - 10 -10
1823	£1 - 12 - 7
1824	£1 - 15 - 7
1825	£1 - 12 - 6

The structure of the brewing industry in Ireland gradually changed in the 19th century. The number of commercial breweries decreased and their average size increased. Lynch & Vaizey in their history of Guinness's Brewery, state that there were many causes for the fall in the number of breweries, but assert that "the economies of large scale heavy capitalization and improved efficiency were the decisive factors, in winning the market for the bigger breweries".[3]

This change was evident in Cork city. The number of brewers had fallen from 17 in 1812[4] to the following 4 in 1820:[5]

1. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 25th February, 1824.
2. Beamish & Crawford, Ledger.
3. Lynch & Vaizey, Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1759-1876, London (1960), p. 78.
4. Pigot's Commercial Directory, 1820,'21,'22. 5. Connor's Cork Directory, 1812.

Beamish & Crawford - South Main Street

Sam Abbot - Fitton St., St. Barry's

Cashman, James & John - Cross's Green

Daniel Lane & Co. - South Main Street.

(B) THE DISTILLING INDUSTRY - SLOW RECOVERY REFLECTED IN THE RETURN OF EXPORT OF SPIRITS FROM CORK AND IN THE SALES OF HEWITT & CO. - CORK DISTILLERS GAIN DISTINCTION - NEW METHOD OF PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL DISTILLATION - IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES OF THE DISTILLING ACT OF 1823 - CHANGE IN THE SPIRIT DUTY - CHANGE IN THE PRICE OF WHISKEY IN CORK REFLECTS CHANGES IN THE INDUSTRY - INCREASE IN OUTPUT-BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF NEW LICENCE SYSTEM 1825.

The general trend in the distilling industry during this period was upward mainly due to a more effective method of preventing illegal distillation devised in 1822, and the Distilling Acts of 1823, which abolished the still licence charge and lowered the spirit duty. The gradual recovery of the economy as a whole after the economic crisis of 1820 also no doubt, contributed towards the progress of the industry.

The distilling industry showed signs of recovery early in the 1820's. The export figures indicate an increase in the number of gallons of spirits exported as compared with returns of export for the years immediately previous to 1820:[1]

TOTAL EXPORT OF SPIRITS FROM CORK compared with the export from Ireland (in gallons) 1820-23

Year ending 5th Jan.	From Cork	From Ireland
1820	133,908	231,991
1821	203,883	553,236
1822	248,387	397,175
1823	371,621	612,469

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

The same trend is evident in the annual sales of Hewitt & Co:[1]

TOTAL ANNUAL SALES OF HEWITT & CO.

Year	No. of gallons
1820	310,136
1821	399,762
1822	317,699
1823	317,630
1824	355,622
1825	439,890

Cork distillers distinguished themselves during this period in theperson of Sir. Anthony Perrier, owner of the Glen distillery in 1806, who was among the early inventors of a truly continuous still for which he was granted a patent in 1822. There is not however any evidence to indicate that his particular model was extensively adopted by distillers. The enterprise of the second owner of this distillery, P.W. Callaghan, was revealed in 1823, in the Fifth Report of the Revenue Commissioners. In this report, it was disclosed that he had a rectifying house in London to receive and process spirits from the Cork distillery, thus circumventing the prohibitive laws against the importation of rectified spirits from Ireland and the monopoly practised by English distillers and rectifiers. The English distillers however, bought him off on terms ensuring a market for a substantial quota of his production at favourable prices. It seems that other Cork distillers profited by P.W. Callaghan's ingenuity. This conclusion emerges from evidence of Mr. John Morrough, Cork distiller 1823, where he states that he sells spirits in England "under a bargain made by Mr. Callaghan. That bargain still subsists, I am shipping whiskey under it every month".[2]

Legal distillers still suffered from the competition of illegal distillers. A new method of prevention however, was devised in 1822,

1. Hewitt & Co. Ledger.

2. McGuire, E.B., Irish Whiskey (Dublin, 1973), p. 355.; Irish Revenue Inquiry;5th Report,1823,P.P. vol.VII, Appendix No.12,p.48; Appendix No.13,p.51.

which was effective. A police party was appointed to supervise each district, making illicit distillation very difficult. This system replaced the old method of fining the district where an illicit still was found.[1] A further change came about in the next year which reduced still further the competition from illicit distillation.

The year 1823 was a momentous year for the distilling industry in Ireland as a whole. The whole system of still licence charge was swept away and an Act passed,[2] giving distillers freedom to develop their stills and to adjust their practices to produce good quality spirits. The basic features of this Act are still in force. Prior to 1823, as the number of still charges for spirit duty rose, quality was second to quantity. In this environment there was a drastic weeding out of distillers lacking skill and capital. The Distilling Act of 1823 was enacted to establish uniformity of practice in Ireland and Scotland with respect to the regulation and collection of duty. The still licence charge was abolished and replaced by a method of assessing duty on the actual spirit produced. This new method of charging duty brought with it considerable change in the industry in Cork city and elsewhere. With no charge on still content, the distiller was free to distil slowly and experiment in designing stills and in producing a better quality spirit. The way was thus opened to larger and more efficient distilling units.

There was, however, another side to the picture, for the new Act not only repeated the basic excise regulations for entry, licence permits, etc., but also added a number of new restraints on the freedom of manufacture deemed necessary to safeguard the revenue. Before the passing of this Act, a Cork distiller required no licence apart from his monthly still licence to cover the spirit duty. Now he had to take out a yearly licence of £10 as a kind of registration fee. There were also restrictions on apparatus - a still could not be less

1. O'Brien, pp. 350-351.

2. 4 Geo. IV, c. 94.

than 40 gallon content and the number of vessels used in distilling was restricted.

The Act further prescribed the course of manufacturing. Drawback was granted only to spirit made wholly from malt, when it was exported and there was also an allowance of 1/- if it was for home consumption. Grain distillers complained strongly about the malt drawback.

Standard measures were prescribed in 1824 for all three countries and came into force on January 5th, 1826.[1]

The distilling industry was considerably affected by a further change which came about in 1823. The Irish rate for proof spirit was fixed at 2/10 per gallon.[2] This lowering of the spirit duty from 5/7¼ to 2/10 is said to have done more to reduce illicit distillation than all the penalties hitherto enforced.[3]

The price of whiskey sold in Cork reflected the changes which took place in the industry. As compared with the prices for previous years, the following table shows a marked fall in price:[4]

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE OF WHISKEY per gallon, Hewitt & Co. 1820-'25.

Year	Price per gallon
1820	5/10
1821	5/2
1822	6/1
1823	6/10
1824	4/10
1825	3/11

Following on the abatement of the spirit duty there was an increase in output and sales of Hewitt & Co, the only one of the large distilling companies in the city whose records for this period are

1. McGuire, pp.213-224. 2. 6 Geo. 4, c. 58.
3. ibid., p. 184; O'Brien, p. 351.
4. Hewitt & Co. Ledger.

available. The following table reflects the general trend in the industry as a whole in Cork city.[1]

TOTAL ANNUAL SALES OF HEWITT & CO.

Year	Number of Gallons
1823	317,630
1824	355,622
1825	439,890

A further change was inaugurated in 1825, which also contributed towards the prosperity of the Cork distillers. All Irish licences were withdrawn and new ones issued at the English rate of duty. For spirit retailers there was a graduated levy based on the rateable value of the premises and a nearer approximation to the value of the extent of the trade. Spirit dealers were now licensed at the rate of £10. Grocers were allowed to continue at duties related to the rent value of the premises and were no longer required to seek a Magistrate's letter before being licensed.[2]

1. Hewitt & Co. Ledger.

2. McGuire, p. 280.

(A) THE COTTON INDUSTRY - ANALYSIS OF RETURNS OF EXPORT OF PLAIN AND COLOURED COTTON, CALICO AND MUSLIN - TREND IN IMPORT OF COTTON - WOOL AND COTTON YARN - INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS- EFFECTS OF THE REMOVAL OF UNION DUTIES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF STEAM NAVIGATION, ON THE INDUSTRY

The general trend in the cotton industry during this period is not quite clear. The industry exhibited signs of progress but also signs which could suggest decline. It is, however, evident that while the loss of the protective duties in 1824, was a severe blow to the cotton industry in Ireland as a whole in the long term, it did not cause a severe crisis in the industry in Cork city until 1826.

There is no evidence to show that the cotton industry was seriously affected by the financial crisis of 1820 in the city. The number of cotton manufacturers in the city had in fact increased from five in 1817 to six in 1820.[1] The following are the names of those who were engaged in the manufacture in 1820:

William Bellington	-	Clarence Street
John Butler	-	York Street
John Curtin	-	Clarence Street
Daniel Magrath	-	Duncan Street
Daniel Murphy	-	Clarence Street
John Murphy	-	Brockelsby Street.[2]

With the exception of Daniel Magrath, none of these names appeared among the cotton manufacturers listed in the 1817 Directory. In the absence of any reference to such in local records, one may not however, conclude from the former observation that all the 1817 cotton manufacturers had failed.

The following import figures suggest that a considerable amount of cotton fabric was being manufactured in Cork during the period 1820-'23.

1. Connor's Cork Directay, 1817, 1820.

2. ibid.

IMPORTS 1820-1823 [1]

Year	Cotton Wool (lbs.)	Cotton Yarn (lbs.)
1820	193,946	138,430
1821	269,945	255,068
1822	250,146	249,702
1823	199,460	303,823

When compared with the figures already quoted for the previous period, the above table reveals a decline in the import of cotton-wool and a considerable increase in that of cotton yarn from England.[2]

It is evident from further returns that the export of cotton, calico and muslin was on the decline. The figures were as follows:[3]

EXPORT OF PLAIN & COLOURED CALICO FROM CORK in yards compared with the total export from Ireland 1820 - 1823

Year end. 5th Jan.	Plain Calico		Coloured Calico	
	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1820	2,170	2,981	7,069	402,823
1821	76	76	85	85
1822	-	-	-	-
1823	-	-	-	-

EXPORT OF MUSLIN & COTTON PLAIN & COLOURED FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland 1820-1823

Year end. 5th Jan.	Muslin		Cotton plain & coloured	
	From Cork (yds.)	From Ireland (yds.)	From Cork (value)	From Ireland (value)
1820	---	---	---	---
1821	160	757	£216-18-0	£281- 3- 2
1822	1,000	115,086	£933- 2-9	£933- 2- 9
1823	---	---	£147- 4-8	£147- 4- 8

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. ibid.
3. ibid.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE * LIBRARY *

These figures do not necessarily indicate a downward trend in the manufacture of cotton and calico in the city as it is at least possible that the demand in the home-market had increased with the increase in population.[1]

The protective duties on cotton were retained at the Union, and were continued on a reduced scale from 5th January, 1816, until 5th January, 1821, when they were to be abolished.[2] In 1820, however, many representations from spinners, manufacturers and printers of cotton in Ireland influenced Parliament to pass an Act on 15th July, 1820,[3] continuing the ten per cent duties until 31st December, 1825, when they were to be gradually reduced and finally cease in 1840. The English manufacturers disappointed at being excluded from the Irish market, were successful in persuading the Government to set up a commission, as a result of which, an Act passed on 23rd May, 1823, decreed the abolition, from the 10th October of that year, of duties on all articles not made in Ireland. With reference to articles that were being manufactured in both countries, the Act contained the proviso that the existing duties should be gradually decreased until 1829 and then cease.[4] This respite for the cotton trade was not destined to last, for, by an Act passed on 12th April, 1824, the protective duties were abolished and the cotton industry in Ireland was left to its own devices.[5]

The sequel to these enactments proved to be the opposite to that expected. With the passing of the acts referred to, the export trade in muslin began to increase. While there are no figures available concerning the exports from Cork after 1823 the following table clearly indicates the trend in the export from Ireland as a whole:[6]

1. Census of Ireland, 1821.
2. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, (1921) pp. 416-417.
3. 1 Geo. IV, c. 45.
4. O'Brien, pp. 423,- 429.
5. 5 Geo. IV, c. 22.
6. C. Gill, The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, (1904), p.243.

EXPORT OF MUSLIN FROM IRELAND

Year	No. of Yards
1823	560,000
1824	3,840,000
1825	6,500,000

This rate of progress was only noted in the muslin trade and by the winter of 1825, a decline in the Irish manufacture of cotton goods was apparent. McCall attributes this decline mainly to the industrial depression in Britain in 1825, when the prices of goods of all descriptions fell by $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ and states that Belfast was so badly hit that more than one third of the cotton weavers in the town and neighbourhood became unemployed.[1]

Commenting on the effect of the industrial depression of 1825 in Britain on Ireland, George O'Brien states:

"The cotton trade suffered more than any other industry during the panic of 1825."[2]

In the absence of reliable statistics concerning Cork imports and exports for the period 1824-26, it is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy how the cotton industry in the city was affected by the 1825 industrial depression in Britain. Local newspapers however, do not indicate that the industry was seriously affected until the early days of 1826, when in fact a complete collapse in the textile industry as a whole took place in Cork city. George O'Brien gives the following explanation for this occurrence:

"The English manufacturers with accumulated stocks began to throw their goods into the markets in such large quantities and at such low prices that no solvent person could attempt to compete with them."[3]

1. H. McCall, Ireland and her staple manufactures, (1870), pp.527-528.
2. O'Brien, p. 321. The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine.
3. ibid., p. 303.

The loss of the protective duties was no doubt an important factor in the collapse of the cotton industry, exposing as it did the cotton manufacturers of Cork city for the first time to the full blast of the competition with extensive and long established cotton manufactories of England, her powerlooms and spinning factories, her direct market for the raw material and all that capital and skill could accomplish to cheapen production.

(B) THE LINEN INDUSTRY - PROGRESSIVE - CAUSES OF PROGRESS - TREND IN THE EXPORT OF LINEN FROM CORK - PETITION TO PARLIAMENT OPPOSING THE REPEAL OF UNION DUTIES - IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE REPEAL CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE INSPECTION AND MARKETING OF LINEN - FAILURE TO MODERNIZE THE INDUSTRY

The Cork linen industry showed signs of progress during the greater part of this period. This progress was mainly attributed to the zeal and efficiency of the Cork Linen Committee, the export bounty on linen and the specialization in manufacture which had been initiated in the neighbourhood of Cork city. Failure to keep pace with the modernization which was taking place in the industry in England combined with the withdrawal of the bounty on linen in 1825, had serious repercussions on the industry in Cork, the full impact of which was not however, evident until 1826.

A great slump in the sale of fine linens took place in 1820 owing to the fact that markets were overstocked.[1] Cork, fortunately, was not greatly affected by this depression in the linen trade as there was a good demand for coarse linen. The Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the laws which regulated the Linen Trade of Ireland in 1822, gives substantial evidence concerning the industry in Cork at this time.

Mr. Peter Besnard, linen manufacturer in Cork, gave the follow-

1. Gill, C., The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, (1904), p. 280.

ing information to the Select Committee:

'The linen trade is extending in Co. Cork; it is double what it was this time twelve months'. When asked what the nature of the improvement was, he replied:

'The improvement is in the manufacture of a certain description of linens which are finished in imitation of what are called German platillas. Thosegoods are principally manufactured in the neighbourhood of Cork; they are rather of a better description than those supplied by Germany and in many instances come at a very low price. A female spinner can earn 3d. per day but several earn more.'[1]

Mr. Julius Besnard, also engaged in the linen trade in Cork, gave the following further explanation to the Select Committee concerning the progress in the Linen Trade ofCork:

'It is to be attributed in great measure to a Committee which was appointed in Cork within the last few years for the purpose of enquiring into the local advantge of our county for the manufacture; and from a large distribution of reels and wheels made by the Linen Board in consequence of an application from that Committee. The sales of our county for the last year amounted to about £50,000. My house purchases from 18,000 to 20,000 yds. a week. We send all our finished linen to foreign markets and all linens in a brown state to Dublin'.[2]

He went on to state that he considered the export bounty ensured a sale for Cork linen in foreign markets which could not be effected otherwise. He gave the following interesting explanation of why it was more advantageous for Cork merchants to send linens fromCork to Dublin, than to send them direct to London:

'There is no charge for storage in the Dublin Linen Hall. Land carriage and factorage from Cork to Dublin brings the charge to 4%. The charge upon going from Cork to Dublin and direct to London is nearly the same but the London factor's charge is 4½%, when you add to this

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Linen Trade of Ireland, 1822, P.P. Vol. VII, p. 27.

2. ibid., p. 78.

sum the freight, insurance and interest of money, for the increased time goods take on their passage from Cork to London, the advantage of the Irish drapers in Dublin is at least 2%, admitting a small advance in the London market beyond Dublin'.[1]

He also attributed the prosperity in the manufacture of duck linens to the bounties which had been granted for its encouragement, he being himself involved in this manufacture for home consumption.[2]

The following figures show the trend in the export trade for these years:[3]

TOTAL EXPORT OF LINEN FROM CORK compared with the total export from Ireland (in yards) 1820-'23.

Year end. 5th Jan.	Plain Linen		Coloured Linen	
	From Cork	From Ireland	From Cork	From Ireland
1820	1,098,976	36,639,805	82,008	18,345
1821	1,042,532	43,507,928	32,358	55,293
1822	1,105,667	49,414,775	25,724	34,031
1823	1,369,597	46,464,363	51,364	81,581

Hopes for a prosperous future for the linen industry in Cork were however, shattered, in March, 1824. In the Constitution or Cork Morning Post, on 17th March, 1824, the following notice appeared from the Editor:

"It is with deep concern that we receive from all quarters representation of the despondency which prevails in consequence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer intimating his intention of reducing the bounty upon the exportation of all linen under 7d. a yard".

In a copy of the letter which was addressed by a member of the linen trade of Cork, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an explanation

1. Report of the Select Commissee on the Linen Trade of Ireland, p. 27.
2. ibid, pp. 80-81.
3. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

is given for the great depression felt- as a result of the proposed reduction of the bounty on linen under 7d. a yard. The writer of the letter stated as follows:

"In this county no brown linen is made over 6½d. per yard; the leading article of manufacture, platili crudas, is about 5d. per yard and so would not be entitled to bounty on the new assessment. Without the bounty of 1d. per yard, it could certainly not compete with Germany.

The orders for coarse linen sent from the north to this county previous to this declaration, have been revoked, in consequence of it, a strong practical proof of the incalculable injury which the linen trade will sustain by a discontinuance of this bounty".[1]

At an important meeting held in the Court House respecting the linen trade with a view to petitioning Parliament against the proposed reductions; Doctor Elmore of Clonakilty quoted the official returns which indicated that the manufacture had nearly quadrupled itself during four years, the amount of sales being:[2]

Year	Value
1820	£11,850-0-0
1821	£24,890-0-0
1822	£34,080-0-0
1823	£42,889-0-0

On March 18th, Christopher Hely Hutchinson, member of Parliament for Cork, presented a petition in the House of Commons from the merchants of the city of Cork: "Praying that the bounty on Irish linen might not be withdrawn". He indicated the importance of the industry in Cork as follows: "In Co. Cork there are not less than 60,000 persons occupied in that branch of manufacture".[3] His pleading however, fell upon deaf ears, for on March 29th, the following notice appeared in the Constitution:

1. The Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 10th March, 1824.
2. ibid., 17th March, 1824.
3. ibid., 21st March, 1824.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has announced that he will repeal the bounty on Irish linen gradually, to be carried into effect by tenths, commencing in January, 1825:

In vain did theRight Hon. Lord Carbery present the petition from the inhabitants of Cork, in the House of Lords in May, 1824.[1]

Since 1822 the Government had been acting on the principle of laissez faire, for in that year the Trustees were prohibited from giving premiums for the manufacture of any goods for which bounties were paid on export.[2] Acting on the same principle a further act was passed on 1st July, 1825 abolishing the use of white seals and the inspection of raw material and freeing the trade outside the markets from all inspection and regulation.[3] The Linen Board however, continued to promote the industry by the granting of implements. On August 15th 1825, the Cork Committee received 15 looms, 456 wheels, 79 reels and 3 sets of Hackles from the Linen Board.[4]

The industry in Cork was also affected by the change which took place in the 1820's namely the urbanization of the industry in England as a result of spinning and weaving by steam power. No such change had as yet taken place in Cork. The factory masters and small manufacturers who drew their supplies from old centres of hand spinning found it more and more difficult to compete with cheap goods, that were being mass produced by the large factory owners in England. With the aid of machinery, one person was capable of doing the work of 10 working by hand, yet until 1825 the hand spinners still held the advantage of being able to produce yarn spun to double the fineness that machinery was capable of producing and that, at a very low wage,. But the balance between hand spun and mill spun yarn swung decisively in favour of the latter, when James Kay of Preston in 1825, patented the wet spinning process by which fine yarns could be spun in mills.

1. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 10th May, 1824.
2. 4 Geo. Iv, c. 90.
3. 6 Geo. Iv, c. 122; Conrad Gill, pp. 303, 306.
4. Constitution, 15th August, 1825.

This change coinciding with the withdrawal of the bounty on linen, had ultimately serious repercussions on the industry in Cork. The hey-day of the domestic industry was passed.[1] It was, however, not until 1826 that the industry experienced a very severe crisis.

(C) THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY - DECLINE IN THE EXPORT OF OLD AND NEW DRAPERY- FLOURISHING STATE OF THE MANUFACTORY OF MARTIN MAHONY & BROTHERS - EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE THE SALE OF HOME MANUFACTURE - IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNION DUTIES IN 1823

The general trend in the woollen industry at the beginning of this period was downward. In 1822, however, the industry showed signs of progress mainly due to the exertions of the Cork Auxiliary Society to the British and Irish Ladies Society, to promote the manufacture and sale of woollen cloth. This progress was later halted as a result of the withdrawal of the protective Union duties and the industrial depression in England in 1825.

Judging by the export figures alone, one would be led to conclude that the woollen industry was in a rather depressed state in Cork city in the early 1820's. The export of New Drapery had dwindled to 1,840 yds. in 1820 as compared with 24,574 yds. in 1807. After 1820 the export discontinued. The export of Old Drapery was reduced to 20 yds., as compared with 2,600 yds. in 1802. No further figures are given for the export until 1823, when the export amounted to 635 yds. as compared with 2,636, the export figure for 1816. Only 84 pairs of woollen stockings were exported in 1822, after which that export also ceased, as compared with 6,840 pairs in 1810. The export of worsted stockings, amounted to 1,692 pairs in 1821 as compared with 10,759 pairs exported in 1804. This export was discontinued after 1821 as was the export of wool and woollen yarn.[1]

It is very likely that the home demand for woollen goods increased with the increase in population.[2]

1. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
2. Census of Ireland, 1821.

There is evidence in fact, that the manufacture of woollen cloth still flourished in the city. An officer who visited the city in 1822, described the manufactory of Martin Mahony & Bros., as a "large woollen manufactory and army clothing establishment - the most extensive in the whole island. Since the return of peace they have necessarily lessened their establishment but yet have a great number employed - more in fact than they really want, but with that feeling of benevolence which has ever distinguished the house, they rather suffer themselves, than send upon the world, old men who have been growing grey in their employment, to all of whom, past labour, they give a weekly pension and find work for others".[1]

So prosperous was the business in 1822 that Martin Mahony informed his partners that he had procured a site in the village of Blarney, six miles north-west of Cork, a site as picturesquely beautiful as could be found for the building of a modern industry. Plans were immediately drawn up for the building of a modern premises at Blarney and two years later in 1824, the first looms were set in motion. For the next forty-three years, the business progressed until halted by the fire of 1867.[2] The only extant document which refers to the business at this time is a balance sheet for the year 1824, which gives an indication of the extent of the trade carried on by the firm in that year.[3]

The efforts to encourage the sale of home manufacture begun by the Committee for the Relief of the Poor in 1816, were seconded by the exertions of the "Cork Auxiliary Society to the British and Irish Ladies' Society", which commenced work on 22nd November, 1822. Seven committees were formed for the different parished of the city to discover the exact state of the poor. They found that the city contained upwards of 100,000 inhabitants, 40,000 of whom could be considered as paupers or tradespeople whose poverty was daily increasing, but who

1. Boyle's Freeholder, 23rd May, 1822.
2. Ms. - Martin Mahony & Bros.
3. See Appendix VI.

were willing to work at even 2d. per day and willing to part with a portion of that sum in weekly instalments. The plan adopted by the Society was to supply the women with the linen, woollen and worsted yarn, as well as the wheels, reels and looms necessary for the working of them into cloth, on the "instalment system". The finished products were made available to Cork retailers as well as to the poor, in supplying the Repository. Within the course of its first year's existence the Cork Society had founded 58 branches in the county and city of Cork, for the sole purpose of ameliorating the condition of the poor through the medium of their own industry.[1]

The reports of the various branches of the Society which appeared in the local newspaper (Cork Mercantile Chronicle) up to the end of 1825, testified to the increased number of families being employed in the cloth industry that hitherto had been idle. This prosperity however was not destined to last. The industry in Ireland suffered as a result of the abolition of protective duties in October, 1823. Mr. Williams words addressed to the Handloom Weaver's Commission later offers an explanation of the fact that the withdrawal of the protective duties did not seriously affect the woollen industry in Cork until the year 1826. He stated as follows:[2]

"The protective duties ceased in 1823 but it is remarkable that this withdrawal was hardly felt if at all, until the spring of 1826. This may be accounted for, first by the trade in England being good up to November, 1825 and no surplus stock on hand, therefore no active competition from them in this market; secondly, a gradual reduction in the high rate of wages previously paid. The panic in November and December, 1825 in England was severely felt in Ireland. In the spring of 1826 the distress arising from accumulated stocks induced English

1. Report of the Cork Auxiliary Society to the British & Irish Ladies' Society; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 28th November, 1823.

2. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, p. 303.

manufacturers to throw their goods into this market in such large quantities and at such low prices that no solvent person could attempt to compete with them. Irish manufacturers had not only to contend with a glutted market, but a reduction in the price of wool and such was the reduction as seriously to affect the stock on hand solvent manufacturers refused to sell at the ruinous price then offered and in general their manufacturing operations were discontinued....'

(A) GLASS MANUFACTURE - PROGRESSIVE UNTIL THE REPEAL OF UNION DUTIES- ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF EXPORT OF GLASS FROM CORK - CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION AND DECORATION OF GLASS

The Cork glass industry continued to show signs of progress during the early 1820 s. Progress was evident not only in the quantity but also in the quality of manufacture. The repeal of the protective duties and the imposition of excise duties however, coincided with the beginning of a depression in the industry.

During these years of comparative freedom from taxation, the Cork glass industry continued to flourish. John Francis Maguire, M.P. Mayor of Cork, stated at the Cork Industrial Exhibition of 1852, that "in the year 1825, the export orders for Cork glass would have kept a glass house with eight pots in constant employment; and that Waterloo and Terrace Glass Co's., each employed 24 glass blowers, 30 cutters, 16 apprentices, besides clerks, labourers, etc".[1] The proprietors of these companies were not however confined to the glass business. Dan Foley & Co. of the Waterloo Glass Co., were appointed agents in Cork for Mason's ironstone china and Granger & Lee's Worchester china. From 1821 they advertised the sale of glass as well as china. In 1824, they extended business by opening a warehouse at 48 Lr. Sackville St., Dublin, for the sale of their glass. The proprietor stated that "owing to the amount of labourers and machinery at the Waterloo Works, they could execute orders quicker than any other firm in the country".[2]

The glass industry suffered a severe blow however, in 1824 when the duties on imported glass were abolished and in 1825 when the excise duties on flint glass manufactured in Great Britain and Ireland were assimilated.[3] The duties on all other kinds of glass were assimilated in 1827. The Irish manufacturers thus lost all the advantages which they formerly enjoyed.[4]

1. Westropp, M.S. Glass Making in Ireland, Royal Irish Acad. Proc.XXIX, Sec.c.No.3., p. 52.
2. ibid, p. 51.
3. 6 Geo. Iv, c. 117.
4. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, pp. 361,362.

The Cork glass industry was now exposed to the full blast of English competition and gradually declined. G. O'Brien holds it as certain, "that the repeal of the protecting duties and the imposition of the excise duties coincided with the beginning of a depression in the industry".[1]

In the struggle for survival, the large scale steam-powered British manufactories triumphed. Since 1811, flint glass made in Ireland was subject to duty.[2] There are, however, no figures available for such an export from Cork until the year 1820 but henceforth the export of glass from the city was almost entirely confined to flint glass. The amount exported was very considerable. In 1820, it amounted in value to £4,842 - 3 - 2. By 1823, its value had risen to £7,498 - 12 - 0.[3] No figures appear for the export of drinking glasses for this period; and the number of bottles exported had dwindled to 24 doz. in 1822.[4]

The tendency in decoration of Cork glass during this period was towards an increase of cutting devices. In this so-called "Age of Exuberance" the cutter's technique so advanced that almost the entire vessel was deeply cut all over. The scalloped edge that was to be seen in serving bowls of 18th century was replaced by fan-cut scalloped rims.[5] E. M. Elville, in English and Irish cut glass, states in reference to this period, "there was such a similarity of form among the water jugs, serving bowls, salt cellars, etc., that it is difficult to state at which factory a particular specimen was made, although there are characteristics which assist in dating them.[6] The jugs made at this time were usually simple in form, low and squat. The body resembled that of the barrel-shaped decanter. The handle had several distinguishing features; it decreased in thickness from the junction

1. O'Brien, G. Econ. Hist. of Irel. etc., p. 362.
2. Westropp, p. 54.
3. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.
4. ibid.
5. Warren, P, Irish Glass; The Age of Exuberance, (London, 1970). p. 67.
6. Elville, E. M., English & Irish Cut-Glass (London, 1953), p. 67.

on the flared rim to the part where it joined the shoulder of the body; in many cases it was finished at the lower end in a curled knob which was usually decorated. These characteristics are shown in the jugs in plate 34, centre and right.[1]

The cutting on the early specimens was usually less prominent than on the later ones and consisted of simple motifs cut in shallow style. The base of the early jugs was undecorated. The later jugs were taller in form and more varied in shape. The handle did not taper as on many of the early specimens but was of uniform thickness throughout its length. Cutting was more elaborate than on earlier specimens and the motifs were cut deeper. Shallow diamonds gave place to more relief diamonds, necks were decorated with horizontal prisms. Rims were deeply scalloped or notched and notches also appeared on the handles of some examples.[2]

Thorpe in his History of English & Irish Glass, notes further developments in the manufacture of glass during this period. He states that the purification of the silicate base became much more exact and that the properties and strength of the colouring ingredients could be chemically stated with much greater precision. He also noted a number of changes in the art of decoration, notably pillared flutes and herringbone fringes. He states that the very small relief diamonds which required great technical dexterity but not a very thick metal became very common after the Excise Act of 1825, as well as the strawberry diamond, which was a combination of a double-cut diamond within a field of small relief diamonds. He remarked however, in conclusion that there was a general decline in the art of glass making in the second quarter of the 19th century, which was essentially a loss of design both in the form of the vessel and in the composition of the cutting,[3] a decline in which Cork glass making shared.

1. Elville, E. M., English & Irish Cut-Glass, (london, 1953), pp.67,68. See page 352b.
2. ibid, pp. 67, 68.
3. Thorpe, W. A., A History of English & Irish Glass, Vol. I, London, 1929, pp, 253, 254, 292, 293. See page 352c.



34. *Top*: Jugs of Cork manufacture. The specimen on the left with pedestal foot is a late style; those in the centre and on the right display the vesica motif, typical of Cork glass.

35. *Centre*: The jug on the left is probably Waterford of late manufacture. The jugs in the centre and on right may be Cork or Dublin. (*All from the National Museum, Dublin.*)

36. Scent-bottle, showing pillar fluting, a favourite Irish motif. 37. Sugar bowls, probably Waterford, featuring fan escallop border and a variation of the strawberry diamond motif. (*National Museum, Dublin.*)



E. M. Elville, English and Irish Cut-Glass, p. 65.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUT DESIGN

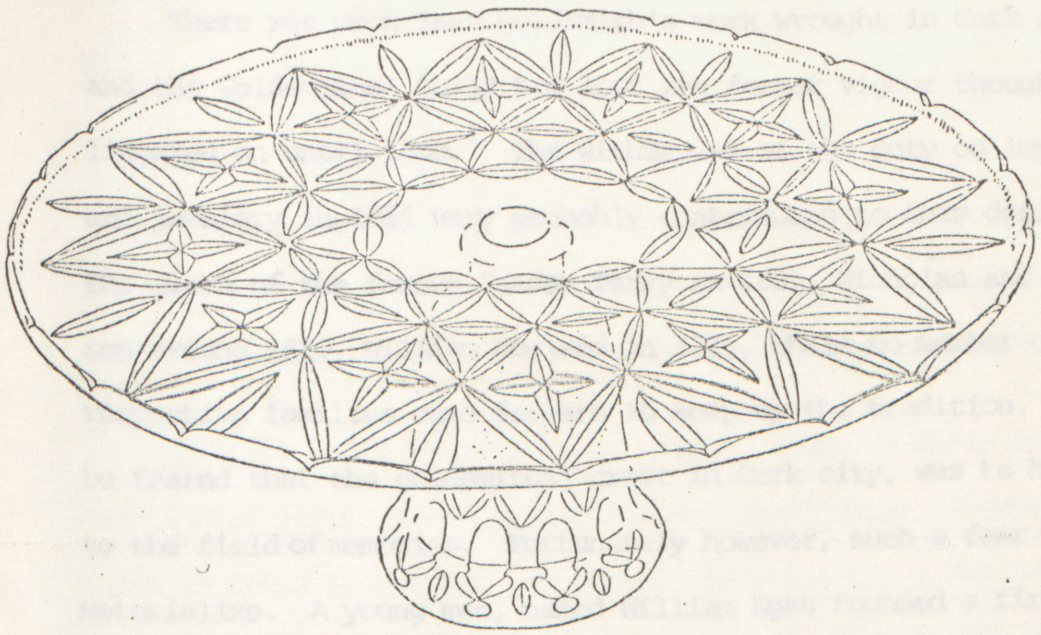


FIG. 33.

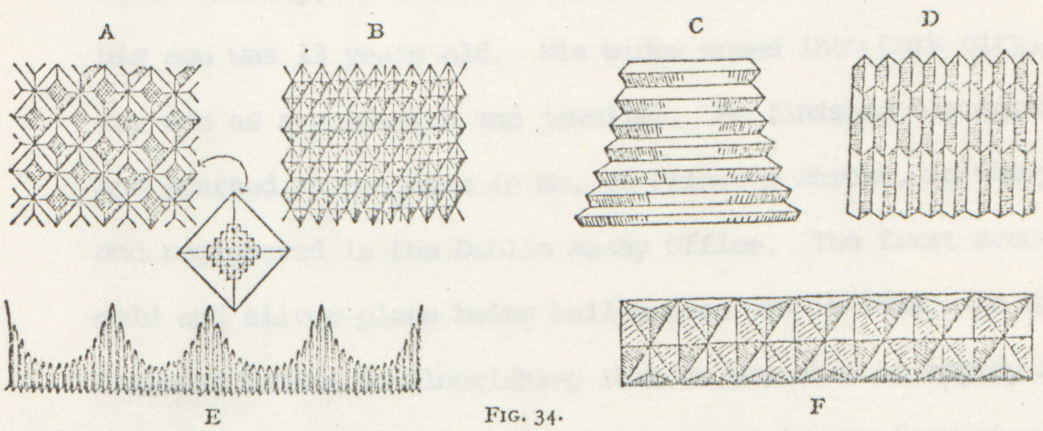


FIG. 34.

Later types of cutting.

A. Field of strawberry diamonds. First half of 19th century.
B. Field of small plain relief diamonds. Late 18th and early 19th century.
C. Horizontal prismatic cutting. About 1790.
D. Alternate prisms. Late 18th and early 19th century.
E. Herring-bone fringe. First half of 19th century.
F. Plain relief diamonds; characteristic before 1800, but occurring later; usually as a border or zone rather than in a field.

W. A. Thorpe, A History of English and Irish Glass, Vol. I, p. 259.

(B) GOLD AND SILVERSMITH WORK

There was much less goldsmith's work wrought in Cork after 1820, and the Goldsmiths' Guild had lost its former vigour though it still lingered on until 1840.[1] The withdrawal of the duty on imported plate and jewelery in 1824 very probably contributed to this decline. With the death of the famous Carden Terry in 1821, Nicholas and John Nicholson around 1820, William Heyland in 1824, while no member of their respective families came forward to keep up the tradition, it was to be feared that the goldsmiths' craft in Cork city, was to be relegated to the field of memories. Fortunately however, such a fear did not materialize. A young man, named William Egan founded a firm which was to keep alive the tradition, down to the present day.

William was born in Charleville, Co. Cork, in the year 1800. His father was a coach builder, in the gracious days of Grattan's Parliament when craftsmanship was honoured and its products a delight. Unfortunately, however, he broke his neck in the hunting field when his son was 13 years old. His widow moved into Cork city, and apprenticed her son as a goldsmith and jeweller. He finished his apprenticeship and started in business in No. 46 Prince's Street, in the year 1823, and registered in the Dublin Assay Office. The first account of his gold and silver plate being hall-marked was in 1824. In time, his business became so flourishing that he was able to employ a number of watchmakers and jewellers who were engaged in manufacturing a great variety of articles in both silver and gold. The firm of Wm. Egan continued to send plate to be assayed in Dublin until 1854. The fame of the firm has not diminished with the passage of time, and its products still do honour to the craft for which the city was once famous.[2]

1. Jackson, C. English Goldsmiths and their Marks, London, 1949 , 2nd edition, p. 627.

2. Ms. in possessinn of Wm. Egan & Co., 31 Patrick Street, Cork.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER AND THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

There is not sufficient evidence available to establish whether in fact, the Cork paper manufacture was either progressive or retrogressive during this period. It is evident however, that a considerable number of papermakers continued to manufacture paper in the city in spite of the increase in the already heavy burden of taxation imposed on the papermakers as a result of the legislation of 1824 and 1825.

The Cork paper manufacturers laboured under a heavy burden of taxation of 1820, in consequence of the legislation affecting the paper trade in force since 1818. In 1822 a general enquiry was made into the collectinn of Revenue in Ireland. Mr. J. Bourns, the Irish Inspector of paper duties, drew up a Report to which he attached an interesting commentary pointing out that there were several papermaking machines at work in Ireland as well as in England including three in county Cork. He recommended that the Irish engine duty, which tempted Irish manufacturers to speed production to a point at which quality was sacrificed to quantity, might very well be abolished and replaced by the English regulations in force at that time. The Irish duty was very unequal in its operation, falling as heavily on an engine worked by a scanty and uncertain stream of water, as on one having a powerful and constant supply. Moreover, it appears that it induced the Irish paper manufacturer to struggle on with a single beater of the smallest possible size, instead of as in England, using two or threeto reduce the raw materials to different degrees of fineness. A double washing of the stuff was never indulged in in Ireland and only one beater was used in a mill, however, much the varieties of paper made, differed from each other. It was Mr. Bourns opinion that the Irish papermaking industry would profit by having the regulations governing it, assimilated to that of the English papermaking industry.

More than two years elapsed before Mr. Bourns' recommendations were given effect to by the Commissioners of Excise. In the meantime (July, 1823), the Irish import duty on foreign browns was increased to 10d.

per lb., and on other sorts to 1/7 per lb., the duty on paper hangings being 1/7 per square yd.[1]

In 1823, a paper mill near Cork city which had been established by Alderman Magnay and others, was involved in a wages dispute, during which the Union of Trades (a federation of trade combinations) marched out of Cork city and proceeded to the mill, where they did a great deal of damage, the amount of which had to be recovered by means of an assessment on the county.[2]

There are no specific figures of the output of paper from the Cork paper mills in the first quarter of the 19th century available. The Revenue Enquiry of 1822, furnished statistics about the paper industry in Ireland as a whole for this period. These showed the quantity of paper and paper hangings made in Ireland from 1801 to 1821 inclusive and the amount of duty paid in respect of it. It cannot be said that a very progressive condition of affairs is exhibited by this table, seeing that in 1819 the output of Irish paper mills (626 tons of paper) was almost what it had been 13 years before, notwithstanding the introduction of the Fourdrinier machine. The Irish output of paper formed only between 3 and 4% of the total quantity made in the United Kingdom. Possibly the general trend in the output of paper from the Irish mills as a whole reflected that of the output of the Cork paper mills.

The following is a list of the Cork papermakers at this period:[3]

Jenkins and Reeves, Faulkiner's Lane
J. Hodnett, 58 Patrick Street
Magnay Bros., Wintropp Street
F. Moylan, 17 Maylor Street
F. & W. Phair, 94 North Main Street.

An "Act to Assimilate the duties and drawbacks on paper and paper hangings, manufactured in Ireland to those on the same goods which were in force in Great Britain", was passed in June, 1824.[4] Henceforth,

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LV, No.4., (London, 1911), p.7.
2. ibid, p.8.
3. Pigot's Directory, 1824.
4. 5 Geo. IV. c. 55.

the regulations made in connection with the collection of the excise duties on paper, were the same in Ireland as in the rest of the United Kingdom, all the other Acts relating to the Irish paper duty being repealed. The duty on all sorts of paper was 3d. per lb., save rope browns, on which it was only 1½d. This was a heavy blow to the Cork papermakers as to the other Irish papermakers, as it meant an increase of 50%. The duty on millboard, scaleboard, sheathing paper and button boards was also increased from 20/- to 21/- per cwt. Pasteboard, if made from brown paper paid 14/- per cwt., and if manufactured from other materials double as much. Paper hangings were taxed at 1¾d. per sq. yd. A papermaker's licence was henceforth to cost £4.

The Act of Assimilation was not at all popular in the Irish paper trade, whose members no doubt, resented the increase in taxation. Apparently, the old system of taxation was more easily evaded. The proprietors of some 60 Irish mills petitioned the Excise Department but without avail.

In 1825, the import duties on foreign paper entering Ireland were revised and lowered. Browns now only paid 3d. per lb., and other sorts 9d., whilst hangings were taxed at 1/- per sq. yd. A duty of 5/- per ton was levied on old rags and ropes.

The legislation passed in 1824 and 1825 not only increased the burden of taxation to be borne by Cork papermakers but placed them in a more unfavourable position in face of the competition from the more highly mechanized largescale manufactories of England.[1]

THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

Such evidence as is available would suggest that the Cork printing industry was flourishing during this period. While the predominant impression of dullness characteristic of Cork newspapers since 1800, still prevailed, there was a welcome improvement both in the quality and quantity of the Irish news which came to be reported in the newspapers.

1. The World's Paper Trade Review, Vol. LV. No. 4, pp. 8, 9.

The leading organ of the Conservative Party was started in 1822 with the title of the Constitution or Cork Morning Post and was published thrice weekly. This was the only new newspaper published during this period and it was distinctly conservative not only in politics but also in format. In 1823, The Cork Advertiser was incorporated with the Morning Intelligencer and subsequently all merged in the Cork Constitution. Boyle's Freeholder and the Southern Reporter continued to be published.

The Cork Mercantile Chronicle made the following interesting comment on the newspapers being published in the city on 22nd March, 1825:

THE NEWSPAPERS OF THIS CITY

are now reduced in number. And thus each Party has its journal. The rank papist has the Chronicle, the Orangeman has the Constitution and the Liberal, The Reporter and the Freeholder.

In all these papers the predominant impression of dullness prevailed, which was characteristic of the Cork newspapers since 1800.

Prior to 1820, it was rare to find a Cork editor taking his newspaper along a strong independent line. This as already noted[1] was due in part, to the relationship which existed between the Press and the Government. A decisive change came about however, in the 1820s with the arrival of a conciliatory viceroy, Wellesly. The independent editors found that they could express themselves more freely on what became the chief issue of the day, Catholic Emancipation. For the first time Irish news came to be reported more extensively. Michael Staunton, a Dublin Protestant, was foremost among those who set a high standard in his Morning Register which remained the most influential Catholic newspaper until the 1840's. [2]

Other Irish papers soon followed suit. Noteworthy among the papers on the side of Catholic Emancipation was the Cork Mercantile Chronicle.

2. R. B. McDowell, Ed. Social Life in Ireland, (Dublin, 1957), pp.102 -104.; Brian Inglis, The Press.
S. O Casaide, A History of the Periodical Literature of Cork from the beginning up to A.D. 1900, (Typescript, National Library, Dublin, 1943), pp. 63, 86.

1. See page 260.

News of the activities of the New Catholic Association became a common feature of the newspaper in 1825. Towards the end of that year accounts of meetings of the Catholic inhabitants held in the city and elsewhere in Ireland, with a view to petitioning Parliament for the repeal of "the restricting laws under which Catholics labour", frequently appeared in the Chronicle. In the following year such petitions were published in the newspaper, giving vent in no uncertain terms to theCatholic viewpoint on the question of Emancipation. The following is an extract from a typical example of such petitions:

CATHOLIC MEETING

At a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of the United Parishes of Myross and Castlehaven held on Thursday the 14th inst. for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to repeal the disqualifying laws, under which the Catholics at present labour, the Rev. Jeremiah Crowley being called to the chair, the following petitions were proposed and adopted:

RESOLVED:

That the disqualifying laws which hold us in bondage and political degradation are cruel, oppressive, impolitic and insulting.

That as our allegiance is as undivided, our attachment to the Constitution as ardent and our services when required by the State, as prompt, ascordial and as efficient as those of any other class of British subjects, our exclusion from the rights of citizens and freemen is unwarranted and unjust.

That the following petition be adopted as the Petition of these united Parishes and that its presentation in the House of Lords be entrusted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Kingston and in the Commons to the Hon. Robert King, M.P.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE * LIBRARY *

PETITION

To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Knights, the Citizens and the Burgesses of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the United Parishes of Myross and Castlehaven in the Diocese of Ross

Sheweth,

That your petitioners deeply impressed with a sense of the privileges which should belong to them as British subjects and of the rights of men now suffering under galling political inflictions through the operation of laws, the conviction of whose injustice is not confined to their victims, approach your Honorable House with firmness tempered with respect and emboldened by confidence in your justice and generosity, asserting in terms open and direct and incapable of contradiction their veneration for the Laws and Constitution of the Realm founded on the immutable basis of Civil and Religious Liberty, the principles of which are extended to all save your Petitioners, who in services to the State and in loyalty to the Sovereign, yield to no one class of their fellow-subjects. That with the just dignity of men respectfully but firmly enforcing their claims and with the due submissiveness of faithful and loyal subjects, we implore Your Honorable House to employ in our behalf those principles of sound and enlightened policy which have always been advocated within your walls; which ensure to amn the enjoyment of his natural and acquired rights consistently with the interest and wellbeing of society and which withold from none the privileges which laws founded on such principles make the common right of all.....[1]

Even though the number of newspapers being published in the city in the 1820's was reduced to five there was an increase in the number of printers. The following list which appeared in the Directories[2] for 1820-'23 gives the names of those engaged in the printing industry in Cork city at this time:

Edmund Barber, Brown St.
John Bolster, Patrick St.
John Connor, Grand Parade
H. Denmead, 24 Patrick St.
Charles Dillon, 1 Castle St.
Edwards & Savage, 6 Castle St.
W. Ferguson, 4 Grand Parade
Ellen Geary, North Main St.
J. Haly, Hanover St.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 27th December, 1826.

2. Connor's Cork Directory, 1820; Pigot's Commercial Directory, 1820-'22; 1824.

J. O'Drescol, 4 Patrick St. Southern Reporter & Courier Office
Tisdall & Tatam, Cork Advertiser Office, Patrick St.
H. Townsend, Morning Intelligencer Office, 6 Castle St.
West & Coldwell, 8 Patrick St.

Disputes in the printing trade were not uncommon during this period. A trade dispute seems to have been one of the main reasons for closing down the Dublin Courier, a pro-Castle newspaper, in 1825. In the same year a similar dispute led to a strike on the Carrick Morning Post whose proprietor, Richard Lonergan according to contemporary accounts had refused to negotiate with his journeymen.[1]

There is no evidence however, that any such unrest caused a cessation of printing in Cork city during the period 1820-25.

1. A. Boyd, The Rise of the Trade Unions, 1729-1970, (Anvil Books Ltd. Tralee, Co. Kerry), p. 41.

(A) CORK HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS - SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CORK HARBOUR ACT OF 1820 - PLANS OF THE NEWLY CONSTITUTED BOARD - APPEALS TO GOVERNMENT FOR GRANT - ACHIEVEMENTS

The year 1820 marked the beginning of a period of constructive achievement in the history of the Cork Harbour Board, mainly due to the Cork Harbour Act, passed in that year, which extended the authority and increased the sources of revenue of the Commissioners.

This Act[1] entitled "An Act for the erecting of Ballast Officer and for regulating pilots within the Port and Harbour of Cork and for rendering safe and commodious the said Port and Harbour for all ships and vessels trading to and from the same", may be described as the fundamental Act under which the Harbour Commissioners exercised their authority up to 1946. It appears from the preamble to this Act that it was granted because the authority given to the Commissioners by previous acts, was not sufficient. It reads as follows: 'Whereas the laws now in force for cleansing and improving the river, port and harbour of Cork and for regulating the conduct of masters and owners of shipping resorting to the said port and harbour of Cork as well as in the discharge and taking in of ballast as in other particulars, and for regulating the conduct of the pilots in the harbour having being found ineffectual.....

The Act repealed the Act of 1813.[2] Under the new Act the following Commissioners were appointed:

The Member of Parliament for this city; the Mayor and Sheriffs and 5 members of the city council and 25 merchants of Cork. The powers and authority of the Commissioners were detailed in full. Rev. C. B. Gibson, in, History of Cork, aptly defines them as follows:

The Commissioners are conservators of the Port and possess a general control over shipping, boat traffic and quayage. They appoint harbour masters who have extensive powers. They are a ballast board and as a pilotage authority, nominate and control the pilots.[3]

1. 1 Geo. V, c. 52. 2. 53 Geo. III, c. 70.
3. Rev. C. B. Gibson, History of Cork, (London, 1861), p. 401.

In addition to the powers granted to the Commissioners, the Act abolished the right, claimed by the Cork Corporation, to tolls on the importation of goods and duties called anchorage, plankage and ballast dues, collected from vessels using the port and conferred these on the Harbour Commissioners.

The right of the City Corporation to share in the revenue of the port had been disputed by the Commissioners, appointed under the Act of 1813, and to decide the matter, as well as to enquire into harbour legislation generally, a committee was formed, a petition formulated and forwarded to Parliament.[1]

In consideration therefore, of the loss entailed, theCity Corporation was to receive an annual sum of £400 and this agreement became law as part of the Act of 1820. The clear definition and the extension of the powers and source of revenue of the Harbour Commissioners by Act of 1820, marked the beginning of a period of constructive achievement in the history of the Board. The first meeting of the newly constituted Board was held on 19th July, 1820[2] and from then on there was a very definite improvement in the administration of the Port. At this meeting the Commissioner appointed a committee to report on the matters necessary to put the provisions of the Act into effect. At the next meeting[3] it was decided that all payments and receipts should be made in the Office of the Board. (Hitherto these had been in the hands of the agents.) The following officers were appointed:

Harbour Master and Ballast Officer	@ £150 per annum
Deputy at Passage	@ £ 60 per annum
Office Clerk	@ £ 84 per annum
Clerk in charge of ballast	@ £ 42 per annum

Tonnage dues of vessels using the port were fixed at rates varying from 1d. to 3d. per ton;[4] a Ballast Yard was established for the supply and discharge of ballast;[5] and a schedule of rates and duties

1. P.C.H.C., Vol.1, dated 10th June, 1819 et seq. 26th November, 1819.
2. ibid., dated 19th July, 1820.
3. ibid., dated 26th July, 1820.
4. ibid., dated 7th August, 1820.
5. ibid., dated 28th Aug., 1820.

payable on goods imported and exported was published.[1] The latter is interesting as an indication of the wide range of Cork exports and imports in the early 19th century. The Commissioners, wishing to promote further improvements of the port decided to put into effect Part II of Alexander Nimmo's scheme - the construction of docks at the back of the Navigation Wall and of a canal from there to King's Quay, Blackrock.[2] Funds, however, being still low, a memorial was submitted to the Government for a grant to carry out the work, in which it was stated:

The river of Cork for two miles below the City is so very shallow that the vessels of burthen cannot come up to it but are obliged to discharge their cargoes below and to send up their goods in Lighters, and in consequence the owners not only incur heavy additional expense but are exposed to thefts constantly and often to risks of total loss by reason of the defective state of the craft to which they are compelled to commit their property... The Commissioners concluded thus..... so long as the Port shall continue subject to that defect the trade of Cork cannot become important.[3]

There is no record of any reply to this memorial having been received by the Commissioners.

In 1821, the Commissioners engaged, Mr. Killaly, Government Surveyor, to make a survey of the port from Passage to the Quays so as to improve the trade of Cork.[4] Killaly recommended the construction of a canal from the city to Blackpoint, a modification of the scheme suggested by Alexander Nimmo,[5] at a cost of £103,500, a sum which was beyond the resources of the Board.

The Commissioners, however, concerned themselves between 1823-1837, with the repair of existing works and the execution of such schemes as their funds allowed. George's Quay was repaired and embanked

1. See Appendix No. IV. 2. See Appendix II.
3. P.C.H.C., Vol.I, dated 8th November, 1820.
4. ibid., dated 7th March, 1821.
5. ibid., dated 23rd May, 1821.

for 50 feet:[1] a new Quay Wall was constructed on the north side of Lapp's Island and extended for 370 feet:[2] the New Wall was repaired.[3] The following quays were repaired and some were reconstructed: Charlotte Quay[4]; Morrison's Island[5]; Bachelor's Quay[6]; Camden Quay[7]; French Quay[8]; Grenville Quay[9] and Merchants Quay.[10] In addition, buoys and beacons were placed to mark the Channel[11] and rings, posts and chains were erected on the various quay walls.[12]

The Bye-Laws of the Commissioners for Improving and Preserving the Port, Harbour and River of Cork approved by the Commissioners on 6th March, 1822 and ordered that same be binding upon and be observed by all persons, until the same shall be changed or altered by said Commissioners, indicate the extent to which the Commissioners now regulated the trade of the port and the method they wished to adopt to correct abuses, to prevent fraud and to promote the commercial prosperity of the city.[13]

The dredging of the river which facilitated trade up to the quays, made considerable headway during this period even though the work was done by private contract and a manual system of dredging.[14]

(B) STEAM NAVIGATION - PROGRESS IN THE SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY -ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORK BRANCH OF THE ST. GEORGE STEAM PACKET CO. - EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF STEAM NAVIGATION ON TRADE FROM THE PORT OF CORK

The introduction of steam navigation in the Cross-Channel service was an innovation which affected the commercial development of Cork city significantly, during the 1820's. The small steamers named "Ivanhoe" and "The Talbot", inaugurated steam in the Cross-Channel service

1. P.C.H.C., Vol.I, dated 29th Aug., 1921. 2. ibid., 24th Oct., 1821.
3. ibid, Vol.II, p.10. 4. ibid., p.59. 5. ibid., pp.153-4.
6. ibid., pp.203,207. 7. ibid., p.188. 8. ibid., p. 196.
9. ibid., p.198. 10. ibid., p.213. 11. ibid., pp.58,94.
12. ibid., pp.181,246. 13. ibid.,Vol.II, dated 6th Mar., 1822: Appendix No. V.
14. ibid., Vol.II, 5th July, 1826.

from the port of Cork in 1822. They loaded and discharged at Lapp's Quay. These were followed by "The Duke of Lancaster" which commenced to run between Cork and Bristol on 27th August, 1822, carrying passengers and cargo. It continued to sail weekly. Mr. N. Smart, who had his office in No. 1 Merchant's Quay, acted as its agent. In the same month, the "George IV" and "Viscount Palmerston", commenced sailing to Bristol via Dublin. By 1823, "The St. Patrick", "St. George" and "The Emerald Isle" were added to the number of steamers which plied between Cork, Bristol and London.

In 1824, the St. George Steam Packet Co., was founded in Liverpoool and soon erected offices at Penrose Quay, Cork. Within a few years, the Company possessed a fleet of ships. "The Lee" and "The Severn" were quickly placed on the Bristol and Liverpool lines and were despatched weekly. Proprietors of shares in these packets were entitled to free travel on the packets.[1]

Before the days of the telegraph, the St. George Co. had a unique system of signalling, which consisted of four flagstaffs, one of which was placed at Roche's Point, the second on the high ground above Ardmanagh House, Passage, the third on Blackrock Castle and the fourth on the Company's Office at PenroseQuay. The house flag, a cross of St. George on a white field, hoisted above the office, told those who were expecting friends by steamer, that it had safely arrived at Cove.

In 1825, "The Superb" was built at London for the St. George Co. but her owners were composed exclusively of merchants and traders of the city of Cork.[2]

Progress in the ship-building industry at Cork port was exemplified by the increase in the number of ships being built. The number had increased from 5 in 1820 to 17 in 1826.[3]

1. J.C.H.A.S., 2nd Series, Vol.I, no. 14, p.150, & pp. 433-435.

2. ibid., Vol. XXIII, 1917, pp. 5-8.

3. Accounts and Papers, Vol. LII, 1849, pp. 187-188.

The effects of the introduction of steam navigation in the cross-Channel service, became more apparent with the passage of time. The trade of Cork port was considerably affected. The wholesale dealers suffered since the retailers could, without holding stock, ensure a weekly supply by steam from Liverpool or Bristol both as regards foreign produce and articles of British growth and manufacture. The retailer became to all intents and purposes an importer. Even if he could purchase equally as cheap from the Cork merchants, he preferred announcing his importations in the daily newpapers, by which his own trade benefitted in proportion as that of the wholesaler was injured. This change caused a depression in the value of warehouses formerly used as stores for merchandise.[1] On the other hand Mr. & Mrs. S.C. Hall, visitors to Ireland in 1840 commented on the beneficial effects of the introduction of steam navigation as follows:

> The establishment of the packets between the ports of Cork, Dublin, Liverpool and London and Bristol has contributed to increase and develop the resources of the county and to improve the social conditions of the people. Previously, the poor man was at the mercy of the agents who purchased his produce at fairs, compelling him to sell at the prices they dictated. Now he is frequently the export marchant accompanying his crate of fowl to England; his half score of pigs, or hamper of eggs, where he can obtain notions of improvement as well as sell at a better price.[2]

Among the most significant changes brought about by the introduction of steam navigation, was an increase in the export of livestock, poultry and eggs. The latter export became quite considerable, amounting to £660 - 15 - 0 in official value 1821. By 1822 it had risen to £967 - 9 - 0.[3]

Referring to the change that had come over Cork since the introduction of steam navigation, H. D. Inglis, an English visitor to the

1. Lewis, S., Topographical Dictionary, (London, 1837), p. 414.
2. MR. & Mrs. S.C. Hall, Ireland, its scenery and character, Vol.I, (1841), pp. 2,3.
3. Custom House Books, National Library, Dublin.

city in 1834, remarked:

Since the introduction of steam navigation, the trade ofCork has entirely changed its character...the great merchant is almost extinct; the trade itself is perhaps not diminished but more diffused. The smaller traders now supply themselves from London and Bristol- there are still a few great merchants and a few houses connected with the West Indies and the Mediterranean trade, but the only large import trade is in timber of which not less than 15,000 tons are imported yearly. All the other articles which before the introduction of steam, used to form the trade of the large mercantile houses, are now imported in small quantities by the numerous individuals who either retail within this city or deal in wholesale with the smaller country towns.[1]

(C) SHIPPING - REVENUE OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE, etc.

It is interesting to compare the sea-going trade of Cork with that of other large towns in Ireland and the following table taken from the 'Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Irish Revenue' shows the relative positions of the city in 1820:

COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR 1820

TOWN	FOREIGN		GT. BRITAIN		COASTING		TOTAL NO. OF VESSELS
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	
Dublin	265	75	3,130	901	500	207	5,078
Belfast	177	83	1,255	623	219	255	2,612
Cork	161	118	1,233	440	751	427	3,130
Newry	61	18	701	545	250	206	1,871

Though Cork showed a greater 'total number of vessels' than Belfast, the advantage in the case of the former town was due to the greater number of coasting vessels.[2]

1. H. D. Inglis, A Journey Through Ireland, 1834, p. 101

2. J. J. Monaghan, A Social and Economic History of Belfast, 1801-1825, (1948), pp. 388, 389.

A slightly downward trend is evident in the number of vessels which entered the port of Cork during the period 1820-1824. The trend was upward again in the following year. The figures were as follows:[1]

Year ending 5th January	ENTERED INWARDS No. of vessels	Tons
1820	1,910	165,327
1821	1,550	146,740
1822	1,678	139,396
1823	1,747	133,246
1824	1,471	117,474
1825	2,011	147,214

CUSTOM DUES

The following information, taken from the Belfast Almanac for 1825,[2] is interesting as an indication of the position of Cork in comparison with three other Irish towns in 1820:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMOUNTS OF CUSTOM DUES COLLECTED IN THE YEAR 1820

TOWN	AMOUNT
Dublin	1,194,599
Belfast	381,533
Cork	261,565
Newry & Strangford	79,938

The general trend in trade of Cork port as compared with that of other Irish ports, for the period 1822-1825, is indicated by the following figures:[3]

1. Accounts and Papers, 1831, Vol. XVII, p. 14.
2. J. Smyth, Belfast Almanac, 1825.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd July, 1825.

A RETURN OF THE GROSS RECEIPT OF REVENUE OF EXCISE IN IRELAND DISTINGUISHING THE AMOUNT RECEIVED AT EACH PORT FOR THE FOLLOWING YEARS:

R. Cooper
Adjutant General's Office, 13-6-1825

PORT	Year ending 5th Jan. 1822	Year ending 5th Jan. 1823	Year ending 5th Jan. 1824	Year ending 5th Jan. 1825
Cork	£248,816-15-8	£244,812-5-1	£233,962-4-7	£258,446-15-0
Dublin	£318,233-8-10	£301,679-10-10	£ 60,529-1-9	£552,375-14-1
Limerick	£ 75,913-7-10	£ 8,983-19-10	£ 37,332-11-9	£108,118-6-1
Waterford	£ 71,884-1-7	£ 85,447-13-6	£ 89,967-6-8	£ 94,291-1-9
BELFAST	No return for this port			

It is of interest to note that the gross receipt of the Revenue of Excise received at the port of Cork during this period far exceeded that of the year 1802, which amounted only to £53,635-4-6½.[1]

GROSS RECEIPTS OF CUSTOMS REVENUE

Year ending 5th January

PORT	1822	1823	1824	1825
Cork	£228,746-0-7	£243,806-11-8	£217,598-5-5	£206,165-4-11
Dublin	£1,151,416-11-3	£1,107,286-18-4	£985,410-4-5	£859,217-7-6
Limerick	£ 64,057-18-3	£ 69,907-0-1	£ 54,474-0-7	£ 61,784-13-5
Belfast	£353,699-16-5	£352,960-11-9	£326,594-11-10	£346,879-19-1
Waterford & Ross	£105,708,12-11	£116,086-18-6	£ 97,537-10-9	£105,751-18-10

These figures indicate a decrease in the gross receipt of the Revenue of customs at the port of Cork as compared with the figure given for the year 1802, which amounted to £254,673-15-3¾.[2] The Collector of Customs attributed the loss of Revanue of Customs at this port in 1819[3] to the smuggling of tobacco and tea which was carried on along the coast of Cork. Possibly, such an explanation was also valid for the years 1820-1826.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 22nd July, 1825.
2. ibid.
3. Shummacher, G., Report on Customs and Excise Collection 1778-1837, Public Record Office, Dublin.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE - PROGRESS OF THE CHAMBER - CONFLICT WITH THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS - OPENING OF THE NEW CHAMBER 1822 - FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHAMBER 1825

The years 1820-'25 formed a period of growth and expansion in the history of the Cork Chamber of Commerce. Such expansion however, was regarded by the Committee of Merchants as a challenge to its own authority in many areas. The following paragraphs tell the story of the rivalry between these two bodies which gives intersting insights into the commercial life of the city at this time.

In consequence of the acquisition of a "Chamber", and the body of rules formulated at the meeting of November, 13th, 1819, the Chamber of Commerce continued to make an increasingly greater impact on the commercial life of the city. The achievements of the Chamber to-date were summarized as follows, at the Annual General Meeting of the subscribers and shareholders, held on the 1st January, 1820;

> Report of the sub-committee appointed on the 8th November, 1819, to act as Managers of the Chamber of Commerce

....The rapid progress of the establishment is not less a subject of proud congratulations to the members, than a merited disappointment to those who anticipate failure.

This was followed by an account of all that had been done to make the Room useful to the merchant and instructive to the politician.

With respect to various sources of information which had been procured, your committee have been guided by two principles - strict impartiality in selection and a rigid regard to the present extent and possible future amount of the funds...

The committee of shareholders asked the Committee of the Chamber to state substantially those measures which had been taken to carry the institution's work into effect. The reply was as follows:

In the first place, a deposit of one-third on the hundred shares of

£25 each, has been collected and lodged in the Irish 5%. Secondly, proposals for eligible sites whereon to erect the proposed Building, was advertised for and tenders advantageous as to situation were given in consequence. It being necessary, however, to correspond with persons not in Cork, they had not yet been able to report to shareholders, but aware of the anxiety of the shareholders, they make this communication in deference to their wish, with an assurance that when anything decisive is resolved they will take the earliest opportunity of calling the shareholders together...

Before the end of the meeting, the Committee of Management was elected according to rule.[1] Meetings were regularly held every Wednesday in the Room, from this date.

In virtue of its authority as representing the merchants and traders of Cork, theChamber of Commerce sought to reform the management of the Butter Market and the Hide and Skin cranes. This move however, brought them into conflict with the Committee of Merchants. The precise nature of the conflict and its outcome is described in the Minute Book of the Chamber of Commerce as follows:[2]

As a result of a meeting of the committee of the Chamber of Commerce held on 12th January, 1820, the secretary was ordered to write to John Cotter, secretary of the Committee of Merchants, requesting him to furnish this Committee with a statement of the revenue drawn from the Butter Weigh House and the Hide and Skin cranes, together with the expenditure on this inspection for each year since the death of the late Treasurer.

The Secretary of the Committee of Merchants did not send the required statements butinvited the committee of the Chamber of Commerce to come and inspect the account. Forthwith, the Chamber of Commerce

1. Minutes Book, Committee of Management, Chamber of Commerce, 1st January, 1820.

2. ibid., 12th January, 1820.

committee appointed three to go and examine the accounts.[1]

The committee of the Chamber of Commerce having examined the accounts, concluded that there was room for "alteration and amendment" and furnished the Chamber of Commerce with the following report of their visit:

The secretary of the Committee of Merchants declared by order of the said Committee that he could not in any way recognise the committee of the Chamber of Commerce but was ready to grant us individually as respectable merchants, an inspection of the accounts. Your deputation replied that it was unwise for a body constituted as the Committee of Merchants (whose mode of appointment has been objected to and whose authority to assume control over any brand of the trade of Cork, has been opposed even by those now forming a considerable portion of its actual members) thus to impugn an Institution which has emanated from 400 citizens, amongst whom are comprised - bankers, merchants, manufacturers, traders of great wealth and respectability - that to contrast individually the members of both bodies would be insidious, but if the question be the constitution of either, it cannot be objected to the Chamber of Commerce that it is self-appointed.

The deputation made a transcript of the accounts.[2]

At the next meeting of the Chamber of Commerce on February 10th, inst., it was decided that the deputation should go again to the secretary of the Committee of Merchants. At the meeting of February 23rd inst., the following instructions were given:

The deputation...is instructed to state as follows:

Your accounts are objected to because they do not sufficiently enter into details that owing to this obscurity the accounts cannot be checked although we have ascertained it that the quantity of Butter, hides and skins received would at your present rate of taxation yield

1. Minutes... 3rd February, 1820.

2. ibid.,9th February, 1820.

a larger revenue than you give credit for.....
That you have wasted your funds from their professed objects by the expenditure of large sums on entertainments and to purposes wholly unconnected with the Butter and Skin trade, which should only be used to defray charges belonging thereto. Therefore, the committee of the Chamber of Commerce requires that from the 1st of August next, the inspection fee for Butter be restricted to 1d. per firkin and keg and that henceforth no part of the funds of the Butter, Hide and Skins shall be applied to any object not immediately connected with these trades... that with a view to increasing your disbursements, contracts shall be advertised for supplying brands, etc., for the purpose of inspection. But the Chamber of Commerce is not for the present seeking further to disturb your management of the butter, hide and skin cranes or protestany implicit recognition of your right to such arrangement which can belong only to a body appointed by and from amongst those interested in the butter, hide and skin trade.
To these propositions a written answer is required. [1]

The spirit with which the Committee of Merchants responded on this occasion is evident from the report given by the deputation to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce:

...The Committee of Merchants stated that the allegation in the second charge is unfounded..that their accounts had been regularly passed by a sub-committee of their own and that they considered such examination quite sufficient . Your deputation replied that it would not satisfy the Chamber of Commerce whose members contribute so largely to the funds in question and which would continue to exercise control over these funds. The Committee of Merchants replied "that this was the first time that it was insinuated that they did not possess the public confidence. The deputation then adverted to the association which was founded in the year 1814 "To protect the public rights then invaded by the Committee of Merchants." The Committee of Merchants stated that they would take

1. Minutes...dated 10th February, 1820.

the provisions into consideration. In conclusion, the deputation remarked that on this occasion nothing was urged to impugn theCommittee of the Chamber of Commerce or deny its right to interfere in the matter in question.

The deputation from the Chamber of Commerce met the committee of the Committee of Merchants again on 29th February and found the latter still intransigent, as the following report indicates:

"The Committee of Merchants deem it inexpedient to reduce the inspection fee on butter...neither could it assent to any other mode than that hitherto in practice for supplying brands, etc, for the inspection business... The disbursement for the Cove list cattle returns and other documents which are provided to the subscribers of the Commercial Buildings, Coffee Room, were defended on various grounds and these documents would, it was stated, be supplied to the Chamber of Commerce. The committee declined to give this reply to the Chamber of Commerce in writing, as requested."

The storm raging between the two bodies seems to have abated, because further correspondence between them was of a more amicable nature. The following letter is a typical example of such correspondence:

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. DALY, SEC. OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TO MR. ATKINS, SEC. OF THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS

Committee Room,
Chamber of Commerce,
29th June, 1821.

Sir,

I am ordered by the committee of the Chamber of Commerce to request that the Committee of Merchants will order returns to be furnished weekly of the imports of groceries, wines, spirits and the exports of butter, pork, beef, bacon, lard, grain, flour, oatmeal, spirits and livestock, to and from the port of Cork distinguishing the quantity when in bulk, or number of the respective articles and the places whence and whither the exports and imports take place.

To the Committee of Merchants it cannot be necessary to point out the utility of the information herein called for. Similar documents

are supplied to the traders of other commercial towns by those bodies assuming to represent them, and as the Committee of Merchants has funds and paid officers at its disposal, it is considered the proper source whence those now applied for, should be furnished to the traders of Cork.[1]

The Secretary of the Committee of Merchants replied by asking for the designed form perfected for one week, in order to ascertain the expense of such a publication.[2] To which the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce replied:

"It is immaterial in what form the returns are supplied, the object of the Chamber being to post the particulars into a book for information of the public." He subjoined a form, however, remarking that it need not be adopted .[3]

The Committee continued to supply the Chamber of Commerce with all required information, without further ado. Their respective roles in the commercial life were for a while complementary rather than conflictive. The following resolution passed at a meeting 13th November, 1821, revealed the new attitude of the Chamber of Commerce towards the Committee of Merchants:

RESOLVED:

That the Committee of Merchants be offered gratis, the use of this room for their meetings.[4] A common feature of all subsequent meetings of the Chamber of Commerce committee, was the ordering of further newspapers or the discontinuing of orders which had proved unsuitable for the purposes of the Room.

The activities of the Chamber became more extensive with the passage of time. Individual merchants had recourse to the Chamber to seek redress for grievances sustained by them from the collectors of customs. On such occasions they found the Chamber responsive.[5]

1. Minutes, 29th June, 1821
2. ibid.,13th July, 1821.
3. Minutes, 14th July, 1821.
4. ibid., 1st December, 1821.
5. Minutes, 18th July, 1821; 8th Sept., 1821; 12th Oct., 1821.

June 10th, 1822, was a significant day in the history of the Chamber, for on that day theVictoria Hotel was completed at the expense of the shareholders of the Chamber. A permanent room in the building was henceforth known as "The Chamber of Commerce". It remained for over a century the permanent Reading Room for subscribers as well as the meeting room for the Committee of Management and shareholders. The Constitution or Cork Morning Post of 10th June, 1822, described the opening as follows:

Chamber of Commerce
Cork Hotel

The proprietors of this establishment respectfully beg leave to inform the nobility and public at large, that having fitted up the Hotel in a very superior fashion, it is now ready for the reception of lodgers who have the privilege of free admission at all times to the subscribers Room, in which papers from every part of the United Kingdom are taken in thus affording information and amusement to travellers.

The following account of the Annual Meeting of the Subscribers, January, 1823, gives further information concerning the achievements of the Chamber and the constitution of the Committee of Management:

Report of the Annual Meeting of Subscribers which took place on Wednesday, January 1st, 1823.

Among the vexatious taxes to which the trade of this county was subjected, none was more severely felt than that which is now fully established an illegal construction of the law, made every receipt on goods ware - housed in the King's Stores liable to a duty of 2/- for the improvement of the harbour of Dublin. By the combined exertions of this and other commercial bodies in Ireland, which drawing no support from Taxation had no interest in abolishing it, the impost has been given up and it stands confessed that those who had paid have legal redress against those who received it.

A resolution was brought forth and after considerable discussion, carried, providing in effect, that four new members should be on the Committee of Management in every succeeding year. The subscribers then

proceeded to ballot, when on a scrutiny of the lists, the following were deemed to be elected for the coming year:-

Thomas Fitzgibbon
Charles Sugrue
Thomas Lyons
James Daly
N. Murphy
R. Hackett
Jerh Murphy
R. O'Dirscoll
Joseph Hargrave
Robert Honan
Wm. Crawford Jun.
J. J. Murphy [1]

Peaceful progress however, was not to remain for long the lot of the Chamber of Commerce. It appears from the following notice, which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on 17th October, 1823, that the very existence of the Chamber was endangered:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Committee of the Chamber of Commerce requests a meeting of the shareholders of this establishment on Monday next, the 20th inst., at 2 o'clock, to consider what steps should be taken, in consequence of the proposed assumption of its name by the association now about to be formed in the city.

At a meeting of the shareholders held on 20th October, Mr. Fitzgibbon, one of the shareholders, referring to those "who being now jealous sought to rob us of our name", gave the following interesting explanation of such an action:

"Jealousy .. was only one reason for the extraordinary attempt thus made; another and stronger was the enmity which existed to this establishment because it was supposed to be the rallying point for whatever of independence there was in the city; this it was which led to the idea of giving to the proposed new association the name of Chamber of Commerce, which, if attained by means of a charter, would have the effect, for which it was designed, of injuring and finally destroying even the pecuniary interests of this establishment". Mr. Fitzgibbon then stated that it was upon this point and this only that the resolutions he intended to propose were founded...the duty of the shareholders of this concern, in his opinion consisted in protesting against the injury which their property would suffer by the assumption of this

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 3rd January, 1823.

establishment's name - an establishment in which they had invested their money.

Following on this exhortation, it was unanimously resolved: "That having associated in the year 1813 for commercial and other purposes, having founded an institution and erected a building; having a large capital afloat; and being engaged in leases and other contracts under the desigation of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Cork, we are exceedingly surprised to learn, that a new association, which is about to apply for a Charter, proposes to assume the name which belongs to us. That such proposed assumption of the designation by which we have been for so long known, under which we have done some many acts and corresponded with public bodies and functionaries of the United Kingdom, is an attempt to invade our rights and property, which we shall resist by all means in our power.

That our Committee be required to give effect to these resolutions and to take such proceedings as may be deemed necessary to protect the property vested in, and the other interests connected with our institution".[1]

Opposition to the proposed "New Chamber of Commerce" became widespread in the city. Forty-four members of the "commercial interests of the city called for a meeting of the merchants and traders of the city of Cork to be held in the Chamber of Commerce on October, 29th, inst.[2]

At that meeting it was proposed and unanimously resolved: That the attempt now making by that body called "The Committee of Merchants" to procure a Charter affecting every branch of Trade and manufacture, pursued in Cork, without resorting to a public meeting, is an invasion of property and an usurpation of rights, that should be resisted. That though the party applying for said Charter have communicated what they call the substance thereof, yet (in the spirit which dictated the

1. Minutes, 20th October, 1823.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 27th October, 1823.

original aggression) they debar the public from giving an opinion or offering a suggestion on the measure, unless by previously subscribing thereto; which makes it useless now to enter into the several clauses and details, that are highly objectionable. That a memorial be immediately forwarded to His Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, praying for his refusal of any Charter without the concurrence of all those whose interest may be affected: and that the preparation thereof be committed to:

Our chairman, Thomas Fitzgibbon
Denis R. Moylan
J. B. Hackett
James Daly
Charles Sugrue
Walter Lane
Thomas Quill

[1].

It is evident from the following Petition that the fears of the Chamber of Commerce were not unfounded:

PETITION OF COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS, CORK in 1823

To His Excellency Richard Marquis Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

The Petition of James Morgan, the President of the Society, known by the name of Committee of Merchants, of Cork and of Thomas Cuthbert etc. (and others, members of Committee, all named)

Humbly sheweth,

That in the year 1769 an enquiry was instituted by the Merchants and Traders of the city of Cork respecting the causes of a decline which was experienced in its trade.

That on investigation of the subject, it appeared that such falling off was attributable to various frauds practised in preparing different articles of commerce for market.

That at such time the exportation of butter, tallow and hides, formed principle branches of the Commerce of Cork, but that constant complaints were found to be made from England and other countries, respecting the frauds committed in manufacturing these articles, great reproach was brought upon the city and there was reason to apprehend that unless a speedy remedy should be applied, it would be deprived of such trade.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 31st October, 1823.

That on the 14th March, 1769 a meeting of the Merchants of the city of Cork was convened for the purpose of considering these important subjects and upon that occasion and at subsequent meetings, which took place about the same period and for the same purpose, they were fully considered.

That it was the decided opinion of those who were the merchants of Cork at that time, that it was necessary to establish a body or society who should represent the Mercantile Body of Cork, in matters connected with its trade and that accordingly in the said year, 1769, a number of persons were chosen by the merchants and traders of Cork and were called "The Committee of Merchants".

That the persons thus nominated appointed competent persons to be Inspectors of the articles with respect to which frauds had been complained of, fixed the sums to be paid upon the inspection of the same articles, respectively, made from time to time rules for the Government of the persons appointed by them for the aforesaid purposes and for the accommodation of various persons trading in such articles and acted generally as the representatives of the merchants and traders of Cork.

That consequences of so beneficial a nature were found to result from the establishment of such a society that from the year 1769 to the present time, it has uninterruptedly continued and Your Petitioners have no doubt, that to its influence is, in a great degree to be attributed, the prosperity which during so long a period was experienced in those branches of trade, which came under its immediate superintendence.

That the trade of the city of Cork would be still more advanced if a Commercial Association, as well for the aforesaid purposes as for the promotion, regulation and protection of the trade of the city of Cork and all its branches were invested with the corporate powers under suitable regulations for the government of its members.

That Your petitioners and various other persons connected with or interested in the trade of the city of Cork are anxious to become so incorporated.

May it therefore please Your Excellency, to cause your petitioners to

be incorporated by His Majesty's Royal Charter with all such other persons, as now have or shall hereafter become members and subscribers of the said asoociation and to cause your petitioners and said other persons to be endowed and invested by His Majesty's Royal Charter, with such convenient powers, capacities, privileges, jurisdictions and authorities and under such regulations as shall best conduce to the purpose of their incorporation.

James Morgan, President
and other members whose names are given[1]

The fears of the Chamber of Commerce were, however, allayed by the following letter, received by Mr. McCarthy, as chairman of the butter merchants of Cork and published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on December 3rd, 1823.

Dublin Castle,
December 2nd, 1823.

Sir,

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you in reply to the memorial of the butter merchants of the city of Cork, that there is no intention on the part of His Excellency, to grant a Charter to any commercial body in Cork.

I am Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
Henry Goullman.

The Chamber of Commerce experienced no further opposition and continued its exertions on behalf of the trading and commercial interests of the city. On May 5th, 1824, it deemed it necessary to send a petition to Parliament[2] regarding the excessive charges on goods and shipping at the port of Cork. There is no evidence, that such a petition was successful.

1. O'Sullivan, W., The Economic History of Cork City from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union, (Cork, 1957); Appendix No. 40, pp.353-'55; C.S.O. REG. Papers, 1823, S.P.O. Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle, 7269/1823, Carton 951 IV. Chief Sec. Reg. Correspondence.

2. Minutes - 5th May, 1824.

By January 1st, 1824, the number of subscribers the Chamber had reached 432, which indicated an increase of over a hundred from 1819.[1] Such an increase may be taken as an indication of the growing acceptance by the commercial community, of the importance of having a strong Chamber of Commerce in the city.

The appointment of Messrs. James Daly, Charles Sugrue, and B. J. Hackett as the first Trustees to the establishment, at the meeting of the Committee held on 15th July, 1825, was a significant development in the growth of the Chamber of Commerce.[2]

1. Minutes - 1st January, 1824.
2. ibid., - 15th August, 1825.

NEW TREND IN THE COMBINATION MOVEMENT - CONDITION OF THE POOR - THE COMBINATION ACT OF 1825

The 1820's formed a significant period in the history of the combination movement in Cork city. During these years for the first time, combinations ceased to be illegal and a number of combinations confederated to form one body called "The Union of Trades", which henceforth considerably influenced the life and activities of many who were engaged in trade and industry. Gerard Callaghan, a prominent member and former president of the Committee of Merchants, showed in no uncertain terms his disapproval of the Union as follows:

COURT OF D'OYER HUNDRED, January 13th, 1821:

Gerard Callaghan stated, it was well known that an illegal and dangerous combination existed for some time among the journeymen tradesmen of this city, threatening the peace and trading interests of Cork. This combination had confederated under what was termed "The Union of Trades". What would become of the right of the artificer if he were not allowed to appeal to the laws for the redress of any grievance connected with his trade, which he might labour under, but must through terror swear allegiance to an unknown authority; to an illegal association. Under existing circumstances the Court should express its opinion on the subject of the outrages which had been perpetrated by the persons engaged in "The Union of Trades".[1]

Evidently, he was not alone in his views concerning the Union, as the following resolution was passed before the end of the Session:

RESOLUTION:

That the Court recommend to the Council of the Corporation to adopt such measures as to them seem most fitting to counteract the unlawful combination that existed at present in this city among the several artificers in what is called "The Union of Trades"...who endanger the lives of those who do not join in its erroneous and wicked objects.

1. Cork Morning Intelligencer, 13th January, 1821.

Counsellor Deane at the City Session on the 16th June, gave further information about the nature of this new Union, as follows:

There is a remarkable feature in the present combination, as distinguished from any former one. Heretofore, particular trades combined for themselves, the activity of those men of the present day became more extended. They were not satisfied to legislate for their own trade but amalgamated under the name of the Union, they took every branch under their protection and made them subject to their regulations.[1]

The Parochial Committee set up in Cork city for the purpose of reporting on the state of the poor in 1822, attributed the want of employment to the Union of Trades for the following reasons:

With regard to the causes which led to the want of employment among the people, the Committee cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to a local cause of the want of employment - the Combination of Trades - such a combination as that which was in this city for the last four years would suffice of itself, to produce suspension of employment among some classes of tradesmen and diminish the demand for the labour of others. That effect has followed already; for in consequence of the high price of labour so disproportioned to its real value at the present moment, no individual is inclined to commence any work, or demand any labour that is not absolutely necessary [2]

By stating that the want of employment was mainly due to the Union of Trades, the Parochial Committees in fact laid the responsibility for the following serious distress mainly on this Union:

The total number of unemployed and starving individuals in the city of Cork and suburbs is over 20,000 exclusive of the Liberties, which furnish a mass of distress and misery unexampled for some years. The strongest evidence of the distress which prevails in the Suburbs and Liberties of Cork, is to be found in the numberless applications which are daily made to the Committee...the number of starving persons now

1. Cork Morning Intelligencer, 16th January, 1821.
2. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 14th June, 1822.

claiming assistance, far exceeds what has been recollected in Cork except in the year 1801, when owing to the failure of thepotato crop, 30,000 persons were daily relieved by the gratuitous distribution of food .[1]

The fate of artisans who failed to comply with the regulations of "The Union of Trades" can be gleaned from the following:

UNION OF TRADES

Two poor tailors whom the efforts of this combination had driven out of this city to seek employment elsewhere, were met at Carrightowhill by some fellows of the same trade belonging to Waterford, who attacked and barbarously ill-treated them.[2]

Among the important works held up by combinations was the building of Charlotte Quay in September, 1821. The contractor Mr. Deane, reported to the Harbour Commissioners by whom he was employed, that his work was considerably delayed because of a combination, which existed among the stone cutters.[3]

It was still common belief, held by many of the upper class and even the middle class in Cork city as elsewhere in Ireland, that combinations were responsible for undermining and so destroying certain industries. Employers in general, regarded them with contempt and suspicion, as they had done in the 18th century.[4] There is no evidence in the Cork newspapers that even in the 1820's employers had made any attempt to negotiate agreements when clashes arose between them and the journeymen tradesmen. The Government's attitude was no different. The Combination Acts of 1799-1800, which made working-class organizations illegal, were strictly enforced.

The year 1823, however, passed without any obstruction of note being caused in the industrial life of the city by the Union of Trades.

1. Cork Morning Post, 8th June, 1822.
2. Cork Morning Intelligencer, 26th May, 1821.
3. P.C.H.C., Vol. I, dated 6th September, 1821.
4. A. Boyd, pp. 23,24.

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By 1824 the members of the Union became more aggressive in their demands. On 19th July, 1824, the Cork Constitution described the activities of the Union as follows:

THE UNION OF TRADES

From several circumstances that have come to our knowledge, it would appear that the confederated brotherhood, the "Union of Trades", are again assuming that dictatorial tone in the regulation of their trade, against any master or journeyman who may be obliged from necessity for the support of their family to transgress the laws by earning a honest livelihood. On Tuesday morning an attempt was made on the life of a man named Timothy Kelly, whose offence consisted in having entered the employment of a man of the name of Scanlon, in place of another journeyman who had been discharged.

It appears that this aggressiveness was not confined to the combination movement in Cork city. According to the reports of Magistrates and Castle officials, the Dublin trade unions in the 1820's were militant to the point of violence and terror.[1]

Under the influence of the Union of Trades, the tradesmen of Cork city became more dictatorial in their demands for higher wages. The following were typical of the notices to that effect which appeared in the Cork newspapers at this time:

TO ARCHITECTS AND MASTER BUILDERS

The journeymen masons of the city of Cork, hereby give notice to all architects and master builders, that they will not work for less than the following prices from the 1st day of February, 1825, viz: 3/4 per day.[2]

NOTICE

The slaterers and plasterers of the city of Cork, hereby inform all persons concerned that in future they are determined not to work for less wages than 3/- per day - to commence on 1st day of March, 1825.[3]

1. A. Boyd, p. 31.
2. Constitution or Cork Morning Post, 29th December, 1824.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th March, 1825.

Possibly, the movement in England led by Francis Place to bring about the repeal of the Combination Laws, which was in progress during these years had emboldened the members of the Cork combination movement. By July, the Union of Trades had become so disruptive of the commercial and industrial of the city that the Mayor was forced to have recourse to strong measures to combat combination activities.[1]

The combination laws were repealed in 1824, the logical application of the principle of laissez-faire. Unfortunately, an epidemic of strikes followed in England, which led to a further amendment of the Law.[2] According to the Combination Law as amended in 1825, trade unions had ceased to be illegal. For the first time workmen were permitted to combine to regulate wages and hours of work but it was difficult to act without committing the new statutory crimes of obstruction and molestation. The following detailed account of the terms of the Act was published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 29th July, 1825:

COMBINATION LAWS

The late Act against combination prohibits the following measures from being carried into effect by means of violence, threats, intimidation, molestation or obstruction, viz:-

1. Forcing or attempting to force any workman to depart from his hiring before the end of the term for which he was hired.
2. To return any work in an unfinished state.
3. Preventing or endeavouring to prevent any workman from hiring himself or going to work.
4. Compelling or endeavouring to compel any person to belong to any club or union.
5. Or to contribute money or to pay any fine to any club or union.
6. Or to pay any contribution or fine because he did not belong to any club or union.
7. Or because he did not comply with the rules or orders of any club or union.
8. Forcing or endeavouring to force any master to alter his mode of carrying out his business.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 20th July, 1825.
2. D. Thomson, England in the 19th Century, (Penguin, 1950), p. 52.

9. Forcing or endeavouring to force any master to limit the number of his apprentices.

10. Forcing or endeavouring to force any master to limit the number or description of his workmen. [1]

There is no evidence in theCork newspapers that combinations caused further industrial unrest in the city during the remaining months of the year 1825. It is not clear, however, that this was due entirely to the enforcement of the new Act. Possibly the legal status gained by the combinations according to the terms of the new Act had modified the attitude of the employers towards the tradesmen and their demands for higher wages.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 29th July, 1825.

A major industrial crisis occurred in Cork city in 1826. This crisis was however, confined to the textile industries which proved incapable of withstanding the full impact of the repeal of the Union duties and the commercial crisis in Great Britain. Local measures to relieve the distress of the unemployed workers were only partially successful during this crisis, which surpassed in duration and severity any experienced by the textile industries in the city, since the passing of the Act of Union.

i. THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

It is evident from contemporary accounts that in 1826 Great Britain was still in the throes of a commercial crisis which had begun in 1825. The nature of the distress experienced by different sectors of the community is illustrated by the following:

COMMERCIAL EMBARRASSMENTS AT LIVERPOOL

The pecuniary embarrassments at present experienced by all classes in Liverpool exceed in degree any that have been felt for many years past. The stoppage on Tuesday, of the bank of Mr. Hardwen produced general consternation and raised the most gloomy forebodings in the public mind.....

'The state of things is truly deplorable. The distress among commercial men is increasing and a general gloom seems to brood over the town.....'[1]

COMMERCIAL DISTRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN

It is with feelings of extreme concern we are compelled to advert to the alarming accounts which have been received by mail. The Gazett's list of bankrupts on Monday's Courier announces that Commissions have been opened within a week against fifty-two trading establishments and declarations of insolvency from nine others. The accounts from Scotland are also very unfavourable.[2]

1. Extract from Liverpool Albion; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 6th February, 1826.
2. ibid., 8th February, 1826.

COMMERCIAL DISTRESS

To give a brief idea of the present commercial distress, it is only necessary to state a striking fact - that cargoes of timber are now in the Thames, which the proprietors have offered to give up entirely on being relieved from the payment of freight....[1]

DISTRESS AND DISCONTENT IN MACCLESFIELD

It is computed that there are now 15,000 hands out of employ at Macclesfield, from 5,000 to 6,000 are females.....
Numerous passes from Liverpool are daily signed by Magistrates for poor Irishmen and their families, who having no employment, here, prefer returning home to starve in their own country.[2]

During the month of April the distress of the unemployed textile workers found expression in behaviour of a riotous nature, which terminated very often in attacks on textile factories and the destruction of power looms in Manchester, Preston and Blackburn.[3]

R. K. Webb in his History of Modern Britain, gives the following interesting explanation of the general depression which prevailed in England from the Winter of 1825 to Autumn of the following year. He states:

'The crisis of 1825 came from several directions. The prosperity of the early twenties led to the projection or flotation of several hundred new enterprises which had a remarkably low survival value. There was, nevertheless, a stock-market boom, involving the kind of headiness we have now come to reckon as a danger signal and a call to impose controls, but which then seemed simply a good way to make money. This domestic boom coincided with a wild enthusiasm for the economic possibilities of the South American colonies, which Canning's policy had opened to British exploitation. Manufacturers sent shiploads of their products

1. The Globe and Traveller; Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 15th Feb., 1826.
2. London Paper; ibid., 24th February, 1826.
3. ibid., 29th April, 1826.

across the South Atlantic, promoters of mining enterprises conjured up visions of an England peopled with Pizarros and the new republics found as many eager buyers for their bonds as they wanted. But Latin America was not yet prepared for such a headlong plunge into the modern world. The manufactures remained unsold, the mines did not produce, the republics could not pay; and at home, companies and individual investors saw stock prices plummet, their capital shrink, their savings vanish and their ideals tarnish though not disappear.'[1]

The English manufacturers with accumulated stocks turned towards Ireland in the spring of 1826 and began to throw their goods into the markets in such large quantites and at such low prices that the Irish manufacturers could not compete with them.[2]

The Dublin Morning Advertiser of February 8th,gave the following account of how the commercial crisis in England affected the cotton industry in Dublin:

> We are sorry to be obliged to state, that the commercial embarrassments of England have reached this city. Two or three cotton spinners and manufacturers have been compelled to suspend payments. These it is feared, may, unless speedily arranged, involve others and put out of employment thousands of poor manufacturers.[3]

A similar story was related by the Drogheda Journal on February 18th, as follows:

DROGHEDA, 18th February, 1826.

Our cotton trade is in a deplorable state. The failures in Dublin having affected some of the principal manufacturers here - they have declined giving out work; and we understand 600 looms are idle - which gave employment to upwards of 1,800 people.[4]

1. R. K. Webb, Modern England from the 18th century to the present, (London, 1969), pp. 172-173.
2. G. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine, p. 304.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 8th February, 1826.
4. ibid., 24th February, 1826.

The Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, commenting on the effect of the large importation of cheap cotton goods into the city of Cork, stated as follows in reference to the unemployed on the north side of the city, the main seat of the cotton industry:

Last evening, a gentleman, intimately acquainted with the state of the city, told me that it was his firm belief from personal knowledge, that in the North Parish, there were 1,000 individuals who had not more than one meal in 48 hours.[1]

Distress was not, however, confined to those engaged in the cotton industry in the city. The following account illustrates the effects of the crisis in the industry on the cotton weavers in Bandon:

BANDON COTTON WEAVERS

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Bandon, was held on Tuesday last, at the Court House, for the purpose of devising some speedy means to alleviate the miserable condition of the poor weavers of Bandon, many hundreds of whom are reduced to starvation. Rev. H. T. Newman, in moving the first resolution, alluded to the frightful state of trade in England, for some months back, which was one of the main causes that contributed towards the unprecedented depression of the cotton manufacturers of the town; to the want of confidence caused by the late changes in the currency, to the dearness of provisions and the insufficiency of a plan adopted at a late meeting; it being now evident that a want of demand for the goods and not of capital to conduct the manufacture, was what operated to the total absence of employment and was the chief cause of distress.[2]

ii. THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

The Irish woollen industry was also seriously affected in 1826 by the prevailing commercial distress in Great Britain. The woollen manufacturers had not only to contend with a glutted market but with a

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 21st April, 1826.

2. ibid., 1st May, 1826.

reduction in the prices of wool and such was the reduction as to affect severely the stock on hand.[1] The Cork woollen manufacturers proved incapable of competing with the British manufacturers who were employing improved methods of production. The unemployed broadcloth weavers were among the operatives who paraded the streets of the city in the spring of 1826, seeking anxiously for employment.[2]

iii. THE LINEN INDUSTRY

The widespread depression which also took place in the linen industry after the repeal of the Union duties, could be construed as in the case of the other textile industries, as a consequence of the repeal.

It also, however, reflected the long term weakness of the industry which had been slow to adopt new methods and was therefore, unable to compete with the products of the large scale modernized British manufactories.[3]

At a meeting of the Trustees for the Promotion of Industry in the county of Cork, held at the Grand Jury Room, Court House Cork, on Saturday, 18th February, 1826

THE RIGHT REV. DOCTOR MURPHY IN THE CHAIR

Several applications from lately formed Committees and master manufacturers, representing the extremely depressed state of the Linen Trade and applying for aid, having been read:

RESOLVED:

That viewing the very extraordinary disproportion which at present exists between the price of yarn and that of linen, and understanding that while the latter is scarcely saleable, there is a considerable demand for the former arising from a scarcity of flax and fearing that the depression that universally prevails in the Linen trade at this moment may influence the saving of flax, for the coming year, we shall till after the first day of May next, make no grants or loans on any terms than for the purchase of flax.[4]

1. O'Brien, p. 304.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th April, 1826.
3. L. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660, (1970), p. 107.
4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 20th February, 1826.

Distress in the county, as well as in the city, continued to increase in consequence of the depression in the linen trade. The Editor of the Chronicle got the following pathetic letter from Rosscarbery on March 25th, 1826:

Sir,

Many weavers are starving this day in Rosscarbery. Yesterday, there were, I believe, 400 pieces in Clonakilty Hall and scarcely 60 were bought; some persons who had them would sell them for any money to get something to buy food. But alas, what is the state of all families who are idle these last three months. They are emaciated and not able to walk the streets; and life is nearly extinct.

So distressed were the poor weavers in Clonakilty that they did not hesitate to petition the English radical, William Cobbett, to use his influence on their behalf. They stated their case as follows:

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE POOR WEAVERS OF CLONAKILTY
TO WILLIAM COBBETT

Praying to him to exert himself on their behalf and try and rouse some feelings of pity for their unhappy condition. They are without employment for six months. While one article of furniture or wearing apparel remained to them, they made not their distress known, hoping that each successive day would bring in some revival of their trade. At length necessity forced them to throw themselves on the generosity of the public - The gentlemen of the town got up a meeting, where it was endeavoured to raise a fund to give them the weekly support of 6d. to each member of a family. With this they were content; it gave them a meal a day of dry potatoes - it enabled them to live for better days. Doctor Coppinger the Roman Catholic Bishop, sent us £50 but his example was not followed by many others who derive large fortunes from us. Lord Shannon alone of all the landed proprietors, sent us some relief. The best workman among us cannot earn at his work, supposing even he works ten hours a day, more than sixpence, and what is this to support a family of eight and potatoes from seven pence to eight pence the weight. We throw ourselves and our poor families on you, Mr. Cobbett, the Friend of the Poor,

to implore you to exert your all powerful pen on our behalf, and to bring our misery before the generous English public. We have no prospect before us but death. Whatever may be the fate of this Petition, your petitioners will ever pray for you.

For myself and brethren,
Daniel Driscoll[1]

The Cork city weavers did not escape a like fate. The following account of the Liberty Weavers appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 10th April, 1826:

Upwards of 300 weavers distributed handbills in their progress through the principal streets of this city, imploring clergy, nobility and gentlemen of Ireland to come forward and wear Irish manufacture on behalf of 10,000 industrious poor who are now in a miserable state of pauperism; the cause of their present distress is owing to a total want of employment on account of the present lack of consumption, owing to the great stock on hands.

By May 15th, it appears that the unemployed belonging to the textile industry as a whole were desperate. The following account as it appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on that day gives a vivid description of the situation:

The events of this day as they have been detailed to us are as follows:
A number of unemployed tradesmen of every description, assembled at twelve o'clock at Grant's Bog. Then and there the following address to the Mayor was read;

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, THE MAYOR

We, the operatives of the city of Cork, after long and patient waiting, in hopes that some measures may be devised, by those whom rank and wealth would enable to ameliorate our deplorable condition and save us from the starvation which now drives us to call upon your worship, to devise

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 21st April, 1826.

some means of speedy relief, do request that you may call a public meeting to take the appalling condition of the working class into consideration with a view to our immediate relief and future employment, which alone will put a check to the dreadful calamity under which we now labour and from which there is no hope but your Worship's exertion on our behalf.

With heartfelt gratitude, we acknowledge the acts of kindness bestowed upon us, by the gentlemen of our city, a dependence on whose good feelings encouraged us to bear up against the loss of money we have so long endured, and which now has risen to a height unparalleled in any former period of distress; by so doing Your Worship will rescue thousands of your fellow citizens who are now in the last stage of misery.

Signed on behalf of self and others

Those present, having approved of the address, agreed to take it in a body to our Worthy Chief Magistrate. This they proceeded to do. They had three placards, on each of which was inscribed:

WE WANT EMPLOYMENT - OURSELVES AND OUR FAMILIES ARE STARVING

The placards were borne by boys and the van of the procession consisted of the naked children of the tradesmen, whom they placed there to show that their complaints were not without foundation. They marched from Grant's Bog through Boyce's Street to Sunday's Well Lane, where the address was read a second time. They next proceeded to Blackpool Bridge, and from that point, up the Watercourse and into Patrick Street. On their arrival at Patrick Street they were met by Mr. Sheriff Spearing and some Peace Officers, who took the placards from the bearers and ordered the multitude to disperse. In seizing the placards a slight scuffle ensued, in which Mr. Sheriff Spearing received a small scratch in the face. His Worship the Mayor arrived, at this point. After the placards were removed, a detachment from the main Guard, was seen in Patrick's Street but no disposition to riot was visible. We understand that our Chief Magistrate expressed a wish that a deputation of the tradesmen should wait upon him to-morrow, when we hope measures will be organized

for meeting their just expectations.

On the 17th May the deputation did meet the Mayor, who assured them that every possible step would be taken to meet their demands and alleviate their distress.[1]

A Committee of gentlemen, consisting of the Mayor, Sheriffs, the Dean of Cork, Right Rev. Dr. Murphy and other benevolent individuals devised the following mode of relieving the distressed weavers, on 24th May:

It was determined to commit to three Master Manufacturers, chosen from among themselves, an order for 10,000 yards of striped check and plain calicoes, to have a distinguishing mark in the weft and to be executed within five weeks. Those gentlemen have undertaken to purchase materials, to give them out to be woven, to superintend the whole business in its detail, without compensation or advantage to themselves, for account of the Committee who do not intend to throw the goods on the market, when they shall be manufactured but to reserve them for an appropriation they have in view, which shall not interfere with the trade of the manufacturers of this article in Cork.[2] Apparently that measure was not sufficient to give employment to all distressed weavers. On 2nd June a further effort was made by the Committee:

DISTRESSED WEAVERS

To relieve in some degree the unemployed members of this body, from the pressure of indigence and want of the necessaries of life, the Committee have made an arrangement, by which about 260 of these men, have been set to work breaking stones - they are to receive a shilling a day from the Committee, who dispose of the stones to the Wide Street Commissioners at the regulated price. The defraying for daily payment , which must be considerable, will we fear, require a larger sum than that at the disposal of the Committee at the moment.[3]

It is evident, however, that this last measure did not satisfy the weavers. In the following letter to the Editor of the Cork Mercantile

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 17th May, 1826. 2. ibid. 24th May, 1826.
3. ibid. 2nd June, 1826.

Chronicle, they explained why:

DISTRESSED TRADESMEN

Mr. Editor,

We, the operatives, woollen, cotton and linen weavers and woolcombers of the city of Cork most humbly beg leave to state that after our long suffering and privation, we are lately employed in the capacity of breaking stones at the rate of 1/- per day, to support ourselves and our families, which sum is entirely inadequate to afford us subsistence. We are now informed that such allowances must be considerably reduced as the funds for said relief will not afford it. Of 200 men employed there are nearly ¾ of us with families to the number of three to five each, solely depending on our present employment for relief. Mr. Editor, our cause is really deplorable and we most humbly solicit that it be let known to our fellow citizens, by your being so good as to afford it insertion in your paper.[1]

A month later, the editor contributed the following account of the distress in the city:

The accounts of the distress in this city, which reach us are of a description to harrow the feelings of the most obdurate. We have it on authority which we believe would not deceive us, that there are at this instant, in the city of Cork, families which have not tasted a morsel of food for two days and two nights.[2]

A meeting of the inhabitants of Cork city, convened by the Mayor, was held in the Mansion House, on 15th August, where it was resolved to enter into a general subscription for the relief of the weavers. Mr. Mahony of Blarney, communicated his donation in the following note:

'Martin Mahony will give employment to 100 cotton weavers, on checks and calicoes; and to enable them to get conveniences for the looms, gives £20.'[3]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 14th June, 1826.
2. ibid., 7th July, 1826.
3. ibid., 16th August, 1826.

Committees were set up in the Parishes of the city for the purpose of distributing food to the poor. By September, a sum of £2,959-14-6, had been subscribed by Cork citizens for their relief. Apparently, however, relief by voluntary subscription was not considered sufficient to meet the needs of the large number of deserving poor in the city, as the Committee for the Relief of the Poor decided on the novel step of petitioning Parliament for the introduction of a system of Poor Laws into Ireland. The following petition was submitted to a public meeting of the inhabitants of Cork city, held in the Court House, 22nd August, 1826:

TO THE RIGHT HON. AND HON. THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS AND BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

That oppressed with feelings of the utmost anguish and distress, we beg leave to approach your Honourable House humbly to entreat your earnest consideration of the misery and wretchedness everywhere exhibited around us, by the sick and indigent population of this city. Suffering as we do in common with the rest of the Kingdom, under the unprecedented stagnation of trade, a firm reliance on the wisdom of your house as well as a just confidence in the resources of this great Empire encourages us to hope that our present difficulties are only temporary.

We cannot charge our community with any deficiency of charitable feeling. In testimony of which we appeal to numerous institutions of this description in our city, almost entirely supported by voluntary aid. Convinced therefore, how inadequate such means are to afford a due proportion of relief, we are constrained to appeal to your Honourable House to take into consideration the propriety of enacting such a system of Poor Laws as shall without encouraging idleness and improvidence, afford suitable asylum and support to those who may be reduced to poverty by unavoidable and unmerited misfortune.

Leaving however, the details of this measure to the wise deliberations of your Honourable House, we rest confident that such a system of Poor Laws will be devised for this portion of the United Kingdom, as shall at least convince the poor that the Legislatures are resolved

that they, as well as the rich, shall partake of those bounties which Providence has so liberally bestowed upon this fertile land.

And your Petitioners pray.....[1]

Not until 1838, however, was the Poor Law System introduced into Ireland.

By the end of Autumn, 1826, the textile industries in England showed signs of revival. Notices to that effect, such as the following, appeared in the Cork newspapers;

ENGLISH MANUFACTURES

LEEDS, November 11th.

We have the pleasure to observe that all our considerable manufactories in this town and neighbourhood in both the woollen and the linen lines, are we believe, without one exception, all at work and most of them working full-time. This is, however, less to supply the present demand, than to replenish the stocks, which have been considerably reduced by the extensive sales of the Autumn and to prepare for the Spring demand.[2]

Contemporary evidence indicates that the Cork textile industries were still in a depressed state at this time.

iv. CURRENCY AND BANKING

The year 1826 was a significant one in the history of banking and currency in Cork city. The assimilation of the currency of Great Britain and Ireland on January 6th, considerably affected the currency, prices and wages in Cork city. It also facilitated commercial intercourse between Cork and England. This change in the currency was followed in the month of February by the failure of the last of the private banks, which left the banking business of the city entirely in the hands of the new joint stock banking companies.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 23rd August, 1826.

2. ibid., 17th November, 1826.

The financial clauses of the Act of Union made no change in the monetary system which was established in Ireland, whereby the specie value of the Irish pound was $\frac{12}{13}$ of the specie value of the British pound.[1]

The Government decided in October, 1825, that the currency of Ireland should be assimilated to that of Great Britain. The following reasons for this measure were quoted in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, on October 24th, 1825:

ASSIMILATION OF THE CURRENCY

The current money in Ireland is, when compared with that of England of any corresponding denomination, less valuable by $\frac{1}{13}$. In consequence of this relative inequality in the value of the English and Irish currency, an English shilling passes in Ireland for 13d. and an English pound for £1 - 1 - 8. In order to prevent that confusion in business, and accounts, which is apt to result from such a state of our currency and by that means to facilitate commercial intercourse between the two countries, it is intended on the 5th of January to raise it to an equal value with that of English; so that an Irish shilling of 12d. will be 12d. and an Irish pound of 20/- will be 20/- and so on for the other different denominations and in this process consists the assimilation of the currency.

The object of this measure is merely to remove all distinction between English and Irish currency; British and foreign produce being always payable in British money, the measure must facilitate the business in no small degree of the Irish merchant trading in England and abroad by rendering his calculations less complex, while it cannot act any more to his prejudice than the present system does, for instead of purchasing his bills as at present, at a course of exchange, he is saved the calculation which the latter involved, by paying a discount or trifling premium, while for the nominal sum which he gives, he receives one exactly equal and which being British currency will purchase for him in

1. F. Fetter, The Irish Pound 1797-1826 (London, 1955), p. 9.

in England or in any foreign country as an English trader's equally nominal sum.....

The statement also alerted the people as to the effects of the assimilation of the currency on the day-to-day business in the city, as follows:

It offers an opportunity to all who wish to take advantage of making 8⅓% in the sale of their stock after the 5th of January, as the sale of wares and merchandize depend so entirely on the will of the seller and buyer, that the law it would appear, cannot decide as to whether any nominal reduction in price, should take place on January 5th. It would however, appear equitable on the general principle of the measure, that an immediate and general reduction of 8⅓% on the nominal value of all wares and merchandize should take place also at the same time; which could be of no more disadvantage to the merchant, shopkeeper, or farmer, than if the measure had been brought into operation; for the new currency they would receive after that reduction, would be fully as much as the Irish, they would have been satisfied to sell at before the change, whereas if they sell an article before the 5th January, for £1 or 1/-, and if on the 5th or after they offer it for sale and obtain the same nominal prices of new currency, it will prove in that case a clear gain to them of 8⅓%.

On January 6th, 1826, the currency of Great Britain and Ireland was assimilated.

The following extract contains the main clauses of the Act.

ABSTRACT OF AN ACT,

Passed 27th June, 1825,

To provide for the assimilation of the Currency and Monies of account throughout the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; to commence on the 5th January, 1826.

I. The Currency of Great Britain shall be the Currency of the United Kingdom; and all the receipts, payments, contracts, and dealings shall be made in such Currency:—and shall be held to be made in such Currency, unless the contrary be proved to have been the intention of the parties concerned.

II. All Contracts, Debts, Rents, &c. in Irish Currency, made or contracted previous to commencement of this Act shall be carried into effect, and satisfied by payment in British Currency of 12-13ths of the amount of Irish Currency.

III. All Duties and public Revenues, and all Funds, and public Debts, shall be estimated in British Currency, and the accounts thereof kept accordingly.

IV. Not to effect the real Value in Gold or Silver Coin of the public Revenues, or of any sums in Acts of Parliament, nor to affect any franchise, privilege, &c. resulting from property.

V. To provide for the payment of fractions of a penny British Currency, resulting from the converting of Irish Currency into British. No payment shall be made for 4 52d parts of a penny; ¼d. shall be paid for 8, 12, and 16-52d parts; ½d. for 20, 24, 28, and 32 parts; ¾d. for 36, 40, and 44 parts; and 1d. for 48 parts. Sums under 12d. Irish shall be paid in British Copper Coin, as directed by the 13th section, according to the aforesaid rates.

VI.—VII. On converting Irish Funds into British, all pence and fractions of a penny of the principal sum shall be paid with the dividend, at the bank of Ireland; and repaid to the Bank by the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt.

VIII. Where annual Sums charged on the Consolidated Fund, in Irish Currency, are converted into British, the Treasury may add sufficient to prevent Fractions of a Penny.

IX. Contracts, &c. may be made according to Currency of Foreign States.

X. Gifts by implication of law, within the meaning of the Act.

XI. After a day to be named by Proclamation, British silver and gold coins shall be current in Ireland at the same rate of pence as in Great Britain, and not as heretofore in Ireland, viz.—The Silver Sixpence at 6d. instead of 6½d.; Shilling at 12d. instead of 13d.; Half Crown at 2s. 6d. instead of 2s. 8½d.; Crown 5s. instead of 5s. 5d.; Half Sovereign 10s instead of 10s. 10d.; Half Guinea 10s. 6d. instead of 11s. 4½d.; Sovereign £1. instead of £1 1s. 8d.; Guinea £1 1s. instead of £1 2s. 9d.; Double Sovereign £2. instead of £2 3s. 4d.

XII. On like Proclamation, Irish Copper Coin shall be brought into the Bank of Ireland, and exchanged there for British Copper Coin, at the rate of 12d. British for 13d. Irish; and the Irish Copper Coin shall cease to circulate.

XIII. To provide for payment of sums under 12d. Irish, in British Currency, 1¼d. Irish, and under, shall be paid by a like sum in British Copper Coin; from 1½d. to 4¼d. by a sum less by ¼d. than the expressed Irish amount; from 4½d. to 8d., less by ½d.; from 8d. to 11¾d., less by ¾d.; from 11¾d. to 12d., less by 1d.

XIV. Bankers' Notes to be in British Currency.—*Penalty*, £50.

XV. Bankers allowed Stamps on old Notes.

XVI. Publication of Act by order of the Treasury.

XVII. Act to commence and take effect from and after 5th January, 1826.

1

1. J. Charles, Tables of Currency, Coins, Weights and Measures (Dublin, 1826), pp. 3 and 4.

In essence, the assimilation consisted in raising Irish money of every denomination, to the standard value of the British of every corresponding denomination. The alteration which was intended to take place as a consequence of the assimilation, was nominal and not real.

The peaceful manner in which the assimilated issue took place in Cork city was highly creditable to the Directors of the Bank of Ireland and the Provincial Bank, as the following notices which appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on January 2nd, indicate:

THE BANK OF IRELAND

To guard the public against the inconveniences which may arise from erroneous impressions, notice is hereby given

That the present issue of the Notes and Post Bills of the Bank of Ireland will without any limitation in point of time, retain their present value in gold and silver coin and that from and after the 5th of January next, when the assimilated issue is to take place, there will be no occasion to exchange them until it shall perfectly suit the convenience of the holders as they will then, as now, be available for all purposes of negotiation and in many cases may greatly assist them until time shall have absorbed all depending transactions in Irish currency.

By Order,
Thomas Williams, Secretary.

PROVINCIAL BANK OF IRELAND

The Directors of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, inform the public that the notes of the Bank being issued and payable in British sterling, they will not be affected by the approaching change in the currency and that they will after the 5th of January, continue to be exchangeable for the same sum of the gold and silver coins of the realm as at present.

Robert Murray, Manager

To recompense for the withdrawal of the circulating medium by the return of the old currency to the Bank, £11,000 worth of new silver coinage was lodged in the offices of the Bank of Ireland a few days prior to the date fixed for the assimilation of the coinage. Small

dealers, hitherto harassed by the shortage of "small coinage" were greatly relieved by the issue of new copper coinage.[1]

The change in currency was generally accompanied by change in the price of goods for sale in the city. Notices to that effect abound in the newspapers during the month of January. The following indicate the trend:

REDUCTION

Of one shilling and eight pence, per pound sterling, in the price of groceries

AT No. 55,
South Main St.[2]

ASSIMILATION OF THE CURRENCY

A REDUCTION $\frac{1}{13}$ has been made in the price of every article at the West of England Woollen Hall by which the former charges are reduced to the standard rendered necessary by the alteration of the currency.

WEST OF ENGLAND WOOLLEN HALL,
No. 32 Patrick Street,
Cork.

Wm. Fowler & Co.,
Proprietor [3]

THE FAILURE OF THE LAST OF CORK'S PRIVATE BANKS

The comparatively even tempo of the commercial life of the city was temporally interrupted by the failure of the last of the Private Banks of Cork.

When on the 28th February, 1826, with the sudden death in Cork of Mr. Pike, proprietor of the old and established Pike's Bank, the bank closed its doors, a state of alarm bordering on panic spread throughout the city.[4] The inevitable run on the local banks in time of crisis, proved too much for Leslie's, so within an hour, the bank was forced to stop payment for the second time. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle, March 1st, 1826, described the situation as follows:

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 9th January, 1826.
2. ibid., 13th January, 1826.
3. ibid.
4. Limerick Chronicle, 4th March, 1826.

At an early hour this morning the following notice was posted on the door of Pike's Bank and on that of the Bank of Ireland:

The public are informed that it being necessary to take out administration to Joseph Pike's will, a person has been despatched to Dublin for that purpose and on the arrival of one or both of the executors, which may be expected in a few days, the business of the bank will be resumed.. Mr. Dowman, the solicitor to the bank left the city at a very early hour this morning, with the will for Dublin, where two of the executors reside in order that no moment's unnecessary delay should occur in carrying into effect the wishes of the testator. In the meantime, however, to prevent any inconvenience arising to the holders of Pike's notes, an arrangement was made for this discharge at the Office of the Bank of Ireland, where during this day they have been regularly exchanged with Bank of Ireland notes.
All the creditors of the bank were however, paid in full.[1]

Messrs. Leslie issued the following notice on the day of the closing of Pike's Bank:

With deepest regret, Messrs Leslie are compelled to yield to the prevailing commercial distress and to suspend payments. However, painful this unavoidable communication may be, aggravated by the generous treatment they have already experienced from the public, they have still the satisfaction of being able to rely with confidence upon their means of discharging all their engagements in full. The speediest and most effectual means will be adopted for winding up the affairs of the establishment and Messrs Leslie will not consider any sacrifice on their part too great for so desirable an object.[2]

On the 3rd March the Commissioners Connell, Kellet, Deane and Bennett arrived in Cork. At 7 o'clock they opened the Bankruptcy proceedings. The Messrs Leslie were declared bankrupts and an examination of their assets was immediately assigned to Andrew Spearing, the Sheriff and W. Roberts, Junior.[3]

1. J.C.H.A.S. Vol. IA, 1892, p. 224.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1st March, 1826.
3. E. O'Kelly, The Old Private Bankers of Munster, Part I, (1959) pp.71-7

Meanwhile, a question of vital importance to the creditors was being discussed in Cork city. The details of this discussion were given in the Limerick Chronicle, 11th March, as follows:

Since the stopping of Messrs Leslie, doubts and difficulties of a perplexing nature have arisen, in consequence of it being well known that a large sum was owing to Government, the balance of a large sum advanced to them in 1822, by the Loan Commissioners, on the security of several noblemen and gentlemen, some of them their personal friends, and others great landowners in the south of Ireland, who viewing in prospect the results which were likely to ensue to the interest of agriculture from the almost utter destitution of a circulating medium, at that time, entered into the necessary securities to enable the Messrs Leslie to resume the banking business, from which they had been obliged to resign in 1820. It was well known to the public, that of the sum advanced, only a part had been repaid, being well below £50,000. There seemed to be a general impression that the Loan Commissioners would look to the persons who became securities for the sum advanced, leaving them to seek redress out of the estate, but the expectation thus indulged in has been disappointed and defeated, as yesterday an order to the City Sheriffs, arrived in town ordering them to take possession of the bankrupt's property in order to the eventual security of the same to the Crown....the private creditors of the Bank, must therefore see that the dividend depends upon the amount of the surplus that will remain after the debt due to the Crown shall be discharged in full.

The winding up process was both costly and slow. The task was still going on in 1831. All the references to the failure of the bank are in agreement that the losses to the public were substantial.

In the same year of 1826, Mr. Pierce Mahony, giving evidence before a House of Commons Committee, speaking of Cotter & Kellet's Bank said:

'The last dividend is now about to be made and I believe it will make the whole dividend 9/6 or 10/-. Immense sums have been spent on

1. E. O'Kelly, The Old Private Bankers of Munster, p. 77.

the law.'

The Commissioners appointed to clear up the business of Roches Bank, met at the Commercial Buildings on 19th October, 1826; and a total distribution of 4/- to the pound to all creditors, was declared.[1]

Owing to the unexpected failure of two private banks a run was made on the Provincial Bank. It unfortunately happened that the demand for gold could be only met by the Provincial Bank, the Bank of Ireland not being then liable to pay in gold except in Dublin.[2] The Provincial Bank was however, able to meet all the demands made on its funds, thus preventing a repetition of the financial crisis of 1820. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle made the following comment on the situation:

A run was made on the Provincial Bank on Wednesday. Such an event was to be expected. We did not wish to spread alarm and we are now most happy to state that all, even the slightest grounds of suspense, are removed.[3]

v(a) THE PROVISION TRADE

The general trend in the provision trade was considerably influenced by the commercial situation in England in 1826. There are no official figures available for the export of provisions from Cork to Great Britain during this year. Such evidence as is available, however, indicates that the trade was subject to considerable fluctuation. Demand for provisions at the Cork Market was steady during the month of January.[4] A sharp decline took place in the demand for Cork provisions in the English markets early in the month of February. The following explanation of this change was given in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on February 6th and repeated at later dates:

CORK MARKETS

The unsettled state of credit in some of the principal English markets has sensibly affected the demand for export in this and consequent de-

1. O'Kelly, p. 93.
2. Dillon, M. The History & Development of Banking in Ireland from the Earliest Times to the present Day, (1889), p. 56.
3. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 3rd March, 1826.
4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, January, 1826.

cline has taken place.

RECEIPTS	WHEAT (brls)	BARLEY (brls)	OATS (brls)
LAST WEEK	962	3,785	3,327
THIS DAY	8	35	101

Fall in demand was accompanied by fall in prices. The contrast between the rates at which the produce of the county was sold on the following dates, indicates the general trend:

CORK MARKETS

2nd December, 1825		1st March, 1826
Irish Currency		British Currency
WHEAT	34/6 per 20 stone	23/-
BARLEY	20/- per 16 stone	12/-
OATS	14/2 per 14 stone	9/-
Butter	100/- (to Merchants)	66/- (to merchants)

1

This downward trend in export and price continued until March 20th After this date a gradual improvement was evident in the quotations from the Cork markets. The following returns of the grain sold at the CORK Market in August and September 1825 and 1826 show a very considerable increase in the latter year:

CORK MARKETS 1825

	WHEAT (Brls)	BARLEY (brls)	OATS (brls)
AUGUST	2,225	1,493	6.529
SEPTEMBER	8,237	10,649	43,240

CORK MARKETS 1826

AUGUST	8,912	4,148	16,552
SEPTEMBER	16,171	20,613	36,819

2

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 1st March, 1826
2. ibid., 2nd October, 1826.

The export of provisions from Cork to foreign countries other than Great Britain continued during the year 1826 and was quite considerable as the following figures indicate:[1]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPORTS FROM CORK TO FOREIGN PORTS EXCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN

ARTICLE	VALUE
BEEF	£28,839 - 17 - 0
Pork	£46,015 - 0 - 8
Oats	£ 1,667 - 7 - 0
Barley	£ 885 - 5 - 0

The only available statistics concerning the export of goods allied with the provision trade, from Cork are the following:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPORTS FROM CORK TO FOREIGN PORTS EXCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN

LEATHER, TANNED, UNWROUGHT (lbs.)	LEATHER TANNED, WROUGHT (lbs.)	CANDLES (cwts.)
28,103	94,474	4,494

These figures indicate a considerable increase in the export of leather as compared with the figures already quoted for 1823 and a slight decrease in the export of candles.[2] Evidently, the leather industry escaped the fate of the textile industry. There are no references in local newspapers to the unemployment of tanners or the closedown of tan-yards.

(b) CORK BUTTER MARKET

The Cork butter trade prospered in 1826. Referring to the evidence given by Mr. Fagan to the Select Committee inquiring into the Butter Trade of Ireland in 1826, the Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle stated:

1. Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVII, (1831), p. 12.

2. ibid.,

His evidence, I believe has produced the most favourable impression of the Regulations of the butter trade of your city, insomuch that it is supposed they will be for the most part suffered to continue without change.[1]

The following table is indicative of the trend in the trade in 1826 as compared with that of 1825:[2]

ANNUAL QUANTITY OF BUTTER IN FIRKINS AND CASKS WHICH PASSED THROUGH THE CORK WEIGH HOUSE

Year ending 30th April.	Firkins	Kegs	Total
1825	227,675	7,172	234,847
1826	237,100	6,692	243,791

The total export of butter from Cork to foreign parts excluding Great Britain amounted to 46,847 cwts., as compared with 36,762 cwts. in 1825.[3] The following table indicates the total extent of the foreign trade of Cork in butter 1826:[4]

EXPORT OF BUTTER FROM CORK 1826 in cwts.

London	Liverpool	Channel Islands	Bristol	Lisbon	Jamaics	Barbadoes
28,600	50,427	35,212	19,411	52,449	10,836	13,646

Commenting on the foreign trade in butter from Ireland in 1826, John Edge of Queen's Co. gave the following evidence to the Select Committee:

'Foreign trade in butter is principally carried on from Cork, the other butters would not stand warm climates from the manner in which they are packed.[5] Such evidence emphasizes one of the main reasons for the undiminished high reputation of the Cork Butter Market in 1826.

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 24th April, 1826.
2. CBM MS. c. 38.
3. Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVII, (1831), p. 12.
4. Report of the Select Committee on the Butter Trade, 1826, P.P. Vol.V. p. 90.
5. ibid. p. 90.

vi. BREWING AND DISTILLING

There is not sufficient evidence to indicate that either the brewing or the distilling industry in Cork city was seriously affected by the crisis in the textile industries in 1826. The output of Beamish & Crawford, was still twice as great as that of Guiness's Brewery, the second largest brewery in the country. The scale of production of the former settled at about 61,000 barrels for the next 15 years.[1] This was however, considerably less than the sales of the previous year which amounted to 69,695 barrels.[2]

There are no statistics available of the total export of beer from Cork to Great Britain in 1826. The value of the beer exported to foreign parts excluding Great Britain amounted to £2,127 - 1 - 6, a very considerable sum.[3]

The Cork distilling industry received a further encouragement on January 10th, when the duty on spirits was further reduced and Irish spirits were placed on a level with the produce of Scotch and English distilleries in the British market. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle gave the following details about the change on January 11th.

REDUCTION IN THE DUTY OF SPIRITS

The new duty commenced yesterday and is 7/- per Imperial Gallon on all spirits made in England and the same duty on all spirits manufactured in Scotland and Ireland and imported into this country. The duty on rum will be 8/6 per Imperial Gallon.[4]

There is not sufficient evidence to establish the fact that the industry progressed as a result of this further encouragement. It is clear, however, that the annual sales of Hewitt and Co., (the only one of the Cork distilleries whose records for the year 1826 are available) fell from 439,890 gallons in 1825 to 259,315 in 1826.[5]

1. P. Lynch and J. Vaizey, Guiness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1759-1876, (1960), p. 132.
2. Beamish & Crawford Ledger.
3. Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVII, (1831), p. 12.
4. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 11th January, 1826.
5. Hewitt & Co., Ledger, No. 3.

vii. CORK HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS

The Cork Harbour Commissioners continued their exertions to facilitate commerce up to the city quays by improvements in the Upper Harbour and by the deepening of the river. Among the improvements made during this year was the rebuilding of 300 feet of the Quay Wall at the North side of the North Channel.[1]

A great step forward was made in the dredging of the river when the Commissioners purchased a twelve horse power dredger at a cost of £1,250, and put it to work.[2] Anthony Marmion in his account of The Maritime Ports of Ireland described the significance of this step as follows:

'In six years this dredger had raised 282,877 tons of mud and gravel at a cost of 6d. per ton'.[3] This was highly advantageous to the large vessels that hitherto were unable to discharge their cargoes at the Quays.

As the need arose, the Commissioners added to the number of bye-laws already formulated, with a view to promoting safe passage on the river. At a meeting held on November 1st, 1826, "the Commissioners ordered a Bye-Law to regulate the breadth of rafts of timber conveying up the river and to enforce the owners to have proper lights upon them at night, to prevent accidents".[4]

viii. THE CORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber of Commerce had by 1826 become the main centre in the city for supplying journals, newspapers, documents and in short, all worthwhile sources of information on matters commercial and industrial. The Committee of Management manifested on many occasions its zeal and capacity for promoting the commercial welfare of the city.[5]
At the Annual General Meeting of the subscribers held on 1st January, 1826, claims were made in the report presented by the Committee, which continued to be asserted later by the Chamber. Among these claims the

1. P.C.H.C., Vol. II, dated 19th July, 1826.
2. ibid., Vol. II, dated 5th July, 1826.
3. Marmion, A, The Maritime Ports of Ireland, (1856), p. 529.
4. P.C.H.C., Vol. II, dated 1st November, 1826.
5. Minutes of Chamber of Commerce, 1826.

following were significant:

'that any advancement of such objects (civil and religious liberty) which has taken place in Cork, has emanated from the Chamber of Commerce, is proved by the rancorous hostility to the establishment on so many occasions, evinced by those who live and thrive by the evils growing out of an unhappy state of civil society. Unlike other places in the city, this temple of toleration offers no check to the diffusion of opinion and the consequent establishment of correct ideas on every subject. This is the only test of true liberality. It is this principle on which the Chamber of Commerce was founded and with which it must continue to be identified. It remains for you citizens of Cork to keep alive or suffer to perish, a principle so essential to the well-being of society'.

In consequence of the extension of the range of the Chamber's activities, it was moved and carried unanimously, "that the Committee of Management be enlarged from 12 to 15 members.
The following gentlemen were elected for the present year:

Thomas Lyons
John Daly
Charles Sugrue
Den Mullins
John Cogan
Jer. Murphy
Francis Lyons
Arthur O'Leary
John O'Connell
B. J. Hackett
James Connell
Pat Kelly
Paul McSweeney
Robert Honan
George Waters

1

ix. COMBINATIONS

The Combination Law which came into effect in July 1825 did not end the clashes between the employers and the workmen in Cork city. In January 1826, the journeymen bootmakers combined to enforce a rise in wages. The Master Bootmakers' Guild reacted by offering a reward of £10 to whoever "would prosecute to conviction any person or persons employing the journeymen now in combination against their employers".[2]

The Act for the Assimilation of the Currency which came into effect on 6th January, gave rise to further industrial unrest. The Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle explained why as follows:

1. Minutes...1st January, 1826.
2. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd January, 1826.

We regret to find that the change has created a serious sensation among the working classes. The operatives demand the same nominal payment in the new as in the old currency - 20/- British, where they received 20/- Irish. A large meeting of the trades was held yesterday at Grant's Bog. We think that no time should be lost in effecting an understanding between employer and employee.[1]

Among the journeymen who brought their case to the public notice were the tailors. They stated as follows:

NOTICE

The journeymen tailors of the city of Cork feel it their duty to state to the public, the respectable employers of the city who were paying the highest wages to their workmen until the change in currency took place:

Mr. Jeremiah O'Grady, Patrick St.
P & W. Mahony, Brunswick St.
Thomas Galwey, Patrick St.
John Casey, Cook St.
John Driscoll, Cook St.
Thomas Tagney, Patrick St.
Peter Murphy
Jeremiah Murphy, Brunswick St.
William Fitzmaurice, George's St.
Patrick Sullivan, Dunbar Street

[2]

N.B. The men who worked in the above employment, are now unemployed and will not work for less than 3/6 per day, as it is the wages they received since 1810. Should any other change take place, it will be laid before the public in future advertisements. As happened in the case of many other masters, the master tailors yielded to the demands of the journeymen.[3]

Contemporary Cork newspapers indicate that the system of combination continued to be regarded by the employers as an obstructive force in the industrial life of the city and a major cause of the distress of the artizans. James R. Barry, corroborated this view in giving evidence to the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland, 1830. He stated:

'The system of combination as it exists in Cork is one great cause of the distress of the artizans'.[4]

1. Cork Mercantile Chronicle, 2nd January, 1826.
2. ibid., 13th January, 1826.
3. ibid., 27th January, 1826.
4. Report of the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland 1830, P.P. Vol. VII, p. 202.

The close of Chapter forty-two completes the writer's account of the commercial and industrial life of Cork city during the first quarter of the 19th century. The writer hopes to have shown that this period was an unique period in the economic history of the city and that it was essentially one of commercial and industrial change, which might be summarised briefly as follows: a period of boom during the war years, followed by a period of depression with the return of peace; a few years of slow revival, halted by an agricultural and financial crisis in 1820, followed by a further period of revival which was disrupted by an industrial crisis in 1826.

To this changing pattern in the industrial and commercial life, which was closely linked with that of the Irish maritime economy as a whole, Cork city responded with characteristic vigour, so that in spite of the fluctuations experienced, it preserved its own identity as a combination of market town and provincial capital with a moderate amount of manufacture, expanded in population and through the establishment of corporate bodies who controlled the development of the harbour, the deepening and widening of the river and the promotion of the commercial and industrial welfare of the city, succeeded in maintaining its position among the first three cities of Ireland.

The period 1801-1826 as a whole, saw a marked expansion of the city's boundaries and buildings, which although said to be lacking somewhat in architectural beauty, were favourably commented on by several distinguished visitors.

Trade and industry, though hampered by internal and external obstacles and exhibiting signs of decline in some areas, also showed an advance which was chiefly marked in the brewing, distilling and shipbuilding industries.

The establishment of joint-stock banks and the development of communications by land and sea were important auxiliaries to commercial expansion.

The workers came into greater prominence through associating themselves with the contemporary struggle for recognition of the worker's claims for better conditions and the right to collective bargaining.

Finally, Cork city was, in several aspects at the cross-roads, as many of the foundations of its future development and commercial prosperity were laid in the period 1801-1826.

ESTIMATES FOR THE WORKS IN THE RIVER ABOVE BLACKROCK

Excavating at bottom of quays along the North branch	£500
Under-pinning these quays	£703 - 4
Completing Warren's Quay on the St. Channel	£375
Repairing the Wall	£127 -10
Forming a quay on the marshes	£1,500
Deepening the South Channel along the Quay	£ 50
Ditto...throughout to 3 feet water	£1,200
Under-pinning that quay	£240
Deepening both branches to 4 feet	£1,000
Dredging shoal at Hargreave's Quay	£175
Ditto...at wall end	£160
Ditto...under woodhill	£500
TOTAL FOR DEEPENING AND REPAIRING QUAYS	£6,530 -14
The embankment wall from Tivoli	£3,825 - 0
TOTAL FOR NAVIGATION	£10,355 -14
Embanking 182¾ acres on the south slab	£6,047 -10
	£16,403 - 4
Contingent expenses	£3,280 -12-9
TOTAL	£19,683 -16-9

(From "Report on the means of Improving the River & Harbour of Cork" dated September, 11th, 1815.
Alexander Nimmo, Civil Engineer, F.R.S., p. 12.)

APPENDIX II

ESTIMATE OF THE EXPENSE OF THE DOCKS AT THE BACK OF WALL For 100 sail of ships and of a canal from thence to KING's QUAY

(The whole to have 17¼ feet depth of water	
Excavating the upper dock	£4,400 - 0 - 0
Masonry in the stone quay upper dock	£3,720 - 0 - 0
Swivel bridge across the entrance and foundation of do.	£2,000 - 0 - 0
Entrance lock to the river	£8,500 - 0 - 0
Quays for lower dock	£5,840 - 0 - 0
Excavating the lower dock	£9,138 -10 - 0
Swivel bridge across the lock	£1,500 - 0 - 0
Excavating the canal	£9,368 - 6 - 8
Dredging banks, puddling and lining	£2,000 - 0 - 0
Sheeting in river	£1,000 - 0 - 0
Lower entrance lock, complete	£10,000 - 0 - 0
TOTAL	£57,431 -16 - 8
Contingencies, etc.	£11,486 - 7 - 4
Total for dock and canal	£68,918 - 4 0

(Report, p. 27)

APPENDIX III

ESTIMATE FOR A CANAL FROM THE KING'S QUAY TO THE DEEP IN LOUGH MAHON

To be 50 feet wide at bottom, and have 20 feet of water.

1st.....By embanking the South Channel

New Water Way for the River	£18,666 -13 - 4
Making the canal and dykes across the present channel and along the shoals to deep water	£76,730 - 0 - 0
Entrance lock	£12,000 - 0 - 0
	£107,396 -13 - 4
Contingencies, etc.	£21,474 - 6 - 8
	£128,876 - 0 - 0

OR

2nd.....By excavating along the south strand

New Water Way by the River	£7,666 -13 - 4
Eastern embankment and dykes	£47,600 - 0 - 0
Western ditto and completing the canal	£11,250 - 0 - 0
Lock	£12,000 - 0 - 0
	£78,516 -13 - 4
Contingencies, etc.	£15,703 - 6 - 8
TOTAL	£94,220 - 0 - 0

(Report, pp, 29, 30)

SCHEDULE OF RATES AND DUTIES ON GOODS IMPORTED

Agricultural instruments		
Carts	each	6d
Ploughs	"	4d
Harrows and Drills		2d
Winnowing machine		6d
Thrashing machine		1/-
Chaff cutting machine		3d
Alabaster, Gypsum or plaster of Paris - ton		9d
Ale	see Beer	
Almonds	see Groceries	
Alum	per hogshead	6d
Apparel (Old)	per bale	1/-
Apparel (New)	per box or trunk	3d
Apples	per bushel	½d
	per cask	3d
	per ton	9d
Arrowroot	Barrel or Box	3d
Bark oak	per ton	8d
Barley	see Corn	
Books or stationary		
bale, case or crate		1/-
paper parcel		3d
Bricks per 1,000		4d
Fire blocks, each		½d
Brimstone - ton		6d
Brooms	bundles	½d
Brooms, handles, bundles		½d
Cabinet ware, parcel		6d
Candlewick, sack or bag		3d
Candles	box	½d
Cane reeds 1,000		2d
Carpets or carpeting	bale	1/-
Carriages 4 wheels	each	10/-
Carriages 2 wheels	each	5/-
Casks empty		1d
Cement	barrel	1d
	½ barrel	½d
	¼ barrel	¼d
Chalk - ton		4d
Cheese - basket		1d
Cheese - loose - dozen		2d
Clay pipe - ton		4d
Cocoa or coffee - Tierce		4d
Barrel or bag		2d
Colours for painters		
Hogshead		6d
or Barrel		1d
Dyers - Keg, bottle or can		¼d
Copper (New) - ton		1/-
(Old) - ton		6d
Cordage - cwt		1d
Cordial waters - case		4d
Cider - Pipe		6d
Hogshead		2d
Barrel		1d
Cork wood - ton		2/-
cwt, bag, or bale		6d
Liquorice paste or Spanish juice - case		3d
Liquorice root - cask		6d
Matting - bale		3d
Mats per hundred		1d
Millinery - bale		1/-
- trunk		6d
CORN		
Barley - quarter		2d
Malt	"	2d
Oats	"	1½d
Oatmeal	ton	1/-
Peas - barrel		1d
Wheat - quarter		3d
Flour - bar or barrel		1½d
Cotton twist or yarn - bale		1/-
Corron wool	bag or bale	6d
	pocket	3d
Drugs	cask	6d
	box	2d
	basket	
Dye stuffs	cask	3d
Earthen ware,	Hogshead	9d
Half cwt. or box		4d
Earthen ware loose,	load	2d
Fish - ton		1/-
Fish wet,	Tierce	3d
Barrel		2d
Flax - ton		2/6
Ginger - see groceries		
Glass,	crate or cribb	2d
"	bottles, gross	2d
"	ware basket or box	2d
Grapes	basket	1d
Groceries		
Almonds,	barrel, box	2d
Cloves	"	1d
Currants	butt	10d
Figs -	barrel	2d
	drum	½d
Nutmeg-	box	1d
Ginger -	bag or barrel	
Pepper		2d
Pimento		
Plums or prunes -	barrel	2d
Riasins -	barrel	2d
	box	½d
Saffron -	parcel or box	1d
Gunpowder -	cask	3d
Haberdashery -	bale	1/-
	Crate	10d
	trunk	4d
Hardware -	box	3d
	cask	9d
Hemp - ton		2/-
Hats - case		1/-
Hoops (wood)	1,000	1d
Hops -	bag	6d
	pocket	4d
Horses -	each	2/6
Hosiery -	cask	10d
Indigo -	chest	6d
Iron - bar - ton		6d
pig - ton		3d
wrought - ton		1/-
Junk or paper stuff - ton		6d
Lamp or ivory black	Hogshead	9d
	Barrel	2d
Lead - sheet or pig - ton		6d
red & white - cwt		½d
Leather	100 lbs.	1½d
Lemons & Oranges	chest	3d
	½ chest	2d

Molasses - puncheon	8d
hogshead	4d
Musical Instruments: other than piano or harps case	1/-
Mustard - cask	1d
keg	½d
Nails - cwt	½d
Nuts - case	6d
Ochre - cask	1d
OIL	
Linseed, olive, rape, turpentine,	1/6
Whale, cod, pilchard or train - ton	1/-
Onions--bushel	½d
Pianofortes - each	2/6
Pickles - cask	6d
Pipes of clay - box	1d
Potatoes - ton	6d
Printing types - box	1d
Rice - cwt	¾d
Saddlery - box	6d
Salt - rock - ton	4d
Salt - white - ton	6d
Saltpetre - bag or cask	1½d
Seeds - flax or Linseed - hogshead	3d
bag or barrel	2d
Sickles and scythes - dozen	½d
Skins buffalo, cow each	¼d
horse, calf - doz.	1d
seal, kid, or lamb doz.	½d
sheep or goat "	1d
Slates - ton	3d
Soap - cwt.	1d
Sponge 100 lbs.	6d
Spirits, brandy - puncheon	1/-
Geneva - hogshead	8d
Rum	
Starch - cwt	½d
STAVES	
U.S.A. pipe 120	2d
hogshead 120	1½d
barrel 120	1d
Canada & Europe - ton 120	6d
STONES	
Marble - foot	1d
Millstone - each	9d
Paving or flag - ton	4d
Pomice stone - ton	10d
Drip stone - each	6d
Sugar - raw - cwt.	1d
refined - cwt	1½d
candy - cwt	2d
Sweet meats - case	6d
Tallow - cask	6d
Tar, turpentine or pitch - barrel	2d
Tea - chest or ½ chest	3d
box	2d
Tiles - 120	1d
Tin- sheet - box	½d
block - cwt.	½d
Tobacco - hogshead	1/6
bale	6d
Valonia - ton	10d
Vinegar - ton	1/-
Whiting - ton	6d
Wine - butt	1/-
pipe	1/-
hogshead	6d
¼ cask	3d
case	4d
WOOD	
Oak- load	10d
Fir- load	6d
Boards,deal,plank 120	2/-
Deal ends 120	6d
Lathwood - fathom	6d
Logwood & other dye woods - ton	1/-
Mahogany - ton	1/6
Masts & Bowsprits under 12"	3d
Oars and oar rafters 120	6d
Spars under 22 ft. 120	6d
Spars 22 ft. 120	1/-
Wool - beaver - box	6d
fleece - bag	4d
Woollen manufactures bale or case	1/-
box	6d
Yarns parcel	6d
bay or worsted	
Yeast or barm - cask	6d
Bale, box, chest 3 ft. long and upwards	6d
Trunk, case or parcel under 3 ft. long	3d
CASKS	
Butt, pipe or puncheon	1/-
Hogshead	6d
Tierce	4d
Barrel	2d
Firkin	1d
Keg	½d
Crates	4d
Bag or hamper	2d

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE * LIBRARY *

Goods, wares and merchandize imported from any port of Ireland, to pay ½ of the above rates, except the produce of Ireland, which are to be free.

EXPORT SCHEDULE

Ale, Beer or Porter	
Pipe or Puncheon	6d
Hogshead	3d
Tierce or Barrel	2d
Bacon, see Provisions	
Barley, see Corn	
Beans, - per ton	6d
Bones or Hoofs - per ton	2d
Bread - per cwt.	½d
Bulls, see Cattle	
Butter, see Provisions	
Candles or soap per box	½d
Bulls, cows or oxen - each	3d
Horses, mares or geldings	2/6
Hogs, pigs or sheep	1d
Checks, see Linen	
Cheese - per basket	½d
Cod, fish see Provisions	
Wheat per barrel of 20 st.	1d
Flour - puncheon	3d
sack or bag or barrel	1d
Oatmeal - per ton	6d
puncheon	2d
bag or barrel	¾d
Linens, checks, cottons or Ticking - per bale	4d
Paper - box or chest	2d
bale or bundle	1d
Pigs, see Cattle	
Pork, see Provisions	
PROVISIONS	
Beef, or Salt - Tierce	1½d
Barrel	1d
Pork - ½ Barrel	½d
Firkin or Keg	¼d
Butter - Firkin	½d
Keg	¼d
Herrings - Barrel	1d
½ Barrel	½d
Cod or Ling per cwt	½d
Salmon - Tierce	1½d
Bacon - per barrel	1d
Hams - per hogshead	3d
tierce	2d
Skins - per doz. dry or salt	¼d
Spirits - puncheon	9d
hogshead	5d
Tallow - lard - barrel	1d
firkin	½d
keg	¼d
Malt - per barrel	½d
Cotton - see Linen	
Cows - see cattle	
Feather - per bag or bale	3d
Glass ware - hogshead -	4d
tierce	3d
box or barrel	1d
Glue - hogshead	6d
tierce	4d
barrel	2d
Hams, see Provisions	
Herrings, see Provisions	
Hides	¼d
Horns, per 1,000	3d
Kelp - per ton	6d
Leather - bale or package	3d
Lime, hogshead	3d
barrel	1d
firkin or keg	½d
Limestone - per ton	4d
Wheat , see Corn	
Wool - per bag	6d
Yarn - per pack	6d
Bale, chest or case	3/3d
under 3 ft.	1½d
Butt, Pipe or Puncheon	6d
Hogshead	3d
Tierce	2d
Barrel	1d
Firkin	½d
Keg	¼d
Crate	2d
Bag or Hamper	1d

Goods, ware and merchandize exported to any part of Ireland to pay ½ of the foregoing rates, except when shipped to any southern port between Dungarvan and the River Kenmare, which are to pay only ¼. British and foreign goods, when exported, to pay ½ the rates or duties charged on exportation.

Passengers luggage free.

BYE-LAWS OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR IMPROVING THE PORT, HARBOUR AND RIVER OF CORK

Approved by the Commissioners present, 13 in number, and ordered that same be binding upon and be observed by all persons until the same shall be changed or altered by said Commissioners.

Resolved that the Commissioners being empowered by Bye Law No. 2 to appoint places upon the quays, wharfs, or landing places of said city, for the depositing of coals or kelp for sale, do hereby appoint the following places for that purpose:

The Bridewell Dock: The Barrack Slip: Crosses Green: The Old Custom House Quay: The Grant Parade (South End): Leitrim Bridge: The North and South ends of street formerly Lapp's Island Dock: Newsom's slip-North Abbey: Mansion House Quay: Pope's Quay slip: Duncan St. (North end): Wandesford's Bridge: South Mall (East End).

3. Coals, culm or kelp not to be loaded in such quantity as to incumber Quays - or as to have at any time more than 3 tons thereon, under penalty of £5.
4. Tarpaulin to be used whenever sand, gravel, brimstone or any other stones, manure or rubbish, shall be about to be taken on board, or removed from one vessel to another under penalty of £5.
5. No goods of any kind landed or about to be shipped, to remain on the quays for more than 48 hours, under penalty of £5 for first hour and five shillings for every additional hour.
6. No ship or vessel, lighter or boat, raft, anchor, buoy or other matter to be placed, so as to endanger or obstruct free navigation of river or docks under penalty of £5.
7. Whilst vessels are lying or hauling alongside quay, or removing from one part of the river to the other, their sprit sail yards shall be placed fore sale raft - their jib booms run in within three feet of the cap and the main or mizen booms and running bowsprits rigged in, under penalty of £5.
8. Tender shall be put out by vessel hauling along-side of quay, and anchors shall be placed so as not to scrape or rub against other vessels under penalty of £5.
9. Pitch, tar, turpentine or other combustible matter, not to be heated or boiled on board ship, nor within 5 yards of slip or quay, and fire shall be extinguished by persons using it, as soon as the business for which it is intended, shall be done, under penalty of £5.
10. No gun, cannon, or fire arms to be discharged on board ship lying at quay, under penalty of £5.
11. Injury not to be done to quays, moorings, rings or buoys under penalty of £5.
12. No ship, vessel, lighter or boat to be made fast to the quays otherwise than by mooring rings and no rope to be put across steps leading from quay to river under penalty of £5.
13. Lighter or gabbard not to be used for hire except in good state and everything sea worthy under penalty of £5 on owner or master.
14. Master or other person in charge of vessel, to remove her or cast off ropes, as directed by Harbour Master or deputy, under penalty of £5.

(P.C.H.C., Vol. II.....dated 6th March, 1822).

Inventory of Stock taken after the first of Aug.st 1824

3775 Piece 17 hee	at 16/	Selling Price	£ 3020 —
2391 20 & 21 hee	18/		2151·18 —
465 Spun Piece Dyed English	28/		651 —
546 English Piece Plain	28/		765 — 8
254 Super Narrow	15/		190·10
20 Broad English Stuffs	40/		40 —
27 Ribbed Calimanco	20/		27 —
16 Plain Black Ruffelett	40/		32 —
129 Fancy Piece	15/		96·15
186 fine Col.d Woollens	25/		232·10
13 Scarlet Broads	40/		26 —
22 Plaids English	40/		44
			7277·1
£ 7844	Deduction from the above for finishing		£ 141·7
	728 Yds Stuff & Plaids	£ 72·16	
	1371 Yds Narrows & Ruffelett	68·11	7135·14
		5 per Ct 6/8 for Sales & Trayage &c.	356·17
		Neat Value	£ 6778·17

Sundry Parcells of Wool &c. in the Country & in Cork this Season

Fleece Wool 3567	35·3 Hone Wool Stock now on hand 18/		£ 2958·17·9
Coll.d of Short Wools 34			
44 Wool of last year	458 ℔ at 17/6		400·15 —
Long fining Pile	68 } 96 at 20/		96 —
Super Pile	28 }		
Combing Pile Wool	12 — 10/ no Wool wool on hand		6
Sorted Super &c.	950 Hee 16		760 —
	5049 Hone Wool Value		4221·12 9
Pieces 234 Hone at 15/			175·10 —
Waste of Broadcloths 74 Pcs valued at 7/			25·18
Waste Various 10	10/		5 —
11 Blue Plaggs 158 lbs at 4/8 & 5/			34 —
40 Flannells finished & unfinished 2359 yds at 8½			83·11·5
a Piece of Green Hunting 18 yds at 2/6			2 —
1 Piece Bandon Broad Cloth 86 yds at 1/			4·6 —
1 Coat Plaid — 40 yds 1/6			3 —
1 Piece Super			5·5
			£ 11399·3 2

B^t over — £ 11399 . 3 2

Green Worsteed

49 English Warps 46 bus & some 52 bus } 75 at 36/ — £ ~~[illegible]~~
18 English Square Warps 29 bus in a 44 bill } 67 at 34 — 113 . 18
6 Welcome Warps Dockery 20 bus — 23/ — 6 . 18

114 Grain of English 26 weft for the 46 bus } 119 —
41 Grain D 24 for the Tuquera 170 } 14/
15 Grain of N 32 weft for the 52 bus

{ 24 Bundles 6 lb each N 19 Dick Spining } 39 —
{ 41 D 6 lb N 16 D 65 at } 12/

2 Balls of 11 hand Hum
40 D 10 D
723 D 9 D
1459 D 8 D
331 D 7 D
23 D 6 D
} 2478 Balls at 2 . 9 a Ball 340 . 14 . 6

98 lb of Waste Machine yarn } 140 — 1/8 — 10 . 10 —
& 42 of N 12 D
Weavers Office 4 Padds 16 & 12 Balls 3 — 42 lb at 1/11 — 4 . 0 . 6

634 . 1 —

Combed ~~[illegible]~~

Tops as under

Super Tops 3077 lb at 2/ — 307 . 16 —
Long Strong — 1385 — 1/10 — 126 . 19 . 2
Warp Long Ore 123 — 1/8 — 10 . 5 —
Hamilton Weft Tops 1598 — 1/7 — 126 . 10 . 2
Waste Tops 355 1 . 6 — 26 . 12 . 6

1232 . 3 10

Dye Wares

Just arrived & B^t by Hacker & Hore of Liverpool 4 Casks of Mad — madder 3 Ton of Redwood
& 3 Ton Quarrys Wood cost with Tight & [illegible] in Cask — £ 200
Alum 2½ Ton 18 per Ton & Squeed 6 Ton at 16 [illegible] — 150
Cudbear 6 lb [illegible] 60 Cammoned 5½ Ton at 20 Ton — 165
Copperas 13 lb at 9 lb Madder 6 lb at 26/ lb — 7 . 12
Fustic 1½ Ton at 10 a Ton & Indigo 150 lb at 12/ — 105 —
Aqua fortis 3 Balls 4 cask [illegible] — 16 —
6 lb of [illegible] at 35/ lb & 2½ lb of Grain Tin at [illegible] — 28
[illegible] — 23 . 15 . 9
[illegible] 1 [illegible] at 36 a [illegible] — 45
[illegible] — 700 . 7 . 9

Sundry [illegible] — 900 —

14231 . 14 . 9
[illegible] — 1971 . 9 3
[illegible] — 16203 . 3 5

APPENDIX VI

BALANCE SHEET OF THE FIRM OF MARTIN MAHONY & SONS, 1824.

16203 · 3

B² over

Peter Connell of Waterford [illegible]	100	
[illegible]	60	
[illegible]	50	
[illegible]	20 · 2 · 8	
Francis Mahony Bond with Interest for	1000	
	300	
his Note for D	100	
D D D		
	300	
John Connell Bond D D		
D Note D	300	2231 · 2 · 8
all my Utensils & Machinery of every kind [illegible]		3000
		500
Plate & Hoofs hold furniture Horses & Carts &		
Interest in Houses (Tanyard forgot in Clarence St) cost £1300 Valued at		100
George Quay 1600 Coal Quay [illegible] Cargo & Brewery 500 Butterfield 500		£ 3000
Hall House at Buckfield £300 Concerns held and on Charley cost £1500 Valued at [illegible]		1000
		26034 · 5 · 8
Funds		
[illegible] £13945 [illegible] in my [illegible] of Ireland [illegible]		
Old 4 [illegible] 3120 6.6 D D		
17065 · 16 · 4	£ 18000	
about 7 [illegible] 984 · 3 · 8		
3520 French Dentees in B[illegible] of Paris	2800	20300
cost £1500 Work		
		46834 · 5 · 8
210 Bank Stock having sold it		
[illegible]		
		46884 · 5 · 8
Debts [illegible]		1030
		45854 · 5 · 8

J[illegible] Hoole

APPENDIX VII

ARTICLES OF CO-PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN TIMOTHY AND MARTIN MAHONY

Articles of Copartnership made Concluded and agreed upon by and Between Martin Mahony and Timothy Mahony both of the City Corth Clothiers in manner following ——

First The Said Martin Mahony and Timothy Mahony in Consideration of the Mutual trust and Confidence they Repose in each other and for the Increase of their Respective fortunes have agreed and by these presents Do Agree to and with each other to become partners in the Cloathing trade from the day of the date hereof untill the first day of Sum which Will be in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Nine ——

Secondly That the Said Martin Mahony Shall put into Said trade a Stock or Sum of Four Thousand One Hundred pounds Sterling and that the Said Timothy Mahony Shall put into Said trade a Stock or Sum of Two Thousand and fifty pounds Sterling and that all Profits or Losses Arising from or by Said trade Shall be divided and born Ratably and in proportion to their Respective Stocks aforesaid ——

Thirdly That it Shall and may be Lawfull to and for Either of Said partys at any time during said term to Dissolve Said partnership the person so Chusing to Dissolve the same first giving unto the other three Months previous Nature in writing of such his Intention to Dissolve the Said partnership ——

APPENDIX VII

ARTICLES OF CO-PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN TIMOTHY AND MARTIN MAHONY

Fourthly That the Said trade Shall be Carryed on and Conducted by the Said Martin Mahony under the Firm of Martin & Timothy Mahony and that neither of Said ~~Said~~ parties Shall during the Continuance of Said partnership pass or Execute to any person or persons Whatsoever any Bond Bill Note Deed or other Security for Money for the private purpose of Either of Said parties for any Sum of Money Exceeding Twenty pounds Without the Consent or Knoledge of the other

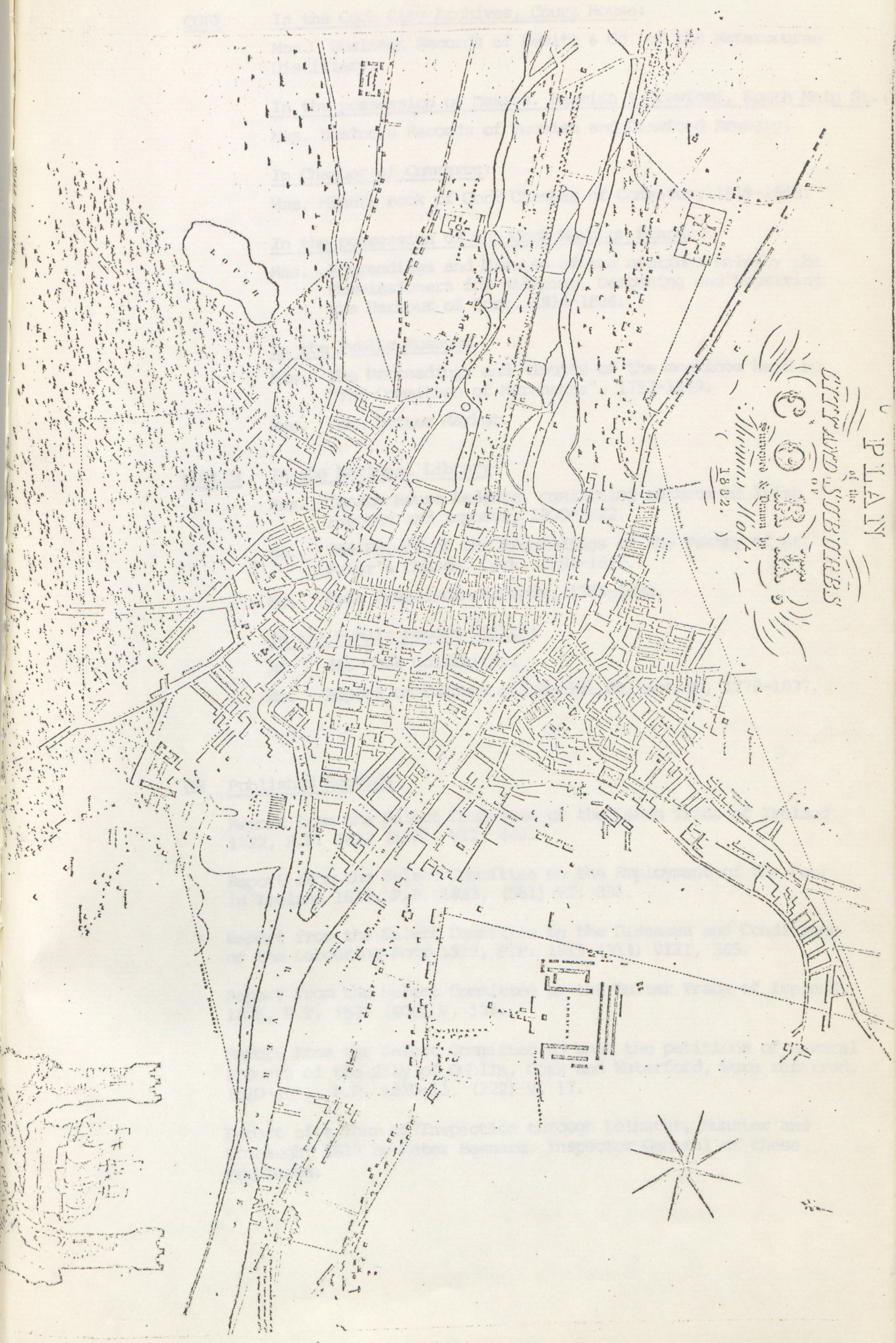
Fifthly That all Cost and Charges Attending the Carrying on and Conducting Said trade Shall be born and paid out of the General Stock or Profit, And for the true performance of all and every the Matters and thing herein Contained the Said partys doth bind themselves to Each other their and Each of their respective Executors & Administrators in the penal Sum of Five Hundred pounds &c In Witness whereof the Said parties have hereunto Subscribed their names and Affixed their Seals this Eleventh Day of July One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Seven

Martin Mahony

Signed Sealed and Delt

Tim Mahony

in presence of
John Mahony
Wm Chockley


PLAN
of the
CITY AND SUBURBS
OF
CORK,
Surveyed & Drawn by
Thomas Holt.
1882.
LOUGH

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