SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE GROWTH OF DERRY 1825 - 1850

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by

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Introduction

The choice of the second quarter of the nineteenth century as an important period in the history of Derry requires little justification. It is a turning point. Within it are to be found both the forces which had previously retarded the city's growth and those which were to cause immediate improvement and lay the foundations for later nineteenth century development. Changes were taking place in transport which were to have a substantial effect on the economic life of the city. Roads were improving. Railways were being laid. Steam-ships were making significant alterations in the pattern of port trade. People were changing too. Population was doubling. Epidemic, famine and social legislation were seriously affecting the lives of the poor. Great reforms were taking place in the system of municipal administration. Businessmen responsible to electors rather than landowners responsible to themselves were taking over as directors of the city's municipal fortunes, a fact which was to prove of key importance to development within the period and to the later history of the city.

One of the immediate effects of all these changes was a distinctive improvement in the trade of the city, an improvement reflected in physical growth. For the first time since its seventeenth century foundation Derry began to grow substantially outside its walls.

The modern city of Derry was conceived as an essential part

of a regional plan for the plantation of Ulster and was chosen because of the defensive and trading advantages of the site.[1] The nucleus of the city was a hillock, rising to a height of 119 feet, bounded on three sides by a broad river and on the fourth by marsh and bogland.[2] The task of development was handed over to the corporation of London who undertook to build two hundred houses, leave room for three hundred more and build a strong wall around the city.[3] Hence Derry became Londonderry, a name that has never been easily accepted by the native Irish population of the city.

By 1618 the wall was built.

> 'The city of Londonderry is now compassed about with a very strong wall, excellently made and neatly wrought, being all of good lime and stone; the circuit whereof is two hundred and eighty-four perches and two-thirds, at eighteen feet to the perch; besides the four gates, which contain eighty-four feet, and in every place of the wall it is twenty-four feet high and six feet thick'.[4]

House building did not proceed at the same pace. In 1618 there were only 92 houses and, in 1628, the commissioners appointed by the king to enquire into the plantation reported

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1. 'Motives and reasons to induce the city of London to undertake the plantation of the North of Ireland' in A concise view of the origin, constitution and proceedings of the Irish Society. (London, 1842), p.17.
2. Ordnance survey memoir of the county of Londonderry: city and north-western liberties of Londonderry. (Dublin, 1837), p.1.
3. Concise view, Irish Society, p.22.
4. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.99.

> 'If every single house, that is every bay, or building or every lowest room, with what is about it, is to be esteemed a house, then there are in Derry about two hundred houses; if the houses are to be esteemed according to the householders or families, then there are one hundred and thirty-five houses; if according to the estimation of those whom we employed to view the houses, there are but one hundred and one; in Queen-street, Silver-street and the market place seventy-seven houses and a half of two storeys high being from out to outside thirty-six feet, and sixteen feet wide within the walls; in Gracious-street, Shambles-street and Pump-street, thirty-three and a half of one storey in height, in length some twenty-eight feet, and some twenty-four feet from out to outside, in breadth sixteen feet within the walls ... yet there is not room for three hundred more, because the schcol-house and the yard, and the new church begun, with the intended churchyard, take up a good part of the room'.[5]

By this date, however, the essential plan of the city had been laid, a plan which is still retained within Derry's walls today. The layout was rectangular, four main streets meeting at right-angles in the central square or market place. The town was enclosed within the walled fortifications. This type of layout, reminiscent of Greek and Roman towns, took no account of the topography of the site. The result was steep streets which have remained since and have added considerably to the character of the city. The 1625 plan shows the frontage of the four main streets to have been built up with a gate at the end of each.[6]

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5. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.101.

6. Plate 1.

Throughout the seventeenth century the Londoners city continued to grow along the lines laid down in the 1625 plan. By 1689 minor streets were practically all built up, following the same rectangular pattern, and the city had taken on the exact shape which is to be found within the walls today. In addition some houses had been built outside the walls on the two main roads leading out of the city - the beginnings of Bishop Street (without) and Fahan Street or Bogside.[7]

There was little change on the map throughout the eighteenth century. Maps of Derry in 1788 and 1799 are almost exact replicas of the 1689 map.[8] Yet visitors were impressed by the city. In 1708 it was 'a good, compact and well-built town' although the old houses had suffered from the siege.[9] In 1767 it was described as 'the cleanest, best-built and most beautifully situated of any town in Ireland'.[10]

Decay was setting in at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were no public buildings apart from the cathedral. Markets were in a poor state, water supply was inadequate and the walls were badly kept.[11]

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7. Plate 2.
8. Plates 3 and 4.
9. T. Molyneux, 'Journey in the North 1708', in R. M. Young (ed.), Historical notices of old Belfast. (Belfast, 1896), p.159.
10. G. C. Camblin, The town in Ulster. (Belfast, 1951), p.87.
11. O.S. Memoir, Londonderry, p.101.

Revival came in the second quarter of the century. The old prejudice against living outside the walls disappeared with the burst of growth that took place before 1850.[12] The new suburb of Edenballymore appeared to the north of the city. It contained streets for both poor and merchant classes. Problems of water supply, street surfacing and sewerage were tackled. New and substantial public buildings had appeared. Inside the walls the old houses had in many cases been pulled down and replaced. Rebuilding was extensive. A local newspaper wrote in 1849:

> 'We have long had it in contemplation to notice the great and substantial improvements which have taken place within the city within the last sixteen or twenty years; as in these times when all other places are retrograding it is pleasing to observe the city of Derry rapidly increasing in extent and population, whole streets having been built in the time alluded to, in addition to several large and substantial houses for private residence'.13

It is the purpose of this study to examine in detail the physical growth of Derry during these years and to attempt to estimate the social and economic factors which influenced that growth.

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12. Plate 5.
13. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

Chapter I

DERRY WITHIN THE WALLS - REBUILDING

The traveller approaching Derry in the early nineteenth century could not fail to be impressed by what he saw. Anchored in the river against the western bank would have been the numerous sailing ships, many Derry owned, which sailed to and from the port. Behind them on the bank were the newly built red brick warehouses above which rose the irregular lines of street roof-tops, crowned by the spire of St Columb's Cathedral. The total impression would be something like what the approach to Mont-St-Michel would give today. 'I do not know of any other town in Ireland, the approach to which is so imposing'.[1] 'The situation of Londonderry is the finest I think of any town or city in Ireland. Indeed with the exception of Edinburgh I do not know of any town in the United Kingdom so well situated as Londonderry'.[2] The banks of the river on both sides added to the situation.

> 'The banks of the Foyle are not so well wooded as those of the Bann, but numerous handsome villas are seen scattered over the country both above and below Derry; and I should say from what I have seen of the country and of this neighbourhood, that it wants nothing but more trees and some hawthorn hedges, to place it on a comparison with some of the best parts of England'.[3]

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1. H. D. Inglis, Ireland in 1834 (2nd ed., London, 1835), ii. 96.
2. Ibid., p.197.
3. J. Barrow, A tour through Ireland in the autumn of 1835 (London, 1836), p.110.

In the centre of the city was the Diamond from which radiated its four main streets - Shipquay St, Ferryquay St, Bishop St and Butcher St. The Diamond, in reality a square, is a common feature of many Ulster towns; and in Derry, as elsewhere, it performed the function of a market place where, of a fair day, the crowds gathered to barter for sheep and cattle. An interesting light is thrown on the fair day atmosphere of the nineteenth century Diamond by the letter of a local inhabitant, quoting the reactions of a visitor to the city. He confessed that he had been impressed with the town until he had arrived in the Diamond ... 'it reminded me of Solomon's Temple; that with all its beauty it was made the place for the sale of oxen, sheep and other animals'. Pointing to the numerous pedlars' booths and stalls he observed

> 'these are a disgrace to the part of the town where they are erected and render a market in Derry similar to a fair in some petty country town ... I hope that the trade and respectability of that part of the Diamond next Butcher St will not suffer long from the erection of booths and stalls that could easily find a place elsewhere which will accommodate equally well the kind of customers that are in the habit of making purchases from the owners'.4

The comparative age of the buildings is reflected in the valuations of 1832. They range from £6. 8. 11 to

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4. Londonderry Sentinel, 15 October 1831.

£99. 0. 6, but only four in all have a valuation of under £30.[5] In all probability these valuations are of the plantation houses referred to by Colby.

> 'Of the original houses several still remain particularly in the Diamond and contiguous streets. They may be distinguished by their high pyramidical gables, as represented by the old plans, but in other respects have been so modernised as to retain but little of their ancient character'.[6]

The measurements of the lowest valued building in the Diamond are of interest as it is almost certainly one of the houses in question. Eighteen feet high (about two storeys) by twenty-one feet in depth and ten feet three inches in frontage, it had a hallway 4' 9", x 21' x 10' 6"[7] from which figures it would appear that the hallway ran from front to rear of the building.

The existence of the stalls and standings, however, and that of the old plantation houses should not obscure the fact that the Diamond housed some of the highest valued buildings in

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5. P.R.O.N.I. Val 1 B. 547 B. The Diamond. This reference is to the collection of valuation notebooks used by the valuators in the 1832 valuation. The information in this collection has been heavily drawn upon in Chapters 1 and 2 to build up a picture of housing in Derry in the early part of our period. Reference by streets is the most accurate since there are no page numbers and since the statistics of a whole street had to be examined in detail before any pattern for it emerged. Where a specific building is referred to, the street number of that building will also be given.
6. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.102.
7. Val 1 B. 547 B. The Diamond. No 12.

the town and was, of course, a major shopping centre. The different types of clothier (milliners, linendrapers, woollen-drapers, hatters etc) as today, were the most common but leathercutters and shoemakers were also predominant.[8] It is obvious too from the available evidence that the rebuilding taking place elsewhere inside the walls during this period, was also taking place in the Diamond. In addition the Corporation hall, standing in the centre of the square, had been recently rebuilt, adding considerably to the appearance of the city centre.[9]

One of the many travellers through Ireland in the early nineteenth century had only one fault to find with his hotel in Derry. It was situated half-way up one of the steepest streets in Europe.[10] He referred to Shipquay St, famed then and now for its gradient. A complete lack of planning or uniformity in the buildings of this street, shown by the irregular line of rooftops, would also have been noticed by our traveller.[11] Heights of houses varied from 23 ft. to 38 ft., frontage from

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8. A new directory of the city of Londonderry, (Derry 1839). This is not a street directory. It lists the nobility, gentry and traders of the town under professions, trades etc. To get a clear picture of the pattern of business distribution it was therefore necessary to reconstruct the business population of each individual street from the addresses given under trades etc.

9. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.115; Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

10. Barrow, op. cit., p.93.

11. Barrow, op. cit., p.96; Parliamentary Gazeteer of Ireland, (Dublin, 1845), ii. 673.

53 ft. to 19 ft. and depth from 45 ft. to 18 ft.[12] This lack of planned building was further noticeable in the maze of out-buildings behind the main buildings, a maze still there. A typical entry in the valuation book of 1752 describing the outhouses of one building Shipquay St reads: 'Gateway store, over gateway dwelling, return, return to kitchen, pantry, cellars, kitchen, stores, store and shop, cellar store, overgate store, tobacco store, spade store'.[13] One of two reasons explains this conglomeration of outbuildings and lack of controlled building. The Irish Society, ground landlords of the city and liberties of Derry had, in the middle of the eighteenth century, granted all their land within the walls in perpetuity.[14] Thus they now exercised no control over the type of building to be erected as they had no longer the threat of non-renewal to enforce this normal covenant of their leases. Another possible reason, and one which was certainly true in some cases, was that many of the buildings in Shipquay St were held on sub leases, on terms very unfavourable to the sub-tenant.[15] Thus with a short leasehold

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12. Val 1 B. 547 B. Shipquay St.
13. Ibid.
14. Concise view, Irish Society, p.125.
15. Report of a deputation appointed by the Honourable the Irish Society to visit the city of London's plantation in Ireland in 1613 (London, 1815), p.25. Hereafter cited as Report Irish Society Dep.

a businessman had little incentive to build improved premises, with the result that as his business expanded so did his cheaply built outhouses. A former mayor of Derry and lessee of the premises quoted above, complained before the Devon Commission of the nature of sub-leases held by himself and others in Shipquay St.[16] Although one of the most substantial businessmen in the city during this period, it is to be noticed that he sold out and left for Liverpool the year following his complaint.[17]

Most of the buildings in this street, some of which still stand, were of red brick. This rust-coloured brick, a very common material in the city in the nineteenth century,[18] points to the fact that there must have been considerable rebuilding in the street in the first half of this century, this same brick being widely used in streets such as Great James St, Queen St and Clarendon St which can be definitely dated. The style of these brick buildings is in period as well, many of them exhibiting distinctive Georgian features - steps to the doorway, the ornate fanlight, the cellar, the windows. Originally built as private residences, a typical one consisted of 'six bedrooms, a drawing

16. Report of Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the law and practice in relation to the occupation of land in Ireland. Evidence. part I. p.737. H.C. 1845 /606/XIX.

17. Londonderry Journal, 14 January 1846.

18. P. D. Hardy, A northern tourist. (Dublin, 1830), p.347; W. M. Thackeray, 'Irish sketch book' in Works of Thackeray. (London, 1902), p.568.

room, front and back parlour, an excellent kitchen and a large cellar and a water closet'.[19]

As for business, Shipquay St at this period presented variety. It could, however, have been described as 'the city' of Derry as it contained four of the town's five banks and the majority of the town's insurance agents, brokers etc.[20] This siting is doubtless due to the proximity of the street to the port and to the warehouses of Foyle St and Shipquay St where most of the commerce of the town was transacted, and to the fact that most of the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside arrived first in Shipquay St when they came to Derry.

> 'The present gateway at the foot of Shipquay St has long been complained of as dangerous, inconvenient and unsuitable to its great thoroughfare. It is almost the only accessible route to the city for three-fourths of the surrounding districts and is consequently often so much thronged as to impede passengers'.[21]

The difficulty of access to the street by horses due to its gradient, especially in winter,[22] must undoubtedly have influenced the types of business in the street. It is to be noted that there were no businesses auxiliary to agriculture there although Derry was a strong market centre and other streets contained many such businesses.[23] No type of shop predominating,

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19. Londonderry Journal, 15 November 1842.
20. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
21. County Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 22 March 1842.
22. Parliamentary Gazeteer ii. 673.
23. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.

they varied from a herring and fish dealer through a tailor to a wholesale and retail grocery establishment which sold oil, paint, colours and manufactured tobacco.[24] This latter is typical of the 'multiple' shop common at the period.

Change in the street between 1825 to 1850 is obvious. One local wrote in 1849 of the previous twenty years 'a wonderful transformation has taken place, the houses of private gentlemen having been changed into shops and private businesses'.[25] This transformation is easy to trace.

> '10 May 1825. To be let or sold. A dwelling house in Shipquay St well situated for business having a large yard and good stores in the rear'.[26]

> '5 Apr. 1825. The city has of late been considerably improved and embellished and I am happy to find that a public building in addition to the ones of which it can justly boast is now being erected in the centre of Shipquay St which will add much to the appearance of that already beautiful street'.[27]

This building, a library and newsroom, replaced an old house which was demolished. The rebuilding cost £2,000.[28]

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24. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
25. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
26. Advt. in Londonderry Journal, 10 May 1825.
27. Ibid. 5 April 1825.
28. Report Irish Society Dep. 1826, p.36.

'4 June 1833. To be let. House lately occupied by James Boggs. Furnished or unfurnished or the parlour which is large and would make an excellent shop or counting room and will be let separate if required with one or two stores'.[29]

'8 Jan. 1847. This beautiful street formerly "the Donegall Place of Derry" is now bidding fair to become one of the most bustling marts of commercial business. The establishment of Messrs Grahams and McCrea which has recently been transferred to it is in point of elegance and architectural decoration quite an ornament to Shipquay St. The metal pillars with the arches thrown across to support the centre wall are very massive and at the same time beautifully ornamental. The whole establishment ... still further adds to the business-like appearance of that part of the city'.[30]

This building formerly the City Hotel, housed

'an extensive wholesale and retail grocery establishment. Floyd's Hotel has also been changed into a very tastefully fitted up haberdashery and millinery warehouse by its present occupant. The large house long known as the Officers' Mess House is now the residence of Smith Osborne, Esq. and part of it has been changed into a family grocery establishment of Osborne and Patton. The house where Gwyn's Institution was first built has been rebuilt, and is at present occupied by Mr Geo Walters as an auction mart and newsroom. Nearly in the centre of Shipquay St but opening into Castle St stands the Commercial newsroom and library a very handsome modern building. The

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29. Advt. in Londonderry Journal, 4 June 1833.

30. Londonderry Standard, 8 January 1847.

> houses most recently erected in this street are those of Robert Bond, J. R. Neill and John Doherty, Esqs. - that of Mr Bond in particular being a very elegant residence with a solid freestone front'.[31]

In addition the four banks had made their appearance there since 1825[32] and the removal of the two hotels, already noted, was no doubt due to the opening of Foyle St, a more accessible route to the port and to the markets. All this rebuilding and change, taking place between 1825 and 1850, is a symptom of the alteration taking place everywhere within the walls at this period.

Ferryquay St was no exception. More perhaps than any other street inside the walls, the history of this street is bound up with its geographical position. The origin of the street's name is obvious. It opened, via its gate, on to the Ferry quay. Throughout the eighteenth century this ferry was the only means of communication between the city and the countryside of its own county on the opposite bank of the river. It is most likely therefore that there was little traffic passing through the street and it is little wonder that it became the residential quarter of the genteel class. Two factors, however, were to change considerably both the character and style of the street.

In 1790 a wooden bridge replaced the ferry over the Foyle.[33]

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31. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
32. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.253.
33. Ibid., p.117.

The increase in traffic through Ferryquay St must have been considerable. In addition there was the early nineteenth century growth in the number of country villas along the Waterside bank of the Foyle, and in the 1840s the beginnings of considerable growth of the Waterside itself. This development would undoubtedly have added to the importance of Ferryquay St as a thoroughfare. Change from a residential to commercial quarter was therefore to be expected.

That the importance and character of Ferryquay St did alter is evident. Houses were re-let, new houses were built and sold, new and substantial business premises began to replace the smaller shop whose owner dwelt above.[34] This took place mainly between 1825 and 1850 and was obviously due to the factors mentioned and to the commercial and population growth of the city shown elsewhere.

The street however did retain some of its old character. Till after 1840 it remained the professional quarter. The majority of the city's doctors resided there and in Pump St, probably above business premises. There were seven of them in 1832[35] and that number was still there in 1839 though some of the

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34. Advts. in Londonderry Journal, 2 Sept. 1834; 9 June 1835; 13 Jan. 1835; 19 Nov. 1845; 21 Jan. 1846; 6 Nov. 1846. These are some of the property advertisements for Ferryquay St. during the period and a study of them reveals the changing picture mentioned above.

35. Val 1 B. 547 B. Ferryquay St.

personnel had changed.[36] The business population of the street had considerably grown by that date. In 1837 it was 'exclusively occupied by shops'.[37] Grocers predominated, but milliners and drapers, shoemakers, ironmongers cum tinsmiths cum plumbers were all there in numbers so the residents moved out to the new residential area in Sackville St, Great James St and Strand Rd.[38] Houses in Ferryquay St were then advertised not for a 'genteel' but for a 'moderate' family.[39]

In style Ferryquay St was similar to the other main streets within the walls. Similar in that it lacked uniformity. One house was 11' 6" high. Another was 32' high. Outhouses, cellars, stores, stables and even in one case a piggery, formed their usual maze behind the main buildings of the street.[40] The buildings themselves had obviously improved in quality by 1850:

> 'Amongst the numerous local improvements which we are gratified to observe are in progress in this city, we feel pleasure in calling attention to the huge and beautifully constructed building in Ferryquay St which has just been opened as a wholesale and retail warehouse ... In an architectural point of view it is truly an ornament to the city of Derry, while as a business establishment it may serve as a model for the combination of systematic elegance with real practical ability'.41

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36. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
37. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.101.
38. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
39. Londonderry Journal, 2 September 1834.
40. Val 1 B. 547 B. Ferryquay St.
41. Londonderry Standard, 6 November 1846.

Pump St, a street almost bisecting Ferryquay St had also been a very residential street, but it retained its residential character much later than Ferryquay St. 'In Pump St the changes made by way of building of late years are so few as not to require particular notice'.[42] The valuation of 1832 shows coach houses, stables and car houses to be still very much in use there[43] while the 1839 directory lists lawyers, doctors and residential gentry as making up most of the street population.[44] Members of the highly influential Lecky family lived there as did the Catholic bishop. The County Inn was in the street, an inn in which such as the Grand Jury and Irish Society deputations were accustomed to stay.[45] By 1856 therefore it was still a street in which the nobility and gentry resided.

Bishop St (within) was mainly a business centre but in 1825 business as in other streets was mainly carried on on the ground floor with residents above. In 1837 the importance of this street as a shopping centre was pointed out. 'Some of the shops (in the town) are spacious and handsome; one - that of a draper in Bishop St - measures 120 feet by 24 feet and is 12 feet high'. From this description it is easy to deduce that even in the larger shops it was customary to have residents overhead.[46] Another writer pointed out: 'There are some good shops in Derry. One,

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42. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
43. Val 1 B. 547 B. Pump St.
44. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
45. Ibid.
46. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.102.

that of a fashionable milliner, with its large plate glass windows, would not disgrace our Regent St'.[47] The story of the next twenty years, however, tells of a complete transformation; here as in Shipquay St the residents moved out to the new suburb of Edenballymore and the premises were used wholly for business.

The condition of the street in the early part of our period can be easily gathered from the valuation papers. Each building considered, apart from its valuation, was given a rating by the valuators. They followed a rating system of a, b, c, d, e, f, but it is difficult to ascertain what qualities merited a particular rating. Only comparatively new buildings such as the Courthouse or the Corporation hall received an 'a' while most of the fairly substantial dwellings seemed to receive 'b'.[48] Of the twenty-four buildings rated in Bishop St however only one - the Courthouse - received an 'a', five were marked 'b', while nine were rated 'c' and nine 'd'.[49] It is quite obvious therefore that the condition of the street in 1832 like that of the other main streets reflected the general depression that lay over the city at this time.[50] But by 1849 the upsurge that had taken place in the intervening twenty years in the commercial life of

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47. Barrow, op. cit., p.96.
48. Val 1 B. 547 B.
49. Ibid., Bishop St.
50. Londonderry Sentinel, 26 November 1831.

the city was reflected too in the street. Writing on town improvement in 1849 a correspondent says

> 'In Bishop St we have to notice the Deanery House, the Imperial Hotel built by Samuel Smyth, Esq., the houses of Messrs. Ashton and Mulholland and the large house now in progress of completion by Alex. Lindsay, Esq., the present mayor'.[51]

The houses referred to are of course business houses. Some rebuilding of dwelling houses also took place.

> 'New dwelling house opposite the Deanery for sale. 4 sitting rooms, 10 bedrooms, bathroom, hot-cold and shower baths; water-closets, kitchen, garden in rere, stabling, coach-house and stable yard'.[52]

To be particularly noted in this house is the disappearance of the privy and its replacement by a water closet, together with the addition of hot and cold water for baths and shower. The building of a dwelling of such quality in 1846 in this street may seem peculiar, but it is to be remembered that due to the presence of the Deanery (built in 1832) the Bishop's palace, the Courthouse and the entry to the Cathedral, the street would have retained an air of quality long after its companion streets within the walls.

The street could thus be divided: the upper half, mainly residential, with the Courthouse, Deanery and Bishop's palace,

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51. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
52. Londonderry Journal, 3 June 1846.

and the lower half composed entirely of business premises. Drapers and clothiers were the main businesses[53] and, if size of advertisement is any guide, were among the largest in the city. This increasing prosperity of Bishop St had a lot to do with its geographical position. It had always been one of the two main routes into the city and to the port from the surrounding countryside. Moreover, Bishop St without the walls was one of the chief market centres in the town.[54]

Butcher St, the fourth street leading from the Diamond, is a street for which very little change is recorded over the period 1825 to 1850. The valuation description shows that seven of the sixteen buildings valued in 1832 were not in very good condition.[55] But there wasn't much improvement to report in 1849.[56] This is probably due to the fact that Butcher St, through its gate, opened directly on to the 'lower class' suburb of the Bogside and with conditions as they were in that area it is little wonder that Butcher St didn't acquire any quality. It is to be noted also that it was at the Butcher St side of the Diamond that the poorer type of pedlars gathered to sell their wares to customers who were even poorer,[57] which proves that the

53. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
54. Ibid.
55. Val 1 B. 547 B. Butcher St.
56. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
57. Londonderry Sentinel, 15 October 1831.

geography of the street at this stage decided the social character of its customers. It is also interesting to observe that only sixteen buildings appear on the valuation list for Butcher St in 1832.[58] This could simply mean that there were only sixteen buildings there, which would be surprising considering that maps of the period show the street to be completely built up.[59] A much more likely explanation is that the remaining buildings did not measure up to the minimum valuation required for rating, i.e. £5. This would mean that these buildings fetched a rent of less than £7. 10. 0 per annum or three shillings per week![60]

In spite of the lack of detailed evidence however it is clear that Butcher St in this period is following the same trend as its companion streets within the walls for, in 1837, the O.S. memoir comments that Butcher St, like Ferryquay St, is made up exclusively of shops.[61] Grocers and drapers were the principal types.[62] The general height of the buildings too seems to be in keeping with that of the other main streets.[63]

Running parallel to Butcher St and Ferryquay St on the

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58. Val 1 B. 547 B. Butcher St.
59. Plate 5.
60. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.312. Valuation of each house was equal to two-thirds of the sum for which it could be let each year.
61. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.102.
62. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
63. Val 1 B. 547 B. Butcher St.

southern side were two streets whose names recalled the London connection - Society St and London St. Buildings in Society St were very irregular. Most of them were used as stores, probably due to the presence there of the potato market - three very low open sheds and a yard.[64]

London St, on the other hand, had originally a residential air similar to neighbouring Pump St and Ferryquay St. Three doctors resided in it in 1832 and the buildings were generally substantial. In three cases, however, valuations did not reach the required £5, and two of these houses were only 8' 6" high - a remarkable contrast with the other houses in the street.[65] The red brick here, in the absence of other evidence, points to a great deal of rebuilding in the nineteenth century.

A continuation of London St beyond Pump St was Widow's Row, a row of five houses of ~~almost~~ identical dimensions, each with a small garden. This seems to have been the only regularly built street within the walls.[66] By 1849, however, the row had disappeared. 'Another striking improvement has been made in that part of the city, in the taking down of what was then termed Widow's Row and erecting in their stead the present neat edifices'.[67]

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64. Val 1 B. 547 B. Society St.
65. Ibid., London St.
66. Ibid., Widow's Row. This is the only street in the valuation notebooks in which all the houses are exactly similar.
67. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

A sixth building in the street in 1832, adjoining Artillery Lane, had formerly been used as a theatre but by 1832 was in use as a store. As a public theatre its dimensions are of interest. It was 69' 9" long, 38' 9" broad and 23' 3" high.[68] Even in its popular days it could not have housed many. In its place in 1849 stood the Fourth Presbyterian Church 'showing the change in the religious feeling of the citizens in causing a house, originally built for a theatre and used as such for many years to be transformed into a place of worship'.[69]

Parallel to these streets on the northern side and intersecting Shipquay St were Castle St and Richmond St. The latter street, unlike today, went only as far as Rosemary Lane (Linenhall St).[70] In both streets twelve buildings are listed in 1832, all fairly substantial in measurement.[71]

The only other streets inside the wall, apart from a small street of houses called Cunningham's Row, were those streets facing the walls and Rosemary Lane (or Linenhall St) a continuation of Pump St. The Linen Hall and stores were the main buildings in the street and the gradual decline and eventual failure of the linen trade in this period must have dealt a

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68. Val 1 B. 547 B. Widow's Row.
69. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
70. Plate 5.
71. Val 1 B. 547 B. Castle St and Richmond St.

considerable blow to the commercial street. It never seems to have recovered, for today, as then, it is still mainly composed of stores though its location - difficult of access - is also a factor in this.

Facing the walls on the eastern side were Artillery Lane, Market Lane and East Wall. Market Lane, composed entirely of markets, ran from Artillery Lane to Rosemary Lane.[72] East Wall, on the other hand, like most of the east end of the town, was a very residential quarter. Coach houses, stables, kitchen cellars testify to its social attractiveness in 1832.[73] A one sided terrace, it had then only thirteen buildings and the 1835 map shows considerable space still left for building.[74] A map of Derry in 1847, however, shows it well built up,[75] a change undoubtedly helped by easier access via a highly controversial opening in the walls into Foyle St.[76]

To complete our picture of the town inside the walls between 1825 and 1850 there remains Magazine St, a street which has very little of interest, being composed once again mainly of stores,[77] and obviously suffering from its location at the western end of the city.

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72. Plate 5.
73. Val 1 B. 547 B. East Wall.
74. Plate 5.
75. Plate 7.
76. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 1 May 1844; 19 Jan. 1846.
77. Val 1 B. 547 B.

The pattern of change in this area of Derry, therefore, between 1825 and 1850, is easy to trace. A large amount of rebuilding was taking place in every street within the walls. Functions of streets were changing too, as with the increasing commerce and trade of the town, the area inside the walls lost its residential quality and became mainly a business centre. For the most part businesses were on the ground floor of dwellings but towards the end of the period large and substantial business premises were starting to take over whole buildings. The old division between the east and west ends of the town is still largely retained. The east end, for obvious reasons, had always been the 'genteel' quarter while the west end was somewhat poorer. On the whole, the area inside the walls was, as today, quite congested. 'Like all walled towns, Londonderry within the walls is somewhat crowded: that is to say there is no vacant space but space enough has been left for the streets which are uniformely wide'.[78] The buildings too, mainly three storeys high, were impressive. Surrounding all were the walls which in addition 'formed a noble terrace' and 'are resorted to as a fashionable promenade by the inhabitants'.[79] They too were feeling the effects of change as with the increase of business within and the growth of new streets without, the agitation for more openings in the walls grew.[80]

78. Inglis, op. cit., p.193.
79. Hardy, op. cit., p.54.
80. Journal of Londonderry Corporation, 18 June 1844; Londonderry Journal, 22 June 1842.

Chapter II

DERRY OUTSIDE THE WALLS - ITS GROWTH

Maps of Derry up to 1800 show that the only real development outside the walls was the continuation of Bishop St and the houses along the road to Fahan. It was only as the city moved into the nineteenth century that real growth outside began. The area of greatest development in Derry during this period was undoubtedly the left bank of the river and in particular Foyle St. An immediate effect of the Act of Union had been to urge the Irish Society to take a closer interest in their Irish estates, and in 1802 the series of reports from deputations of that body commenced. From these reports and from other period sources one can watch Foyle St and the left bank of the Foyle grow from wasteland to the most commercial of Derry's streets.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the left bank of the Foyle, apart from several quays, was mere slobland and was used by the inhabitants, not unnaturally in those unsanitary times as 'a receptacle for filth and nuisances'.[1] As such it held little or no interest for the Society. The merchants of Derry had other ideas and the Society's visitors in 1815 noticed that quite a lot of land had been reclaimed from the river and had

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1. W. Tite, A report of a visit to the estates of the Irish Society (London, 1834), p.11.

been built upon. They urged an immediate inquiry.[2] Nothing developed until the 1819 deputation 'revived the Society's claims' to this 'territory which had long lain dormant' and which they had considered to be 'of little or no value'.[3] Some of the tenants acquiesced immediately, but others disputed the Society's claims,[4] and although a case in 1824 upheld the Society's right,[5] it was not until 1827 that 'the final extinguishment of opposition to the Society's right to the sole or reclaimed soil of their rivers' was reported 'thereby the title of the Society now to every part of their property, of whatever nature or description appears to be acknowledged and uncontrovertible'.[6]

At this time, the river bank, though not well developed, showed sufficient signs of incipient exploitation to make the 1819 deputation draw up as many agreements as they could and report thereon. Their detailed description of the lots gives a clear picture of the left bank of the Foyle as it then was.[7]

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2. Report (Irish Society), p.7.
3. Ibid., 1819, p.38.
4. Ibid., 1824, p.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 1827, p. 2.
7. Quoted are the leases signed with the tenants. The numbers referred to are the numbers of the different lots on the Irish Society maps. The lots seem to be given in their proper relation to one another following the river bank as far as Foyle Rd. The lots appear to be roughly opposite the bottom of present Clarendon St.

'25. William C. Babington. 99 years at £35 per annum. 24. Let to Alex Young at £2. 5. 6 per annum as tenant at will. He has agreed to quit at one year's notice if a building lease is taken. 23. Mrs Knox - tenant at will - one year's notice in case of a demand for a building lease. 22. Robert McIntyre. Building on. 61 years lease at £4. 11. 0 per annum for 19 years, £25 per annum for the remainder. 21. Adam Crompton. Built on. 61 years at £50 per annum. 20. John Acheson Smyth. Already let in perpetuity at £10 per annum. 1. 2. 4. 5. 5* already let to Corporation under Shipquay. 3. Chaise House. Warehouse. Large open space for landing timber. Altogether 350 feet frontage. Piece of land called 'the Liffey' next Pear Tree Gardens [opposite present Orchard St] 61 years at £100 per annum. 3. Coach house 18' square. Mr Wilson 21 years at £3. 8. 3 per annum. 6. Field. 230' x 150'. 8. Mr McCrea. Storehouses. 8* Barracks. (The last three lots were held in perpetuity by William Alexander under the Bishop of Down.) 7. Slab. 36' x 12'. 7* Stone yard. James Stirling. 9. Mrs Darcus. 60 ft. 61 years at £12 per annum. 10. Lime and salt works. Mr Clark held under Alderman Lecky. Offered to Lecky for 61 years at £15 per annum which he refused. Clark has asked for lease. 11. Vacant lot and salt works opposite to the perches let to Alexander Lecky in perpetuity. Offered to Mr Major the occupier, for 61 years at £2 per annum. Refused. 12. 3 houses and 2 cottages held under Mrs McDonagh. 13. Turf yard and turf house claimed by Alderman Lecky as part of 14. 61 years at £8 per annum offered. Declined acceptance. 14. Lot. Fowlhouses and slip of ground 100' under city wall held by James Scott who declined trading for it. Offered to Alderman Lecky for 61 years at £5 per annum. Refused. Alleged to be part of his lot no 27. 14* Lot. 17 barrack cottages erected. Offered to Alderman Lecky for 61 years at £15 per annum. Refused. Said it too was part of no 27.

15* 16. 3 small tenements, store and slaughter house. Offered to Mrs Reid for 21 years at £15 per annum. 15** Narrow strip of ground on upper side of road. Slob in front and cottage at corner of Meetinghouse Lane. Let at will for 5/- per annum. 17* Yard and narrow road in front of certain cottages adjoining perches no 53. 18. Ropewalk. Strand before it towards river. 15. 17. 18. Should lay over as a public road is expected to be made through these parts. (Foyle Rd, no doubt.) [8]

Foyle St, or indeed Strand Rd - Foyle St - Foyle Rd, was therefore a largely undeveloped area in 1819. From that date improvement began slowly but quickened considerably in the early 1830s when a series of advertisements for the letting of new buildings and building lots began to appear regularly in the newspapers.[9] Dwelling houses built were few, probably due to the pressure for commercial space and to the dampness of the sites for building, freedom from dampness being a quality stressed in what dwelling houses there were. Spacious, in appearance they were like the dwellings erected elsewhere in the city at this time: 'House to let immediately in front of the Liverpool steamboat yard. 2 parlours, 2 drawing rooms, 2 kitchens, 8 bedrooms, cellars, pantries, coach-house, stable, etc.'.[10]

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8. Report Irish Society Dep. 1819. pp.45-46.
9. Advts. in Londonderry Journal, 2 Aug. 1831; 16 Oct. 1832; 4 Mar. 1834; 6 Jan. 1835; 13 Jan. 1835.
10. Advt. in Londonderry Journal, 4 Mar. 1834.

This house, in addition to the Terrace, a row of houses built by James McCrea, would appear to represent the total of dwelling houses in the street.

By 1850 the growth was complete.

> 'In Foyle St over which, it is said, previous to the formation of the quays, the tide was in the habit of flowing up as far as the splendid row of houses known as the Terrace ... a great number of large stores have been built, the old barrack yard having been changed into those of J. & R. Wilson. There are no fewer than three large steam mills ... likewise two flax spinning mills ... the English and Scotch steamboat yards and wharfs ... the gasworks ... which have all been built within little more than the last twenty years'.[11]

The site of Foyle St undoubtedly influenced considerably the type of business in the street. Shipping interests naturally predominated. Ship owners, in whose wooden sailing ships a large portion of Derry's commerce - the North Atlantic trade - was carried on, had their provision yards there. Merchants, millers, publicans, shipping and insurance agents were also numerous, the publicans showing a tendency as elsewhere in the town, to congregate in market areas.[12]

The swift growth of the street, reflecting the increased trade and commerce of the port, took place mainly in the 1830s

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11. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
12. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.

and 1840 s. Many influences as well as its position caused this. The opening of Foyle Rd in 1842 and Orchard St in 1849[13] provided new and more accessible routes to the market and to the port, routes which, of course, had to pass through Foyle St. We find an hotel transferring from Bishop St to Foyle St in 1834[14] and a prosperous merchant doing the same in 1830.[15] By 1839 three hotels were there while a further one closed down in Shipquay St.[16] The passing of the wharves from the Corporation to private individuals in 1831 and the replacement of the old closed Corporation in 1841 by an elected one, which gave much more representation to the middle classes, factors shown elsewhere to have had a great effect on trade, must also have had a strong influence on growth in the street. So too had the siting of the first railway terminus there in 1847.[17]

In style Foyle St has long been one of Derry's most dismal and depressing thoroughfares. The explanation of this lies in our period. Here again the site - slobland reclaimed from the river - must have told against the erection of substantial buildings. Leases were another factor. As can be seen above,

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13. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 1 August 1842; Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
14. Londonderry Journal, 6 May 1834.
15. Advt. in Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1830.
16. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
17. These points are fully dealt with in Chapters VII and VIII.

the Irish Society rarely granted leases at this time for larger than 61 years and the more valuable the building the greater the ground rent. Hence there was little incentive to spend money on decent buildings. 'To let. Dwelling houses, stores, yards, wharfs, slob in Foyle St at a profit rent of £105. 11. 10 which will rise considerably on the expiration of the tenants' existing leases'.[18] A flax miller in Foyle St, holding a lease of 43 years unexpired for his mill, which gave considerable employment, sought to expand his premises and asked for an increase in his lease. An increase of 18 years was granted 'provided he is willing to offer an adequately improved rental for the 18 additional years'.[19]

The brake on building exerted by lease terms and ground rents was accentuated by the fact that ground in the street was held on lease mainly by middlemen who sub-let for building.[20] A cheap type of building was the result of such influences so that today, Foyle St presents a most depressing face. Rust coloured brick, as elsewhere in the city, was the principal material and no building of real architectural interest existed in the street.

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18. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 6 January 1835.
19. Report Irish Society Dep. 1838, p.8.
20. Ibid., 1819. pp.45-46.

One of the main factors in the improvement of Foyle St was the opening up of Foyle Rd and the provision of a new route into the city, joining Letterkenny Rd to the Bridge. The intention to open this new route was being mentioned as early as 1826. 'Building lots in New Prison Lane, Ferguson's Lane and on the new road to the city by the river from Donegal'.[21] By 1830 there were signs that it would become quite a fashionable area:

> 'To be sold or let. The House, gardens and tenements situate in the new circular road on the south side of the bridge. The House, outhouses and offices are in the best repair and well adapted for the accommodation of a genteel family. The gardens are well stocked with the choicest fruit trees in full bearing'.[22]

It was only in May 1833 that the Irish Society granted the necessary land to the Grand Jury to allow them to go ahead with the building of the road. Throughout the 1830s considerable difficulties in completing the work were experienced due to the selfishness and stubbornness of some of the property owners in the area.[23] In 1838 the making of the road was in progress, as was the building of a retaining wall along its length;[24] but the

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21. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 5 April 1825.
22. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 30 March 1830.
23. Report Irish Society Dep. 1838. p.7.
24. Ibid., p.12.

Irish Society deputation noticed

> 'several encroachments on the circular road surrounding the town; we therefore recommend that the general agent be directed to see that the public be not interfered with by any parties building upon or otherwise obstructing the road, which in a short time will be probably one of the most important thoroughfares to the quays'.[25]

By 1842 the road was open and named Foyle Rd.[26]

By 1849 the improvement in the intervening years was evident.

> 'On crossing the bridge on our way to the city we have to notice a great improvement in the new line of road to the railway terminus and the protecting wall built by the Hon. The Irish Society. This place, now a great public thoroughfare and fashionable promenade, was formerly a filthy marsh, as the tide, before the erection of the wall alluded to, was in the habit of flowing over it covering at times the ground now cultivated as gardens'.[27]

As is natural, the opening up of this new thoroughfare, apart from its influence on other areas of the town, gave considerable impetus to the development of its own area.

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25. Report Irish Society Dep. 1838. p.13.
26. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 1 August 1842; Londonderry Journal, 2 August 1842.
27. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

> 'Here we have the Foyle Rope Walk and a number of neat cottages, and some good houses have been built from where Bishop St without terminates to the Gaol, to the south side of which and off Bennett's Lane, is Victoria Place, built by Mrs Hibbetts. But the most recent improvement in this street has been by the Messrs. McIlwee, who in addition to a few neat houses in front, have, on a line parallel with the east side of the Gaol wall, opened a pretty little street of houses, two stories high which add much to the appearance of the locality'.28

Another area which shared in the prosperity created by the new route to the city and in the commercial and trade growth of the period was the Shipquay and Waterloo Place, an area immediately outside the walls on the northern side.

> 'Waterloo Place was partially slob and receptacle of filth ... The whole length of the present spacious entrance from Waterloo Place to Shipquay Gate (now called Shipquay Place) was so obstructed by the jutting out of the Cowards' Bastion, saw-pits and blacksmiths' workshops that there was scarcely room for two carts to pass each other. The area in front of the Commercial Hotel was at the same time covered with lumber'.29

Such was a description given by a local writer in 1847 when recalling this area as it had been earlier in his lifetime. At the time of his writing, however, Waterloo Place had become more

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28. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

29. R. Simpson, Annals of Derry (Derry, 1847), p.213.

prosperous, fine houses having been erected to house some of the 'nobility and gentry' and some business people - merchants, ship-owners, grocers - who had established their businesses there.[30] The Shipquay (Shipquay Place) was well built up by 1839, completely by business premises, mainly publicans - eleven of them - and coal dealers, in addition to a few merchants and ships' brokers. Here too were the main port authorities - Custom House, Ballast Office and Admiralty Office.[31]

The growth of Waterloo Place throws some interesting light on the difficulties of any effort at controlled building or planning in this period. Mr James McCrea had accepted from the Irish Society a lease of land in Waterloo Place with a frontage of 475 feet on which he undertook to build first-class houses, a plan of which he submitted to the Society.[32] The Society in 1834 sent over an architect, William Tite, to report on their Irish estates and he reported on McCrea's covenant

> 'that the improvements which the site permitted have not been attended to. The frontage let to Mr McCrea extends along the main road in the best part of the suburbs of the city, commanding views of the Foyle and of the town: at the end nearest the town the road is upward of 50 feet wide but the line of land let to Mr McCrea if followed

30. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
31. Ibid.
32. Tite, op. cit., p.12.

> would diminish the width seven or eight feet and unfortunately there is nothing in the agreement to compel him to arrange the building so as to give uniform width ... a plan had been agreed upon by Mr Purvis of Glasgow for laying out all the land in streets and houses and setting back the front line to a uniform width which plan the Society sanctioned and understood Keyes had agreed to, and, however, has built three houses on the front during the last year out of line and inconsistent with the plan'.[33]

Furthermore, although houses built in the area by others were 'substantial and respectable' in agreement with the lease granted by the Society, Keyes's three houses were very inferior and differed in many respects from the plans he had submitted.[34] The recommended that he should be compelled to rebuild the houses.[35] He promised the 1835 deputation that he would do so and that he would adhere to Mr Purvis's plan in every detail.[36] Both the 1836 and 1838 deputations found, however, that no change or progress had been made.[37]

It is obvious, therefore, that the Irish Society at this period were making some effort to ensure planned building on their lands and to control the type of building erected. Their failure

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33. Rice, op. cit., pp.14-15.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Londonderry Irish Society Min., 1835, pp.24-25.
37. Ibid., 1836, p.11; ibid., 1838, p.7.

to do so is probably due to the fact that their deputation only visited once every two years. They therefore found it difficult to enforce their covenants.

In spite of these difficulties, this area improved considerably during our period and exhibited many of the characteristics noticed inside the walls. Considerable re-building took place. New buildings arose and dwelling houses, as inside the walls, were converted into business premises as their owners moved either to the new suburbs or even further up the social ladder to the many villas springing up along the banks of the Foyle. By 1849 the area appeared extremely prosperous.

> 'In Shipquay Place, the house formerly occupied by Frederick Hamilton, Esq., has been changed into a wholesale and retail grocery and seed establishment, where its present occupants Messrs. Henderson and Dunn, have resided for some years past. At the opposite corner, in the direction of the Butter Market, is the large wholesale and retail grocery and seed warehouse and stores of Messrs. Robert Allen & Co. and further onward at the right-hand corner of Waterloo Place, where stood a decayed looking public house, a neat new house has been built lately by Mr Thomas Miles. In a row of houses here, which have all been erected by the late J. A. Smyth, Esq. (not long since deceased) are the large and flourishing wholesale and retail grocery establishments of Messrs. Wm. Thompson and Robert Foster and the hardware and ironmongery establishments of Mr Adam Greenslead and Messrs. Hamilton and Alexander. On the left-hand side of Waterloo Place, on a good

> row of houses, built by the late Adam Crompton, Esq. and occupied by private gentlemen, the same change as that already noticed with Shipquay St seems to be progressing. In one of these houses, Mr Hugh Stevenson has opened a fancy bread and biscuit bakery and Mr John Little an iron-mongery and hardware establishment. Three additional houses have been added to this row, one by Dr Thompson for a residence and a shop and the adjoining one by William Thompson, merchant, for the same purpose. The other house alluded to is opposite the weigh-house at the upper end of the row and corner of William St and has been recently built by Mr Samuel Laughlin for a residence, a grocery establishment and bakery and being large and well-finished, it adds much to the appearance of that locality'.[38]

Many writers who visited Derry in the early nineteenth century commented on the new fast spreading suburb to the north called Edenballymore and on the fine streets which had been raised up there. It was a suburb of contrast. Bounded at one end by the Bogside and on the other by Great James St and Queen St it contained both the best and worst in the town's housing. The southern end was much the poorer half, but as one went north towards William St the quality improved until it reached the upper classes in Sackville, Great James and Queen St.

These latter streets, built off the Strand Rd, formed a substantial part of the suburb. It was a new development.

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38. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

Simpson wrote in 1847:

> 'The extension of the town without the walls on the north and north-west has been in great measure, limited to the last forty years. In our recollection all the district now covered by Great James St, William St, Little James St, Rossville St, Abbey St, Eden Place and the numerous lanes in that vicinity was occupied as meadow ground without a house: and that portion which is now covered with the respectable houses of Sackville St and Waterloo Place was partially slob and the receptacle of filth - at that time only one cottage was on the Strand Rd leading to the Pennyburn'.[39]

By 1850 this area was well developed as a residential district. The reasons for the development are seen in the types of houses built - mainly merchant houses of three or four storeys: 'To be let. Two new houses in the new street leading from the Strand, well finished and fit for the reception of genteel families'.[40] This growth, as well as reflecting the commercial growth already spoken of (hence the merchant residences close to the port) also showed the growth of individual businesses within the walls as the residents moved out to their new homes in the respectable suburbs. With the beginnings of this movement, O.S. memoir had noted that it meant 'the cessation of the ancient prejudice that to live beyond the

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39. Simpson, op. cit., p.213.

40. Londonderry Journal, 30 June 1835.

hill was not respectable'.[41] The hill was very inside the walls.

By 1839 Sackville St and Great Denmark St were housing quite a few of the 'nobility and gentry'.[42] Another feature of these streets was their uniformity. Larger houses, Georgian in style, they were the first streets built in Derry to a uniform pattern of size and design. An encouragement to build these solid and substantial houses was undoubtedly the terms of lease which were much better than for any other part of the city, due probably to the fact that the development was being carried out by local merchants. 'To let in long leases or in perpetuity a variety of sites in Queen St and along the Strand. Every encouragement will be given to parties disposed to build on these sites'.[43]

Strand Rd before being built up was in many respects similar to what Foyle St had been. Yet the original buildings there were mainly dwelling houses as in the rest of the area.[44] By the end of our period the new fashionable suburb had developed considerably

> 'The houses of Sackville St are larger and uniform in size, Great James St consisting also a number of excellent houses and which is now in progress of being extended up to near the New Church. Dobbs, Esq. M.P. has recently erected a splendid house on

41. [illegible] Derry, vol 2.
42. [illegible]
43. Adv. Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1846.
44. [illegible]

> this street, four stories high with cut stone in front and finished in a very superior manner. There has also been built in this direction a row of very neat houses called Queen St which is now becoming a fashionable place of residence'.45

The development of this fashionable area continued and by 1847 Clarendon St (then Ponsonby St) was open for development.[46]

It was obviously commercial growth which gave the impetus to the development of this area, sited near the warehouses, timber yards and port. Strand Rd, like Foyle St, originally reclaimed from the river and under short leasehold, was gradually extended throughout our period from the one cottage mentioned above so that in 1849 a local newspaper noted

> 'a great extension of the houses on the Strand line of road where a neat row was erected by the late Joseph Young, Esq. On this line are the yards and stores of the timber merchants of this city viz: Messrs. James Corscadden & Co., Messrs. Wm. McCorkell & Co. and Messrs. J. & J. Cooke. Here also is the ship-building yard of William Coppin, Esq., with a foundry attached to it where a considerable number of men are kept in constant employment. A good deal of land where the buildings now stand has been reclaimed from the tide; and on the other side of the road, the site where the Second Presbyterian Church was recently built was formerly covered with water during the winter. The handsome houses built by William Huffington and

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45. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
46. Plates nos VII and VIII.

> Stewart Gordon are the last of the dwelling houses erected on this line; but down opposite to the rock, a building has been erected a short time since, not the least important of any yet noticed. We allude to the large mill, kiln and stores of Samuel Gilliland, Esq., merchant. This mill, the machinery of which is worked by steam, contains six pairs of stones, and is divided into three compartments for the grinding of oatmeal, flour and Indian corn, all of which can be in a process of manufacture at the same time. The site where this extensive building stands was reclaimed from the slob ground by Mr Gilliland at a considerable expense. It has, however, been executed in a permanent manner and vessels can come close to it for the purpose of loading and discharging. From this as well as the extension of the houses in the Strand Rd, it bids fair to become before many years a street of some importance, the trade of the town having apparently a tendency for a considerable time past to spread in this direction'.[47] The widening and improvement of the road by the Corporation[48] helped it to do just that and also to become the main road to Inishowen.

It is easy to explain the town's first suburb outside the walls being so sited. Proximity of merchant streets to the port, warehouses and timber yards have already been mentioned as a reason but the nature of the site itself was by far the most important one. The site of this suburb was the only

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47. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
48. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 16 October and 19 November 1849.

stretch of flat land close to the town and outside the walls at the time. Hence it was built upon. This building considerably influenced the style of the later town as it laid down the line of the streets and subsequent builders had to follow it. Hence many of Derry's streets are climbing up hill-sides instead of across them.

We have already observed that the first signs of any growth outside the walls of Derry were the continuations of Bishop St on the southern side and Fahan St on Bogside on the western. These corresponded to the routes into the city from the Letterkenny and Inishowen districts of Donegal. It was natural enough that the native Irish should form the nucleus of the population of these areas for, ever since the seventeenth century, being unwelcome within the walls, it was to be expected that they would settle under them on the Donegal side. After the building of the Long Tower Church in 1784 it would appear that, right up to our period, they were present at the Bishop St end in larger numbers than in the Bogside. In this they were following the pattern of the native Irish in other Irish towns of congregating around the church. The nineteenth century influx of Donegal people settled mainly in the many new streets that sprang up near the Bogside, creating the Bogside area.[49] Their settlement here

49. Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the condition of the poor in Ireland. Appendix C. Pt. 1, p.63. H.C.1836 /35/. Hereafter cited as Poor Inquiry Ireland.

rather than around the church gives us a clue to the purpose of their coming - employment. The Bogside area was convenient to the sources of it - the new building sites and the provision yards of the port. In later years this heavy catholic settlement in the south and west proved to be the foundation of the geographical distribution of religious groups for which Derry has become notorious; for as the population grew these two settlements, joined originally by St Columb's Wells, spread towards each other and up the hillsides to form the solid block of population, in the south and west of Derry city today, that is 98% catholic.

The Long Tower suburb, if we may call it such, consisting of Long Tower St, Priest's Lane, Henrietta St, Barrack Row and Dark Lane, was easily the poorest area of the town in our period.[50] Of the one hundred and twenty-nine buildings valued there in 1832 only seven were valued at over £5.[51] In Priest's Lane, although most of the houses had three, four or five perches of ground attached, only three of the thirty houses were given any valuation, and then only £2. 8. 0, £2. 12. 0 and £2. 16. 0.[52] And of 58 houses in Long Tower St, only seven, one of them the chapel, were above £5 and twenty were not valued at all.

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50. Val 1 B. 547 D.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., Priest's Lane.

valuations of eighteen houses in Henrietta st ranged from £3. 10. 0 to £3. 10. 0 and one house out of twenty-three in Park Lane and Barrack Row was valued - at £2. 4. 0.[53]

The area was therefore one of cabins, each with a patch of land attached. It is very likely that many of these, especially the unvalued ones, were mud cabins as the 1841 Census mentions the existence of 83 one-roomed mud cabins in the city.[54]

Bishop St outside the walls, where the horse market was located, reflected the general standard of the district. As already noted above, publicans tended to cluster around the markets. There were eighteen of them in Bishop St (without) as well as seven grocer and spirit sellers. The other large group centred there were seven egg, butter and fowl shippers.[55]

Joining the Bishop St suburb to the Bogside one was St Columb's Wells, similar to the streets detailed above and consisting of the cottage or cabin type dwelling. Seventeen of forty dwellings there received no rating whatsoever while only the schoolhouse and four other houses were over £5.[56]

The Bogside suburb itself can be regarded as the area bounded by William St, Fawhog, Bogside and Medale Road. Maps

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53. Val 1 fo 347 3. Long Tower St.

54. Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the Census of Ireland for the Year 1841, p. 44. Ref. 1143 (Mic), NAI.

55. A new directory of Londonderry, 1834.

56. Val 1 fo 347 1. St Columb's Wells.

of Derry in 1799 show that Fahan St (otherwise named Bogside) was the only street in this area in existence.[57] William St, the next to rise, obviously began as an intended new suburb for the merchant classes. The first building there must have taken place around 1815, for in that year the Irish Society deputation noticed 'fifteen houses on the old road now William St'.[58] By the end of another fifteen years there were sixty-three houses in William St, fifty-three in Rossville St and, in addition, streets like Abbey St, Thomas St, Ann St and Union St had been built.[59] The building of this area can thus be placed definitely between 1815 and 1832 and the last three streets must have been built in 1830 or 1831 as a letter to the Londonderry Sentinel in November of 1831 refers to 'the new streets leading from Rossville St and Abbey St'.[60]

By 1850 even further growth was evident. Lecky Rd had been opened in 1842[61] and Joseph St was there in 1847.[62] In addition, there had been the continued building of better-class houses in Rossville St and William St. It is both noticeable and natural that, on approaching the William St end of this area,

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57. Plate 4.
58. Report Irish Society Dep., 1815. p.45.
59. Val 1 B. 547 D; Val 1 A 547 B.
60. Letter in Londonderry Sentinel, 19 November 1831.
61. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 1 August 1842.
62. Plate 7.

the houses improve in quality. On the other side of William St was the new merchant suburb. This street continued to improve throughout our period. Houses erected were generally similar to style to those in Sackville St and Great James St.

> 'To let. A neat house in William St containing on the ground floor a commodious parlour with a kitchen in rere; on the second floor a drawing room with bed-chamber in rere; and on the attic on third floor three bed-chambers with a convenient garret above'.[63]

The lower end of William St, from Rossville St to Combog, was also built up.

> 'In addition to a great improvement in the left-hand corner of William St, made by Samuel Robinson, butter and provision merchant, in houses for shops and stores etc., a good row of houses has been erected and also a row on the same side of the street commencing on the corner of Rossville St'.[64]

All this took place between 1830 and 1849. New building continued throughout the forties, mainly of three storey houses. In some of these, for the first time, the back entrance appeared.[65]

In Rossville St also building continued. It was a rather mixed street containing houses of a very poor-class cottage type together with good well-built houses.[66]

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63. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 11 October 1825.
64. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
65. Londonderry Journal, 22 January 1844.
66. Val 1 A. 547 B. Rossville St.

> 'To be sold. Eight new three storey dwelling houses with outhouses and yards - two fronting Fahan St and six in Rossville St, with building ground sufficient to build thirty more as large. Also eleven other new houses at Fox's corner with outhouses and yards'.[67]

This dual character of Rossville St was reflected in its inhabitants as well, for it contained quite a few of the classified 'nobility and gentry' and was the recognised residential area for ships' captains, probably due to its proximity to the port. Seven 'master mariners' and one captain are listed as there in 1839.[68] Pilot's Row led off the street. The other face of Rossville St is shown by the four publicans and the town's only pawnbrokers - three of them - there in the same year. William St had six publicans, three grocers and spirit sellers, and three butter merchants, as well as seven of the nobility and gentry.[69]

The extent of the buildings in the smaller streets or lanes of this area is fairly obvious from the valuations from which can also be deduced a fairly clear picture of their nature. They contained rows of the cottage or cabin type dwelling, rows which had no planning and were built back to back. Most of them had a small patch of land of three or four perches attached

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67. Londonderry Sentinel, 29 May 1830.
68. A new directory of Londonderry, 1839.
69. Ibid.

to the house.[70]

The general standard of housing in this area can be deduced from a closer look at the valuation figures. In Abbey St, of forty-eight houses listed, only twelve are valued at £5 or more. Six of these adjoined the distillery and all had similar pieces of ground attached. It is therefore probable that these belonged to the distillery, and housed workers.[71] Frederick St had an even lower standard. Of twenty-two houses listed, thirteen were not valued at all and the remaining nine were rated at under £4.[72] Ann St and Thomas St, although new streets, were no better off. The twenty-two houses in the former were all valued at between £2. 2. 0 and £2. 4. 0, while the fifteen dwellings in Thomas St were all under £3 with one exception at £3. 7. 0.[73] Union St, another 'new' street, had only five houses valued out of twenty-three each at the low figure of £2. 14. 0.[74] Bogside St itself, the oldest street in the area, had eighty-five houses of which only two were over £5, while many were not valued at all. Fahan St (without) had fifty-nine houses of which only seven were adjudged to be above the £5 valuation.[75]

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70. Val 1 B. 547 D. Bogside St.
71. Ibid., Abbey St.
72. Ibid., Frederick St.
73. Ibid., Thomas St.
74. Ibid., Union St.
75. Ibid., Fahan St and Bogside St.

Although valuation figures give some idea of the low standard of housing in the area, they do not include the detailed measurements given for other parts of the town. None of the houses in Rosseville St, Thomas St and Union St are an exception. One house in Rosseville St, valued at £4. 7. 6, was 16' 11" by 17' 9" but was only 8' high and had a back house 6' high.[76] Six houses in Union St, each with a garden, valued at £4. 12. 0 were 15' by 16' 3" and 8' high while another, 7' 6" high and 14' by 16' was valued at £3. 8. 2.[77]

From these figures we can determine how small must have been the remainder of the houses in the area, all of which were lower valued or not valued at all. An estimate of the sanitary conditions obtaining can be arrived at when we consider that, although these houses had higher valuations than was general in the district, they did not have a privy.

Other adjoining streets, built up in the early nineteenth century, were Creggan St, Middle Rd (now Francis St) and Lower Rd. The latter had only six houses, each with one or two perches, valued at £2. 1. 0.[78] The highest valued of twenty-one houses in Middle Rd was £2. 14. 0 while only ten of the thirty-eight in Creggan St were valued at all.[79] Yet in spite of this,

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76. Val I, p. 547 f. Rosseville St, no 7.
77. Ibid., Union St.
78. Val I p. 547 b. Lower Rd.
79. Ibid., Middle Rd.

housing conditions in the whole area seemed to be better than in other parts of the country. 'Although the wants of the lower orders have raised up some streets of an inferior description, they do not consist of mud cabins, or rarely, of thatched cottages'.[80]

Thus, the atmosphere of the whole district must have been a distinctly rural one. The cottage, the patch of land - similar conditions to the rural labourer elsewhere in nineteenth century Ireland - were added to, and the rural atmosphere heightened by the presence in the area of many piggeries.[81] The tradition of pig-rearing here, a very strong one until modern sanitary requirements ruled otherwise, was probably considerably strengthened by the presence of a distillery in the district, as the waste material or 'pottle' from it provided a cheap means of feeding pigs.[82] The Devon Commission also listed quite a large number of cattle and poultry in the city of Derry in 1845.[83]

Overlooking their area and immediately beneath the walls, were the two streets, the one a continuation of the other, which served the business needs of the poorer community. The nature of the businesses too, gives another very strong indication

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80. Inglis, op. cit., ii. 201.
81. Val 1 A. 547 B; Val 1 B. 547 D.
82. Letter in Londonderry Journal, 4 February 1834.
83. Report of Commissioners on law and practice in respect of occupation of land and Ire., H.C. p.477. 1845 [616] XIX.

of the standard of living in the district they served. In the Cowbag, now Waterloo St, and Fuller St there was a concentration of second-hand clothes dealers and publicans.[84] Out of thirty-seven businesses, there were ten clothes dealers, thirteen publicans and three spirit sellers. In Fuller St six clothes brokers and five publicans were among seventeen businessmen.[85] The tradition of second-hand clothes dealers in this area was still strong till recent years, but the entire population of Waterloo St today (with few exceptions) is made up of drapers and publicans. The concentration of second-hand dealers in our period is a further reflection of the social character of their customers, most of whom would have resided in the Ropelde area.

Immediately beneath the Cowbag was the piece of land opened up in 1843 - Chamberlain St. It was in keeping with the better class type of housing which we noticed above to be prevalent in this section of the suburb. An interesting point arises from the method of development of this street. The ground was held by Justice Torrens from the Irish Society. After building the first two houses he threw the remainder of the building lots open to letting, with the proviso that any house built must conform to the two model houses already erected.[86] In this we see one of

84. A new directory of Londonderry, 1859.
85. Ibid.
86. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 5 September 1843.

the first efforts to have houses in streets built to a uniform pattern. It is possible that the ground landlord was required to do this by a covenant in his holding from the Irish Society. We saw above that they tried to exercise control of the building by such covenants. Harvey St, too, leading from the Cowbon to Chamberlain St, was opened at around the same time, the houses there also conforming to an identical design.[87]

The only remaining district left to survey before completing the physical picture of Derry between 1815 and 1850 is that on the eastern bank of the river - the Waterside. In 1821 there was only one street there, and the suburb in all contained only one hundred and five houses peopled by 665 inhabitants.[88] Several strong and independent forces had prevented the growth of this suburb before that date.

The first and most important obstacle to growth was the limitations of site imposed by the Waterside bank of the river itself.

> 'Were it not for the unfavourable position of the Waterside, cramped as it is by the narrow space between the hill above it and the river, that village would quickly acquire importance from the coming of the farmers to avoid the necessity of passing the bridge'.[89]

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87. Plate no 7; Irish Society Collection, Derry, dated 1846.
88. Census of Ireland 1841, p.738; Census of Ireland 1851, pt.i, vol.i, p.248
89. Derry Journal, 1st Jan.

The bridge itself provided another stumbling block to growth as the weight of the tolls undoubtedly prevented any market or residential settlement on the upperside bank of the river. Even pedestrians had to pay tolls and the quays were all on the western bank. In proof of this point we have the sudden beginnings of upperside growth in the 1840s when a board of trustees had taken possession of the bridge tolls with the intention of lowering them and, as soon as possible, building a new bridge over the river. In addition new quays on the Upperside in the 1840s meant that for some articles, tolls could be avoided.[90]

The third, and perhaps most powerful force preventing upperside growth, lay in the history of Derry itself. Derry had always been a Protestant stronghold ever since its seventeenth century foundation and had always been very English in outlook. Reasons of defence therefore had tended to prevent the spread of Derry outside its compact well enclosed site. The point is well clarified by the opposition to the decision in 1816 to build the new military barracks on the Upperside bank. Sir George Hill, a prominent local aristocrat and later Governor of the Island of St Vincent, a man of some influence, then wrote to the Lord

90. These points are dealt with in detail in an examination of the effects of the bridge tolls in Chapter VII.

Lieutenant:

> 'I strongly feel that the political spirit of the city is [illegible] as it could with ... from 1916 ... is Derry had not been a community in the figure much has from its character of loyalty rendered the State good service in the past. It has offered an example and rallying point to society in both times and by the Ulster Volunteers in the two years preceding the which averted the rebellion at that part from extending itself in the north of Ireland'.

The selection of the right bank of the river as the site for a new military barracks would therefore

> 'be considered first as an abandonment of the defence of all the country on the left bank and of the properties and lives of the inhabitants in case of an appeal to arms either by invasion or otherwise and there are very numerous protestant districts in contact immediately joining the liberties of Derry, the inhabitants of which feel constantly with Derry and look to it as a point of rally and d'appui'.[1]

Such sentiments had evidently prevented waterside growth in the past, but by the same token considerable confidence in the new suburb must have been engendered and a spur given to its growth by the eventual building of the new barracks there in 1879.

The final spur towards growth however was the immediate one - commercial development - enabled by the poverty of

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[1] [illegible]

conditions in the rural areas surrounding the waterside.

> 'The Waterside, which from being some 20 years since, little more than a small street has now become a place of considerable importance having a distillery, two large mills for the manufacture of oatmeal and a third about to be erected'.[92]

This development was considerably aided by the provision of new wharves and a grain market at the waterside.[93] In its turn, development led to the growth of some streets of houses for workers and the building of some beautiful villas for employers - the beginnings of Victoria Park - overlooking the river.[94]

By 1851 the total number of houses had risen to 192 and the population had practically doubled to 1,124.[95] The growing importance of the waterside suburb and the tendency of the inhabitants of Londonderry parish to congregate nearer the city is shown by the fact that the parish church of the Catholic community and the Reformed Presbyterian Church were built there in the 1840s.[96] This movement of population within the parish towards its city can be shown too by the population figures.

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92. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

93. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 7 May 1849; Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

94. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

95. Census of Ireland 1851, Pt. 1. Vol. III. p.248.

96. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849; J. S. Coulter, History of the Parish of Templemore (Derry, 1958). p.46.

The total population of Clondermott parish in 1841 had been 10,295. By 1851 it had dropped to 9,625 but the city section of the parish, the Waterside, had risen in the same period from 666 inhabitants to 1,144.[97] It is quite clear therefore that by 1850, the Waterside was sharing in Derry's general prosperity.

Prosperity reflected itself also in the city's public buildings. 'The public buildings of Derry are, I think, among the best I have seen in Ireland', was the comment of Thackeray, one of the keenest observers to visit Ireland in the nineteenth century.[98] Yet in 1804, apart from St Columb's Cathedral, there was hardly a public building of any note in Derry. The market house or corporation hall was unsafe from decay and the gaol was small and bad.[99] By 1837 the city 'boasted of a variety of important buildings'[100] and by 1850 there were still more.

The close connection between the growth of new public buildings and the commercial improvement of the city can be observed from the nature of them. The majority of new buildings were Presbyterian churches and as the Presbyterians were the dominant element in the business life of the city the conclusion

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97. Census of Ireland, 1851, Pt. I. Vol. III. p.248.
98. Thackeray, op. cit., p.371.
99. John Hewitt, Londonderry, p.101.
100. Ibid., p.102.

is evident. In 1830 there was one Presbyterian church with seating accommodation for 2,000 people.[101] In 1837 the second Presbyterian Church was built in Great James St. Fronted by four Ionic columns and four pilasters, it was a rectangular building eighty feet by fifty feet. Materials used were whinstone for the main building but the pillars, flags and steps were of freestone from Scotland. The total cost of £2,200 was borne entirely by voluntary subscriptions from the community and a seating accommodation for a congregation of 1,200 was provided.[102] The Third Presbyterian Church was built on the Strand[103] in the 1840s followed shortly afterwards by the Fourth, for which, as we have already seen, the theatre had been converted.

Other denominations were less prosperous. The Wesleyans built a new chapel in Bast Wall for a congregation of 650. It cost £1,110, borne by public subscription and had a doric front, a style common to most of the public buildings of the period.[104] In 1824 an Independent chapel was erected in Bridge St with accommodation for 350 people.[105] The Church of Ireland and Catholic communities had developments too. The Long Tower, the Catholic church, had no seating accommodation but as early as

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101. O'S. memoir, Londonderry, p.108.
102. Ibid.
103. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
104. W.S. Bewail, Londonderry, p.109.
105. Ibid., p.105.

1835 Catholics were considering means of building a cathedral.[106] A new Catholic church in Waterside was opened in 1841.[107] The Church of Ireland made no extension of church accommodation but in 1833 a new Deanery House was completed in Bishop Street, the finest Georgian building in the city. Its cost of £3,421 was met by the Dean himself.[108]

In 1817 the finest public building in the city in the first half of the nineteenth century was built. The Courthouse was erected in Bishop Street, next to the Deanery.

> 'It exhibits a façade, judiciously broken by a tetrastyle portico of the antique Ionic order, modelled after that of the temple of Erectheus, at Athens, and terminating in wings. The edifice measures 126 ft. by 66 ft. The tympan of the pediment is embellished with the royal arms in high relief; and the wings, which are adorned with Ionic pilasters, are surmounted by statues of Justice and Peace, executed in Portland stone. All the ornamental work is of the same kind of stone, but the principal material is white sandstone, procured chiefly from the neighbourhood of Dungiven'.[109]

The gaol was begun outside Bishop's Gate two years later in 1819. It was completed in 1824. Semi-circular in shape, it had a frontage of 242 ft. and a total depth of 400 ft. The material was again Dungiven sandstone. The total cost was

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106. Londonderry Journal, 24 June 1839.
107. Coulter, op. cit., p.48.
108. [illegible], p.107.
109. Ibid., p.115.

£33,718 Irish and it contained 179 single cells, 26 work and day rooms and 2 yards. The hospital and the governor's house were built separately from the main building.[110]

In the centre of the town the corporation hall underwent complete structural alterations between 1823 and 1826 which produced a practically new building. The cost was £5,5 0. The upper storey contained the council room, an antechamber and an assembly hall 75 ft. by 36 ft. in which were held most of the city's social functions such as concerts, balls or corporation dinners.[111] The military barracks was shifted from Foyle St to Waterside and was opened in 1839.[112] It cost £6,000. The only other public building of note to be erected during the period was Gwyn's Institution, built to house orphan children educated under a charity bequeathed by John Gwyn. It was opened in 1843.[113]

An insight into the cost of land for building, architects' fees etc. of the period is given by the accounts of Londonderry Lunatic Asylum built in 1828. The total cost of the building, described in Chapter V, was £25,678. It was built on a twelve acre site which cost £752, an average cost of £63 per acre. Legal fees were £172 while the architect received £1,248 and the builders £22,354.[114]

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110. Gate Guide, Londonderry, p.116.
111. Ibid., p.115.
112. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1839.
113. Londonderry Journal, 13 June 1843.
114. Gate Guide, Londonderry, p.115.

Public buildings built between 1800 and 1850 are easily dated as they have much in common. The doric front was a popular style of the period and Dungiven sandstone was a widely used material.

It is thus clear that the physical growth of Derry, both in public building and housing, was considerable between 1825 and 1850. A clear indication of housing growth and conditions emerges from the censuses of 1841 and 1851. In 1841 there were 2,409 houses in Derry city. 329 of these were uninhabited. 63 were one-roomed mud cabins without windows. 593 were mud built cottages with between two and four rooms, with windows. 1,047 were second-class houses with from five to nine rooms. The remaining 337 were marked first-class, a classification given to any house found to be in better condition than those marked second-class.[115] In 1851 the number of houses had grown to 2,585 of which 47 were in the course of being built and 287 had no one living in them.[116]

It is difficult to ascertain the religious distribution of the population as the census figures give no details. The Ordnance Survey Memoir gives a fairly clear picture of the position in 1834 based on a combination of figures produced by the 1832 valuation and the Commissioners of Public Instruction.

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115. Census of Ireland, 1841, p.xiv; xlvi., p.444.
116. Census of Ireland, 1851, Pt. I. Vol. LII. pp.247.

Inside the walls were 790 Presbyterians, 663 members of the Church of Ireland and 689 Catholics. Outside the walls Catholics numbered 6,609, Presbyterians 2,154 and Church of Ireland 1,905.[117] The vast majority of the poorer classes were Catholic.[118]

Red brick was the common material used in new houses. They were brought either from nearby St Johnston in Co Donegal or Muff in Co Derry (the modern village of Eglinton). American pine was the usual timber used for houses while the superior quality Memel pine was employed for better buildings. Slates were imported from Glee and flagging for stone floors came from nearby quarries at Prehen and Creggan. Bricks cost from 14/- to 16/- per thousand. American timber cost £2. 15. 0 per ton. Welsh green or princess slates, the type used, averaged £2. 17. 6 per ton.[119] Building labourers were paid an average 7/- per week while carpenters and masons earned 15/-.[120]

Concrete made its first appearance as a building material in Derry in 1846:

> "The first one which has been made of concrete in this quarter is for the foundation of the houses on the strand opposite to Pitt's wharf, the building of which is under the superintendence of Stewart Gordon, Esq., the county

117. Hall, Ireland, Derry, p.191.
118. Report Irish Society, &c., 1826. p.42.
119. Hall, Ireland, Londonderry, p.240.
120. Poor in Ireland, Appendix C. pt.I. p.61.

> surveyor. It is composed of gravel or stones and hot lime, which as soon as their mixture with water is effected, are thrown into the place they are destined to occupy, and in half an hour or so, become a mass as solid as granite, and quite impervious to moisture. Mr. Gordon considers that concrete thus used is fully cheaper than masonry'.[121]

Some effort was also being made, chiefly by landlords, to control the type of build to be erected. Streets like Wm. Harbin St and Neon St built at this period, show for the first time some uniformity of house-types within a street. Development was normally controlled by ground landlords who let plots of ground on leasehold, mainly term merchants. They did not carry out the building themselves. Chamberlain St gives some example of the procedure used. The ground landlord built two identical houses and offered the rest of his ground to let with the proviso that any houses built had to be on the model of the two existing houses.[122] It is to be observed also that the better type of house built at this period was normally built on ground where there was a reasonable length of lease.[123]

Leases played a significant part in development. Short-term leases were common in most parts of Derry and militated against any worthwhile development. An agent to the Irish

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121. Londonderry Journal, 15 July 1846.
122. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 3 September 1863.
123. Advt. Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1846.

Society had foreseen this position as far back as 1805. Appealing for longer term leases from the Society he pointed out that few tenants would make any attempt to improve their property on such short holdings.

> 'It is much to be feared', he wrote, 'lest the people of Londonderry who are increasing daily in wealth, and seek the relaxation of a country retirement from the fatigues of business, should be induced to establish themselves and build their villas on the other side of the water and which being all of it freehold property belonging to individuals, they could easily obtain long leases of'.[124]

The rise of numerous country villas built by merchants on the waterside bank of the river between 1820 and 1850 testify that this is precisely what happened. It is to be observed also that the only really substantial houses built outside the walls at this period - the Queen St area - were built on ground leased in perpetuity.[125]

Development outside the walls marked the end of an old prejudice that it was not respectable to live there.[126] This change is probably due to commercial pressure for space but it is also possible that after thirty years of the use of steam,

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124. J. C. Forrester, 'Report of Government to Irish Society', in [illegible] Irish Society, p.CCXIX.

125. Irish Builder, 15 September 1845.

126. [illegible]

considerable security and confidence had grown in the minds of the townspeople with regard to living outside the walls. Their defensive mentality was beginning to disappear.

Chapter III

Public Health

The physical growth of the city between 1835 and 1935 clearly made heavy demands on the existing public amenities and it is little wonder that many of these proved inadequate to meet the growing needs of the community. Fortunately, however, the new elected corporation created in 1841 were more energetic in the public interest than their predecessors had been, and they must take some credit for the improvement shown in all aspects of town life by 1851. Their interest and their activity is evident from a perusal of their Minute Book. In accordance with the powers delegated to them by the Towns Improvement Clauses Act they set up an Improvements Committee to co-operate with their M.P. in Westminster in tackling the urgent and growing problem of public amenities.[1] Thus they had passed in 1848 the Londonderry Improvement Bill whereby they received the power to deal with the problems of water supply, sewerage, street surfacing, cemetery, police, lighting etc. In accordance with their powers they appointed for the first time a Town Surveyor, to superintend and advise on public improvements.[2]

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1. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 9 session 1847.
2. Ibid., 14 December 1848.

Prior to 1841 the lighting, cleansing and watching of the city had been performed in accordance with 2 & 3 William IV C. 107, not by the Corporation but by a Police Committee consisting of the Mayor and twelve other inhabitants chosen by ballot. Only those whose valuation was rated at or above £20 and who lived in the city or suburbs were eligible for membership of this committee. The vote was held only by those who were liable to assessment and whose tax or cess was not one year in arrears. The expenses of their operations were met by a rate levied by them, not to exceed one shilling in the pound, on all premises valued at £10 or over.

The paving of street surfaces in the city was one of the responsibilities of this committee. This responsibility it shared jointly with the Grand Jury. The carriageways and unflagged footpaths were kept in order by the latter, while the Police Committee looked after the flagging.[3] Neither did its job well.

The conditions of the streets gave cause for concern throughout our period and although attempts at improvement were made from time to time complaints continued:

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3. Londonderry Journal, Bill, Abstract and Index of Minutes of Proceedings (1838-51) Add. 107. Div. iv.

> 'We beg leave to call attention to the state of the streets at present. We confine our remarks to the 3 in which no operations are being carried on, and for the filthy condition of which there can be no apology. The thaw in many parts has rendered them all but impassable and in that state they have been for some days'.[4]

That was in 1830. Some isolated attempts were made to surface particular areas but by 1844 conditions were no better. The County Surveyor reported that 'the pavement in use in this city is of the worst description and ought to be abolished whenever the resources of the district will allow it of all streets being macadamised'.[5] The type of paving in use in the streets up to this time, apart from an old macadamized street, was 'causey' stones which had become worn out.[6] These causeys were large round stones and paving done with them was known as pitcher paving.[7] The footpaths, when they were flagged, were of bungiven freestone.[8]

In accordance with their powers under the Londonderry Improvement Act the Corporation took upon itself the responsibility for the repair and management of streets and roads in the

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4. Londonderry Journal, 5 January 1830.
5. County Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 25 May 1844.
6. Ibid.
7. Londonderry Improvement Bill. Powers of Improvement. Div. IV.
8. Ordnance Memoir, p.23.

borough and separated them from the county.[9] They reported that 'the existing footways are in an exceedingly bad state. Flagging has only been laid in a few streets and in many streets there are no footways'.[10] They proposed to macadamize the streets and for footpaths 'rubble paving with kerbstones is the only description of foot pavements to be used', although they would lay flagging at the request of property owners if the latter paid the difference in cost.[11] They estimated the total cost of these improvements to be £5,449. 13. 10.[12] They did macadamize the streets throughout the town,[13] but there was no variety in the type of footpath.

> 'We observe that messrs. Francis Ritchie & Sons are at present engaged in flagging some of the footpaths of the city with their asphalted flagging. It is rather a novelty in this neighbourhood but we have every reason to believe that where it has already been used it has given the utmost satisfaction'.[14]

The problem of inadequate water supply was also dealt with. 'Supply of water - none but from pumps inside and a few wells

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9. Minutes of Sanitary Committee, 16 March 1849.
10. Sanitary Inquiry Bill. Minutes of Proceedings, xiv. iv.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Minutes of Sanitary Committee, 8 October 1849; Ibid., 1 December 1849.
14. Sanitary Inquiry, 22 April 1847.

outside the wells from whence it is carried in cans'.[15] Such was the state of Derry's water supply in 1804. The problem was tackled shortly afterwards. Under 48 Geo. III c.136 the responsibility for the supply of water was vested in a pipe-water committee consisting of nine members - the Mayor, four members of the common council to be appointed by that body, and four other individuals, one to be appointed by the inhabitants of each of the four wards assembled in vestry. In the Act it was stated that the Corporation had already spent £8,000 in 1808 and 1809 on waterworks and the committee were empowered to levy an annual water rate for the payment of the interest on this sum.

These original waterworks had their main tank in Quay Brae Head or Corrody above the Waterside.[16] The water supplying this tank was collected from the small springs and streams in this area and was conveyed thence to a tank on the city side by means of pipes across and underneath the wooden bridge spanning the Foyle.[17] This second tank was situated in Fountain St, at the highest point in the city, and the water was carried thence to the inhabitants by pipes laid down in the streets.[18]

The pipes in this system were originally wooden, probably the elm pipes in common use elsewhere, but they were replaced by

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15. O.S. Memoir, Londonderry, p.101.
16. Ibid., p.127.
17. Londonderry Improvement Bill. Minutes of Proceedings, p.1.
18. Ibid.; Londonderry Journal, 1 June 1830.

metal pipes in 1834.[19] Further improvements were carried out in 1836 in an effort to improve the weaknesses in the system. A larger tank was erected whereby it was hoped 'to give a constant and daily supply of water to the inhabitants throughout the year, even in the driest season'. It was also hoped that the additional supply would enable the committee to supply baths with water and thereby cut the cost to the inhabitants 'so that the house of the highest value will be supplied with fresh water daily at little more than 5/- a year'. Through this improvement it was also hoped that the inhabitants would be spared the annoyance of having water wastage by means of burrels and cisterns.[20]

The committee was not prepared for the ~~enormous~~ growth of the town which took place in the 1840's. The supply fell far short of the necessary requirements. The cubic capacity of the reservoirs giving this supply was 1,436,290 cubic feet. If all the inhabitants in 1847 were to receive a supply of water this would only be the equivalent of about eight weeks supply at an average of ten gallons per day to each householder.[21] In addition, because of the fact that the supply of water was mainly surface water, the dry season from May to October often

19. Lancashire Gazette, 25 May 1834.
20. Ibid., 6 December 1836.
21. Lancashire Advertiser, 8 October 1847.

produced a great shortage in supply.[22]

Water was distributed for a short period daily in winter, but in summer sometimes only two days in the week and never more than three.[23] During periods of drought great difficulties were therefore experienced:

> 'Owing to the long continued drought, the inhabitants of the city have, for some time, experienced much inconvenience from the scarcity of this indispensable article. The public reservoir has afforded no supply; and several families have imported water in barrels from a distance, and others have had to buy it, at the rate of a penny for two gallons, from persons who procure it from private wells or such as may be open to the public. The well in Bishop St has been opened but its water is deemed to be of a bad quality'.[24]

The number of houses supplied are another indication of the deficiency of water. Inside the walls, the area supplied, there were 1,168 houses receiving piped water of which 59 were not rateable. Outside, where the supply did not extend, there were 1,384 houses, most of them, as we have seen, of a poorer kind. In fact only 436 of them were liable for rates.[25] The people in this area received their water 'from thirteen public standcocks upon a few indifferent wells and other casual and

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22. Londonderry Improvement Bill. Minutes of proceedings, p.1.
23. Londonderry Standard, 8 October 1847.
24. Londonderry Journal, 22 August 1843.
25. Londonderry Town Gas Bill. Minutes of proceedings, p.1.

insufficient sources'. Because of the shortage of supply at these wells disputes often ensued as the poor queued for water, and in consequence many probably received none.[26]

The system of water supply had other weaknesses too. It often happened that even in winter the supply ran short.[27] This was due to technical difficulties in the system itself. The altitude of the waterside tank above the city one was not high enough and neither, therefore, was the pressure. The size of the pipes added to the difficulty. The diameter of the pipes leading from the waterside tank to the bridge was 8" while that of the pipes from the bridge to the Fountain St tank was only 6" thereby preventing a sufficient flow to the distributing tank.[28] Emergency supplies, in the event of fires, were not guaranteed. Ships, factories or mills could not be supplied thereby raising the cost, and there was always the danger that any damage or accident to the bridge could cut off the water supply to the city indefinitely.[29]

The new Corporation therefore sought powers under the General Waterworks Clauses Act to construct new waterworks in addition to those already in existence and to take the necessary

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26. Londonderry Improvement Bill. Minutes of Proceedings, p.2.
27. Ibid., p.3.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.; Londonderry Standard, 8 October 1847.

lands for that purpose. They were granted these powers in the Londonderry Improvement Act, and so they took over from the Pipe-water Committee the responsibility for the water supply for the city and went ahead with their plans for a new waterworks.[30]

The principal difference in the new works was that they were to be completely situated on the east side of the river to the town. The water, tested and found to be pure, was to be drawn from sources which would not easily dry up. The intended new reservoir capacity was to be trebled to 3,636,240 cubic feet. It was planned that each inhabitant would receive a minimum quantity of ten gallons per day with 30,000 gallons per day left aside for general purposes.[31]

The main reservoir in this new scheme was situated in Creggan

> 'In the upper end of the Bishop's demesne, about a mile and a half from the town, in a valley forming a large natural basin, with a narrow gorge or outlet, at an altitude of upwards of 200 ft. above the level of the sea, and will be fed by two small streams which flow from a catchment basin nearly a square mile in extent. From this reservoir the water is to be conveyed in an earthenware pipe, following a descending contour to a small tank distant ¼ mile from the reservoir and ½ mile from the

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30. Londonderry Improvement Act (1848), 11th and 12th Vic. Cap. cxii. Section xxxvii.

31. Londonderry Improvement Act, Minutes of Proceedings, p.2.

> centre of the town, from which it is to be supplied to the inhabitants with a pressure decreasing from 180 to 90 feet above the highest part of the city'.[32]

This latter tank was situated behind Gwyn's Institution.

The old waterworks was retained to supply the lower parts of the town with water and twelve street wells were set up to supply the poorer class.[33] Crockery or earthenware pipes were used to bring the water from the reservoir to the tank at Gwyns. Metal pipes conveyed it thence to the city while the pipes leading to individual houses were generally of lead.[34]

Concurrently with the problem of water supply the sewerage question was also dealt with. We have already had some idea of the standards of sanitation obtaining in Derry during the early nineteenth century. The vast majority of the houses inside the walls had only privies as a means of sanitation while in the houses outside even a privy was rare except in the better-class house.[35] It must be pointed out here that the term sewerage, as understood in Derry at this time, seems only to have referred to street drainage and does not seem to have included the laying on of sewerage to individual houses. This the water closets which seem to appear in good-class houses in

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32. Londonderry Improvement Bill. Minutes of Proceedings, p.3.
33. Ibid.
34. Londonderry Standard, 23 June 1849.
35. Vol 1 p. 547 a; Vol 1 p. 547 b; Vol 1 p. 547 c.

the 1840's[36] are probably not the result of an overall system of sewerage laid on to individual houses but of the laying of a pipe at his own expense by the householder from the house to the existing drain in the street.

Street drainage itself was a large problem throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and it was the problem tackled by the new Corporation under the term sewerage. A correspondent in 1847

> 'calls attention of the officers of Public Health to the state of the public sewers in our city. In wet weather especially, a most offensive stench issues from the gratings in many of the streets and unless means be adopted for its removal, a pestilential effect can hardly fail to be produced'.[37]

The existing sewerage system was clearly a poor one. The sewers themselves were few in number, badly laid down and so close to the surface of the streets that the cellars of houses could not be properly drained.[38] In some cases even, especially in a poorer area, the sewers were open. They all discharged into the Foyle and the lack of traps or gates at the outlets meant that very often the tide flowed up the sewers and flooded the streets in the low lying part of the town 'causing at times a noisome and unwholesome effluvia'. In addition, there was no method of

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36. Advts. Londonderry Journal, 19 November 1842; Londonderry Sentinel, 21 April 1843.

37. Londonderry Sentinel, 23 September 1847.

38. Londonderry Improvement Act. Minutes of Proceedings, Liv.11.

cleansing then with the result that they became frequently choked up and caused bad flooding. There was only one natural drain in the whole town running through the Bogside area. Many blues burn, as it was called, was built over and was in use as 'a common sewer'.[39]

So urgent was the sewerage problem that at the first meeting of the Town Council after the passing of the Improvement Act it was agreed immediately that the 'present circumstances of the town as regards its sanitary conditions require that part of its provisions, more immediately relative to the health and comfort of the inhabitants be carried on with'.[40] The tender of John Miller, Belfast 'for the construction of a system of sewerage embracing a considerable portion of the borough'[41] was accepted at £3,149,[42] and with whom he gave considerable trouble because of poor workmanship and departure from specifications.[43] sewers of 'pure or mud brick, the best in the country' were laid.[44] Pure or mud, of course, as modern legislation and the brick was the same as that used in many of the houses in the town at this period.

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39. Londonderry Improvement Bill, Minutes of Proceedings, n.d.
40. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 2 October 1848.
41. Advt. Londonderry Standard, 27 October 1848.
42. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 23 February 1849.
43. Londonderry Journal, 2 June 1849; Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 4 July 1849.
44. Londonderry Journal, 26 June 1849.

One problem that did not have to be tackled was that of lighting. Ever since 1823 the city had been well lit by gas supplied by a private company. The cost of the Gasworks, situated in Foyle St, had been £7,000.[45] 'On the evening of Wed last (May 12th 1830) the first Gas-light was exhibited in the national device of a shamrock, springing from the top of the works, since when the public lamps have been lighted in the streets'. The quality of the light and the absence of any 'smoke or offensive smell' meant that many householders had gaslight immediately installed in their homes.[46] Public lighting consisted of 150 lamps throughout the streets, including the bridge. Seventy-six of them were on metal pillars and the remaining seventy-four attached to wall brackets.[47] The houses in the new suburb were not lighted however till the new Corporation ordered lamps to be placed there.[48]

Corporation improvements, of course, did not stop with waterworks and sewerage. Cemeteries in the town were overcrowded; so land was acquired for a new one on the present site.[49] Public order was improved by the replacement of the old and

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45. Def. of Fair. Londonderry, p.31.
46. Londonderry Journal, 18 May 1830.
47. Ibid., 12 October 1831.
48. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 6 October 1849.
49. Londonderry Corporation Act, 1814, Powers & Provisions, &c. (Irish Statutes, 54 Geo.III, c.xxxiii).

inefficient night watch system by the town's first regular police force in 1849. It consisted of an Inspector or Superintendent, one Chief Constable, one Corporal and eighteen Constables, the initial expenses of which, including uniforms, were £680 per annum.[50] Town government too was made much more efficient by the formation of sub-committees of the Corporation to deal with different problems. All the houses in the borough were ordered to be properly numbered and agreed street names adhered to.[51] The cost of all these improvements was to be met by the first general rate which the Improvement Act empowered the Corporation to levy. This rate was not to exceed 6 - in the £. In the first year it was 1/6.[52]

The Londonderry Improvement Bill was therefore a big turning point in the organisation of municipal government in Derry. It gave to the Corporation the powers to supervise and control the development of the town and enabled them to create the organisation necessary to deal with the problems of the growing nineteenth century city. As such it has made a major contribution to the history of Derry.

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50. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 25 February 1864.

51. Ibid., 8 October 1849.

52. Ibid., 10 April 1849; Londonderry Improvement Act (1849), Section lxviii.

Chapter IV

Population and Settlement

The population of the city of Derry in 1821 was estimated at 9,213. In 1831 it had risen to 12,130.[1] The census of 1841, the first reliable census of Irish population, showed a sharp rise to 15,196[2] and by 1851 the numbers had increased still further to 19,680.[3] In short in a thirty year period the population of Derry city doubled and in the ten year period which included the famine, its population rose by one third. This increase was accompanied by a decline in the population of the rural areas immediately surrounding the town, a fact which suggests a drift towards the city. This drift could not account for the whole growth as the population of the rural section of the north-west liberties of Derry fell by only 700 between 1841 and 1851.[4] Similarly, the rural section of Londonderry parish fell by 1,200 while the city section rose from 976 to 1,414 (excluding figures for workhouse inmates) in the same period.[5] It is thus probable that while some of the new-

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1. These figures are taken from the censuses of 1821 and 1831 and are given in Parliamentary Papers, 1831-32, xxxvi, p.[illegible]. An independent calculation by the Commissioners of Public Instruction in 1834, given in the same source, amounts to 12,643 for the city.
2. Census of Ireland, 1841, p.338.
3. Census of Ireland, 1851, Pt.1, Vol. III, p.210.
4. Ibid., p.247.
5. Ibid., p.248.

comers to Derry at this time came from areas immediately surrounding the town, to account for the whole increase one must look further afield into the Donegal hinterland of the city.

The reasons for such increase, strangely enough, are partly the same reasons which brought about the heavy emigration from Ireland as a whole during the period. The failure of the potato crop had produced minor famine in particular areas long before 1847. In 1830 a meeting was called in Derry to take urgent steps for the relief of the poor due to the high price of provisions and 'the failure of the last potato crop'.[6] Disease and epidemic were equally regular in occurrence and while these factors drove many people away from the country altogether, the slightly less adventurous and less monied, headed for the towns where in addition to the hope of employment was situated what means of poor relief there was and the most efficient means of combating disease. The cholera epidemic of 1832, for example, is likely to have been one of the factors in the rise of Derry's population between 1831 and 1841 because of the manner in which the outbreak was dealt with in the city.[7] Moreover, in the north-west area there were particular local reasons why many of the poor inhabitants of neighbouring Donegal should migrate to Derry. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Derry had

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6. Londonderry Journal, 22 June 1830; Ibid., 27 July 1830.
7. These points are discussed fully in Chapter V.

been the market centre for a very flourishing linen trade which gave employment throughout the whole hinterland. The wives and children of labourers by their spinning and weaving were essential elements in the labourer's family economy, supplementing his wages and his potato patch. The total failure of this great domestic industry in the 1830s led to extreme poverty and brought many labourers from Donegal to Derry in search of employment.[8] The conditions in the city to which they came in the 1830s were not much better than those they had left:

> 'Unless for occasional employment in the shipping of grain there is nothing for the working class to do, with the exception of the few employed at the distilleries. The largest part of the population (the most numerous) from the failure of the linen manufacture are in circumstances still more destitute'.[9]

However, as we have seen, things began to move forward in Derry in the 1840s. The town began to grow, trade began to increase, and by the end of our period Derry was a much more attractive place to which to migrate. The population growth of the latter half of the period (1841-1851) supports that view.

The reasons for growth meant that the greatest increase of population took place among the poorer classes. 'Labouring

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8. The decline of the linen industry is discussed in Chapter VI.
9. Letter in Londonderry Sentinel, 26 November 1831.

class', by which they were normally described, was much too wide a term. It could be subdivided at once into labourers in regular employment, labourers in seasonal employment, unemployed labourers and labourers unfit for work due to illness or old age.

They all settled in the same district, the Pounds,[10] an area which we have already examined in detail. Overcrowding was inevitable. The better class of labourer, the class which had steady employment, were able to rent for the princely small sum, described by the Commissioners of Inquiry as 'huts', at a cost of about £3 per annum. These huts were 'tolerably comfortable in summer but in winter some of the occupants suffer considerably from damp'.[11] Their wages never amounted to more than 7/- or 7/6 per week and their only other source of income, usually, was the potato patch attached to the cabin.[12] The absence of employment for his wife and children was a crippling blow:

> 'There is one circumstance which particularly affects the condition of the labouring classes here, that is there is no independent employment as there is in Belfast or other manufacturing towns for the young women. In Belfast all the daughters of a labourer can are frequently employed in the different flax and cotton mills, and in some families

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10. Lewis, Survey Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.64.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p.61.

> they are a great help, in short the entire support of their parents. In this city, as soon as a man has four or five children, they become a burden to him'.[13]

In income, the labourer who obtained average employment throughout the year could not, it was estimated, earn much more than £12 per annum. Out of this came his rent - anything from £3 to £5 per year - and his food.[14] The staple food, as elsewhere in the country, was the potato. Oatmeal and milk mixed into stirabout and salt were the only other ingredients in his diet except for the luxury of an occasional herring.[15] It was estimated that food for an able-bodied labourer - himself - would cost not less than £5 per year. Those who were worse off could exist on as little as 4d. per day 'but certainly could not be expected to labour'.[16] Clothing of labourers in general, as might be expected, was very bad 'consisting of the coarsest linen and drugget'.[17] In general, however, any labourer who was able to get constant employment in Derry throughout the year was admitted to be much better off than labourers in many parts of the country.[18]

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13. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.I. p.63.
14. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. G. p.304. In 1836 £67 went.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Inglis, op. cit., II. 211.

The majority of ferry labourers in the 1830s did not have such constant employment. The largest group of labourers at this time were those engaged in the building trade. Unfortunately the building season only lasted, as a source of heavy employment, from May till November. During the remainder of the year much fewer were employed.[19] The other main source of labouring work was the provision yards, grain stores and other casual jobs connected with the port. The main period of their employment was during the export season from November to May. Many of these were fortunate enough to find employment too in the summer, as extras on the building sites.[20] The winter, therefore, was a season of heavy unemployment among the labouring classes, and between one third and one half of the total number of labourers in the town were unemployed at this time.[21]

The living conditions of the second class of labourer, the labourer only seasonally employed, the 'inferior class' of labourer as opposed to 'the better class', were very poor.

> 'The lodgings of the inferior classes are very wretched being in general at the back of houses occupied by mechanics, or in the garrets of the same house. These houses are damp, dirty and disagreeable; they however afford a tolerable protection against the

19. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.64.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

> inclemency of the weather; the fact they pay is usually (2) or what is meant to say a large portion of the labouring classes inhabit the lower houses'.[22]

The conditions imposed by lack of steady employment were difficult to combat. Because of their wages and the size of their families they were rarely able to save anything when employed. One method of lowering their cost of living was to take cheaper accommodation and to endure it with fortitude. Many of them did and naturally the housing conditions were much worse.

> 'The part of the town they generally reside in is a district known as the Wapping; poverty and wretchedness pervade this district. The houses in this quarter are often dear at one level we went to belongs to John Hale, a labourer, who states he was employed five days in the week in winter; from scarcity of work he is only employed three days and he expects no more to be able to get employment but more than three days in the weeks he lives in a barn in a back yard, for which he pays 1/- a week; he has a wife and five children. The females who live in the same apartment pay the same per week; it is in a very unpleasant part of the town; the floor is damp and full of holes'.[23]

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22. Poor Inquiry, Ireland, App. A, Pt. I, p.62.

23. Ibid., p.64.

Other means of adding to their income in relieving their distress were few. There was, of course, pig rearing which we mentioned earlier, but it could only be done by those who had their own cabin and not by those who lived in cottages. Seasonal migration to England or Scotland was another solution resorted to by many.[24] Credit from the shopkeepers who RV lived there was difficult to get and what loans were given were well paid for - 24/- being paid for 2/- in six months.[25] The pawn shop was busy, but that source of cash was limited by one's possessions - in most cases very scarce. The last resort was begging.

A third subdivision of the labouring or poorer classes were those who, through injury, accident or sickness were totally unemployed. In such living conditions as those already described it is a safe conclusion that sickness was quite common. A typical example of the results of sickness was another resident from the rear of a Quayside house:

> 'The yard was filled with horse dung and nuisances of all sorts and a pool of stagnant water. In this yard was a stable, which was divided into three apartments, in one of which lives

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24. Poor Inquiry Ireland, app. A. p.473. Dub.1835 (369) xxxii; Londonderry Journal, 16 August 1826.

25. Poor Inquiry Ireland, app. A. p.474.

> Arthur O'Neill, a coal porter, and who, having met with an accident to his leg, has been unable to work these three years past, and has only just risen from a bed to which he had been confined for the last eight weeks. O'Neill states he has no means of obtaining food for himself and family which consists of a wife and seven children, the eldest not more than ten years of age. One of these was lying on the only bed they had, in a fever and the rest had gone out to beg for their breakfast. There was scarcely an article of furniture in the cabin, all having been pledged or sold to get food and not a spark of fire in the hearth'.[26]

Old men were no better off than ill men. As they grew older, labourers found it more and more difficult to get employment and they usually ended up running errands and sharing their accommodation with large numbers of other people.[27] They could rarely hope for assistance from their families, if they had any, for they too probably had little. As many as one in twenty in the community in the 1830's were classed as old. Old meant over fifty.[28]

Begging was the last resort. For many it was the only one. The result was a beggar problem in Derry as in the nineteenth century towns. "Crowds of disgusting objects were travelling

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26. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. G. pt.1. p.64.
27. Ibid.
28. Poor Inquiry Ireland. App. A. p.284.

from door to door - the depositories of filth and the conductors of infection'.[29] 'In seasons of scarcity the evils are increased tenfold and our streets filled with crowds of unfortunate and starving beings often, as in 1817, carrying with them and communicating the seeds of contagious disease'.[30] Prior to 1825 as many as six or seven hundred beggars could be seen in Derry on market or fair days. In times of special want or scarcity the numbers rose to as high as 1,500.[31] In the summer season their numbers increased considerably because between the potato crops, inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the hinterland of Derry, shut up their cabins and brought their families to the city to beg.[32] The problem became so large that the citizens met in 1825 to try to solve it. They wanted 'to be delivered from the groups of clamorous and importunate paupers who nightly infest our doors and who are constantly prowling about the streets to the great disgust of strangers'.[34] The result was the foundation of a Mendicity Asylum on the model of the one existing in Dublin.[35] Its objects were to provide for the lowest class of the poor and to rid the streets of

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29. Poor Inquiry Ireland, app. C. pt.1. p.66.
30. Londonderry Journal, 19 April 1825.
31. Poor Inquiry Ireland, app. C. p.767.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Londonderry Journal, 12 April 1825.
35. Ibid., 24 May 1825.

beggars. The disabled poor were lodged and fed, while able-bodied local beggars were given work such as sweeping the streets (at a penny a day), making nets (at up to fourpence a day) or spinning (at 2d per day). The proceeds of the work went to the Mendicity Funds which, in addition, were made up of voluntary subscriptions, donations and the revenue from bazaars and amateur theatre performances.[36]

The food in the Mendicity Asylum was comparable to that received by the poorer classes generally.

> 'An adult receives seven ounces of meat daily, made into stirabout, together with a pint of buttermilk for breakfast. 2½ lbs of potatoes with a pint of buttermilk or soup for dinner; none received supper save those employed in sweeping the streets, who get six ounces of meat for supper and a half-pint of buttermilk. The children receive little more than half that quantity'.[37]

The average cost of lodging and feeding an adult in the Mendicity was about £1. 7. 0. or 5 pence or 1½d per day.[38] The accommodation was clean. No one caught cholera in the Mendicity in spite of the epidemic raging in the city in 1832. Yet space was so limited that men and women, old and young, were stuck together as inmates.[39]

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36. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C, Pt. I; Poor Inquiry Ireland, Vol. I.
37. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C, Pt. I, p.666.
38. Ibid., p.665.
39. Ibid., p.667.

The second object of this asylum, ridding the streets of beggars, was tackled in a different manner. Beadles or 'bangbeggars' as they were called, were employed to patrol the streets and drive the beggars from town or commit them to the bridewell attached to the workhouse.[4] For a first offence they were driven away, but on a second occasion they were usually confined to the black hole for twenty-four hours without food.

> 'The number of beggars has in consequence very much decreased, so that few, if any now venture to apply within Derry; and the character of this severity has been spread in an exaggerated shape over the whole country, so that even strangers are afraid to apply in the town for relief'.[41]

Thus beggars were more or less terrorized off Derry's streets but the real problem was hardly solved. Many simply stayed around the outskirts of the town, lodging in large numbers with the poorer inhabitants there.

> 'In a cabin 15' by 12' .... In one corner in a miserable bed the owner and her brother slept; in the corner behind the door she placed the beggars to whom she gave lodging. In this there were to sleep when we visited it a man, his wife and six children, the oldest 14; they had nothing but a little straw to lie on, with an old blanket were very thin and small.[42]

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40. Ibid., p.66.

41. Rev. Henry Boyndcraig, p.166.

42. Poor Inquiry Ireland, Appx. D, p.71.

beggars in general preferred the outskirts, avoiding the hangabeggars and having the advantages of both town and country, lodging in the former and begging throughout the latter. They found much more sympathy and help among the poor than among the better classes. 'I wrought for one man for twenty years and could just get a handful of potato's from him like my other beggar'.[43]

The majority of beggars were women and children, begging being done generally in family groups. Many of course were widows; but in general the prevalence of the woman beggar was due to the generally held opinion that able-bodied men should earn their living. Thus they kept out of the way while the wives and children begged.[44] Food, of course, in the form of potatoes, was generally given.[45]

One step above the labouring classes on the social ladder, but still a part of 'the lower orders' were 'mechanics' or tradesmen. Living also in the Bogside area, their houses had a slightly higher degree of comfort than those of the labourers. This was reflected in their cabin and potato patch, rented at around £5 per year and generally 'clean and decently kept'.

42. Ibid., p.285.
44. Ibid., p.787.
45. Ibid., p.784.

Well clothed and well fed in general, their wages (when they were in full employment) were usually sufficient for them to eat meat every day and allowed three quarters of them, to afford 'other little luxuries such as tea'. Their homes were usually well heated due to the abundance of turf and the substantial drop in coal prices in 1822.[46]

The reason for this superiority was earnings. Wages paid in 1836 showed coopers to be earning £1. 5. 0 per week, coachmakers £1. 1. 0 per week, masons, carpenters and sawyers 18/-, tailors 17/6 and weavers only 6/-.[47] The demand for particular trades is reflected in the wages. Derry served a countryside rich in gentry and nobility, and so the two coachbuilders in the city in 1839 must have had considerable sales in 'gigs, inside and outside cars, tax carts, four wheeled sociables, phaetons of different construction, mail cars and shandrags'.[48] The increase in the prosperity of the city in this period too would have meant a growth in the business of coachbuilders as more and more people became able to afford the nineteenth century status symbol. Coopers, the highest paid of all trades, had regular commissions for barrels for the distilleries and in this period, the growth in the amount of butter exported in barrels was a boon to them.[49]

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46. Four county Ireland, app. C. pt.1. p.61.
47. Ibid.
48. Derry Journal, 4 April 1831.
49. [illegible]

The building tradesmen, on the other hand, were not so fortunate. They suffered from the most difficulties as building labourers - shortness of the building season. Masons spent about one quarter of the year idle while, of carpenters, only about two-thirds found employment in winter. Slaters appeared to be living in the worst conditions of the three and were in general 'not so cleanly or decent as other mechanics'. About half of them were unemployed in winter, and this sort of steady employment was quite naturally mirrored in their housing conditions:

> 'We visited a room belonging to John Corkhill a sawyer, who had a wife and three children. He has 15/- per week, is in constant employment and will be for two or three months; the room nevertheless, presented every appearance of the lowest state of poverty, there being no furniture in it except a bedstead without any clothes; the wearing apparel as well as the furniture had been pawned'.[50]

Social life and entertainment among 'the lower orders was limited. Drinking was their chief outlet. In fact very often the standard of comfort of the tradesman depended on his drinking habits. Very many of them, especially the better paid - coachmakers and tailors - were notorious for their 'habits of dissipation'. One coachbuilder had one sober employee among twenty but they drank as much as 6/- to 8/- out of their weekly

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50. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. to pt. I. p.62.

wage on a Saturday night. The result was that they 'sometimes only work a half-day Monday, sometimes not at all'.[51]

Reasons for the prevalence of drunkenness are easy to find - the depression of their living conditions, the scarcity of other means of enjoyment. The main reason was probably the easy availability of drink. There were as many as 186 licensed public houses in Derry in 1835. Of these, 118 had the lowest type of licence and ran cheap public houses where gambling as well as heavy drinking prevailed. In addition it was generally agreed that there were numerous unlicenced public houses in the city.[52] Poteen was also plentiful. The illicit stills were discovered to be in operation in the Bogside in 1843[53] and one correspondent wrote that he could lay his hands in any one week in Derry on 'at least 3 or 4 gallons of poteen'.[54]

Gambling was another pastime of the poorer classes. Apart from that which took place in the pubs there were the annual races. Public opinion had them suspended in 1837 because of 'the drunkenness, rambling and profligacy that always takes place at them'.[55] They were begun again in 1840, but the Irish Society Deputation of that year recommended that the

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51. Ibid., Rep. Comm. Inquiry, xxiv.

52. Rep. Comm. Inquiry, pt. 2; Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. to pt. 2.

53. Londonderry Journal, 4 July 1843.

54. Ibid., 4 February 1851.

55. Ibid., 3 December 1833.

Irish Society plate of 5% and should be discontinued as these races were 'extremely prejudicial, subversive of decency and propriety and destructive of the morals of the working classes and the peace of the community in general'.[36]

The prevalence of drinking and gambling meant that the pawnbrokers had a large part to play in the pastimes of the working classes. 'For the least payment the poor have to make, application is made to the pawnbroker'.[37] Pawning for drink was very common. It was habitual with many, especially tradesmen, to pawn their Sunday suit on a Sunday after a week-end of drinking and to redeem it again on a Saturday for wear on Sunday:

> 'Of those who resort to the pawnbrokers, the most remarkable are the well-known class of weekly pawners, who, although they do not exist here in such numbers as they do in Belfast, still form a considerable portion of their customers. These persons regularly put on their Sunday clothes on Sunday morning and release them either with money or some other articles on Saturday night ... In fact the practice has gone so far that there are well-known suits which always come in regularly'.[38]

In addition, it was quite common for people to get clothes on credit from the poor shop, and to pawn them immediately at much less than their real value in order to obtain ready cash.[39]

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36. *Report Irish Society Dep.*, 1840. p.16.
37. [illegible], op. cit., p.79.
38. Ibid., p.80.
39. Ibid., p.71.

these abuses, however, should not obscure the fact that the pawnbroker also performed a useful function in the nineteenth century city. They were often the only financiers of tradesmen, enabling them to carry on their trade when it would have been otherwise impossible for them to do so. Butchers, peddlers and small farmers used the pawnshop in this way, the latter pledging to buy seed in the Spring. Perhaps the best illustration of the use of this system was the shoemaker:

> 'Shoemakers often pledge most of their Clothes for the purpose of buying leather to make a pair of shoes and when they are made they put them in pawn to obtain money to buy a second pair and in this manner they go on until, in some instances, they have five or six, and, in others a dozen pairs, which they then keep until a warmer day or until the run on for selling shoes arrives; they then sell a pair or two more out than [illegible] on until they have sold the whole'.[1]

The profits of the pawnbrokers from these transactions were clearly much greater than those of the shoemaker.

The picture, then, of social conditions among the working classes in Derry in the first half of the nineteenth century is a fairly depressing one. The tendency to early marriages among the lower classes was a further reflection of it. Overcrowded conditions and poverty were spurs to youthful marriages. 'As they have no other comforts they can get a marriage cheap so that a man with 6/- a week is more likely to marry than a

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[1] Ibid., p.7.

men with 9/- or 10/-'.[61] On the other hand, the better off were slower to marry. 'The farmers have more wit than to marry early'. In general women among these classes married between the ages of seventeen and nineteen and the men at twenty. Many even married as early as thirteen according to some of the evidence given to the Commissioners of Inquiry.[62]

Yet, in spite of the depression of the above picture, most of the observers pointed out that conditions had improved considerably by previous standards:

> 'I think that the lower classes are much more comfortable at Derry than formerly, their houses are much better and I think they keep them cleaner. The mud cabins are rapidly disappearing and slated cottages are built in their place. They are also much improved in their dress, particularly the females'.[63]

In addition, conditions prevailing in Derry were generally thought to be superior to those in other Irish towns.[64]

This improvement in the conditions of the working classes, noted in 1836, continued throughout our period. The growth of the city and the growth of trade gave increased employment in the two main sources of labour. The coming of the railways (the first opened in 1847), as well as the indirect employment given

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61. Poor Inquiry Ireland, op. cit. A. p.474.
62. Ibid.
63. Poor Inquiry Ireland, op. cit. pt.1. p.64-5.
64. Inglis, op. cit., p.41n.

from their benefit to trade, gave much employment in themselves. Thousands of labourers were employed in reclaiming land along the banks of the Foyle for the laying down of the railways.[65] Local sawyers provided the sleepers required for the lines, and coachbuilders and foundries shared in the building of the coaches.[66] The increase in the number of mills gave more employment too. This improvement, of course, did not benefit the working classes very much with regard to wages. It did in other ways. It ensured them of steady employment, although, as the census figures show, their numbers also increased. Above all, it created more opportunities of employment for women, thereby beginning to fill a need left since the failure of the linen trade. The seeds of the shirt industry had been sown as early as 1841 and by 1845 it was already employing five hundred women.[67] In addition a large local mill was employing another eight hundred.[68] Even habits of dissipation were greatly improved as in his temperance drive on his visit to the north-west area, Fr. Matthew is said to have administered the pledge to more than 30,000 in the whole neighbourhood.[69]

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65. Londonderry Journal, 25 August 1842; Londonderry Sentinel, 14 May 1847.
66. Londonderry Sentinel, 11 December 1846.
67. Londonderry Journal, 24 June 1845.
68. J. Brennan, A History of the Shirting Trade of Ireland (London, 1956), page 3.
69. Londonderry Sentinel, 28 August 1847.

But there was yet one weakness in their domestic economy. The potato was still the cheapest food and as their wages were still low, it continued as the staple diet. As long as the potato was in plentiful supply the labourer, with his steady income, could make ends meet. The potato had ceased to become plentiful in different parts of Ireland from 1845. In the winter of 1846-47 potato famine began to threaten the poorer classes in Derry. The first signs of it came with an influx of starving beggars from different parts of the country:

> 'Our streets are crowded with the stranger poor who are diminishing the supplies of private charity which might have kept off, for a length of time, from our own poor, the severer degrees of privation. But at a time like this it is hard to bid away the wan faces of nursing mothers and their hungry children when their accent will tell that they come from some district known to be in peculiar distress'.[70]

The growing famine was reflected too in the rising price of corn at the Derry markets. 'With oatmeal at 2½d per lb., what must the sufferings of the labouring poor be, earning 1/- per day'.[71] Market prices continued to rise especially as ships arrived from America reporting the pile-up of grain at American ports due to the refusal of underwriters to insure any ship which carried more than half its registered tonnage of wheat.[72] The

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70. Londonderry Standard, 11 December 1846.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., 18 December 1846.

workhouse filled up for the first time in its existence and fever spread.[73]

Derry's citizens acted quickly. At a public meeting they formed a relief committee to ascertain the amount of distress in town.[74] Two days later, as a result of visitation of the various districts, it was reported that in the city 620 families comprising 2,333 individuals required relief. Of these, 158 families totalling 687 persons needed immediate and urgent relief. Thus more than 10% of the total population of the city were affected by the famine.[75]

To provide funds for relief, it was agreed that all householders with £10 or more Poor Law Valuation, should pay a voluntary assessment of sixpence in the £, while the same rate was to be paid on rents received by landlords or owners of tenements in the city and suburbs. Voluntary subscriptions were welcomed from anyone. By these means it was hoped to raise at least £1,000 quarterly. This was at the end of December 1846.[76] By April 1847 £1,200 had already been raised.[77]

The funds were placed under the control of a general committee, which included all clergy and members of the Board of

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73. Londonderry Journal, 26 February 1847.
74. Ibid., 18 December 1846.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., 2 April 1847.

Guardians. A district committee was appointed for each of the three wards in the town. Its duties were to collect the assessment; to send to the workhouse those whom they thought fit objects for that form of relief; to make out lists of families and people suitable for relief by the committee; to subdivide their wards into smaller districts, each to be visited regularly by two or three members of the committee; and finally to issue tickets to each family or individual recommended for relief, stating the nature and amount of the relief. Relief given was normally bread, oatmeal, Indian corn and fuel at reduced prices to those receiving tickets although in extreme cases they were given free of charge.[78]

In spite of the speed of action of the inhabitants, however, hunger spread fast.

> 'We grieve to say that their exists in Derry an amount of suffering and destitution for which we were not prepared. Lamentable inefficiency of food every day and in some days total, are the unanimous reports, we believe, of the district volunteers. In a very large number of instances everything which could be so disposed of has been carried to the pawnshop so that in many houses even the bed-clothes have disappeared in this very inclement weather. But the cold is disregarded; from that they can find some shelter, but hunger admits of no parley - no shelter can shield from its fury'.[79]

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78. Londonderry Standard, 18 December 1846.
79. Ibid.

The task, however, of relieving the distressed was tackled conscientiously. Public works were begun on the approach roads to the city, filling up gaps and repairing fences. Able-bodied men were paid 1/- per day and boys 8d.[80] A soup kitchen in Society St distributed '130 gallons of good wholesome food daily and upwards of 800 families are provided with meat and soup daily'. An extra boiler for cooking four hundred gallons was later added.[81] An additional wooden building was erected at the workhouse to house an extra one hundred and fifty inmates as was a temporary fever hospital to accommodate sixty people.[82] Church collections were made to buy coffins with which to bury the dead.[83] A special Catholic relief fund purchased three tons of meal monthly, distributed at three centres.[84] Relief came in from America. Six hundred barrels of flour were shipped from New Orleans[85] and 20 barrels of Indian Corn from Philadelphia, sent by Derry emigrants for the relief of Derry's poor.[86] Local merchants pulled their weight too. In spite of their high prices, they did keep their markets well stocked when they could have passed their foodstuffs

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80. Londonderry Sentinel, 18 December 1846.
81. Ibid., 2 April 1847.
82. Ibid., 26 February 1846; 2 April 1847.
83. Ibid., 29 January 1847.
84. Ibid., 18 December 1846.
85. Ibid., 14 May 1847.
86. Ibid., 28 May 1847.

on to markets where prices were higher still.[87] Between 1st and 6th January 1847, twenty-five ships docked at Derry quay, carrying thousands of barrels of flour, Indian corn, oatmeal, wheat - all immediately offered for sale by local merchants.[88] An estimate of their contribution and of the prevailing economic difficulties in fighting the famine is shown in a letter in the Londonderry Standard.

> 'I beg permission to call attention to the present state of the markets from which it will be seen that we are greatly indebted to the Derry merchants for importing so largely of breadstuffs and particularly for disposing of them on the spot; for nothing is more manifest than that they could have sent them to better markets and if they had done so our situation would not now be an enviable one, for it is fully well ascertained that the importations under any circumstances cannot more than meet the deficiency in the crop. With the present demand for breadstuffs in France and other parts of Europe - the very limited supply that can be expected from America as appears from an important letter that appears in the evening post dated New York 8th April - the tightness of the money market which must prevent importation as nothing but cash or London bills are taken abroad for breadstuffs ... it would be madness to shut our eyes against the almost certain prospect of scarcity and consequently high prices'.[89]

Thus the problem thrown up by the Famine in Derry city were tackled energetically by all concerned - citizens, clergy,

87. Letter in [illegible], 7 May 1847.
88. Londonderry Standard, 6 January 1847.
89. Ibid., 7 May 1847.

businessmen. On 23rd April 1847, a meeting of the townspeople, chaired by the mayor, gave thanks to the disbanded relief committee for 'the great benefit' which had resulted from their work.[90] The relief committee had first met during the week of 11th December 1846. Inside four months therefore they had managed to bring under control the destitution caused by the famine.

Responsible in the main for all the improvement we have been discussing were Derry's middle classes. We have already seen something of their housing - solid, respectable, well built but of very little artistic or architectural merit - mirroring rather accurately, in fact, the character of the occupants. In general, composed of merchants and professional men, it is difficult to arrive at any estimate of the social life of the middle classes. The reason for this could well be the lack of any. Almost every visitor commented on the puritanical seriousness of Derry's middle classes:

> 'That gravity of character is indeed the most striking feature of the inhabitants of Derry is evident to the most careless observer. It is manifested by the appearance of the city at night, when the streets at a comparatively early hour, are nearly deserted and the repose of the inhabitants rarely disturbed by the noise of the drunken brawler. It is exhibited still more remarkably on Sundays

90. Londonderry Sentinel, 30 April 1847.

> when everything exhibits strict order and decorum, and a scrupulous observance of the sabbath'.[91]

Another writer, noticing the same seriousness, attributed it to 'the all engrossing concerns of trade and perhaps the latent infusion of a severe sectarian morality' which rendered Derry much less attractive society than other Irish towns.[92] Perhaps the best illustration of middle class character and the atmosphere created in the town by them is given by Thackeray when describing his Derry landlord.

> 'He is a godly landlord, has Bibles in the coffee-room, the drawing room and every bedroom in the house ... the hotel in question is about as gay as a family vault: a severe figure of a landlord, in seedy black, is occasionally seen in the dark passages or the creaking stairs of the black inn ... a silent solemn man-woman who looks to be something between a clergyman and a sexton'.[93]

Such severity of outlook naturally cast a shadow over social life and amusements in the town. We have already referred to the attitude to the races. The theatre, too, after many a valiant attempt to keep open, was finally turned into a

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91. Mrs. Meason, Landowners, p.193.

92. A. Atkinson, Ireland in the nineteenth century (London, 1838), p.349.

93. Thackeray, op. cit., p.570.

coach house and then, aptly enough, into a Presbyterian church.[94] These middle classes preferred more serious fare. Lectures on such subjects as 'phrenological development' attracted much more interest.[95] Harshness and lack of refinement - even cruelty - qualities of character that often go hand in hand with puritanism, were to be found too, sometimes reflected in the language of newspaper reports. A report of a fire described a fourteen year old boy as 'consumed to a cinder, his feet burnt off, his head a ghastly scalp and his bowels protruded, and literally fried'. A woman who died in the same fire had her 'flesh consumed from her head, breasts and abdomen and her limbs burnt off to the knee joints'.[96]

The strict conservatism of the middle classes was reflected in their desire to get higher up the social ladder and into the ranks of the gentry. Many of them succeeded. Their ambitions

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94. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1843; a curious attitude to the theatre is given in an editorial in Londonderry Standard, 29 May 1844. Local shops had decided to close at 8 p.m. 'We perceive that with virtuous consideration of the conscience of our young men, that trap of the Gentry, the theatre, will not exhibit its boards until half-past eight. We earnestly exhort our young friends, if they could not justify that injurious sacrifice that some entertain of them, not to be seen in such a place. We trust they will be more tender of their reputation and more guarded for the interests of their virtue, that they will abstain from such pernicious causes, and endeavour to employ their few spare hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge, in the cultivation of virtuous friendship and the exercises and enterprises of Christian benevolence'.

95. Londonderry Sentinel, 8 October 1845.

96. Belfast Newsletter, 20 February 1840.

for their sons was in character as well, generally educating them for a career in the church or in the army rather than in commerce.[97] Their one other major characteristic in keeping with their traditions was their spurning of London and London manners. A tailor, resident in one of the small streets in the suburbs, Eden Place, advertised that he had just returned from a visit to London where he had just studied the latest fashions and could now be consulted at his premises 'in the best and here'.[98]

All this lack of gaiety was ascribed to too much attention to business. Good business men they were as the growth studies shows. Even Thackeray's dismal innkeeper knew how to keep his guests happy.

> 'It must however be said for the consolation of future travellers, that when at evening in the old lonely parlour of the inn, the great vaunt fireplace is filled with coals, the dreary funereal candles and sticks glistening upon the old-fashioned round table, the rain pattering fiercely without, the wind roaring and tearing in the streets, this worthy landlord can produce a pint of port wine for the use of his migratory guest, which causes the latter to be almost reconciled to the country in which he is certain himself, and he finds himself to his surprise, almost cheerful. There is a mouldy old kitchen too which, strange to say, boasts also an excellent comfortable dinner so that the sensation of fear gradually wears off'.[99]

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97. Letter in Londonderry Journal, 26 November 1851.
98. Pryt. Londonderry Sentinel, 26 April 1842.
99. Thackeray, op. cit., p.37 .

The Assizes week seemed to be the only time when there were any organized social events. The Assizes Ball was normally held and the races, when they were held, took place during the same week.[100] The gentry, who lived as did gentry elsewhere,[101] seemed to make little impact or change in the seriousness of the town. Neither did the garrison. Their joie de vivre seemed confined to themselves. Again Thackeray lifts the curtain a little.

> 'The rest of the occurrences at Derry belong unhappily to the domain of private life, and though very pleasant to recall, are not honestly to be printed. Otherwise, what popular descriptions might be written of the hospitalities of St Columb's, of the jovialities of the mess of the 87th regiment, of the speeches made and the songs sung and the devilled turkey at twelve o'clock, and the headache afterwards: all which events could be described in an exceedingly facetious manner. But these memorials are to be set forth in any other part of her Majesty's dominions'.[102]

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100. Londonderry Journal, 4 April 1843.

101. Ibid., 10 October 1843.

102. Thackeray, op. cit., p.370.

Chapter V

THE RELIEF OF POVERTY AND ILLNESS

One of the biggest problems in nineteenth century Irish cities was poor relief. One attempt at controlling the problem of the poor - the Mendicity Asylum - has already been examined. In general attempted solutions to the problem followed the same pattern - voluntary bodies set up with voluntary subscriptions to provide some form of relief that would alleviate the awful difficulties of poverty. Charities set up by legacies to provide relief to some sections of the population were another approach to the problem. The largest of these in Derry was Gwyn's Charity School.

This charity had been set up by a will of John Gwyn in 1615 to provide education and accommodation for orphans with the intention that it should begin to operate when the fund had reached £50,000. However, due to the 'devastations of the cholera and the many persons that were deprived of their only means of support' the trustees decided to open it on 1 April 1853 in a premises in Shipquay St.[1] Boys were housed, fed and instructed. The course of instruction consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, surveying geometry and navigation.

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1. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.67;
   R. Lyttle, Londonderry, p.16 .

The routine day was strict. They rose at 6 a.m. from March to September, 6.30 a.m. from September to March. Between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. they dressed, made beds, cleaned dormitories, washed and combed themselves and presented themselves for inspection and prayers. At seven they began class with reading, class examination in grammar, spelling, etymology etc. till 8.30 a.m. They received religious instructions at their own church. At the age of fifteen or sixteen they were apprenticed to trades and each received '2 suits of clothes, 2 shirts, 2 pairs of shoes and £10 paid by instalments for their support during their term of service'.[2]

The Shipquay St premises did not provide enough accommodation and the trustees began to seek an alternative building almost immediately. A new and much more spacious building, surrounded with even more spacious grounds, was opened in 1843 in what is now Brooke Park.[3]

There were three other small charities. Stanley's Charity distributed £60 per annum among thirty poor people who had formerly been in better circumstances. Every's Charity distributed £20 and Fiddall's Charity £4 per annum.[4]

Voluntary societies, all run by ladies, made contributions

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2. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.67.
3. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
4. J.F. Weir, Londonderry, p.169;
Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.69.

to the solution of the problem also. The Ladies Penny Society, established in 1815 was so called because it was originally financed by voluntary contributions of a penny per week. Its funds were later augmented by legacies, donations and annual subscriptions and were used to relieve the sick and industrious poor. Relief was given in kind - clothing, tickets for food, straw or soap. Four to five hundred poor were relieved annually in this way.[5] Another branch of the Penny Society was the Flax or Spinning Fund. Under this fund flax was farmed out to poor women for spinning in their homes, usually one to two lbs. at a time. A similar number were annually relieved by this method but its contribution to the overall city problem of poor relief, even for the individual women concerned, was small. Even a hard working spinner could not earn more than 2½d. per day and due to the very large number of applicants most of them found it difficult to get steady employment from the spinning fund. In addition, security had to be provided before flax was taken out.[6]

The Poor Shop was another means of relief. Its function was to sell clothing to the poor at cost price, to be paid for in instalments at the rate of a penny in the shilling per week. Sales grew very quickly from £279 in 1811 to £1,500 in 1835.[7]

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5. W.S. Weir, Londonderry, pp.164,176,177.
6. Ibid., p.165; Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.I. p.70.
7. W.S. Weir, Londonderry, p.166.

As a system it was abused. Many of the poor simply transferred their newly bought clothes from the Poor Shop to the pawnshop in order to procure ready money.[8]

None of these organisations approached a real solution to the problem. Their big weakness was that their source of funds - voluntary subscriptions - was uncertain. In any case it was found that those most able to afford subscriptions were inclined to pay the least. Even the Mendicity Association found difficulty in collecting from the Corporation the fees earned by its inmates for sweeping the streets.[9] The real answer seemed to be an institution operated by funds drawn from general taxation. Such an institution emerged under the Poor Law of 1838.

The first meeting of the Board of Governors of the new Londonderry Union Workhouse was held on 6 March 1839.[10] On 7 November the following year the first inmates were accepted into the new workhouse.[11] It was a failure from the outset. In accordance with the doctrines of the time, the workhouse system was operated on the principle that poor relief should be made so unpleasant that the poor would at all times prefer to work. The result would be that only the destitute would apply for relief. No account was taken of the fact that work might

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8. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. C. pt.I. p.71.
9. Ibid., p.69.
10. Minutes of Board of Guardians of Londonderry Union Workhouse, 6 March 1839. PRONI Ref. No. BG/L/1/1.
11. Ibid., 7 November 1840. BG/L/1/1. p.98.

not be available.

From the beginning a cheeseparing attitude on the part of the Board of Guardians was evident. Complaints were made about the excessive deepness of the building 'the internal wall of the male infirm ward being so deep as to render it unfit for occupation'.[12] There were other deficiencies in the building, all due to cheeseparing.

> 'The absence of lead flashings round the dormer windows and chimnies is the cause of the leakages complained of; slate fillets and cement being used instead of lead which is a plan very usually adopted in plain buildings to reduce the cost; the same motives of economy have induced the Commissioners to dispense with brick linings but the construction is not suited to the humid climate'.[13]

There were complaints about the high percentage of sick diets in the workhouse, by which the cost was increased.

> 'With respect to sick diets it must be observed that they are still very numerous in proportion to the number of inmates ... It cannot be the desire of any person that these poor people should have food which does not agree with them but it is a duty we owe to

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12. Correspondence between the chief secretary to lord lieutenant of Ireland and Commissioners of Public Works relative to workhouse at Ballycastle, Co. Antrim and Ballina, Co. Mayo; Ballycastle workhouse was first built in 1841 and Ballina workhouse was the first of three built in 1842 at the cost of local taxation. 1843 (264) xlvi. 65.

13. Ibid.

> the ratepayers who maintain them to ascertain that they are fed on the most economical manner consistent with health and comfort'.[14]

The report goes on to point out that while the average daily house diet costs 2¹/11d. per person per day, the sick diet cost on average 3½d. As a result the report called for a revision of the diets and in addition complained of the quantity of milk being given to the children.

> 'Milk is comparatively the most expensive item of diet. If the quantity allowed be necessary for the health of children there can be no question about its continuance but I think that this will not, on enquiry, be found to be the case. In the Castlederg workhouse where the children have been particularly healthy, far more so than in Derry, the allowance of milk for children is regulated in the same proportions as the rest of their diet, that is, the allowance of the adult male is divided between two children, one old, the other young, in proportion to their respective ages'.[15]

Officials were not well paid. One person withdrew her application for the post of schoolmistress due to 'the lowness of the salary and the want of sufficient rations'.[16] It was

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14. Eighth report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland (London, 1842), App. B. no 4. p.274.
15. Ibid.
16. Minutes of Londonderry Board of Guardians, Bk.1. p.83. 30 September 1840.

discovered that the nurses were selling clothes for tea, sugar and whiskey.[17]

A person admitted to the workhouse was lodged, fed and clothed in the special workhouse uniform consisting, for men, of a cap, a jacket, trousers, flannel shirt, stockings and wooden soled shoes. Women wore a flannel shift or petticoat, a gown, stockings and listen shoes.[18] The normal diet consisted of potatoes, porridge and buttermilk. For breakfast, the usual house diet was 7 oz. oatmeal made into stirabout, for dinner 3½ lbs. of potatoes and for supper 5 oz. oatmeal made into stirabout. With each meal ½ quart of buttermilk was given to drink. The various sick diets were little different. The soup diet was similar to the house diet except that, for dinner, one pint of soup made from ox-heads and ½ lb. bread was substituted. The low diet had ½ lb. bread and buttermilk for dinner and ⅔ quart of flummery and ½ quart of sweet milk for supper. The bread and milk diet consisted of ½ lb. bread and ½ quart of sweet milk at every meal. When in fever patients had gruel flummery and buttermilk.[19]

Most of the paupers, except those totally incapable, had to work hard for their keep. Men and boys made and repaired shoes,

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17. Minutes of Londonderry Board of Guardians, Bk.I. p.185. 5 January 1841.

18. Ibid., Bk.II. p.336. 17 October 1846.

19. Ibid., Bk.I. p.84. 30 September 1840; ibid., Bk.I. p.185. 5 January 1841; Eighth report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland, 1841, App. D. no.2. pp.278-279.

made coffins, cradles, ladders, clothes horses, hammers, trays and tables. They broke stones, levelled and drained the workhouse grounds, built cesspools. The women did needlework - lining jackets and trousers, making pinafores, towels, aprons and shrouds. Yarn was spun and bleached, wool was carded, socks and petticoats were knit. Those who could not handle a needle were taught and, if found slacking on the job, the master had power to deprive them of meals.[20]

Lodging, except for fever patients, was in large common wards heated by a stove in the middle.[21] The sole furniture, apart from beds, was wooden stools.[22] One of the paupers was placed in charge of each ward and as a mark of his rank he was given a different jacket, bonnet, shoes and stockings. Their women counterparts had borders on their caps and neck handkerchiefs. As a reward, they received for supper one pint of tea and ½ lb. bread.[23] Rules were strict. Children were kept apart from adults. They were sent to school and could only meet their parents for one half hour per day.[24]

The thinking behind the Poor Law - reflected in the harshness of the workhouse - added to an innate hatred of

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20. Eighth report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland, App. D. no 2. pp.275-276.
21. Minutes of Londonderry Board of Guardians, Bk.I. p.113. 19 December 1840; Ibid. Bk.I. p.120. 29 January 1841.
22. Ibid., Bk.I. p.116. 26 December 1840.
23. Ibid., Bk.I. p.113. 19 December 1840.
24. Ibid., Bk.I. p.126. 23 January 1841.

institutions on the side of the people, combined to ensure that only the completely destitute went there. That it was turned to as a last resort is only too evident from the classification of its inmates.[25] Typical samples of cases relieved underline the point:

> 'Susannah Kennedy a ed 84. R.C. Widow. Four children alive. Infirm. Very dirty and lousy. Brought in a cart to the workh use. Present condition in bad health. Catherine, Rose, Mary and Eleanor Gribbin aged 12, 10, 8 and 5 respectively. R.C. Father and mother taken to the Co Infirmary in typhus fever. No support left for these children. Unity Bergan aged 68. R.C. Mendicant, single. Bodily infirm. A beggar in a very ragged state and in the last stage of consumption'.[26]

Many beggars refused to go to the workhouse. The average cost per pauper was higher than it should have been because the workhouse was not filled. Built for 800 people, at no time prior to 1847 did it have more than half that number.[27] Only the famine could fill it. Every effort was made to rid the streets of beggars and to send them to the workhouse. Reports appealed to the townspeople not to encourage begging and vagrancy by giving alms when they were already paying for the

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25. Fourth report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland (London, 1844), App. B. no 17.

26. Ibid., App. B. no 12.

27. Petition of Board of Guardians of Londonderry Union in Fourth report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland, App. B. no 6.

upkeep of an institution for that purpose.[28] The Board of Guardians forwarded a petition to Parliament urging a vagrancy law and pointing out that without such law the Poor Law Act was meaningless:

> 'We can state from experience that relief in the workhouse has been sought by persons who had not been accustomed to mendicancy or who were physically unable to make the exertions required to procure subsistence by a life of vagrancy and that notwithstanding the comfortable provision which is afforded in the workhouse, a great many paupers still refuse to accept it and continue their old habits as strolling beggars, whereby much annoyance is given to the inhabitants of the district and disease and immorality diffused through it'.[29]

And so the first real attempt by the state to solve the problem of poverty was a failure. The workhouse became the dread of the working classes. It served only to underline further the real answer to any form of poverty - employment. Fortunately for the working classes in Derry the 1840s were a time of great improvement in that respect so that many who might otherwise have had to accept the rigours of the workhouse, were able to struggle on by their own efforts.

Institutions for the care of the sick were more successful. There were three in Derry at this period, the Dispensary, the

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28. Eighth Report of Poor Law Commissioners, Ireland, App. D. no 2. p.272.

29. Ibid., petition, App. D. no 6.

Londonderry Lunatic Asylum and the Londonderry City and County Infirmary and Fever Hospital.[30] The latter was established in 1811 and ran mainly on voluntary lines. It was administered by a management committee consisting of the archbishop of Armagh, the lord chancellor, the bishop of the diocese, the rector or vicar of the parish and twelve members elected from among the governors. Qualification for governorship was an annual subscription of at least 3 guineas. Funds were drawn from these subscriptions and from Grand Jury presentments which were not to exceed double the amount of the subscriptions.[31]

Situated on a hill a short distance to the north of the city in the new suburb of Edenballymore, the Infirmary was 'a handsome stone building of three stories and a basement, with twenty windows in front and a hall door'.[32] In the centre of the house there is an octagonal lobby, open from the basement to the cupola, the latter of which has permanently open venetians at its sides. This excellent arrangement tends to preserve the whole building fresh and sweet. In addition to bright and airy wards there were movable cold and warm baths 'together with an apparatus for giving medicated baths'.[33]

Any visitors to the Infirmary seemed impressed by what they

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30. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.169.

31. Ibid., pp.171-172; Report of Poor Law Commissioners on Medical Charities, Ireland (London, 1841), app. B. no 7. p.87.

32. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.389. H.C.1835 (369 contd.). xxxii.

33. Ibid., p.11.

saw. In 1827 Elizabeth Fry, in a report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland said that 'in point of cleanliness, comfort and good order, this infirmary is the one, which of all others in Ireland, we would mark as excellent'.[34] The Commissioners of Inquiry in 1836 were of the same opinion, singling out the Derry hospital as one of the most efficient in the country:

> 'It would be difficult to imagine a higher state of cleanliness, order and method, than is observable in the whole establishment. The accounts are most accurately kept, being inspected and checked at weekly meetings of the inspecting committee. Peculation or unfair treatment of the patients is rendered so nearly impossible as can be effected by well-directed zeal on the part of the governors and officers. The diet table of each day is filled by the resident apothecary and surgeon. Fines are imposed on the servants for neglect or disorderly conduct, in the first place by the medical officer or steward, which are strictly enforced if confirmed by the weekly visiting committee'.[35]

The Derry hospital stood out as a model of management compared with the widespread corruption found in similar hospitals throughout the country.[36]

The chief officials of the hospital were the medical officer and the apothecary. The former, on a salary of £100 per year,

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34. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.172.
35. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. D. p.11.
36. Ibid., p.3.

was compelled to attend daily while the latter kept a constant supply of medicine in his shop attached to the infirmary.[37] Only sick people from the city or county who had a subscriber's recommendation could be accepted as patients. Subscribers were limited to three recommendations in the infirmary at any one time.[38] The total number of beds in the hospital was 120, 72 for infirmary and 48 for the fever hospital.[39]

There seems little doubt that patients in the infirmary were well cared for. Diets were constantly supervised and suited to the health of patients. They consisted of oatmeal, potatoes, beef, bread and milk.[40] Contrary to what one might expect statistics show the absence of any large number of really serious illnesses on the part of the patients.[41] The most common complaints seemed little different from today. Fever, which could have meant anything from influenza to tuberculosis, was the most common. Stomach ailments and syphilitic diseases were the only other complaints that seemed to be treated in any numbers. Yet this lack of serious illness in the figures serves only to underline the weaknesses of the institution as a means of caring for the sick of the whole city and county.

The number of beds - 110 - was the first limitation. This

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39. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.172; Rep. Med. Charities 1841, App. B. p.90.

40. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.391.

41. See Appendix II.

number could hardly have been sufficient for the area served by the hospital. Method of entry was another barrier. A person had to receive the recommendation of a subscriber who in turn was limited to three nominations. It is a safe presumption therefore that difficulty of entry meant that the vast majority of the poorer classes never made any attempt to be treated in the infirmary. Thus infirmary statistics do not give an exact picture of the disease or illness in the area.

Neither was the institution equipped to handle the serious epidemics that were a periodic feature of nineteenth century town life. The typhus outbreak of 1817 was handled by the erection of tents in a field outside the town in which patients were isolated.[42] The cholera outbreak of 1832 spotlighted the weakness again. Being the last town in the British Isles to be affected by the epidemic,[43] Derry had plenty of time to prepare and the citizens, especially the poorer ones, were told that cleanliness was the chief preventive. They were advised to whitewash their houses and remove nuisances from the streets.[44] But the disease arrived. Cholera stations were set up throughout the town. A special cholera hospital was built and a soup kitchen erected to aid the more destitute.[45] The disease broke

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42. Report Irish Society Rep., 1826. p.38.
43. Londonderry Journal, 30 October 1832.
44. Londonderry Sentinel, 10 December 1831.
45. Londonderry Journal, 18 December 1832; ibid., 25 December 1832; ibid., 2 October 1832.

out in the summer of 1832 and by the end of September the total number of cases had been 325, 67 of whom had died. 'The chief seats of the disease at present are the Bogside and Rossville St and the lanes leading from it'.[46] It reached its peak in the first week in October when 192 new cases were reported. Total deaths rose to 112.[47] From that week onwards, except for another rise due to 'the festivities of Hallow'eve'[48] the weekly figures fell until finally on Christmas day it was reported that the cholera hospital was closed 'there not being a single patient remaining and vessels sailing from the port are now furnished with clean bills of health by the Custom House'.[49] The total number of people afflicted in the epidemic was 884 of whom 188 had died. Yet 'the community has reason to be grateful that, as this was the last town of much note in Ireland which was visited by the foul distemper, the infliction it has endured has been on the whole rather lenient'.[50]

There appears little doubt that overcrowded conditions bred the disease. The area most heavily afflicted was the Bogside. There was not a single case reported in the sparsely populated waterside district.[51]

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46. Londonderry Journal, 9 October 1832.
47. Ibid.
48. Londonderry Journal, 13 November 1832.
49. Ibid., 18 December 1832; ibid., 25 December 1832.
50. Ibid., 30 October 1832.
51. Ibid., 4 December 1832.

It is clear then that while the infirmary was well run and supervised and gave every attention to its patients, it was inadequate as a means of dealing with ill-health in the area. The problems of public health did not lie simply in the provision of more hospital beds but in tackling the whole question of sanitation and overcrowding. This was left for another time. Meanwhile public confidence in the infirmary seemed to grow as figures for patients treated rose from 465 in 1831 to 1344 in 1846.[52] These figures are a reflection too of the growing population of the city and lead to the conclusion that the county at large made little use of the infirmary, perhaps because of the difficulties of travelling.

A greater social problem in nineteenth century Ireland was the care of the mentally ill. Prior to 1828 in Derry, in the absence of any special hospital, patients suffering from any form of mental illness were treated at the infirmary. The Londonderry Lunatic Asylum was opened in 1828 to care for the mentally ill from counties Derry, Donegal and Tyrone. It was exactly similar in design to Belfast and Armagh asylums.

> 'A facade, consisting of a central building with pavilions, from which extend wings, with airing sheds, terminating in angular pavilions. Above the centre rises a turret, exhibiting the date "1828" and furnished with a clock.

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52. Londonderry Standard, 9 April 1847.

> Its upper part forms an octagonal cupola, with sides of regularly alternating lengths, and surmounted by a vane. In front of the edifice there is some ornamental planting and it is surrounded by a good garden. In the rear are several commodious airing yards, separated by various ranges of building. The extent of the ground is 12 acres'.53

Dungiven sandstone at the front and brick at the rear were the main building materials used.[54]

The management of the institution was vested in a committee of not less than eight and not more than twelve who met monthly. This committee was originally appointed by the Lord Lieutenant but the appointment was later transferred to the Grand Jury. Funds were advanced by the government and repaid by levies from the three counties in proportion to the number of patients which each supplied.[55]

The asylum was originally built to accommodate 105 patients but alterations were made in 1830 to permit the admission of 45 more.

> 'This alteration was not unattended with inconvenience. The basement storey is dark, unventilated and damp, divided into useless and ill-devised arched cells, utterly unfit for the confinement of patients of any class'.

Incurable cases were normally lodged in these cells.[56]

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53. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.113.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., p.169.
56. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.416.

The officers of the asylum were a medical officer, an apothecary and a married couple as manager and matron.[57] The Medical Officers gave attention only to those who suffered some bodily ailment in addition to their mental condition. No medical treatment was given for insanity. The insane were under the care of the moral manager. Treatment was simply employment of some sort. Male inmates worked at gardening, weaving, tailoring, shoemaking and carpentry. Women patients occupied themselves at needlework, quilting, knitting or spinning, laundry and assisting servants to clean passages etc. 'The present system of governing lunatics appears to resemble that of a boarding school rather than that of an hospital for the medical treatment of diseased persons'.[58]

The cost per day of each patient averaged 8½d. Food alone averaged 3d. per day per patient. Diet, by comparison with other institutions such as the workhouse or mendicity, was good:

'Breakfast. Each morning 7 ozs. oatmeal made into 1 quart stirabout with ½ quart of new milk.

Dinner.	Sunday.	½ lb. beef, 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Monday.	1 pt. buttermilk and 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Tuesday.	Ox-head soup and 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Wednesday.	1 pt. buttermilk and 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Thursday.	Ox-head soup and 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Friday.	1 pt. buttermilk and 3½ lbs. potatoes.
	Saturday.	1 pt. buttermilk and 3½ lbs. potatoes.

57. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.169.

58. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.417.

Supper. 5 ozs. oatmeal made into stirabout and ½ quart of buttermilk'.[59]

By the standards of the time Londonderry Asylum was well run. The regular reports of the Inspector of Prisons were favourable.

> 'Every possible attention is paid to the welfare of the Asylum. The Board of superintendence are constant in attendance and effective; the manager and matron, Mr and Mrs Clark, possess every qualification necessary for the advantageous exercise of the important duties of their stations. Nothing can, on the whole, be more satisfactory than the inspection of the Londonderry Lunatic Asylum'.[60]

Yet accommodation was a serious problem. 150 places were the maximum available. Accommodation for 600 was required.[61] The Poor Law Commissioners pointed out that the question of accommodation for curable cases of insanity 'is every day becoming a matter of more pressing consideration'.[62] To meet the demand the Derry Asylum converted hospital rooms into dormitories each containing seventeen beds.[63] The general consensus of opinion on the solution to the problem seemed to be that separate accommodation should be provided for incurable cases as they

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59. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. pp.417-418.
60. D. . Report. Londonderry, p.170.
61. Ibid.
62. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.417.
63. Ibid.

were occupying places that could well be used for curable people. The medical officer of the Derry Asylum suggested the setting up of a provincial hospital to take all the incurably insane patients in the province. No action on the problem was taken except that the Asylum accommodation in Derry was increased to 190.[64]

An examination of the classification of patients in 1835 and 1836 shows them to be fairly evenly distributed over the three counties which the Asylum served, Co Tyrone being slightly less than the other two. It does emerge from the figures that the vast majority of patients came from country districts. Of 146 in the Asylum in 1835, 109 came from the country. Country areas supplied 164 out of the 187 patients in the Asylum in 1836. It is also clear that in these two years more than 75% of the cases were regarded as incurable - 115 in 1835 and 142 in 1836.[65]

Cases of normal illness which did not require hospitalisation were cared for by a dispensary. The need for a dispensary had been demonstrated by the typhus epidemic of 1817. It was opened in 1819 financed by voluntary subscriptions.[66] It served the whole district within the north-western liberties of the city, an area containing 19,620 people in 1835.[67] It was

64. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.417; Hely-Hutchinson, Londonderry, p.170.
65. Poor Inquiry, Londonderry, p.171.
66. Ibid., p.175.
67. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.458.

financed under the new Grand Jury Act by private subscriptions and donations and by parliamentary and county grants which together did not exceed the amount of the subscriptions. All who subscribed at least one guinea per annum became governors. They elected an annual committee of seven from among their numbers to run the dispensary.[68]

> 'The dispensary is placed at a house, about 20 ft. in front, in a wide and airy street (Bishop's St without) containing on the ground floor the shop, the consulting room and a kitchen which also serves as a waiting room; on the first floor is the board-room. The remainder of the house is occupied by the midwife and attendant who live rent free and take care of the premises. The premises are held on lease from year to year'.[69]

The dispensary provided medical attention, medicine and midwifery service to people who produced a ticket of recommendation from a governor. There was no limit to the number of tickets that could be issued. The question of home visitation of the sick was left to the discretion of the medical officer. The midwife found that there was little public confidence in her service at first. 'The poor are generally attended by unskilful midwives; but accidents are not known to happen as there are so many medical men at hand'.[70] The gradual growth in confidence

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68. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.175.
69. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.258.
70. Ibid., p.260.

of the people in the dispensary's midwife is reflected in the annual figures of the number of cases attended by the midwife. She was paid 4/- for each case.

1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1831	1832	1833
10	30	52	59	57	61	76	141	153	150. [71]

Vaccination was also carried out.

> 'Vaccination is generally efficacious and the confidence of the public in the operation is good and increasing. Small pox has been very little known here of late years; the medical attendant does not and will not inoculate with small-pox virus'.[72]

In general therefore it would seem that by the standards of the period, Derry was well equipped as regards services for the relief of the sick. According to the reports of inspectors it appears, despite its shortcomings by modern standards, to have been among the best served in Ireland.

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71. Figures taken from O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.175 and Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.259.

72. Poor Inquiry Ireland, App. B. p.259.

Chapter VI

INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

The growth of Derry between 1825 and 1850 was in part the result of its industrial development. Before the Act of Union, apart from the linen trade, Derry was in no sense a manufacturing town: it had only 'the ordinary handicrafts of domestic life'.[1] By 1850 the position had improved.

> 'Since 1800 industry has made considerable advancement - shipbuilding, steam mills for grain, metal foundries, coach factories, spinning machineries, distilleries, breweries etc. have been extensively erected by enterprising individuals'.[2]

The most important industry in Derry during those fifty years was undoubtedly the manufacture of linen, an industry which has made a leading contribution to the history of Ulster as a whole. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with Derry as its market centre, it flourished in the north-west. One of the virtues of this industry was that it was a domestic one which employed women and children in addition to labourers and farmers, thereby strengthening considerably the meagre family income. The appended figures reveal the extent of the trade in the north-west showing its most prosperous period to be

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1. Simpson, op. cit., p.220.
2. Ibid.

between 1800 and 1825.[3] At the beginning of the century the linen trade was in a strong position. A secretary of the Irish Society describing Derry's linen market in 1802, enables us to estimate the value of the trade to the city and surrounding countryside:

> 'The linen market of Londonderry forms an object of great curiosity; it is held there twice every week and lasts for two hours only, within which short period of time, I was ensured, linens were purchased in single webs of the manufacturers to the amount of £5,000 and upwards in ready money. These manufacturers do not reside in the city but are dispersed in cabins around its neighbourhood, where they have each of them a few acres of land for the sake of keeping a cow and raising some potatoes and flax and for which, by means of their looms, they are enabled to pay a heavy rent; it is this circumstance of the linen manufacturing which renders the Society's land so valuable. Each man brings his web or piece of cloth, and is eager to lay it before the factor; the bargain is made or rejected in a few seconds, almost in a whisper, and the linens thus purchased are conveyed to the bleaching grounds, which stamp great additional value on the land'.[4]

The decline of such a widespread industry spelt economic disaster for many, especially for the labourers and farmers engaged in some of the processes of the linen trade. We have

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3. Appendix III; Inglis, op. cit., p.205.
4. Slade, op. cit., p.cevi.

already observed the effects of its decline on the population of Derry city as labourers flocked in from the surrounding countryside. It is reflected too in the steady emigration from the port of Derry throughout the 1830s and 1840s.

This decline began in the 1800s.[5] In 1782 the total export of linen from the port of Derry had been 299,491 yards. In 1818 it was 3,844,055 yards. By 1822 it had risen to a peak figure of 4,567,451 yards. Then the decay set in. By 1827 the export figures had fallen to 1,212,284 yards. In 1834 they had fallen below one million yards and by 1846 they 'had dwindled to almost nothing'.[6] In 1847, a local writer reported that 'the manufacture and transmission of linen cloth had, in great measure, become extinct in our neighbouring districts'.[7]

Many reasons can be put forward for the failure of the north-west linen trade, most of them similar to causes of decline in other parts of the country. The growth of the cotton industry is an obvious one. The repeal of all protective duties on imported cotton in 1824,[8] leaving the Irish linen industry unprotected against British cotton, strengthened the competition. British competition in the linen industry itself

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5. Appendix III.
6. Simpson, op. cit., p.219.
7. Ibid., p.218.
8. E. R. R. Green, The Lagan Valley 1800-50 (London, 1949), p.100; J. J. Monaghan, 'The rise and fall of the Belfast cotton industry', in I.H.S., iii. 7-8.

grew too.[9] Government interference with duties and bounties was another large factor. The bounty to the Linen Board was reduced in 1827 and abolished altogether in 1828.[10] The Linen Board itself was abolished in the same year.[11] Competition from foreign linen was made keener by the abolition of the transit duties on foreign linen in 1830 and by the withdrawal of the bounty on the export of linen to foreign countries in 1832.[12] There was legislative interference too in the prices of materials used in the production of linen. The linen bleachers of Co Derry found it necessary in 1830 to petition against the withdrawal of the drawback of the duty on barilla whereby 50% was added to the cost of that material. They argued

> 'that when linen was nearly double the price it is at present and the manufacturers encouraged by a large annual grant to the Linen Board and an extensive export bounty, the legislature did not judge it expedient to lay a duty on any of its branches nor to withdraw from it any encouragement. Your petitioners might reasonably expect that now when the price of linen is reduced nearly one half, the grants to the Linen Board withdrawn, an export bounty in progress of reduction and in a few years more will entirely cease, the manufacturers would have been left free of legislative impact'.[13]

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9. G. O'Brien, An economic history of Ireland from the Union to the famine (London, 1921), p.320.
10. Ibid., p.324.
11. Ibid.; 9 Geo. IV. C.62; Green, op. cit., p.112.
12. O'Brien, op. cit., p.321.
13. Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1830.

An editorial comment on the same subject judged the failure of the linen trade to be 'partly due to the progress of cotton but in a great degree also to the injudicious tamperings with it on the part of the legislature'. It is pointed out that

> 'some years ago a duty of 9d. per lb., now reduced to 6d., was laid on foreign exalts, to enrich a few individuals in England who make an article of the worst description; and a duty was laid on potashes from the United States to favour those of the Canadas. These are examples of how little Irish interests are favoured or rather how much they are sacrificed to others'.[14]

There can be little doubt that the above measures dealt a heavy blow at the local linen trade. The petitioners quoted pointed out that

> 'a very considerable falling off in the quantity of linen manufactured for bleaching has already taken place. Several bleachgreens are unemployed and few, if any, are at full work. That the exceeding low rate of the earnings of the people employed in the manufacture and the reduction of the wages in general afford no room to expect that the manufacture can be carried out at a cheaper rate than at present; but on the contrary that a large portion of the working classes of the community and in particular those depending on the linen

14. Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1830.

> manufacture for support, cannot earn so much as will procure for them a wretched subsistence; but are on the contrary depending on the charitable aid of their more wealthy neighbours'.15

There are other and much more powerful reasons for the decline of linen as a staple part of the economy of the north-west. There must be. The trade of Belfast and the Lagan Valley was subjected to the same restrictions yet survived and grew. The reason for this survival is a pointer to one of the principal reasons for the failure of the linen trade throughout the rest of the country. The process by which linen was manufactured in the Lagan Valley underwent a revolution between 1820 and 1850 changing the linen trade from a domestic to a factory industry. In the spinning process the spinning wheel and the handspinner was displaced by the new mill-spun yarn of the power mills. In weaving, the weavers, deprived of the easy accessibility of yarn spun by their wives and children, ceased to own the material with which they worked and it was farmed out to them by the capitalist merchants who now controlled the trade. It was a short step thence to the factory system.[16] As a result of these changes the size and population of Belfast grew rapidly. The north-west industry did not keep pace and like many a domestic

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15. Londonderry Journal, 20 April 1830.

16. Green, op. cit., pp.111-12; O'Brien, op. cit., pp.247-51; Londonderry Journal, 17 October 1838; Ibid., 24 October 1838.

industry elsewhere, overtaken and left behind by the industrial revolution, it finally disappeared.

But the list of contributory factors in the disappearance of Derry's linen manufacture is not yet complete. Purely local reasons loom large. Some attempts had been made at mechanisation. In 1834 local newspapers were urging the value of flax mills.[17] In 1836 the Flax Milling Co. applied to the Irish Society for a site near Derry for a flax mill. They were told that none were available.[18] The quality of the local product had perhaps the largest part to play in its ultimate disappearance. Linens made around Derry were, like the English products, coarser than those of Belfast.[19] Derry imported its flax seed from Riga, a seed which produced a coarser fibre.[20] Thus Derry was more exposed to the direct competition of coarse British and foreign linen than was the Belfast area which produced finer linens.[21]

Local taxation was crippling too. Some linen weavers, living close to Derry, took their products to markets as far away as Newry or Belfast rather than pay the heavy toll charges on Derry bridge.[22] Port charges were heavy too. In general four

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17. Londonderry Journal, 8 April 1834.
18. Report Irish Society, 1836, p.22.
19. G. V. Hempson, A memoir of the chart and survey of county Londonderry (London, 1814), p.44.
20. Londonderry Journal, 4 March 1834; Morrison, op. cit., p.67.
21. 'Britain captured the whole coarse linen trade which practically disappeared from Ireland' (Green, op. cit., p.112.)
22. Londonderry Journal, 13 September 1825.

times higher than any other port in Ireland, in the one item of linen yarn alone quayage charges at Derry were twenty-five times those of Belfast.[23]

Thus there is a variety of factors contributing to the decline of the north-west linen trade - the removal of protectionist duties, the competition of cotton, the failure to mechanize the industry, the weight of local taxation, the coarse quality of the local product and the probable lack of local capital for investment on the scale required. There is rarely one single reason why an industry fails but it would seem in this case that local reasons were the most powerful since the other reasons applied equally to the flourishing Lagan valley industry and failed to weaken it.

Whatever the principal factor, the result was the removal of an essential element in the family economy of small farmers and labourers - the employment of their wives and children. Fortunately for the Derry area, as the linen trade was declining, the seeds were being sown of another industry, employing mainly females. While it was to be some time before it gathered the same strength as the linen industry it was replacing, it was to be the principal factor in Derry's growth in the second half of the nineteenth century. I refer to the shirt industry.

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23. Report Irish Society Dep., 1836. App. 1. p.5d.

Woollen shirts had long been made in Derry as elsewhere,[24] but the foundation of the modern shirt industry has been dated in 1831.[25] The O.S. memoir pointed out in 1837 that some Derry cotton weavers were making webs for a Glasgow house.[26] Eight men and eight women and children were employed at eight looms and produced in one year 23,300 yards of cotton to the value of £584.[27] Glasgow houses had strong connections with the Derry area, no doubt because of the ease of communications via the Derry-Glasgow steamship line. The Poor Inquiry Commissioners gave more details about the Derry establishment.

> 'William Scott, a cotton weaver, employs for a Scotch house. The employment is at present very good; many more weavers could be obtained but it requires a new loom. Mr Scott lends looms to them at 1/- a web; the wages are at present low being 18/- a web which a man generally weaves in three weeks'.[28]

It was in this cotton weaving business of Scott that the shirt industry had its origins.

Its beginnings appear to have been quite accidental. Phill

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24. Ref. memoir, Londonderry, p.316.
25. S. Scott, William Scott, founder of the shirt trade (Derry, 1948), p.1. The author of this pamphlet was a descendant of Wm. Scott. His information was evidently from family sources. His statements which I have been able to check are accurate, therefore it is reasonable to assume the accuracy of his statements in general.
26. Ref. memoir, Londonderry, p.316.
27. Ibid., p.317.
28. Poor Inquiry, Ireland, App. C. pt.1. p.63.

with the needle in 'sprigging', an old embroidery handicraft, had been traditional to the women of Derry: 'Sprigging. Sewing. A clever person to act as agent in giving out muslin for flowering'.[29] The women too had plenty of experience in making hand-made flannel or cotton shirts for the men of the family. The availability of these basic skills must have been a big factor in the foundation and growth of the shirt industry.[30]

On one of his Glasgow visits to the firm to which he supplied cotton - Messrs. Carlile & Son, 8 South Frederick St - Scott took some of these hand-made shirts. From that date he had regular orders.[31] The development of cotton must have given a new impetus to this industry as it was lighter and much more comfortable than the flannel or wool formerly used. The need too for a manufactured supply of shirts was obviously increasing as growing urban settlements created the need for a steady supply of items previously supplied on a domestic or local basis.

Scott's Glasgow orders were small enough to be met by the work of the women of his own family. Local circumstances, and probably chance, played a part in creating the second source of orders for Scott's shirts. A local draper and friend of the cotton weaver obtained for him a large order from his brother in

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29. Lvt. Londonderry Standard, 18 December 1844; Scott, op. cit., p.40.
30. Scott, op. cit., p.46.
31. Scott, op. cit., p.25.

Australia. Using the cloth woven in their weaving shop the women of the family were able to meet this order too.

> 'Mrs Joseph Scott was a first-class needlewoman and finding her husband's mother and sisters busy at the Australian order, immediately volunteered to help in getting it finished ... In long after years I often heard her tell the story of how resolutely and unweariedly the four women worked to finish the consignment and how well the shirts were made'.32

The beginnings of this family have been dated at 1831. In 1845 a local newspaper reported:

> 'In sewing we understand that Messrs. Wm. Scott and Co. of this town gave employment to no fewer than 250 weavers and upwards of 500 persons making shirts; and we believe that there is a greater demand for hands on their part than they can readily procure'.33

The industry had spread beyond the family circle but was still largely domestic, the cloth woven and cut in Scott's weaving shop being farmed out to outworkers in the city and in 'stations' set up in the surrounding districts.

> 'Inch factory - mark of esteem. On Friday last the female workers and labourers in the employment of Mr. Wm. Scott at Inch, assembled and

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32. Scott, op. cit., pp.29-30.

33. Letter in Londonderry Journal, 24 June 1845.

> cut down all his cloth and had it safely stacked the next day. Mr. Scott employs at his weaving and shirt manufactories at Inch and Falcon a great number of both male and female hands at work, and owing to the constant employment he gives them throughout the year, they annually pay him this mark of respect'.[34]

> 'Notice to shirt makers. The subscriber begs leave to state that in consequence of the increased employment given to shirtmakers in and around Derry that he will open shirtmaking establishments at or near Claudy, Dunnamore, Newtownlimavady and Moville and will require at each place a young woman who is capable of giving out and taking in the work; and also a young man from sixteen to twenty years of age, as clerk'.[35]

These outworkers, originally taught by seamstresses sent out by Scott and in turn passing on the skill to others, sewed up the shirts and were paid on completion.[36]

The early shirts had cotton bodies while the breast, collar and cuffs were made of linen:

> 'Full-sized and white lonsdale shirts with fine linen breasts 2/6 each; very superior quality which can be recommended from 3/- to 4/-; a variety of printed shirts from 1/4 to 3/6; striped Jean shirts, full-sized from 1/6'.[37]

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34. Londonderry Sentinel, 25 September 1851.
35. Ibid., 7 October 1851.
36. Scott, op. cit., p.31.
37. Advt. Londonderry Sentinel, 9 October 1851; Scott, op. cit., p.27.

The increase in trade - an agency had been set up in London in the 1840's and an advertisement by a London firm in a Derry newspaper in 1847 shows that the reputation of the area for shirt production had spread[38] - meant that Scott's original premises in Weaver's Row were inadequate and he moved to the vacated old military hospital in Bennett St.[39]

Competitors appeared too. Several of Scott's employees set up in business for themselves. One of them, Richard Gibbons, advertised for 500 or 600 workers in 1851 and had outworkers at Castlefin, Limavady, Ballyarton, Donemana and Strabane.[40] Another, Peter McIntyre, was the founder of the present-day firm of McIntyre, Hogg and Marsh.[41] In 1850, William Tillie came to the city and opened the first shirt factory, a small one in Little James St. He later transferred to the site of the old Weaver's Row foundation - still the headquarters of Tillie and Henderson. Here he introduced the sewing machine - probably in 1856 - and with it the factory system.[42]

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38. Advt. Londonderry Standard, 15 September 1847; Scott, op. cit., p.31.
39. Scott, op. cit., p.33; see also advt. Londonderry Standard, 7 October 1851.
40. Advt. Londonderry Standard, 23 October 1851.
41. Scott, op. cit., p.43.
42. Ibid., p.46; 'Wanted by Tillie and Henderson. 12 boys from 12 to 14 years of age, to assist in working and superintending sewing machines. They will be required to engage for 4 or 5 years, and paid wages by the week [illegible]

The Scottish influence in the foundation of the shirt industry was strong. In addition to the fact that the original cotton weaving establishment from which the industry sprang was set up by a Glasgow firm which also bought the first shirts, McIntyre and Tillie, pioneers of the factory industry, were Scotsmen. The steamship connection with Glasgow and the cheapness and abundance of local female labour were obvious factors which encouraged the Scottish investment. By 1856 there were fourteen shirt factories in Derry.[43] The new industry had begun to fill the gap left in female employment since the failure of the linen trade:

> 'Many families had in consequence of the means of learning which this branch of industry offered, been saved from impending ruin. When the linen trade, which was formerly their staple as the shirt now was, had declined, so had the small farmers of the country, and subsequent years of famine had even further reduced them; but he was proud to stand there and say their daughters had been enabled, by means of the shirt trade, to retrieve their position and restore comfort and happiness to their families and homes'.[44]

Other industries had been rising and falling as well. There had been a sugar house built in Derry as early as 1762.

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43. Slater's new commercial directory of Ireland (Manchester, 1856), p.555.

44. Mayor of Derry in Londonderry Standard, 22 January 1857.

It continued throughout the eighteenth century till the Napoleonic wars and the Berlin and Milan decrees removed the continental markets from the English and Scotch refineries in 1804. In the same year therefore one half of the protecting duty of 10/- a cwt. on all refined sugars imported into Ireland was removed. The remaining duty was abolished in 1807.[45] In addition a duty of 2/8 per cwt. had been placed on Irish sugar in 1801 and increased to 3/6 in 1806.[46] The business of the Derry sugar firm declined immediately and closed in 1809.[47]

The sugar house premises in Sugarhouse Lane were converted into a glass manufactory in 1820 which produced white and bottle glass.[48] At this date Irish glass manufacturers were operating with considerable advantages over their English rivals. There were no excise duties on glass manufactured in Ireland and there was a protective duty on imported British glass. Both these advantages were removed in the 1820's. In 1823 and 1824 all duties on imported British glass were abolished and British and Irish glass duties were assimilated in 1825.[49] Derry's glass factory closed in the same year, because undoubtedly of its

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45. G.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.309; Harnion, op. cit., p.412.
46. O'Brien, op. cit., p.457.
47. G.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.309.
48. G.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.309; Harnion, op. cit., p.412.
49. O'Brien, op. cit., pp. 361-362.

exposure to the full blast of English competition.[50]

Other industries were more fortunate. Many of them in nineteenth century towns were small and local. Seaport towns like Derry had rope and sailmakers whose main outlet was the sailing ships using the port. In 1850 seven ropewalks employed twenty men and thirteen boys. In the same year they used 2,427 cwts. of hemp costing £3,276 to produce rope to the value of £4,948.[51] The industry was purely local. There is no evidence in the trade figures of any export trade in rope. Neither was it a flourishing industry. It was

> 'carried on by individuals of small means in the rudest manner and limited to rope of small size. The profit is doubtless so lowered by the easy importation of cheap foreign rope as to render rope-making a speculation not at present likely to gain the attention of capitalists'.[52]

Wages earned by ropemakers varied between 11/- and 15/- per week and the industry survived throughout our period.[53]

Tanning was another common industry in Irish towns in the nineteenth century. Its development was restricted by the shortage of Irish bark. Native oak was scarce.[54] Forty men

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50. J.S. Hamilton, Londonderry, p.309; Londonderry Journal, 1 June 1830.
51. O.F. Hamilton, Londonderry, p.317.
52. Ibid., p.309.
53. Appendix 1.
54. O.F. Hamilton, Londonderry, p.309; O'Farlen, op. cit., p.376.

were employed at Derry in 1836. They worked 249 tanpits which used annually 12,963 hides costing £7,199, bark to the value of £4,433 and produced leather to the value of £15,416.[55] This industry had also been affected by the removal, in 1823, of the protective duty on imported leather.[56] An effect of the removal of the duty is indicated by the fact that although there were no tanned hides imported through Derry between 1820 and 1823, so many as 1,500 bundles were imported in 1826. The import and export figures reflect the difficulties experienced in the tanning industry in Derry at this period. They show the growth in the import of tanned hides and in the export of untanned ones. The picture of the difficulties is even clearer when it is remembered that no locally tanned hides were exported.

Year	Bundles		
	Imported (tanned)	Exported (untanned)	
1826	1500	0	
1827	580	114	
1828	2229	240	
1829	1147	1500	
1830	643	2614	
1831	630	2331	
1832	3508	1292	
1833	4220	0	
1834	3576	0	57

The slight revival reflected in the lack of any export of untanned hides shown for 1833 and 1834 was due to a reduction

55. G.I. Wood, Londonderry, p.317.
56. O'Brien, op. cit., p.276.
57. See Appendix W.

in the duty on bark, a point which illustrates the industry's dependence on it.

> 'At present the manufacture is upheld by the union of the retail trade in leather with the business of the tanner and were it attempted to increase the duty on bark the manufacture would at once be ruined. If therefore it has revived of late the principal cause is the reduction of the duty on bark. Such a manufacture is maintained with difficulty in a country which obtains its bark by importation'.[58]

Foundries and copper works were less local in their market and served a wider area. The gradual industrialisation of Derry and the growing use of machinery is reflected in the fact that the first foundry and copper works was begun in 1821.[59] By 1839 there were four in Derry.[60] The largest firm, J. & J. Cooke of Ferryquay St, employed seventy men in 1836 including labourers and apprentices. In a one year this foundry consumed 326 tons of pig and bar iron and fourteen tons of copper in producing various types of mill machinery, metal pipes, pillars and grates.[61] Craig's foundry in Foyle St employed, including labourers and apprentices, sixty men. Their annual consumption

58. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.309.
59. Ibid., p.310.
60. A new directory of Londonderry 1839.
61. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.310.

of raw material was 130 tons of iron and 18 tons of copper to make metal castings and to supply local breweries and distilleries. Agricultural machinery, especially plough mountings, was another widely sold product.[62]

The fall in coal prices in 1831 and 1832 was a tremendous boon to this type of industry as in addition to cheapening one of its essential materials it also gave a great fillip to the growth of mills which were the foundry's chief customers.[63] Thus there was a great increase in the demand for mill machinery after 1832 and the Derry foundries were supplying as far afield as Antrim, Donegal, Tyrone, Sligo, Roscommon, Fermanagh and Monaghan in addition to Co Derry.[64] Gradual industrialisation and the resultant increase in the use of machinery was another large factor in the expansion of foundries.

The provision of a slip for shipbuilding repairs in 1830 and the opening of a shipyard in 1838 brought increased demands for foundry products although in 1838 an additional foundry and copperworks was opened in conjunction with the new shipbuilding yard.[65] The decision of the Corporation in 1848 to instal a new water supply was a further spur but it is of interest to observe that, in the face of local competition, the contracts

62. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.310.
63. W. F. Adams, Ireland and Irish emigration to the new world from the Union to the famine (London, 1932), p.170.
64. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.310.
65. Simpson, op. cit., p.230; Harmion, op. cit., p.412; Londonderry Journal, 11 October 1836.

for the supply of water pipes, junctions etc. were awarded to Glasgow firms,[66] a point emphasising again the strong Derry - Glasgow connection. The coaling of the railways too provided more work for although the railway coaches were built by an English firm they were built locally with local labour and Coppin's foundry supplied the 'hanging gear'.[67]

The industry benefitted considerably from easy access to pig iron, its principal raw material. Derry owned sailing ships, heavily engaged in the emigrant trade, carried loads of pig iron as ballast to be sold in America. It was brought to Derry from Glasgow.[68] Copper was brought from South Wales.[69] The import figures for iron bear out this picture of increasing prosperity in the foundries. The average annual import of iron between 1785 and 1792 was 728 cwts. Between 1793 and 1802 it was 1,515 cwt. From 1803 to 1812 it was 1,584 cwt. But the average rose to 7,339 cwt. between 1813 and 1823, the period when the foundries began.[70] In the year 1835 alone 32,700 cwt. were imported.[71] Unfortunately there are no post-1835 figures but the rise in imports since 1820 testified further to the expansion of foundry production making it an increasing and major source of

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66. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 9 December 1846 - February 1849.
67. Londonderry Standard, 11 December 1846.
68. See Import ledger (1836) in McCorkell & Co. Derry.
69. D.J. Mawhir, Londonderry, p.210.
70. Ibid. Mawhir, Londonderry, p.284.

employment. Harmion, writing in 1836 describes one of Derry's foundries as 'famous for its brass castings and coppersorks'.[72]

Another purely local industry was brewing. Domestic brewing did not exist to any extent in Ireland, unlike Britain. This was undoubtedly due to the Irishman's preference for spirits and to the resultant fact that the domestic breweries of England had their counterparts in the 'domestic' distilleries of Ireland. The legislature was much in favour of the brewing industry and made constant efforts to encourage the consumption of beer rather than spirits in Ireland.[73] Its success, however, was limited for, although brewing prospered slowly in the Derry area, Derry-made beer does not seem, from the available figures, to have reached the export market.[74]

In 1836 there was one brewery in Derry which employed eleven men and one horse-mill. 5,200 barrels of beer were produced annually valued at £9,100. Into its production went 14,560 bushels of malt at £5,400 and 8,200 lbs. of hops valued at £1,000.[75] Hops were imported from England and the decline in imports after 1826 seems to indicate a falling output.[76] The oppressive malt

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72. Harmion, op. cit., p.412.

73. A statute passed in 1793 gave a bounty to retailers of spirits in Ireland who also sold beer, provided they sold one barrel of beer for every four of spirits. (O'Brien, op. cit., pp.343-344.)

74. See Appendix IV.

75. 1st Report Municipal Corporations, p.317.

76. See Appendix IV.

duty undoubtedly contributed to this but on the other hand the competition from imported English beer decreased considerably after the Act of Union.[77]

A second brewery adjoining the waterside distillery was opened in 1836 'for the sale of ale and beer'.[78] Unfortunately no figures are available for either brewery for the remainder of our period; in 1846, however, Slater's directory describes the Londonderry and Foyle Breweries as 'large establishments'.[79] The former, in William St, was owned by messrs. Johnston & Carson, and produced ale and porter.[80] A quarrel between the partners led to the suspension of production for a period in 1844. Johnston then took a lease of the Foyle Brewery in the waterside.[81] The industry continued to develop slowly and by 1856 Harmion reports the presence of a third brewery in Derry.[82]

Distilling was more successful. Distilleries were common in nineteenth century Irish towns. They benefitted considerably from the Irishman's preference for spirits and from his drinking.

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77. G.O. Sayair, [illegible] cit., p.276. The following figures for beer imports from England are given.

Year	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806
No of barrels	1942	983	1702	1818	1126	1756	2043	1382	1666	0	379	108

After 1806 the annual import rarely rose above 50 barrels.

78. Londonderry Journal, 23 February 1836.

79. Slater's new commercial directory of Ireland (Manchester, 1846). p.[illegible].

80. [illegible] 1834.

81. Londonderry Journal, 26 November 1844.

82. [illegible] p.[illegible].

On the other hand, the production of the distillery suffered from the competition of illicit whiskey, a product particularly plentiful in the north-west, one of the principal poteen producing districts in the country.[83] The legislature, too, was more obstructive than helpful. 'It is impossible for the most rapid writer or printer to keep pace with the distillery laws in Ireland. Those made one month are seldom those of the next'.[84] One of the themes of these changes was the attempt, through taxation, to introduce into Ireland a preference for beer.[85] Another was the effort to concentrate the distilling industry in the hands of 'persons of respectability and capital'.[86] The hope was that the existence of large distilleries would make supervision and collection of excise easier. The result was that it was difficult to set up large distilleries to compete in the same market with many unlicensed and cheaper competitors.[87]

Duties on spirits were another obstacle. They rose from 2/4½ in 1800 to 9/7¾ in 1820. They fell to 2/- in 1823, rose to 3/4 in 1830 and remained at 2/8 from 1840 to 1850.[88] Imported British whiskey increased after 1826 the first year that any

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85. Londonderry Journal, 4 February 1834; Ibid., 4 July 1843. (Illicit distillation was discovered to be taking place in two houses in Doneade); E. E. O'Donnell, 'Illicit distillation: an Irish peasant industry', in Devane (ed.), Historical Studies III (Cork, 1961), pp.66-67.
84. E. Sketchley, 'An account of Ireland, statistical and political' (London, 1812), i. 12.
85. O'Brien, op. cit., pp.343-34.
86. Connell, op. cit., p.83.
87. Ibid., pp.83-84.
88. Ibid., p.71; O'Brien, op. cit., pp.355,357.

import of whiskey was recorded.[89]

	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Exported to England (Puncheons)	5	41	20	7	9	552	293	125	110	529
Imported from	429	710	514	1028	800	783	603	475	559	1091

West Indian rum provided more competition. The distillers of Derry and Donegal petitioned in 1830 against the preferential treatment it received. In that year the duty on rum was reduced to 3/6 per gallon while the duty on spirits distilled in Ireland rose by 2d. per gallon to 3/-. An additional duty of 1/- per gallon was placed on all Irish spirits exported to England.[90] It must be remembered however that excise duties on English spirits were as much as 7/6 per gallon in 1830.[91] Another restricting factor in the distilling trade was the duty on malt which forced licensed distillers to use raw grain.[92] In consequence their product was less palatable than that of their numerous unlicensed competitors.[93] Pure malt whiskey was produced for the first time in the waterside distillery only in 1856,[94] possibly in an effort to compete with the illicit product.

89. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.257.
90. Londonderry Journal, 27 April 1830.
91. Connell, op. cit., p.71.
92. Ibid., p.72; O'Brien, op. cit., p.356.
93. Connell, op. cit., p.77.
94. Londonderry Journal, 3 June 1834.

The price of coal in Ireland prior to 1832 was an additional burden.[95] Again the unlicensed competitor used turf while coal was necessary to produce the heat needed in the large distillery.[96]

Helping the distilling industry was the fall in the price of coal to the English level in 1832,[97] the abolition of the corn laws and the growing prosperity of the city. These advantages were offset by Father Mathew's temperance campaign in the north-west in 1847 which reduced the number of customers in the area by an estimated 30,000.[98] The famine, too, kept grain prices high and depopulated the countryside thus further reducing the distilling market.

The result of those factors was that Derry's distilleries expanded little before 185 . There were three distilleries in 1836, one of them in the Waterside. Watt's distillery in Abbey St employed twenty men and a twenty horse-power steam engine. It used annually 64,000 bushels of malt and grain valued at £20,000 in order to produce 132,000 gallons of spirits valued at £39,000.[99] Pennyburn distillery, slightly larger, employed

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95. Connell, op. cit., pp.73,86; Londonderry Journal, 27 April 1830.

96. Connell, op. cit., pp.73,84. An example given by Connell (p.70) shows that £6. worth of fuel was sufficient to produce 17 gallons of spirit in the case of one illicit distiller.

97. Adams, op. cit., p.170.

98. Londonderry Journal, 30 August 1847.

99. [illegible], p.216.

forty men and a five horse-power engine in the production of 160,000 gallons of whiskey annually worth £44,000. In its production were used 76,800 bushels of malt and grain costing £24,000.[100] No figures are available for Achen's distillery in the waterside but the Ordnance Survey Memoir points out that in the year ended 5 January 1836, 66,709 gallons of spirits were produced in the parish of Clondermott in which the Waterside distillery was situated. In the neighbouring parishes of All Saints and Lower Badoney 19,358 and 2,630 gallons respectively were produced in the same year.[101]. The total product for Derry and its immediate district for 1835 was 287,017 gallons.[102]

The value of a distillery to an area was on a broader scale than the direct employment given or the profit made. Grain, the produce of 4,000 acres, was required to manufacture the total whiskey made in 1835.[103] In addition, distillery refuse was used to fatten pigs, a domestic industry widespread in the immediate vicinity of the distillery, which contributed to the growing export trade in pork.[104] A correspondent to the Londonderry Journal in 1834, in pointing out these facts, shows

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100. O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.316.
101. Ibid., p.358.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Letter in Londonderry Journal, 4 February 1834.

some light on contemporary attitudes to the value of distilleries. He observes that the existence of this industry is an insurance against famine as the legislature could always suspend the use of grain. He complains of the severe competition of illicit whiskey and the preferential fiscal treatment of East Indian rum. He ascribes the latter to the desire to decrease the sale of whiskey in order to reduce the price of grain and therefore nullify the effect of the corn laws.[105]

There is less information on the processes used within the distilleries. Until 1833 the old-fashioned pot-stills were in use in local distilleries. Production was considerably increased in that year by the installation of Aeneas Coffey's patent still in the Abbey St distillery. This invention revolutionised the distilling trade. The Derry distillery was one of the earliest to adopt the machinery and its installation was supervised by the inventor himself.[106]

The general picture of the distilling industry is therefore one of gradual improvement in spite of many difficulties and with

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105. Letter in Londonderry Journal, 4 February 1834.

106. 'The manufacture of whiskey in Derry', in A Legacy of Derry (3rd ed., Derry, 1947), p.53. This production, part of Derry Christian Brothers souvenir programme, contains many articles on local history. There is no author or authority given for this article but the majority of the material used in the book can be checked and is highly accurate. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that this article is accurate also.

the aid of new and better methods of production. The Pennyburn distillery which employed twice as many men as the one in Abbey St yet used only a five horse-power engine, succumbed in 1839 to those difficulties and to its failure to mechanize.[107] The remaining distilleries continued to produce and flourish throughout our period and indeed throughout the nineteenth century.

Possibly the greatest single influence on industrial development or lack of it in the Derry area in the first half of the nineteenth century was the price of coal, an essential commodity in so many industries. The Derry Chamber of Commerce petitioned Parliament in 1835 against the excessive duty on coals of 1/7½ per ton because of the serious effect it had on such industries as cotton, linen, breweries, distilleries, mills etc. They pointed out 'that the sister Island possesses great advantages over Ireland with reference to manufacture from the cheapness of coal, as we pay for that article nearly treble what is paid by the manufacturers either in Scotland or the manufacturing districts of England'.[108] The same was true of other areas of Ireland where coal cost 18/-, 19/- or 20/- per ton as against 5/-, 6/- and 7/- in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Glasgow.[109]

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107. Marmion, op. cit., p.412.
108. Londonderry Journal, 27 April 1830.
109. O'Brien, op. cit., p.409.

The 1830 petition was refused.[110] In 1831, however, the parliamentary duty on coals was repealed and in the following year the different local levies disappeared leaving Ireland on an 'equal footing as regards fuel costs with their competitors in the south and west of England'.[111] The result was an expansion in the use of machinery throughout the country. The principal development was in flour mills.[112]

That Derry was no exception is shown by the growth of milling between 1825 and 1836. In 1815 a mill on the Strand at Derry employing twenty persons consisted of 'two waterwheels, eight pairs of stones, the whole machinery being on a very extensive scale'.[113] In 1836 there were five mills in the city and suburbs. Three steam-powered mills with engines totalling 58 horse-power employed thirty men working fifty-two weeks in the year for an average of sixteen hours per day. They milled 10,120 tons of oatmeal and 6,750 tons of flour annually. In Edenballymore there was one watermill with a wheel of 14' diameter and a twenty horse-power engine came into use at times of the year when the water supply was insufficient. It employed three men for six months in the year including the miller and manufactured annually a maximum of 169 tons of oatmeal. Newtownburn

110. Londonderry Journal, 25 May 1830.
111. Adams, op. cit., p.170.
112. Ibid.
113. Report Irish Society Com., 1815. p.46.

mill produced an annual maximum of 675 tons of oatmeal. It consisted of both a water-mill and windmill operating on an average of thirty weeks in the year. Employing eight men, this undershot water-mill had a wheel diameter of 14 feet.[114]

In 1849 the number of flour mills was even greater. There were three large steam mills in Foyle St manufacturing Indian meal as well as oatmeal.[115] A new mill had been erected on the Strand Rd,

> 'the large mill, kiln and stores of Samuel Gilliland, Esq., Merchant. -- This mill, the machinery of which is worked by steam, contains six pairs of stones and is divided into three compartments, for the grinding of Oatmeal, flour and Indian corn, all of which can be in process of manufacture at the same time'.[116]

A further growth in milling, and the greatest, had taken place on the waterside bank of the river. On the road to Strabane along the river bank had been erected a corn mill, powered by water conveyed by underground pipes from the hillside to the mill, thence to the river. A little further on there was also a steam mill and kiln

> 'erected by Messrs. T. & S. Ballantyne, the proprietors of Pollough and Clooney mills, the former of which in 1846 after the failure of the

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114. Dr. Kerrin, Londonderry, p.317.
115. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.
116. Ibid.

> potato crop was fitted up by them for the manufacture of Indian corn into meal, which at the same time was a matter of considerable importance to the community. In this mill and the steam-mill at the waterside eleven pairs of stones are kept in almost constant motion, and the quantity of corn ground by them must be immense'.

This new waterside mill alone was producing one hundred and sixty tons of oatmeal weekly.[117]

Other factors apart from the reduction in coal prices helped the development of milling. The provision of private wharves attached to the mills cut out the oppressive tonnage and quayage dues and enabled the millers to land Indian corn for milling free of charge.

> 'To facilitate the shipment of their oatmeal to Scotland, and the landing of Indian corn for their own mill, they have now a wharf close to their stores, the use of which is given to them by the Glasgow Steamboat Company gratis, and is a great accommodation to other millers and dealers in that part of the city and neighbourhood'.[118]

The establishment of a grain market at the waterside was an additional incentive to the growth of mills on that bank of the river as the heavy bridge tolls could now be avoided by the farmers on the Co Derry bank.[119]

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117. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849; 'Corn mills are at work night and day', in (Londonderry Standard, 28 May 1847.)

118. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

119. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 7 May 1849; Londonderry Journal, 5 July 1849.

The development of milling naturally increased the employment Derry offered as it

> 'gave a check to the practice of shipping off the oats bought in the markets of Strabane and Derry to England - a trade which, a few years since was carried on to a large extent but has now almost ceased, the grain grown in this district being now, for the most part, manufactured at home, thus giving a great amount of employment to labourers and ensuring to corn growers the highest price for their grain'.[120]

A final evidence of the expansion of milling was the prosperity of the mill owners. The two Derry directors on the board of the new Londonderry - Enniskillen Railway Co., Samuel Gilliland and John Leathem were both millers.[121] Most of the beautiful villas too being erected on the waterside bank of the river were built by mill owners. 'Mr Lunn has converted what was only a few years ago a barren hillside, into land of first rate quality, tastefully ornamented with belts of planting and in the centre of the grounds has erected a handsome villa'.[122]

The milling industry depended to a large extent on the shipping of the port. Shipping had been growing steadily since the start of the nineteenth century and with it the number of local ship owners. In 1803 Thompson wrote 'There are scarcely

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120. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

121. Ibid.; A new directory of Londonderry 1839; Bonn's Irish [illegible] p.574.

122. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1849.

any vessels which, strictly speaking, belong to the merchants of Derry except three'.[123] By 1826 there were twenty-eight sailing vessels belonging to the port which employed 340 men. The numbers rose steadily till in 1834 there were 42 vessels employing 338 men and five steamboats with 59 men on board. In 1837 there were 19 vessels under 100 tons burthen; 10 between 100 and 200 tons; 6 between 200 and 300 tons; and 5 above 300 tons. In addition there were now six steamboats with 74 hands on board.[124]

In spite of this increase in locally owned ships, there were no facilities for their repair before 1831. The Chamber of Commerce had complained of this to the Irish Society deputation in 1826.[125]

> 'It is really surprising', it was written in 1831, 'that in the Port of Derry, if a vessel happened to start a plank or required her bottom to be examined, until within the present week, we had neither slip nor dock to which she could be hauled but invariably she had to be hauled to from, Liverpool or Greenock, thus yielding, without an effort, a very profitable branch of employment to strangers'.[126]

The situation was remedied when, in that year, Messrs.

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123. Sampson, op. cit., p.255.

124. [illegible], p.292. The growth of shipping is treated here fully in Chapter VIII.

125. [illegible], 1826. Doc. 1. p.37.

126. Letter in [illegible], 26 November 1831.

Skipton and Henderson, the latter a naval lieutenant, joined forces to set up a patent slip for the repair of vessels.[127] Perhaps the reason for the previous reluctance to develop along these lines is to be found in the fact that Messrs. Skipton and Henderson had to pay a considerable fee to the patentee, because they resided in Ireland, for permission to compete with 'proprietors of similar establishments in the sister countries'. The same fee did not obtain in Scotland or England.[128] The expense of the construction of the slip and dock was £4,000 and vessels of up to 300 tons register could be repaired there.[129] The immediate rise in the number of locally owned vessels from 31 in 1831 to 41 in 1832 might easily be due to these new and much more economic facilities.[130]

The venture was successful. In 1834 51 vessels of all sizes were repaired at the slip; in 1835 thirteen vessels and twenty open boats, and in the following year twenty open boats and nine vessels including two steampackets. The yard embarked on shipbuilding too and launched a vessel of 140 tons register, 'a handsome vessel, built of Irish oak and calculated to carry

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127. O.S. Memoir, Londonderry, p.252; Simpson, op. cit., p.220; Atkinson, op. cit., p.256.

128. Atkinson, op. cit., p.256.

129. O.S. Memoir, Londonderry, p.252.

130. Ibid., p.29..

259 tons'.[131] Lewis, in 1837, refers to two fine brigs having been built there.[132] The training of the workers was undertaken by Lieutenant Henderson. 'A first-rate foreman and a gang of good shipwrights' were employed. Materials were mostly local. Sails were made on the spot and the oak used was brought from woods at Malworth, Killyleagh and Learmount. American and Baltic pine were imported.[133]

An attempt to set up a second shipyard in 1836 failed when Joseph Kelso, a local businessman who had obtained the transfer of a lease of ground held under the Irish Society, asked the Society deputation to convert the lease, which had eighty years unexpired, into a perpetuity so that he could establish a shipbuilding yard and a steam sawing mill. He was refused. 'Desirable as the undertaking certainly is, we cannot recommend the Society to depart from its general rule not to grant property in perpetuity'.[134]

In the same year a company was formed 'for the building of steam vessels and construction of steam engines of all purposes'. The patent slip and dock owned by Messrs. Shipton was taken over

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131. G.B. Hamilton, Londonderry, p.252.

132. J. Lewis, A topographical dictionary of Ireland (London, 1837), II. 332.

133. G.B. Hamilton, Londonderry, p.252.

134. Londonderry Irish Society MS., 1836, p.23.

along with adjoining land. The slip was enlarged to take vessels of 500 to 600 tons' register. Land was reclaimed to build an adjoining foundry.[135] The site, clearly marked in O'Hagan's map of Derry in 1849, had a frontage on the Strand of 228 feet and stretched back to the river.[136] The leading figure in the new venture was Captain William Coppin.

He appears to have had remarkable qualifications as a marine engineer and inventor. Of 460 applicants for refloating the Great Britain aground in Dundrum Bay in 1846, Coppin was chosen by the underwriters. All applicants submitted detailed plans.[137] Throughout his lifetime he built a great reputation for ship salvage. A short biography of him, written in 1890, five years before his death, gives evidence that he was one of the foremost ship engineers of his time.[138] Born in Ainsale, he gained his experience in yards at St John's, New Brunswick. He captained the Edward Bell thence to Derry in 1831,[139] and after a short period as master on the Derry - Liverpool service

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135. Londonderry Journal, 11 October 1826; Report Irish Society ..., 1826, 20n; Calendar of Londonderry Deeds, 266.

136. Advt. Londonderry Standard, 22 May 1844.

137. Londonderry Sentinel, 11 November 1846.

138. J. M. Henderson, Sir C. Coppin: the discovery of his ship (2nd edn, London, 1890), pp17-21; Londonderry Sentinel, 5 July 1887. This contains a long article on Coppin's shipbuilding enterprise and gives much information especially about ships built. Coppin was alive at this time.

139. Advt. Londonderry Sentinel, 3 September 1831; Dr Henderson, 'Shipbuilding on the Foyle', in Londonderry Journal, 19 April 1911.

he began shipbuilding in 1838.[140]

Initially he was very successful, building ships for local owners. His first ship, City of Derry, a barque for the East India trade, 'made the voyage from Liverpool to Bombay in the shortest space on record'. His second barque, Lurbure, built for local Daniel Baird and Co 'had a reputation scarcely inferior'. A third ship, 'a splendid steam vessel', was launched in 1841. 'Length 162 ft; breadth of beam at paddle boxes 27 ft 3 inches; breadth over all 46 ft 6 inches; 630 tons old measurement and propelled by engines of 32[illegible] h.p.'. The engines for this ship were made in Glasgow but boilers and other machinery were produced by Coppin. Named the Leiden City and built for the North-west of Ireland Steamship Co, she was 'the largest vessel ever built in Ireland'. These three ships were built within a period of two years.[141] Other ships built before 1843 were the Coronea for [illegible] McCorkell and Co, a schooner Jane Carroll and a steamer Alexander.[142] While building these Coppin was carrying on his greatest venture, 'the largest steamship ever in existence', the Great Northern, 1575 tons and 360 horse-power, driven by the recently invented Archimedean screw, an invention

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140. Advt. Londonderry Sentinel, 8 August 1838; Londonderry Journal, 1838. p.6.

141. Londonderry Sentinel, 11 September 1841. This article gives a full account of the launching of the Leiden City and information on earlier ships built in the yard.

142. Londonderry Sentinel, 5 July 1842.

which revolutionised shipbuilding and of which Coppin was one of the earliest advocates.[143]

When Thackeray visited Derry in 1842 he 'heard along the quays a great thundering and clattering of ironwork in an enormous steam frigate which has been built in Derry and which seems to lie alongside a whole street of houses'.[144] This was undoubtedly the Great Britain then being built. She was launched on 19 July 1843 and the excitement then exhibited was a pointer to the greatness of Coppin's achievement.

> 'The grand and interesting sight of the launch of the colossal steamship lately built at this port by Captain Coppin attracted, as we anticipated, an immense assemblage of spectators. On the evening of yesterday week all the hotels in the town were thronged with gentry belonging to the neighbouring counties and hosts of visitors quartered themselves on their friends who were resident here. On Saturday morning, from an early hour, vehicles of all sorts were in requisition - from the carriage and four to the donkey cart - bringing each its quota of anxious but cheerful visitants ... At eight o'clock the concourse of people assembled could not have been less than 20,000 - filling Coppin's yard, as well as the roof of his dwelling house - the latter given up exclusively to the fair sex - and the neighbouring wharves and yards were closely crowded. The river was alive with spectators, who not only

143. Londonderry Standard, 20 July 1842; [illegible]; Londonderry Standard, 19 January 1843.

144. Thackeray, op. cit., p.268.

> filled the boats and thronged the decks, clinging to the rigging of the vessels in the harbour, which were gaily decorated with flags. On the opposite side of the river, also, a large number of people were assembled'.[145]

When the vessel arrived in London wonder was no less evident. The Illustrated London News carried an illustration of the ship accompanied by a detailed description.

> 'This extraordinary steamer, now in East India docks, is the object of general astonishment. Her great length, breadth and depth, exceeds we believe, the dimensions of any steam vessel ever in existence. She was built at Londonderry by Captain Coppin, and is a remarkable instance of nautical architecture. She is propelled by the Archimedean screw, which works on each side of the rudder: the engine is of 360 horse-power. No paddles are required and, but for the funnel which is aft amidships, she might pass for a square rigged vessel of the larger class. She has three masts with upper and lower yards, and is rigged in every respect like a frigate or sloop of war. We were favoured by one of her officers with the following dimensions: Length (from the figurehead to the stern) 274 feet; breadth of beam 37 ft; depth from the gangway to the keel, 36 feet. On her passage from Londonderry she ran

145. Londonderry Sentinel, 30 July 1842; Illustrated London News, 30 July 1842.

upon the average 13½ knots. During the week many persons entered the dockyard to gaze at this really wonderful object'.[146]

There can be little doubt of Coppin's achievement in building a ship of such size and speed. Brunel's Great Western, built in 1838, had only a tonnage of 1340 and an average speed of 8.3 knots. Even his Great Britain, built in 1843, averaged 12 knots, less than the Great Northern. In fact there was no faster ship till Brunel's famous Great Eastern in 1858 travelled at 15 knots. The Great Britain, launched a year after the Great Northern, was built on the same principle - the Archimedean screw. It was Brunel's first screw vessel. By these standards the future of shipbuilding on the Foyle ought to have been assured. The vessel, of which Coppin owned one third, had cost £45,000.[147] It was the policy of the British government to employ under contract private companies to carry the mails. In this fashion the Peninsular & Oriental (1837), the Cunard (1839) and the Royal Mail Steampacket Co (1843) had been founded. The Great Northern was intended for use in a similar way. She was to be placed under a three year contract as a Queensland mail boat at the fee of £130 per day.[148] The

146. Illustrated London News, 14 January 1843.
147. Londonderry Sentinel, 5 July 1847.
148. Ibid.

contract fell through and Coppin was declared bankrupt the following year.[149]

It is difficult to arrive at the reason for Coppin's failure to secure a contract which would have brought great prosperity both to himself and to Derry and ensured the future of the shipbuilding industry. Political influence has been suggested. 'Coppin still believes, a powerful adverse influence, previously existent in connection with the threat that the grass would be made to grow on the streets of Derry, was awakened and the contract fell through'.[150] On Coppin's death this reason was again asserted, the adverse influence being attributed to a high ranking Board of Trade official who, earlier in the century, had been defeated in a Derry election.[151] Whatever the reason, a flourishing industry which had employed at times upwards of 700 men had declined. The shipyard re-opened later but built only two more small ships before it closed finally in 1850.[152] The emergence of the iron ship has been put forward as a major reason for the final closure[153] but the failure of the yard's greatest effort was undoubtedly the most crippling blow, one from which it never recovered.

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149. Advt. Londonderry Sentinel, 22 May 1844.
150. Londonderry Standard, 5 July 1887; Irish Industrial and Commercial Review, 1900, p.442.
151. Londonderry Journal, 19 April 1895.
152. Londonderry Sentinel, 7 July 1887.
153. Ibid.

The industrial picture of Derry in the 1840's therefore shows that opportunities for employment were good. There was much work for labourers too, the class most heavily unemployed in the 1830's. An estimate 1,000 were employed in the reclamation of 1,000 acres of Lough Foyle.[154] Another 1,000 at least were employed in laying the two railway lines.[155] Building labourers got their share of work in the growing city and the increasing commerce of the port, shown below, must have given extra employment to many dock labourers. With the rising shirt industry to employ their womenfolk, there is little doubt that the employment prospects of the poorer classes in Derry had taken a considerable turn for the better between 1825 and 1850.

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154. Londonderry Journal, 23 August 1842.

155. Londonderry Standard, 11 December 1846; ibid., 14 May 1847; Mr Beaufort, Town Commissioners employed an estimated 240 to 'I20 in taking up fish and as many more in their preservation'. (Marmion, op. cit., p.417.)

Chapter VII

LOCAL TAXATION

One of the most important obstacles to the commercial development of Irish towns in the early nineteenth century was local taxation. In Derry this was particularly so. Local taxation, in the shape of bridge tolls, and tonnage and quayage duties, weighed heavily on the commerce of the city and was unfortunately under the control of the Corporation, a body dominated by landed classes with no representation of business or commercial interests. These taxes, the public property of the Corporation and intended by various Acts of Parliament to be applied to town improvements, had been treated by the Corporation as private property and no public accounts of either income or expenditure were given. The development in the opposition of the middle classes between 1825 and 1837 to any extension of corporation powers, led to ultimate control by the trades of the city over local taxation and especially over taxes on trade. This virtual revolution which can be dated between 1825 and 1835 is the major cause of Derry's sudden development in the period under study.

The Corporation of Derry, a closed body, consisted of a mayor, two sheriffs, twenty-four burgesses and freemen.[1] The

1. Appendix to Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the municipal corporations of Ireland, H.C. 1835, xxiv. Hereafter cited as Municipal Reports, Ire. 1835.

The number of freemen in 1832 was reckoned at 450. Only 205 of these were estimated to be resident.[2] The Corporation was the constituency which returned the Derry representative to Parliament. The Corporation was governed by the Common Council consisting of the Mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and burgesses.[3] Only those who were sons or sons-in-law of members of the Common Council had a right to become freemen themselves.[4] Thus representation was extremely limited.

By its constitution, therefore, the Corporation was almost bound to hamper the commercial development of the city. It was self-elective, met in secret and admitted no public scrutiny of its funds.[5] Many of its members resided at a distance. In 1833 four aldermen and eleven burgesses, almost one half of the Common Council, did not live in or near Derry.[6] Management of corporate funds was chaotic. Pensions, presents and annuities were liberally granted to its members. Salaries were paid to people who were not corporate officers. The organist of St Columb's Cathedral had a regular salary paid by the Corporation. Their solicitor had a salary also although he was paid for any professional business he performed. The Chamberlain received a

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2. Mr. Dwyer, Londonderry, p.133.
3. Mun. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1833, p.1125.
4. Ibid., p.1125.
5. Ibid., pp.1133,1176.
6. Ibid., p.1134; Somers Irish Journal, Aug. 1833. Appeal. Pamph.

salary of £100 per annum, increased to £300 in 1826. Yet he also charged 5% on any rents received by him and for a considerable time on any funds collected from tonnage dues or town's customs handled by him. His income from rent charges alone from 1811 to 1831 amounted to £1,225. 3. 10. Annuities and pensions were liberally granted to widows of deceased members of the corporation or to others, 'usually wealthy and now reduced'.[7] The Commissioners of Municipal Inquiry were scathing in their criticism.

> 'The salaries granted by the Common Council were undoubtedly too large for their income. Their pensions, charities and gratuities were upon a scale of munificence wholly unjustifiable in trustees of public money ... but the Corporation of Londonderry has not been reduced from affluence to insolvency by individual peculation or by a profligate sharing among its members of public funds. Its disasters are the consequences chiefly of waste, amounting to extravagance in excess, and of improvidence, existing in a degree little short of total and constant blindness to the actual condition of corporate affairs'.[8]

The result of their mismanagement was bankruptcy in 1831 and the forced sale of corporate property. Unfortunately for the trade of the city, the funds which were supplying the basis,

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7. Mun. Corp. Ire. pt III. 1835, pp.1152-1154.
8. Ibid., p.1176.

improvidence and extravagance were mainly drawn from local taxation on trade, in the form of quayage dues, tonnage dues and bridge tolls.[9]

The quays had been erected by the corporation with the assistance of Parliamentary grants.[10] The wooden wharf had been built in 1794, the North Quay in 1802 and the Middle Quay in 1811. The corporation spent £1,216 - £3,675 - £7,777 respectively, a total of £12,668. Four Parliamentary grants had been given to the corporation to help in their erection or enlarging, totalling £4,590. 13. 9.[11] The income from these quays, called quayage, was derived from charges on goods landed on the quays or wharves.[12] This right to the collection of quayage dues had been granted by the Irish Society to the corporation.[13] Previous to 1813 the corporation had sub-let the quayage dues to a member of the influential Lecky family at a rent of £500 a year. Lecky's income from quayage dues was estimated at not less than £1,000 per annum. In 1813 when his lease expired the Common Council set up a committee to report on the value and management of corporate property. They reported 'that with respect to the quayage no permanent lease of it should be granted to any individual but that it should be set up

9. D.D. Heath, Londonderry, pp.131-132.
10. Hse. Com., loc. pt III. 1835, p.1146.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Report Irish Society Ldn., 1836, App. 1. p.24.

to auction annually, in the same manner as the tolls of the market are let'.[14] The report was ignored. 'Mr Thomas Lecky, the former lessee having become embarrassed, the corporation demised the quayage to two members of their own body for seven years at £500 a year in trust for Mr Lecky'.[15] Thus Lecky continued to benefit from the profits of the quayage. On his death the dues were put up for public auction and were bought for £800 by the person Lecky had employed to collect them.[16]

The practice of letting quayage dues to individuals for a fixed period prevented the corporation from benefitting from any increase in the commerce at the quays and from lowering or modifying the quayage charges in the public interest. The result was that the charges remained abnormally high.[17] The Chamber of Commerce found it necessary to appeal for their reduction in 1826 to the Irish Society:

> 'We have been engaged for the past sixteen months in a correspondence with the corporation for certain port charges, from an impression that these charges operate seriously against our trade and in the hope of having them reduced; in that hope we regret to say we have been disappointed'.[18]

To underline the magnitude of trade restriction presented by quayage dues the Chamber drew up a list of comparative quayage

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14. Hist. Com. Rep. pt iii. 1835, p.116.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Report Irish Society 1826, 1828, App. I. p.54.

charges for Derry and Belfast. Grain and most other goods charged at 2d. per ton in Belfast were 6d. per ton in Derry. Flour was 1od. per ton in Derry, tobacco 12d. per ton and linen yarn 5od. per ton. The same articles were charged at only 4d. per ton in Belfast:

> 'There is levied in addition at one of the quays in Belfast, 3d. per ton off the vessel but with regular traders an annual and much lower rate is charged and at some of the wharves there is no charge whatever but the 4d. per ton mentioned above. In Derry all merchandise are subject to an addition of 2d. per ton equal to the total wharfage in Belfast'.[19]

The corporation had refused a reduction by stating that it was beyond their power to do so:

> 'This is an ancient charge incident to the lordship of the soil conveyed by the Crown to the Irish society and cannot be reduced by the town, to the injury thereby of the reversionary interest of the landlord'.[20]

This attitude increased the weight of taxation borne by the traders as, because of it, the corporation regarded quayage dues as private property and refused to pay any of them towards the repairs or upkeep of the quays. Instead money collected from tonnage duties, intended by the acts for the improvement of the port and harbour, was applied, among other things, to the upkeep

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19. Report (Irish Fisheries), 1836, App. 2, p.89.
20. Ibid., p.86.

of the quays, the private property of the corporation.[21]

By an Act passed in 1790 (30 Geo. III c.31) the corporation received the power to levy tonnage duty from any vessel entering the harbour. The proceeds of this duty, after the deduction of expenses necessary in its collection and management, were to be spent from time to time in improving the river, port and harbour.[22] A Select Committee, in 1833, inquiring into the affairs of Derry bridge and the application of the tonnage duties, interpreted this Act as giving strict priority to the improvement of river and harbour with tonnage dues.[23] The maximum chargeable tonnage duty was fixed by the Act and the corporation were given exclusive control over the funds arising from them. No provisions were made for scrutinizing in any way, the actions of the corporation with regard to these funds. This tonnage duty was known as the corporation tonnage.[24]

In 1808 a second Act (48 Geo. III c.41) created the Ballast Office tonnage, an additional charge. This Act was passed at

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21. Report Irish Society op., 1826, App. 1. p.54.

22. 30 Geo. III c. 31. pt III. 1790, pp.1142,1162; Report Irish Society op., 1826, App. 1. p.56.

23. 'Report of Select Committee of House of Commons appointed to inquire into the operation of Acts of Parliament relating to the bridge over the River Foyle at Derry and into the application of the tonnage dues levied by the Corporation of Londonderry and by the Ballast Office Committee under those Acts' H.C. 1833 (597) xvi, in App. XIII to Minutes of Evidence &c. pt III. 1835.

24. 48 Geo. III c. 41. pt III. 1808, p.1145.

the instigation of the corporation and set up a Ballast Office Committee with the power to collect a further tonnage duty, equal to that of 1790, on any vessel entering the port. This committee was to consist of the city and county members of Parliament and of seven persons appointed by the corporation, those seven persons to be merchants living within the city of Derry. Their duties were to be used for purposes similar to those of 1790 - 'the cleansing and improving of the Lough, river, port and harbour of Lough Foyle and the fixing and placing of proper marks and buoys thereon'. The Ballast Office Committee were directed by the Act to lay their accounts annually before the Common Council, who were to publish them.[25]

The corporation disregarded the terms of the Acts. They used the money received under the 1790 Act as general corporation funds to be applied as they saw fit.[26] In addition, because of the weight of corporation influence on the Ballast Office Committee, that body paid over sums of money to the corporation which ought to have been spent on harbour improvement.[27] 'The tonnage duty which ought to have been devoted to the improvement of the port and harbour, was, at the very first period of its collection, applied towards the expenses of the

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25. Lond. Comm. Inq. pt. 1. 1825, p.1145; Report, Irish Fisheries Com., 1826, App. 1. p.56.
26. Lond. Comm. Inq. pt. 1. 1825, p.1162.
27. Ibid., p.1165.

bridge'.[28] No attempt whatsoever was made to use the money for the purposes intended by the acts. The merchants complained in 1826: 'although we have taken from us nearly £2,500 per annum in port charges, we are yet without a wet or dry dock or even a slip upon which vessels could undergo any repairs'.[29] The directions of the 1828 act with regard to the constitution of the Ballast Office Committee were also disregarded by the corporation. They appointed members to the committee who were not merchants. 'The Constitution of the Ballast Office Committee was such as, almost necessarily, to create a strong corporate influence in the body. The operation of that influence appears to have been very plainly manifest in their proceedings'.[30]

The tonnage charges, when combined with the quayage duties, meant that Derry traders were heavily burdened. 'Although we possess more natural advantages than any other town in Ireland, our trade is more highly taxed and that, as a consequence of this, we pay higher freights than are paid to almost any other Irish port'.[31] The following table shows the comparative tonnage charges of Belfast and Derry and further demonstrates the difficulties under which Derry traders were labouring.[32]

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28. Com. Corp. Inq. pt xii. 1835, p.1162.
29. Report Irish Society App., 1826, App. 1. p.57.
30. Com. Corp. Inq. pt iii. 1835, p.1163.
31. Report Irish Society App., 1826, App. 1. p.57.
32. Ibid., p.58.

	Belfast	Derry
Coaster or Collier pays.	5. 6	16. 8
British vessel 150 tons.	16. 8	2.13. 0
" " 300 tons.	2. 0. 0	7.10. 0
" " 500 tons.	2. 0. 0	12.10. 0
" " 699 tons.	2. 0. 0	17.10. 0
Foreign vessels belonging to powers who are not put upon the same terms as British.		
300 tons.	2. 0. 0	15. 0. 0
700 tons.	3. 0. 0	35. 0. 0

Added to the dutyage and tonnage dues was the greatest burden of all on Derry's commerce - the bridge tolls. The bridge was the sole communication between the city and its own county thus the farmers of Co Derry who wished to use Derry as a market centre had to bear the burden of heavy tolls. Naturally many of them went elsewhere[33] with the result that Derry lost a considerable portion of the trade of its own county, agriculturally much superior, to Derry's Donegal hinterland. The Irish Society's architect, reporting in 1834 on the bridge, commented:

> 'I cannot however but consider that the tolls on this bridge are a great weight on the prosperity of Derry ... it is thus unhappily by nature cut off from those parts of its neighbourhood for more produce it is the natural shipping port and entrepot; and it is to this circumstance that those best qualified to judge, mainly attribute the slow progress of this city, as compared with Belfast, though the natural advantages appear to favour Derry. That this is a

33. Londonderry Journal, 13 December 1825.

> reasonable conclusion must be manifest, when the great value of money is considered in Ireland and when every tub of butter, barrel of corn, and head of cattle is called upon to bear toll before it can reach the market or fair'.[34]

Travellers, too, were long and loud in their complaints about Kerry's bridge tolls.

> 'The bridge toll imposed upon passengers is so shockingly oppressive that once paid it can never be forgotten. This bar to free access (so evidently prejudicial to the interests of the city) should be removed at once by a timely but peaceful arm of the law. The corporation should be relieved of its excessive tolls, by the erection of a free stone bridge at the public expense, as a permanent substitute for that wooden contrivance, where a hackney chaise, for once passing and repassing, must pay the moderate tax of three shillings; and even the foot passenger, if his business should transact him one hundred times between those parts of the town, with which the bridge is the only medium of communication, must pay one hundred pence for the pleasure which he thus enjoys! It is pretty plain that this honest corporation is no respecter of persons; and that in the administration of justice it spares neither horse nor foot. And as it knows no distinction of persons when it demands its dues, it understands any distinction of class. If you pay turnpike on any given line of high road in Ireland, you may pass and repass fifty times through the same gate in the same day without any further expense; but the Corporation of Kerry do not understand

34. Tite, op. cit., p.19.

> this vulgar consideration of days and times; and therefore to save trouble and cut short all accounts, they make one invariable rule, from which they never permit themselves to depart and that is, that so much as you want their bridge, they want your money, and if you do not like their prices you need not touch their goods. And point being thus settled, and all further discussion with the toll-man about the various times of day when you paid this tax before hand; I would besides, put your hand once more into your threadbare pocket, pull out your cash, present it with a sour face to the collector, and then go grumbling across the bridge'.[35]

An individual farmer who had a seventy-two acre farm near the city 'compounded with the lessee of the tolls for six per annum'.[36] The weight of this burden and indeed of the cartage and tonnage dues may be estimated from the illustration given by the Irish Society architect of the value of money in Ireland.

> 'The low price of most of the necessaries of life show it similarly; but perhaps I cannot adduce a better proof than by stating that it is possible, in most of the inland towns of Ireland to obtain a cart load of turf for a shilling; to each this shilling a rent must be paid for the bog in the first instance; it must be cut, turned and dried with much care, and then carried in a cart four or five miles to market, employing the best part of a days labour for both a man and a horse'.[37]

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35. Atkinson, op. cit., pp.227-234.

36. _The Gentleman's_ M. III. 1-35, p.1166.

37. Ibid, op. cit., p.19.

The same writer reported to the Irish Society that he could not think of a better object for their surplus funds, nor one which would provide more benefits to their tenantry, than to create a fund for the erection of a toll-free bridge across the Foyle.[38] A further illustration of the commercial obstruction of the tolls is given by the select Committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of the bridge. They point out that although the bridge tolls were raised by between 33⅓ and 50% on most articles, yet the average income for the following three years showed an increase of only £900 or 15%. On the other hand, a similar reduction of the tolls in 1831 produced only an average drop of £200 for the following three years, less than 5%.[39] Increase of toll charges therefore reduced trade while deduction increased it considerably.

The bridge itself was an impressive structure and drew a description from almost every visitor.

> 'The length of the bridge is 1068 feet and its breadth 40. The piles on which the piers are composed, are from 14 to 18 inches square, and from 14 to 18 feet long. They are made of oak, and the head of each pile is tenoned into a cap piece, 17 inches square and 41 feet long, supported by three sets of struts and braces. The piers which are 16½ feet asunder, are bound together by thirteen strong pieces orderly divided and

38. Tite, op. cit., p.20.

39. Sel. Com. Report in Com. Jnl. of Ire. 1833, ... appx. ccclxxxviii. pp.1168-1169.

> transversely bolted on the string pieces is laid the flooring. On each side of the platform there is a railing 4½ feet high, and a broad foot-way, provided with gas-lamps. At one quarter of the length of the bridge, measured towards its western extremity, a turning bridge has been constructed, in place of the original drawbridge: so a contrivance of this kind is necessary, the inhabitants of Strabane having a right to the free navigation of the Foyle. There is a toll house at the end next to the city'.[40]

The bridge was opened in 1790. It was built by Samuel Cox of the Boston firm of Cox and Thompson at a cost of £16,000.[41] Before the bridge, the only communication between the city and the opposite bank of the river had been a ferry held by the corporation under the Irish Society at a rent of £20 per annum.[42] which they had sublet to a member of the Lecky family at £30 per annum.[43] In 1789 the corporation petitioned the Irish House of Commons asking permission to introduce an Act of Parliament which would enable them to build a bridge over the Foyle.[44] By the 30 Geo. III c.51 in the same year, the Act which also granted the tonnage duties, the corporation were appointed commissioners, with power to erect a bridge over the Foyle. They were also given the power to fix the rate of the tolls

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40. W.H. Hamilton, Miscellany, pp.117-118.
41. Ibid., p.117.
42. Ibid., p.120; Londonderry Journal, 30 Dec. 1835, p.113.
43. Londonderry Journal, 30 Dec. 1835, p.116.
44. Public Record Office, Belfast, Londonderry, p.120.

within prescribed limits; to receive and levy the tolls; to borrow money on the mortgage of the tolls for the purpose of erecting, lighting, watching, maintaining and supporting a bridge. Other purposes to which they were entitled by the Act to use the money derived from the tolls were the expenses of toll collection, the removal of buildings and the purchase of private interests for making approaches to the bridge and the payment of £20 a year rent to the Irish Society. The surplus remaining after these commitments had been met was to be devoted to the improvement of the city and suburbs.

The corporation borrowed £16,594 Irish currency to erect the bridge. It was not borrowed on the mortgage of the tolls but on the bonds of the corporation. The latter subscribed no part of the cost of the bridge and from its opening the highest tolls allowed by the Act were charged.[45] In the first ten years the tolls of the bridge amounted to £14,755. Expenses of the bridge were £3,493. In the same period the tonnage duties allowed by the Bridge Act amounted to £2,542.[46] In 1800 the corporation had another Act passed (40 Geo. III c.41) by which the maximum toll charges allowed were raised. After 1800 therefore income from the bridge tolls rose. The average yearly income between 1791 and 1800 was £1,475 and between 1801

45. Ann. Corp. Inc. at TH. 1895, p.1144.
46. Ibid., p.1145.

and 1813 it had risen to £3,[illegible]. The total income from the tolls in this latter period was £39,105 leaving a profit of £22,991 when expenses of £16,114 were met. Thus the total profits earned on bridge tolls from the erection of the bridge till 1813 was £34,259.[47] Other corporate income was also on the increase. Tonnage duties from the corporation tonnage, and not including the Ballast Committee Tonnage granted in 1808, amounted between 1801 and 1813 to £4,347, leaving total income from that source since its inception in 1790 at £6,689. The total private income of the corporation for the same period (1790-1813) was £33,834. 1. 3, making a total income of £74,976. 1. 3.[48] It must be remembered that the private income included quayage dues so that local taxation brought in the majority of the corporation funds.[49] Yet in spite of the size of their income from these sources no part of the bridge debt was cleared off and no money was spent on port or harbour improvements. In fact by 1813 in spite of its income the corporation was in debt to the amount of £59,879. 5. 2.[50]

Matters were considerably worsened when in the winter of

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47. Dub. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1833, p.1145.
48. Ibid.
49. Appendix VIII.
50. Dub. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1833, p.1145.

1813-1814 the bridge was almost destroyed by ice and floods.[51] The corporation again asked Parliament for assistance and were granted it under 54 Geo. III c.230, which gave wide powers to the corporation. It enacted that they be free to borrow any sum not exceeding £60,000 in debentures of £100 and £50 at 6%, such loan to be charged on the bridge tolls and on other corporate funds. The Government themselves were authorised to advance a sum of £15,000 towards the repair of the bridge. The Act provided for the repayment of this amount with all interest and by instalments, the total amount to be paid within twenty years after 1 January 1817. The tolls were once again raised and the corporation were bound by the Act to lay aside £1,500 per annum 'to be invested with accumulating interest in the public funds, until the money so invested should amount to £30,000 to be applied in repairing and rebuilding the bridge and to no other purpose'.[52]

The Government loan was advanced, the bridge was rebuilt, the tolls were raised and the average yearly income from them rose to £4,200. The total income from bridge tolls between 1819 and 1851, less expenditure of £17,087. 3.10½ (which did not include the £15,000 Government loan) was £57,063.12. 9½. Yet

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51. Pub. Gen. Acts. (2 III. 1825, p.1149; Wade, Public Documents, p.116.

52. Pub. Gen. Acts. (2 Geo. III. 1825, p.1149.

no part of the loan was repaid.[53] The instalments, due to begin on 1 January 1817, were suspended by a minute of the Treasury due to the influence of the vice-treasurer for Ireland, Sir George Hill, M.P. for Derry, elected by the corporation, a member of the Common Council of the corporation and Recorder of Derry, employed by the corporation.[54]

By 1831 the total income of the corporation since 1813 from its different sources was as follows:

Bridge profits	£56,917. 7. 8½
Private revenue (after deduction rents)	43,645. 4. 8¼
Corporation tonnage	8,074. 2. 4½
Irish currency	108,636.14. 1
Reduced to British	100,250. 0.10 [55]

In spite of this income the financial position of the corporation during the same period had got progressively worse. By 1831 their total debts amounted to £67,099. 9. 9. Yet they had not paid off any of the original debt incurred in building the bridge in 1790, any of the £15,000 government loan, nor had they funded any part of the annual amount of £1,000 for bridge maintenance which the 1814 act had instructed. Neither had

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53. Hum. Corp. Inq. pt iii. 1835, p.1143.

54. Copy of a [illegible] minute [illegible] was addressed to the Corporation of [illegible] (Ireland) with [illegible] Hum. Corp. Inq. pt xiii. 1835, p.1144.

55. Hum. Corp. Inq. pt iii. 1835, p.1139.

there been any improvements to port or harbour, the purpose designated by the various acts.[56]

The corporation were first given control over local taxation in 1790. By 1831 their total revenue, including private income, was £183,614. 15. 5¾. In addition they had borrowed and had not repaid £86,724. 19. 5½. The total money handled by them was therefore £270,339. 14. 10¼. Out of this they had spent £66,776. 0. 0½ on bridge repairs, quays and pipe waterworks - their only public expenditure. Allowing for £39,600 interest on the original 1790 loan (forty years at 5½% per annum) there remained £162,763. 14. 9¾ to be otherwise accounted for.[57] The Commissioners of Municipal Inquiry found it very difficult to account for the expenditure of this money because of the state of the corporation books. 'Misc. Imprests entries were made under the head of contingencies in which a vast number of sums are entered as paid to individuals without any statement on what account or for what purpose'.[58]

When it is remembered that, apart from the money borrowed, practically all of the corporation income came from taxes on the trade of the city some idea of the magnitude of the restrict on

56. Mun. Corps. Ire. pt III. 1835, p.1191.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.

on commercial development can be arrived at. Their income was public and private. Public income was from bridge tolls and tonnage dues. The bridge tolls alone represented more than 50% of the corporation's total income.[59] Income from private property was also a levy on the city's commerce. It consisted of rent on property, quayage dues, market tolls and town customs, the latter three all levied off goods brought for sale in the town or landed at the quays. Thus 80% of corporation income was levied off the trade of the city.[60] Yet no trading interests were represented on its Common Council.

> 'The course adopted by the Corporation of Londonderry with respect to these three imports, that derived from the tolls of the bridge, that derived from what we call the corporation tonnage, of which they were the sole collectors and managers, and that arising from the ballast office tonnage, of which they were the sole auditors, furnishes as instructive an one-sided as, perhaps, can be found, of the danger and mischief of committing the business of local taxation, the control of large funds, and the administration of public trusts, to a self-elected and self-elective body, acting without public scrutiny and controlled by no superior authority'.[61]

Under the weight of such restrictions Derry's trade

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59. Appendix VIII.

60. Appendix VIII.

61. Rep. Com. Inq. pt III. 1836, p.1145.

developed little in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Opposition from merchants was growing however and in the 1820's they took matters into their own hands and began actively to oppose the corporation. Opposition to the alien dues, a special tax on articles brought to the city for sale by non-freemen, led to their abandonment in 1821.[62] The town customs, another burden on local trade, were also abolished. According to these every article sold in the town whether in the markets or not was subject to toll. Opposition to this tax grew so strong that on occasions the military were called out to enforce its collection.[63] As a result of two legal actions taken by merchants affected by it the corporation was forced to forego its claim,

> 'being obliged to abandon the taxes formerly levied on untaxable articles and being now constrained to collect their customs in the actual markets only, in place of, as formerly, in the streets, on the bridge, and in the king's highway, under the monstrous presumption that all parts of the city were to be considered a market and agreeably to which principal they demanded toll and distrained in default of payment for goods sold by dealers in their shops and warehouses - held their cattle market in the open streets to the great danger and annoyance of the inhabitants, as also found that employing the dealers for the accommodation'.[64]

62. See Gerrit, Londonderry, p.128.

63. Ibid.

64. Report of Chamber of Commerce in Londonderry, Londonderry, p.255.

Middle class opposition grew with success. In 1824 the corporation made a further attempt to widen its powers of taxation. They had an Act passed (5 Geo. IV c.153) setting up a Gas-light committee consisting of the mayor, four members of the corporation and four persons elected by the inhabitants of the four wards of the city, five members to form a quorum. Its purpose was to provide the city with gas light. The corporation was empowered to advance money to the committee and to make assessments on the citizens to pay for the service. Opposition to the Act was strong, the inhabitants objecting to the preponderance given to the corporation on the committee and the fact that they were unaware of the intention to have such an Act till a very late stage.[65] They were determined to resist any attempt to give further powers of local taxation to the corporation and not to themselves. The citizens' opposition was so strong that the Act proved inoperative and in the following session of Parliament it was repealed and replaced by 6 Geo. IV c.180 creating a Gaslight Committee consisting of the mayor and six inhabitants.[66] In 1832 the citizens further asserted their right to control over local taxation by having passed 2 + 3 William IV c.107, known as the Police Act. Under this Act a committee was set up to be responsible for the lighting

65. Mins. Corp. EE. at 1-1. 1823. p.1173.
66. Ibid.

cleansing and watching of the city. It consisted of the mayor, and twelve other inhabitants chosen by ballot. Candidates for the committee had to reside in the city or suburbs and be rated at a minimum of £20 per annum. Voters at the election of the committee had to be liable to assessment and they lost their vote if their tax or cess was more than one year in arrears.[67] The arrangement ensured that the business classes would have a strong influence on this committee and that the tax collected would be put to a proper use. That it did so is evident from the improved conditions of paving, lighting etc. shown above. The act also laid down the scale of tonnage dues to be paid to the Ballast Office Committee. The 2 + 3 William IV c.107 was a turning point in local affairs for it established the principle of giving to the citizens a right to the management of their own municipal affairs, exactly co-extensive with municipal taxation.[68]

A further act, 5 + 6 William IV c.74 reduced the corporation tonnage to 3d. per ton on foreign ships, 1½d. per ton on British or Irish ships except coasters and colliers which paid a penny per ton. The same act provided that the corporation would receive from 1 November 1833 a sum of £3,000 out of these dues. When this amount was paid, the corporation tonnage was to cease altogether. The Ballast Office Committee were authorised under

67. J.T. Gilbert, _op. cit._, p.126.
68. _Stat. Gen. Ire._ pt 1 of 1835, p.1177.

the Act to borrow this £3,000 on the security of the dues to pay the corporation and to take over the collection of the corporation tonnage immediately and until the £5,000 had been cleared.[69] The result was merchant control, though the Ballast Office Committee, over all tonnage, the eventual removal of the corporation tonnage and the consequent reduction of the taxes on trade.

The main driving force behind the concerted merchant opposition to any extension of the corporate power over local taxation was the Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1824.[70] One of its first acts had been to complain to the Common Council about their non-compliance with 40 Geo. III c.41 by appointing non-merchants to the Ballast Office Committee.[71] The mayor's reply exposed the difficulties under which the trading community was labouring with regard to the corporation: 'The Common Council have commanded me to signify to you that they acknowledge no right, power or authority in the body of which you are Chairman to interfere in matters and concerns entrusted to the direction of the recognised and responsible corporations'.[72] The result was that the trading interests of the town could get no information about the application of the tonnage duties which they alone paid.

69. Cf. Memoir, Londonderry, pp.248-249.
70. Ibid., p.252.
71. Jun. Comm. Rec. pt III. 1825, p.1132.
72. Ibid., p.1165.

Yet as a probable result of the action of the Chamber, merchants were afterwards appointed to the Ballast Office Committee and the mis-application of its funds ceased. From 1827 also the Ballast Office tonnage was considerably reduced and all port expenses met out of it.[73]

The Chamber also took up the question of quayage dues and asked for a reduction. We have seen the corporation's reply above. On receipt of this the Chamber petitioned the Irish Society to procure a reduction in quayage dues.[74] The Society passed a resolution agreeing to any reduction in quayage rate which the corporation saw fit to grant.[75] When the latter still refused the merchants took matters into their own hands. Some of the traders opened private quays in defiance of the corporation. Local businessmen gave these private wharves their fullest support and used them in preference to those belonging to the corporation. As a result of this competition the corporation was forced to lower the quayage dues considerably in 1828.[76]

Other pressures began to mount. In 1830 the government began to seek repayment of the bridge debt, none of which had

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73. Mun. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1835, p.1165.

74. 40 Geo. III. cap. xxxvi, 1800, App. 1. pp.54-56; Mun. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1835, p.1165.

75. Mun. Corp. Inq. pt III. 1835, p.1165.

76. Ibid., p.1166; [illegible] MSS, p.150.

been wiped off. They agreed to accept payments of £816 per annum. At this point other corporation creditors panicked, pressed their claims and the corporation was declared bankrupt.[77] It was forced to sell some of the corporate property in 1831 in an effort to clear the debts. The sales brought in a total of £34,696. 9. 11½. This left a total debt of £52,402. 15. 1½.[78] The corporation quays had been sold to a local businessman, J. S. Smyth, for £5,850.[79] Quayage dues fell. Non-freemen were no longer charged extra duties.[80] In 1831 the duty on grain was cut from 6d. to 3d. per ton and that of flour from 10d. to 3d. per ton.[81] Thus quayage dues had been reduced much to the level of other ports. There were no quayage at all payable at the Liverpool steamboat yards while the Scotch steamboat quays had the same charges as the merchant quays.[82]

There remained the weight of the bridge tolls as a commercial restriction. On 3 November 1831 the Irish Society resolved that it would pay expenses, not exceeding £750, of the Derry magistracy for one year provided that 'immediate measures

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77. C.J. Mehaffy, Londonderry, p.130.
78. Ann. Cong. Ire. 2d Ser. 1835, p.1167.
79. C.J. Mehaffy, Londonderry, p.129.
80. Ibid., p.250.
81. Compare quayage rates in 1826 given in Report Irish Society Rep., App. 1, p.58, and in 1835 given in Com. Rept. Harbours, Piers, p.21.
82. C.J. Mehaffy, Londonderry, p.250.

be adopted within the succeeding year for decreasing the tolls of the bridge to the scale of the year 1800 so as to benefit the whole community trading to Derry, as well as the province of Ulster'.[83] Bridge tolls were easily the heaviest restriction on the trade of the city. Before their bankruptcy, the corporation had apparently been examining the possibility of a new bridge. They had employed Sir John Rennie to make a survey and report to them on the possibilities. He had recommended a site at 600 feet above the existing bridge and had estimated the cost of a stone bridge at £126,663; that of a cast iron one with three arches on stone piers at £81,917. A suspension bridge, which he recommended because of its cheapness, would cost £56,960.[84] The community was also intensely interested in the project provided the bridge would be free of tolls. On 1 August 1832 a large meeting took place in Derry attended by the Irish Society deputation and representatives of the corporation of Derry, the Chamber of Commerce, the inhabitants and the county of the neighbourhood. The purpose of the meeting was 'to confer on the practicability of raising funds for building a toll-free bridge over the Foyle'.[85] It was hoped that the Irish Society would take some measure towards this end but 'finding that the meeting could not devise any practicable

83. Report Irish Society 1832, pp.26,27,41.

84. Letter of Sir Robert Ferguson, M.P., to Willis Fite, in Report Irish Society 1834, App. III. p.46.

85. Report Irish Society 1832, p.30.

means of raising a fund for the purpose of building a toll-free bridge, solely on account of the embarrassments of the corporation', the Irish Society deputation withdrew from the meeting and reported that it would not be advisable for the Society to interfere.[86] The embarrassment referred to was the debts of the corporation which were secured on the tolls of the wooden bridge.[87]

Bridge tolls, 'an impost which weighs so heavily on our trade, our agriculture and our residents', continued to occupy the attention of interested parties in Derry.[88] On receiving a petition on the subject the House of Commons appointed a select committee

> 'to inquire into the operation of the Acts of Parliament relative to the Bridge over the Foyle at Derry and into the application of the tonnage duties levied by the corporation of Derry and the Ballast office Committee under those Acts and to report whether any and what alterations are necessary therein'.

This committee felt that the bridge tolls were liable for the debt to the Crown, for the original bridge debt of 1790 and for the debts of the general creditors of the corporation. They recommended that the tolls should be reduced to their level in 1790 and that the management of the bridge be taken out of the

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86. Report Irish Society Gen., 1832, p.34.
87. Ibid.
88. Tite, op. cit., p.19.

hands of the corporation and vested in trustees

> 'subject to the remainder of the debt due to the Crown and all the consequences of the sequestration; subject also to the payment with interest of the original debt of £16,500 contracted for building the bridge; and subject also to the repayment with interest of a further debt of £9,500 provided all the creditors assented to the proposed reduction in the rate of interest to 4%'.[89]

The creditors objected strongly to the select committee recommendation of a reduction of interest to 4%.[90] On 12 September 1853 the corporation transferred the management of the bridge to five trustees appointed by them.[91] A public meeting was held in Derry on 12 November 1853 to discuss the position. It was attended by the M.P.s for the city and county, a number of the corporation and 'gentlemen connected with the county and with the mercantile interests of the city'. The corporation stated at this meeting that they were willing to hand over the bridge to the public at a fair valuation. A committee was therefore appointed and given power to negotiate with the government for a loan from the consolidated fund in order to purchase the bridge. The committee consisted of M.P.s for the city and county of Derry, for the counties of Donegal and

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89. Sel. Cons. report in Londonderry Jnl. pt III. 1853, p.1166.

90. Letter of Sir Robert Peel to William Tite, in Peel Papers, B.M., 1854. (pp. 5 f. p.41.

91. Londonderry Jnl. pt III, 1853, p.1109.

Tyrone, representatives of the corporation and the merchants of Derry. The corporation asked for £33,700 for their interest in the bridge. No action was taken by the committee till the matter was considered by the Grand Juries of the interested counties at the summer assizes.[92]

The Grand Jury of Tyrone accepted the recommendation of the select committee with regard to trustees but felt that the interests of the creditors should be safeguarded. They felt also that the Treasury should give some direct aid to help in the solution of the problem and they appointed a committee to meet other interested parties in Derry to discuss the question. The Grand Jury of Donegal passed similar resolutions. The representatives of the three Grand Juries formed a committee which issued a report. They recommended that the public should acquire the bridge through trustees and that £31,000, a sum sufficient to meet the corporation debts, should be paid for it:

> 'We therefore recommend that a memorial be addressed to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury praying for authority to effect the purchase of such property by means of Trustees ... That the money being advanced at a low rate of interest, the tolls of the bridge will, in our opinion, be found not only adequate to the payment of interest but to afford a surplus in aid of the

92. Report Irish Society 1834, app. III. pp.41-42.

> erection of a new bridge. That the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury be further prayed to recommend a loan to the trustees for building a new bridge, the Trustees pledging themselves for the application of the proceeds to the liquidation of the loan, thus ultimately leaving the bridge free of toll'.

Such a memorial was drawn up and sent to the Treasury.[93]

The recommendations of this memorial were substantially accepted in the new bridge act passed on 31 July 1833 - 'An act to amend several acts relating to the Bridge and to the City and Port of Londonderry'. Under it, a new body, the Trustees of Londonderry Bridge, was set up and empowered to borrow £31,000 on the security of the tolls, to purchase the corporation's interest in the bridge. The trustees were given power to reduce the tolls with the consent of five-sixths of the creditors. The tolls were to cease on the erection of a new bridge and the payment of its expenses.

> 'And while the proceeds of the tolls are to be applied as follows:- Firstly to the payment of £816. 13s. 3 annually directed by 2 & 3 William iv to be paid to the collector of excise, in discharge of the debt due by the corporation on account of the bridge; secondly to the payment of all expenses incurred on account of the

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93. Journ. Irish Society rep., 1834, App. III. pp.45-46.

> present act, and the interest on any sum borrowed under the act, with the sum of £15. 9. 4 paid annually as rent to the Irish Society; thirdly to the discharge of the expenses of collecting the bridge tolls and of lighting, watching and repairing and maintaining the bridge and the works connected with it; fourthly the speedy liquidation of any sum borrowed under this act. The residue when at the end of the present year it amounts to £600, is to be invested in Government securities, in the name of the Trustees of Londonderry Bridge and applied to the repairing of the present bridge or the erection of a new one'.[94]

The new body in charge of the bridge was a representative one. It consisted of fifteen members. Five of them were appointed by the Grand Jury of Derry, three by that of Co Tyrone and one by that of Donegal. Four representatives were appointed by those qualified to vote for the Police Committee and two by persons qualified to vote for the Ballast Office Committee. Thus trading interests were well represented. Trustees themselves had to be leaseholders to the amount of £30 in one of the three counties or 'householders in the city to the same extent under the police assessment'.[95] The new body proved efficient. By 1845 the bridge debts were almost liquidated and the tolls had been reduced below the level of

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94. E. A. McNeill, Londonderry, p.121.
95. Ibid.

18.0.[96]

The first step in the struggle for the direction of municipal affairs was the removal of the corporation itself. The Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act created elected corporations and gave the vote to all householders. The first election was held in December 1841 and for the first time politics in a party sense began to make its appearance in local government.[97] A local newspaper commented:

> 'Whatever the issue of the present struggles ... of this we are certain, that when in future, addresses and documents of various kinds are issued, as from the Mayor, Corporation and Citizens, they will be the production, not of a self-elected few, but of a body who, by their construction, may lay claim to that honourable designation'.[98]

The group representing merchant interests styled themselves liberals while their conservative opponents referred to them as 'Whig-Radicals'.[99] Each side put forward twenty-four candidates. Nineteen of the liberals were elected and of the five conservatives, four were merchants and one a doctor.[100]

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96. [illegible] in the city of [illegible] (Derry, 1841), p.1.

97. [illegible], 13 December 1841; [illegible], 14 December 1841.

98. [illegible], 13 December 1841.

99. [illegible], 13 December 1841; [illegible], 14 December 1841.

100. [illegible], 14 December 1841; the occupations of the five conservatives elected is established from [illegible].

The liberal side had the complete support of the Catholic voters. Three Catholics were elected.[101] The result therefore was a corporation made up almost entirely of trading interests. Only three members of the old corporation were returned.[102] One of the defeated candidates was Sir Robert Bateson, M.P. for Co Derry.[103]

The removal of the old corporation was a significant turning point in the history of the nineteenth century city. The efficiency and enthusiasm of the new one in tackling problems had already been seen. Its sympathy with trading interests could be taken for granted. Local taxation was no longer a direct tax on trade. Commerce was free to expand. This change in local government is a major factor in the growth of the city between 1825 and 1850.

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101. Londonderry Journal, 10 December 1841.
102. Londonderry Standard, 22 December 1841.
103. Ibid.

Chapter VIII

COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Derry's geographical location as a port was a major factor in its choice as a site for the plantation town and undoubtedly in its growth. Situated at the mouth of the Foyle basin it is the natural port for counties Tyrone, Donegal and parts of Derry and Fermanagh. Yet at the beginning of the nineteenth century regular communications between the city and these areas was practically non-existent. An Irish Society representative in 1802 wrote 'As this city is situated almost at the extremity of the island, so as to be passage to no other place, it is often very difficult to get a conveyance from it'.[1] The commercial growth of the first fifty years of the century is both a result and a cause of the rapid increase in communications that took place in the north-west area, particularly between 1825 and 1850.

A natural forerunner to an increase in road transport was an improvement in roads. The general condition of Ulster roads in the first half of the nineteenth century was good. Turnpike roads - generally the worst type - did not exist in any part of counties Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh or Derry, the areas chiefly

1. R. Slade, 'Narrative of a journey to the north of Ireland in 1802', in appendix to Londonderry, Irish society.

served by the city's markets and port.[2] Presentment roads - built and maintained by the Grand Juries and paid for by county cess were the only system of main roads in these counties.[3] It speaks highly of the improvements being carried out in this period that of every county in Ireland, in the 1840s, these four paid the highest proportion of their cess on road improvements. Out of every pound of cess collected between 1841 and 1843 Co Tyrone paid 14/- to 15/- on road improvement while counties Derry, Donegal and Fermanagh paid 10/- to 12/-.[4]

The nature of road improvement at this period was quite naturally governed by the growth of vehicular traffic. The greatest efforts were being directed towards the lessening of gradients, the pre-vehicular tendency of Irish roads being to go over rather than round the hill.[5] This particular type of improvement was nowhere more evident than on the two main roads from Derry through its own county to Belfast. The new Derry - Dungiven road via Foreglen was first laid out in 1836.[6] Reporting progress on it in 1842 the Co Surveyor said:

> 'I consider gradients of one in twenty-five can be obtained without any increase of the original estimate for

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2. J. J. Herring, 'Ulster roads on the eve of the railway age', in I.H.S., ii. 171.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.176.
5. Ibid., p.164.
6. Co Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 16 August 1836.

> the whole work, whereas the present rise is from one in ten to one in twelve - quite unsuitable for the purposes of traffic on so important a post road'.7

The extensive improvements were complete by 1849.

> 'I need scarcely point out the benefit arising from these improvements, both to the city and to the agricultural districts of the county which this road connects; the rise of one in twenty-five is now the steepest inclination whereas they formerly varied from one in nine to one in twelve "for a greater part of the distance"'.8

Similar changes were taking place in the other main road through Co Derry - the Derry-Limavady-Coleraine road. A completely new coast road from Coleraine to Limavady was opened 'a portion of the line passing through an arable country which has long been very much shut up for want of a direct road to market'.9 Here again 'the greatest gradient on the new line will be one in twenty-six and that only for a short distance whilst the old line is frequently from one in ten to one in fourteen besides being merely one Irish mile longer between the termini'.10 Heavy expenditure too on Tyrone and Donegal roads meant that in the period prior to 1850 Derry's whole hinterland

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7. Co Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 22 March 1842.
8. Co Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 9 August 1849.
9. Co Surveyor's report in Londonderry Journal, 22 March 1842.
10. Ibid.

was being considerably opened up to road transport.[11]

A change in the system of road maintenance brought about by 6 & 7 William IV cap 16 improved their condition also. This act allowed persons to enter into long term contracts of not greater than seven years for the maintenance of roads. This meant that whole stretches of road could now be the responsibility of one man for an extended period instead of the previous method by which individual repairs were separately carried out. The new system was soon adopted in Co Derry. Correspondents and the editor of a local newspaper supported the change.

> 'The excellent state in which the roads from the waterside to the boundaries of Tyrone and Newtownlimavady are now kept proves the accuracy of this opinion ... we are happy to state that out of the 1200 or 1300 miles of road in Co Derry 600 are already under long contract and 1000 will be so within a very short time'.12

Better roads meant more traffic. In 1802 Jade, secretary of the Irish Society, had found it difficult to get a conveyance from Derry to any other part of Ireland. By 1850 there was scarcely a part of the country to which one could not travel from Derry. A mail coach to Dublin was established on 6 October 1803. It left Derry daily at 2 p.m. and took an

11. See new Derry-Clifford road in Londonderry Standard, 19 February 1847; Derry-Tyrone in Londonderry Journal, 22 November 1836; also Herring, op. cit., Map III. p.176.

12. Londonderry Journal, 22 November 1846.

average 17 hours in summer and 18 in winter to make the 144 miles via Strabane, Omagh, Monaghan and Navan. A similar coach to Belfast was made available in 1809 leaving at 6 p.m.[13] In 1815 it was covering the 68 mile journey via Coleraine in 16½ hours, an average speed of 5½ m.p.h.[14] By 1836 the time of the journey had been reduced to 13 hours, no doubt due mainly to the improvement in the conditions of the roads. The second route to Belfast (Derry-Lurgivon-Enagher-Toome Bridge-Belfast) was opened to traffic following on the vast improvements to this route mentioned above. A day car, established in 1836, covered the journey in 10 hours.[15] By 1843 traffic on this road had further increased and a stage-coach replaced the day-car on three days of the week.[16]

Other lines of communication were developing also. In 1826 a mail coach began the daily 86 mile trip from Derry to Sligo leaving Derry at 8.30 a.m. and taking an average 14 hours 20 minutes on the journey. The 1830's saw the greatest expansion of road traffic in the area. Two day-coaches, the Wonder and the Eclipse began daily 54 mile journeys from Derry to Omagh in 1835 and 1836 respectively, average time 5½ hours.

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13. Belfast Newsletter, 5.6.1809; this contains a complete table of coach services from Derry.
14. Herring, op. cit., p.171.
15. Ulster Times, Londonderry, 9.2.1836.
16. Parliamentary Gazetteer, II. 610.

In the latter year also a day-coach opened up the 60 mile route to Enniskillen leaving Derry at 7.30 a.m. and arriving in Enniskillen at 5 p.m. Closer to Derry mail-cars had been running to Buncrana and Moville since 1810. Another one to Dungiven began in 1833 while day-cars began to go to Letterkenny, Buncrana and Coleraine (two of them) in 1833, 1834 and 1835.[17] By 1843 mail-cars were also travelling to Corndonagh and Newtownlimavady.[18] Coaches left for all these destinations from the coach office in Foyle St while the cars left usually from the hotels which operated the service.[19]

Hotels themselves benefited from the growing prosperity. Wade in 1802 found that there was but 'one inn of any note in Derry'.[20] In 1815 an Irish Society deputation were little better off.

> 'The hotel in Londonderry being at this time shut up the second house did not afford the accommodation of beds and we were therefore compelled to accept the proffered hospitalities of bed and breakfast at the Bishop's palace during our stay there'.[21]

In 1836 there were four hotels.[22] In 1843 there were six.[23]

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17. Wade report, Londonderry, p.201.
18. Parliamentary Gazetteer, ii. 600.
19. New directory of Londonderry 1839, pp.44-45.
20. Wade, op. cit., p.[illegible].
21. Irish Society Rec., 1815, p.6.
22. Wade report, Londonderry, p.118.
23. Parliamentary Gazetteer, ii. 600.

The town markets above all were feeling the effects of change. It was as a market centre and as a port that the city of Derry grew in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It was quite natural therefore that expansion should be reflected in the growth and improvement of the markets. A bishop of Derry writing in 1826 recalled their poor state in 1804. 'Poultry market-none. Fish market near the walls and in the open air. Flesh market - none. Potato market - in the open air in Bishop Street. Grain market - none'.[24] In 1819 the fish and meat markets were still in very poor condition.[25] With the vegetable market they were on the site of the old House of Correction. Other buildings on the same site caused considerable obstruction of the markets. The result was that the city's sole meat, fish and vegetable market was only accessible 'through two low entrances or alleys'.[26] From 1825 the position improved considerably as the following table in 1836 shows:[27]

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24. D.C. Memoir, Londonderry, p.131.

25. Report Irish Society Dep., 1819, p.35.

26. Tite, op. cit., pp.9-10.

27. D.C. Memoir, Londonderry, p.126.

In addition six fairs were held annually on 4 March, 30 April, 17 June, 4 September, 20 September and 17 October.[28]

The improvement from 1825 is evident from the table. In 1831 at the sale of corporation property Sir Robert Ferguson purchased the tolls of the meat, fish, vegetable, slop and pork markets for £1,300.[28a] Considering the attitude of the old corporation to the trading interests of the city such a change was bound to bring improvement to the markets in question. It did.

The arrival of the elected corporation brought a new impetus to the development and improvement of markets. The heavy trading interest in the new corporation quite naturally realised the value and necessity of adequate market accomodation to the city. A markets committee of the corporation was appointed to deal specifically with the problems of market accommodation.[29] They opened a new potato market in Foyle St in 1846[30] but the main fruit of their work was embodied in the Londonderry Improvement Act 1848. The corporation were given power to develop new accomodation because

> 'markets now used by the inhabitants and persons frequenting the same have been found insufficient for the accomodation of the public, and the concourse

28. G.J. Nesbit, Londonderry, p.126.

28a. Ibid., p.129.

29. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 23 November 1843.

30. Ibid., 2 November 1846.

> of people exhibiting articles, cattle and agricultural produce for sale and the purchases thereof, require that the said markets should be enlarged or removed and that new or more extended and enlarged markets should be erected for the convenience of persons using and frequenting same'.[31]

Subsequent to the act stricter measures for the control and use of markets were taken by the corporation. Abuses were tackled. An inspector of weights and measures was appointed.[32] Porters carrying meat in the meat market had to be licensed.[33] Repairs to existing buildings were carried out.[34] The law against street vending of articles for which market accommodation had been provided was enforced by the appointment of a person at 7/6 per week to 'perambulate the town'.[35]

The value and type of goods brought to Derry's markets can be gauged from an estimation produced in 1836 by a local provisional committee on railways. They estimated the annual amount of goods brought to Derry markets from districts along the projected line of railway from Derry to Enniskillen. Their estimate was 19,000 tons of corn, 2,200 tons of butter, 1,500 tons of flax, 1,420 tons of beef and pork and 460 tons of linen. It was also calculated that 2,000 head of black cattle and

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31. Londonderry Improvement Act, 1746, section XXIV.
32. Minutes of Londonderry Corporation, 26 January 1849.
33. Ibid., 26 February 1839.
34. Ibid., 26 January 1849.
35. Ibid., 16 February 1849.

10,000 live pigs were brought annually from these districts to the city.[36]

Derry's geographical location as a port was a central factor in the growth of the city. The commercial prosperity of the port was naturally linked to the success of the city as a market centre. The major immediate reason for the growth of Derry in the twenty-five year period under study was the great increase in the commerce of the port and of its merchants. Overall tonnage figures for the port show that the net registered tonnage of ships trading to the port of Derry both in home and in foreign trade rose from 43,082 in 1826 to 233,911 in 1855.[37]

Much of Derry's foreign trade had long been in the hands of local merchants. Firms like McCorkell, Cooke, McIntire, Baird and Munn were owners of sailing ships plying between Derry and St John's New Brunswick, Quebec, New York and Philadelphia.[38] From 1830 onwards around 50% of the net registered tonnage of ships on direct foreign trade trading to the port was Derry ships.[39] It should be pointed out that much of the foreign

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36. Londonderry Journal, 25 October 1856.

37. Appendix VI.

38. A new directory of Londonderry, 1856; our inquiry agent. Map to back page. Most of the reports of this period are filled with emigration advertisements, especially between April and August.

39. This point emerges from a comparison of the tonnage figures given below of formerly owned sailing vessels engaged in foreign trade and the tonnage figures for the whole foreign trade. See Appendix V.

trade was now indirect through Great Britain as a result of the advent of the steamship.[40] Yet the number of locally owned sailing ships rose from twenty-six in 1833 to forty-two in 1834.[41]

The principal export in this foreign trade was human beings. Emigrants formed the main cargo on the north American bound ships as Derry was one of the principal emigration ports in the country. The only other article usually on board was pig iron, imported from Glasgow, carried as ballast and sold by agents on the other side of the Atlantic.[42] On the return journey the main cargo was timber, deals and staves brought back from British America. Local newspapers of the period abound in advertisements, both for the emigrant ships and for the sale of their imported cargo which was normally auctioned on the quayside by the local shipowners.[43] Some estimate of the value of this two-way trade to local merchants may be reached from the available figures of emigration from the port of Derry.

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40. D.J. Murphy, Londonderry, p.285.

41. Ibid., p.292. These points are dealt with in more detail below.

42. Import ledgers, 1854-1856 in office of Wm. McCorkell & Co., Derry. Between 7 August 1855 and 25 January 1856, 450 tons of pig iron were sold at Philadelphia alone for McCorkells.

43. See advts. Londonderry Standard, 9 February 1849.

Table of estimated figures 1828-1847

Year	To British America.	To United States	Total
1828			863
1829			1605
1830			2601
1831			6303
1832			7500
1833			6142
1834	3761	2648	6409
1835	1871	1749	3620
1836	2663	1951	4614
1837			5717
1838			1632
1839			3697
1840			4765
1841			5982
1842			6129
1843	2826	1692	4518
1844			3827
1846		(3 months only)	4510
1847		*	9574*

The number of ships carrying emigrants in 1833 was estimated at forty ships of 14,987 tons register.[44] In 1841 there were twenty-eight ships involved with a tonnage of 12,365 and twenty-seven ships in 1842 of 13,618 tonnage.[45] It also appears from

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* These figures are compiled from separate sources. The 1828-1837 figures are drawn from a registry list of ferry factors whose published in the Londonderry Survey Reports. They are well in excess of census figures for emigration for the same years but are probably more reliable because of the source and of the fact that they are close to figures published for some of the years by Poor Law Commissioners. The years 1838-1840 are taken from Census of 1841, the only figures I can trace for these years, but it would seem in view of the earlier figures that the census ones present a considerable underestimation of the picture. The remainder of the figures are taken from reports in the local newspapers submitted by the Government emigration agent in Derry.

44. Londonderry Journal, 18 June 1833.

45. Ibid., 5 January 1843.

any breakdown of figures that is available that roughly 6/7 of all emigrants to America went to British America.[46] It must also be emphasised that these figures reveal direct emigration only. It was the growing custom in the 1840s for emigrants to go via Liverpool particularly in winter since no emigrant ships left the port of Derry in that season.[47] In 1844 it was estimated that an additional 2,000 had sailed from Derry to America via Liverpool.[48] These figures represent considerable income and prosperity to local shipping firms when it is remembered that the cost of passage for an adult to British America was between £1. 10. 0 and £2 and to the United States from £4. 10. 0 to £5.[49] With such steady trade it is little wonder that there was an increase in the number of locally owned sailing ships during the period.

On the return journey these sailing ships brought timber, deals and staves from British America and tobacco and flax-seed from the United States. The extent of these imports prior to 1836 can be measured in Appendix V. The Appendix reveals

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45. Census of Ireland 1841, p.491. Of estimated 31,500 emigrants in one year period 23,000 went to British America; Londonderry Journal, 16 June 1837 gives detailed breakdown for each ship at that season. Estimated 4,700 to U.S. and 2,700 to British America.

47. Londonderry Journal, 8 April 1834; 3 May 1836; 5 April 1836; Londonderry Sentinel, 26 February 1847.

48. Londonderry Journal, 31 December 1844.

49. Emigration Ireland, op. cit. p.76.

also the other main imports from foreign sources, chiefly wines, sugar, hemp, rum, tar. The change from a direct to an indirect foreign trade, another feature of the commerce of this period, is also reflected by the same figures. The direct line of trade with British America and the United States was kept open with the local sailing ships but the remainder of imports now came via Britain. This change was due to the arrival of the steamship.

> 'This is particularly the case in wine and tobacco, and in a lesser, though still important degree, in many other articles of commerce which are now brought to Derry principally in coasters, the result - first, of the multiplied sources of production and consequent means of purchase possessed by England and Scotland in their manufactories; and secondly of the easy transmission by steamboats from those countries of foreign goods, which renders it unnecessary to compete with them in foreign markets'.[50]

The steamship had also its effect on trade with Britain. Derry's exports were all agricultural and therefore mainly perishable. An increase in the export figures for perishable goods such as butter and eggs was natural.[51]

> 'The advantages of steam navigation are here felt by farmers along the whole line of coast from Derry to Dublin. Their livestock, particularly pigs and sheep are sent to Glasgow,

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50. O.S., Memoir, Londonderry, p.185.

51. See Appendix IV, Exports.

> Bristol and Liverpool at a very cheap rate. A firkin of butter, for instance, can be sent from Derry to Liverpool for a penny; in fact the certainty and cheapness of steam navigation are such that an Irish farmer in the vicinity of a port is quite as well off for a market as an English or Scotch farmer at sixty miles from Liverpool or Glasgow'.[52]

Exports of butter had been increasing since 1825. Reports of the Chamber of Commerce between 1827 and 1833 show the position to be steadily improving[53] as do the figures for butter export to Great Britain in Appendix IV. The increase in egg exports is linked with the steamship too. About two-thirds of Derry's total egg export went to Liverpool and the remainder to Glasgow. Prices received by the exporters varied from 2/6 per hundred in summer to 4/- in autumn or early spring, with sometimes 7/- per hundred at Christmas. The dealers were able to get 8d. to 10d. per hundred more in the British market than in Derry.[54] In the plentiful season about £2,000 a week came to Derry dealers for eggs.[55] The link between the growth of butter and egg exports and the steamship is shown by the fact that ninety per cent of butter exports to England were carried

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52. Barrow, op. cit., pp.107-109.
53. _____, Memoir, Londonderry, p.290; Inglis, op. cit., ii. 204.
54. Ibid., p.288.
55. Ibid.

on steam vessels. One hundred per cent of egg exports went the same way.[56]

The increase of the export trade in grain was another commercial feature of this period. The Chamber of Commerce was very enthusiastic about this in 1827.

> 'The increase in our grain trade is extraordinary; until the last few years there were no exports of that article - we were on the contrary, regular, and sometimes extensive, importers. So lately as the year ending 5 July 1822 our imports of grain amounted to nearly 4,000 tons - our exports only to 50. In the last year, that ending January 1st 1827, our imports are under 1,000 while upwards of 10,000 tons of grain have been shipped from the port to Derry'.[57]

The change in the export situation with regard to grain resulted from the great improvements and developments in the system of agriculture in the north-west brought about mainly by the efforts of the active North-West Agricultural Society.

> 'The system of agriculture, in this part of the country, has within these last few years been steadily and rapidly improving. Great tracts of waste ground have been annually brought into cultivation, and we are happy to see that there is scarcely a farmer to any extent who has not been able to appropriate part of his land to the cultivation of wheat; a crop which

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56. Appendix IV. In 1835 65,600 firkins of butter were exported by steamship. Only 760 firkins went by sailing ship.

57. [illegible] Londonderry, p. 20; Inglis, op. cit., ii. 203.

> almost invariably remunerates him better than any other he can put down and is therefore calculated to improve the condition of the agriculturalist and the country in general'.[58]

The wide extension of flour milling, seen in Chapter VI, was another big factor in the growth of grain exports.

Pork was the only other large item of export to Britain. Export figures increased steadily from 1826 to 1836[59] but in this case 60% of exported pork was carried by sailing ship, the salting of pork undoubtedly lessening the need for fast transport.

Imports from Britain were mainly raw materials for industry such as coals, iron, tin and bark. Tea, sugar, coffee, earthenware, hardware, printed cottons, woollens and linens were the other main items. The majority of imports from Britain, being of a non-perishable nature, were brought to the city in sailing ships.[60]

In terms of overall contribution to the city's prosperity the trade of the port is quite naturally considerable. The leap in tonnage figures of ships trading to the port between 1825 and 1830 - 3004 -[61] and the consequent increase in trade is a major explanation for the growth of the city detailed above.

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58. Mrs. Meredith, Sidelights, p.191.
59. Appendix IV.
60. Ibid.
61. Appendix V.

commercial prosperity translated itself into business development, particularly in proximity to the port, into merchant dwellings and little streets which provided housing for the increasing number of employed in the city. The causes of this development are clear. The major and overriding cause was undoubtedly the change in the system of municipal government which brought about great reductions in a local taxation that was inflating transport costs and crippling trade. There were other factors. The improvement of internal communications and transport made the city's markets more accessible; the improvement in the markets themselves; the growth in shipping - shown in the following table.

Return of sailing vessels belonging to the port, 1826-1834[62]

Year	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
No of vessels	26	26	24	30	35	31	41	41	44
Tonnage	3198	3278	3330	4105	4514	4141	5563	5750	5677
No of men	200	204	196	259	257	241	336	344	353

Return of steam-boats belonging to the port, 1829-1837

Year	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
No of vessels	1	1	2	2	3	3	5	5	6
Tonnage	156	156	309	516	516	741	840	933	1062
No of men	12	12	27	42	42	39	70	72	74

62. P.P. 1837, Documents, p.292.

These figures reveal a large increase in the shipping attached to the port particularly when it is understood that one steamboat in the coasting trade was estimated as the equivalent of four sailing vessels.[63] The steamships were operated by two steam Packet companies, the Londonderry and Glasgow Steamboat Co and North-West of Ireland Steamship Co. The former in 1834 had three steamers plying between Derry and Glasgow. The 'Foyle' made one trip per week on Saturdays while the 'St Columb' and the 'Rover' travelled on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The North-West of Ireland Steamship Co had two steamships the 'Robert Napier' and the 'Isabella Napier', going to Liverpool on Tuesdays and Fridays. The former company opened their line in 1829 with the 'Foyle' added the 'St Columb' in 1834 and the 'Rover' in 1836. The latter began with the 'Robert Napier' in 1832 and added their second ship in 1835.[64] Both companies had expanded their business considerably by 1849. The North-West of Ireland Steamship Co had added two new iron steamers to their service, both locally built, 'the Walden City' and the 'John Munn'. The other group had added the 'Thistle', 'Londonderry' and 'Shamrock' to their fleet.[65] In addition, competitors had entered the field expanding Derry's shipping

63. P.P., Report, Londonderry, p.292.
64. Ibid., xxi.
65. Notes. Londonderry Standard, 16 February 1849.

services still further and reflecting the growing commerce of the port. The value of increased trade to local businessmen could be seen in the formation, in 1834, of the City of Londonderry Steam Packet Co.

> 'It contains among its proprietors 230 traders each interested in the well-being - 60 of these are dealers in eggs, butter, cattle, oysters, fish etc., a class of men who pay two-thirds of the freight made by the steamboats in the city. 40 are woollen merchants - 67 grocers, iron and hardware merchants - 42 distillers, brewers, tanners, extensive millers, soap boilers and other manufacturers and 27 general merchants'.[66]

The formation of this company showed the availability of local capital and its competition produced an immediate reduction in freights from the rival North-West of Ireland Co.[67] A further group, North Lancashire Steam Navigation Co, opened in 1849 from Derry to Fleetwood. 'New steam communication from Londonderry to London, Preston, Manchester and the whole of Yorkshire and Lancashire via Fleetwood'. Sailings were from Derry on Thursdays, leaving Fleetwood for the return journey on Tuesdays.[68]

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66. Londonderry Journal, 4 November 1834.
67. Ibid.; Ibid., 3 November 1835.
68. Londonderry Journal, 16 February 1849.

Railways, although the first line did not open till 1847,[69] made their contribution to the prosperity of Derry between 1625 and 1650. They had been first mooted in 1836. The Derry - Enniskillen line was proposed 'as the only means of preventing the trade which Derry maintains with the upper part of Tyrone and Fermanagh being entirely diverted from it'.[70] There was an immediate demand for shares in Derry, another indication of the availability of local capital. In a space of four days £15,000 was subscribed. Both Derry lines (Derry - Coleraine was the other one) had heavy English investments but the boards of directors of both had two Derrymen out of eight on the board, a probable indication that at least one quarter of the capital (£250,000) was subscribed locally.[71]

The Londonderry - Enniskillen Co engaged Stephenson, the pioneer English railway engineer, to examine and advise on the projected line. He proposed a line suitable for a railway 55 miles in length and recommended the laying down initially of a single track with room for an eventual double line. The cost was estimated at £4,500 per mile, requiring a total capital of £250,000.[72] A provisional committee was set up to estimate the passenger and goods traffic and the probable income based on

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69. Thompson, op. cit., p.246.
70. Londonderry Journal, 26 April 1836.
71. Pigot's Irish Provincial Directory (Dublin, 1824), p.674.
72. Londonderry Journal, 4 August 1836.

existing figures. They estimated that an average of 13people would travel daily from Derry to Enniskillen at 5/-. 55 would on average travel from Derry to Strabane, Newtownstewart or Omagh at 3/- and 14 would travel daily from Omagh to Enniskillen at 2/-. Estimating that the same numbers would travel daily in the opposite direction, the daily income from passengers was expected to be £25. 16. 0. The rate of travelling per person was a penny per mile. Goods brought to Derry, as seen above, would bring in an estimated £10,211 annually. Goods brought from Derry to districts along the line were also estimated. The calculation, based on existing trade was 2,000 tons of salt, 1,200 tons of herrings, 850 tons of sugar, 3,200 tons of timber, 900 tons of iron, 450 tons of slates, 2,000 tons of flax-seed, 1,200 tons of British manufactured goods, 500 tons of whiskey, 700 tons of tea, tallow, coffee etc., a total of 15,000 tons which would produce an average £5,000 per annum. It was assumed that all goods would be carried at least half the distance and so the estimation charged them at 6/8 per ton, a rate of 3d. per mile. Cattle were charged at 2/6 per head while pigs cost 1/- each. A general rule for the estimation of income from intended railway lines had been laid down based on the returns and experience of lines already in existence. It was calculated that the number of passengers would treble on existing figures and that the quantity of goods would double.

Applied to the Londonderry - Enniskillen line this produced an estimated annual income from passenger services of £24,216 and £30,423 from goods traffic. Expenses were reckoned at 30% of the total income leaving an annual profit of £38,250, an annual return on the initial outlay of more than 12%.[73]

Throughout their period of construction both railways brought considerable employment. Work was given to at least one thousand labourers in land reclamation and in laying down lines.[74] Sawyers were employed in the making of sleepers. A local foundry made the fittings for the coaches which were built locally by an English company using local labour.[75]

The Londonderry - Enniskillen line was finally opened as far as Strabane on Monday 19 April 1847. The 14 mile journey took 38 minutes including stoppages. Four services ran daily from Derry at 7 a.m., 9.12 a.m., 1.45 p.m. and 5.31 p.m., making the return journey from Strabane at 8.15 a.m., 10.15 a.m., 4.15 p.m. and 6.20 p.m.[76] The Londonderry - Coleraine line was not opened till 1854.

The railways themselves would have had little direct influence on the trade of Derry in the period under study except

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73. Report of estimated traffic on railway by provisional committee, in (Londonderry Journal, 20 October 1840)

74. Londonderry Journal, 25 August 1842; Londonderry Sentinel, 14 May 1847.

75. Londonderry Sentinel, 16 May 1847.

76. Simpson, op. cit., p.248.

for the final three years. They did, however, lay a foundation for the great growth of the city that was to come in the second half of the century.

The final contributory factor to commercial development after 1825 was capital. Banks first appeared in Derry in 1825 when both the Bank of Ireland and Provincial Bank opened branches. Before 1835 the Agricultural Bank, the Belfast Bank and the Northern Bank had followed suit.[77] The report of the Chamber of Commerce for 1827 observed: 'the facilities afforded by the present system of banking, and the reduced rates of discount, have been highly advantageous'.[78] Local capital was not scarce either. Advertisements offering large sums of money for loan were common in local newspapers[79] and we have already seen the readiness with which local capital was subscribed for transport enterprises. An article in the Londonderry Journal in 1833 stated 'that the bank which now takes credit to itself as being the means of transferring English capital into Ireland, actually derives at the present moment, one half of its deposited capital from the branch it has established at Londonderry'.[80]

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77. J.G. Smith, Londonderry, p.293.
78. Ibid.
79. Adv. Londonderry Journal, 27 September 1836.
80. Londonderry Journal, 19 November 1833.

Banking, improved and developed means of transport and communications and above all radical changes in the system of local government, freeing trade from a crippling local taxation, creating a local government that understood and was sympathetic to commercial advancement, were the chief forces which produced the commercial growth of Derry between 1823 and 1850. The resultant prosperity in turn created the physical development studied above. The foundation had been laid for the much greater growth of the city that was to take place before the end of the century.

Plate 1

Map of Derry in 1625

(Plates 1,2,3,5 are published in O.S. memoir, Londonderry)

The street names on this map were changed as follows at some time in the eighteenth century.

Queen's St	:	Bishop St
Silver St	:	Shipquay St
Gracious St	:	Ferryquay St

The central square is known as the Diamond.

Plate 1

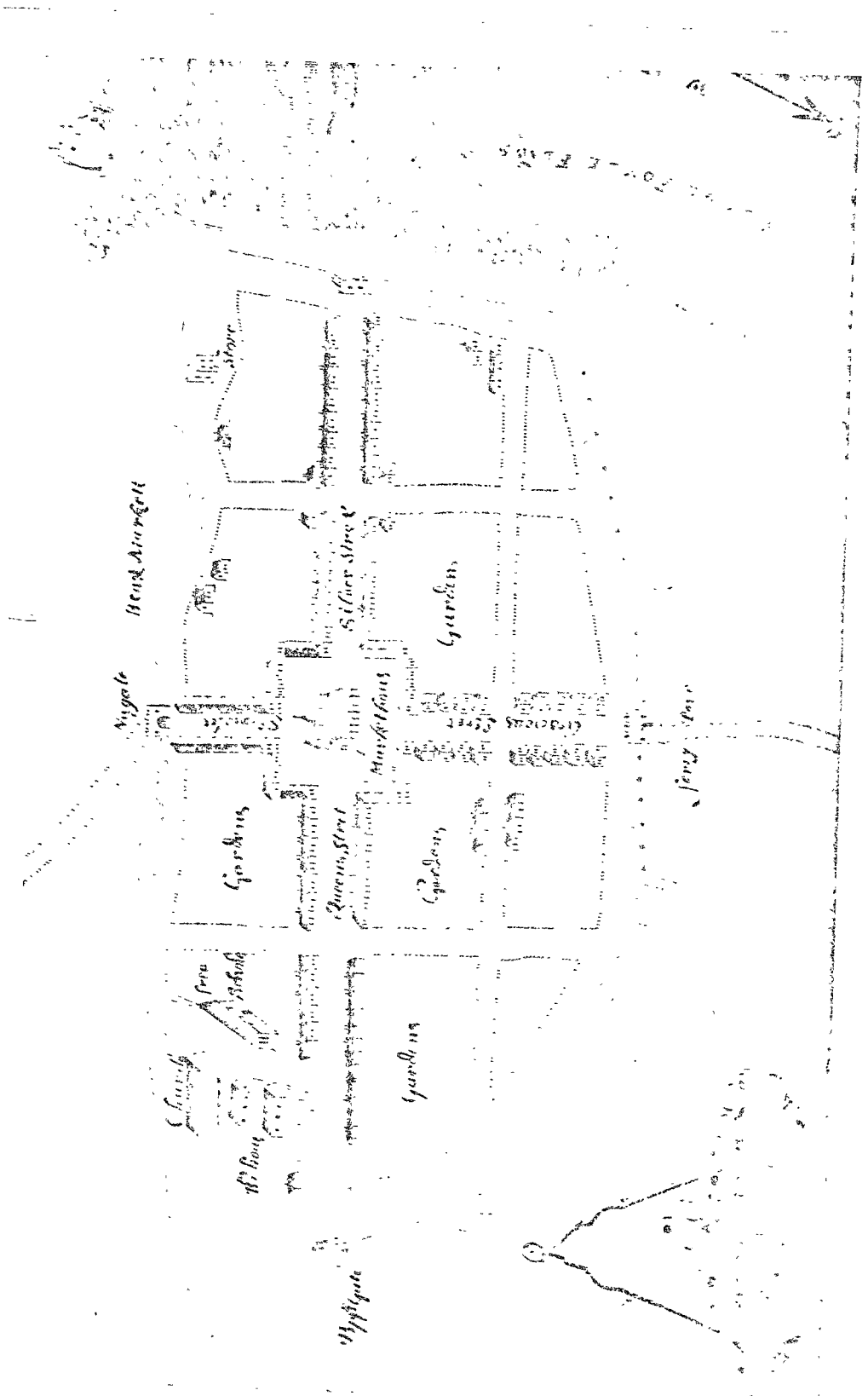

Plate 2

Map of Derry in 1689

The area inside the walls has become fully built up with the layout of streets as it is today.

Plate 2

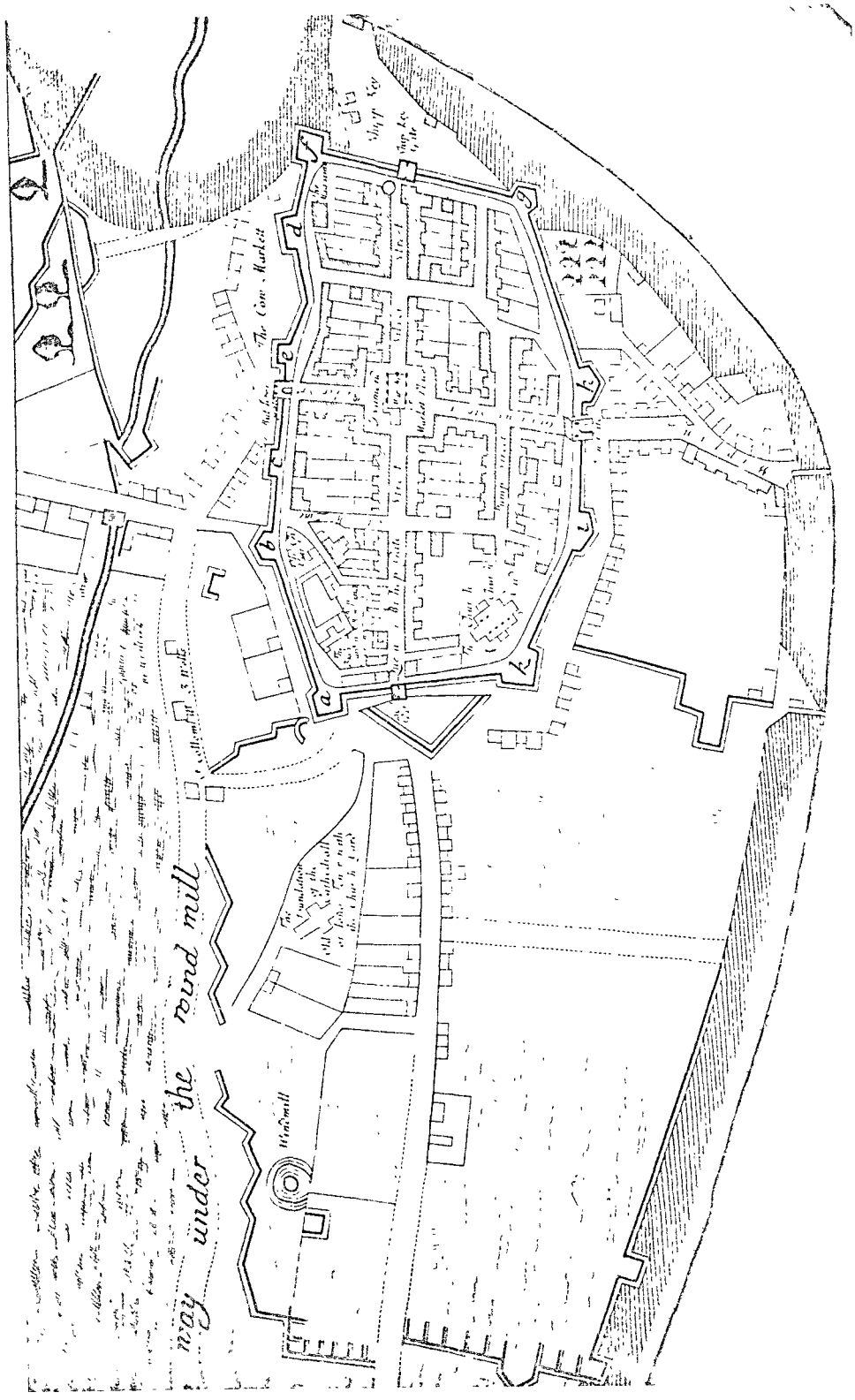

Plate 1

Map of Derry in 1769

Some building outside the walls is noticeable for the first time along the two main roads into the city from Inishowen to Bishop St (without) and Bogside St.

Plate 3

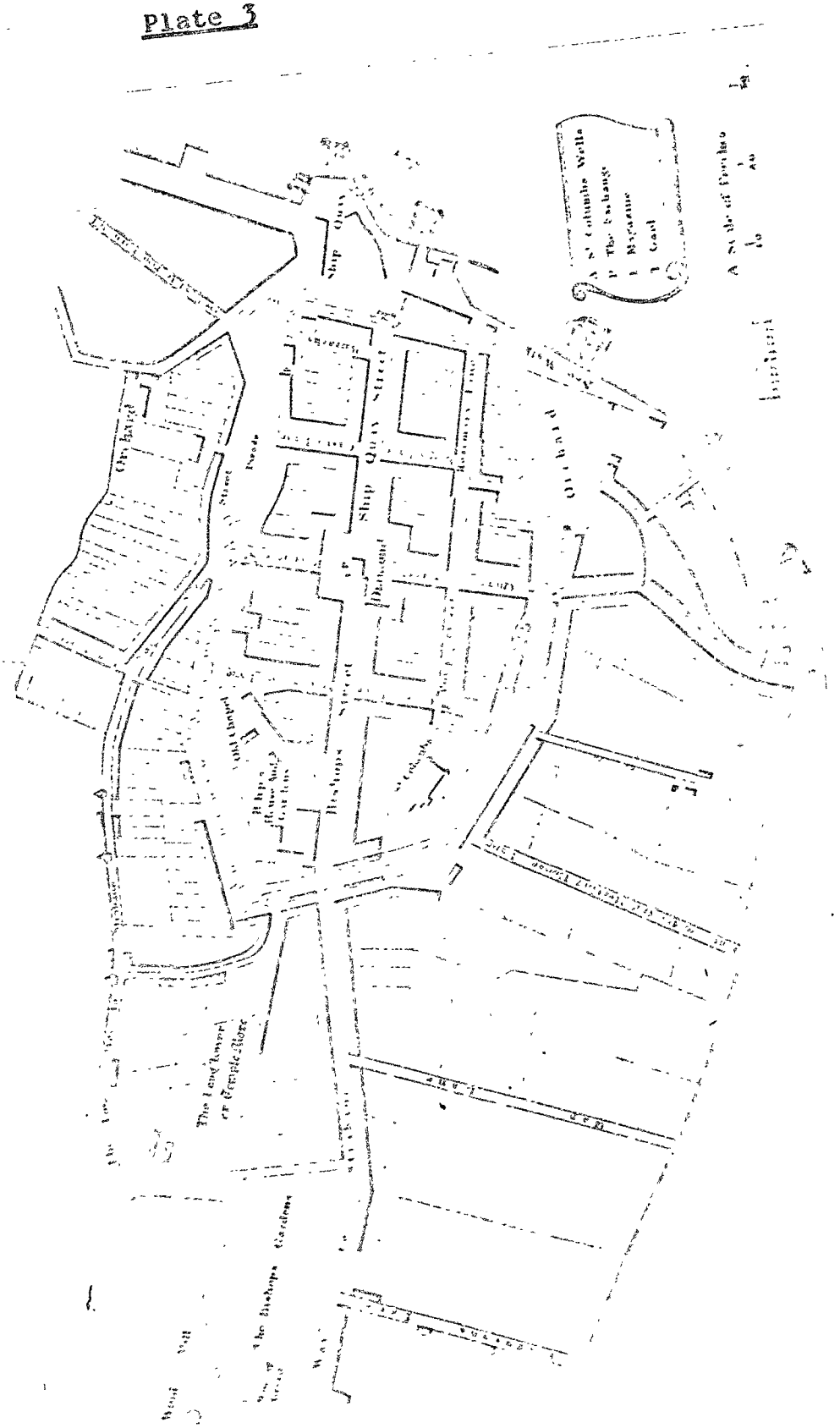
Ship Queen Street
Old Bailey
Old Chapel
Bishops House and Garden
The Long Tunnel or Temple Bore
The Bishops Gardens

Plate 4

Map of Derry in 1799

(published in Sampson, op. cit.)

This map shows that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no real development outside the walls.

Plate 4

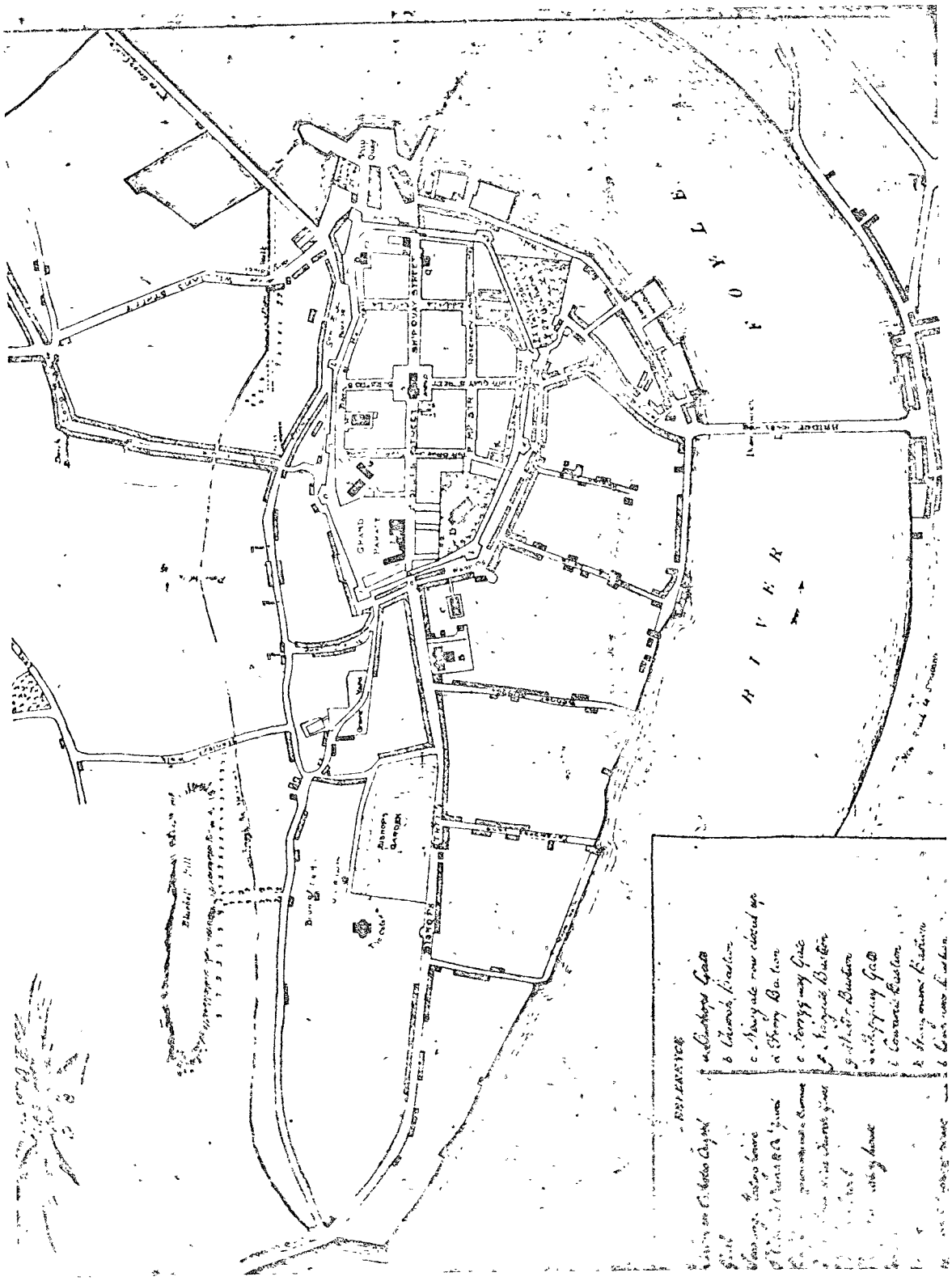

Plate 5

O.S. map of Derry in 1935

A comparison between this map and plate 4 shows that a complete new suburb had been built outside the walls since 1800. This is the suburb of Ecenbullymore, which contains the Bogside area. Apart from William St and Great James St, the area was mainly poorer class housing. The suburb is shown in detail in plate 6.

Plate 5

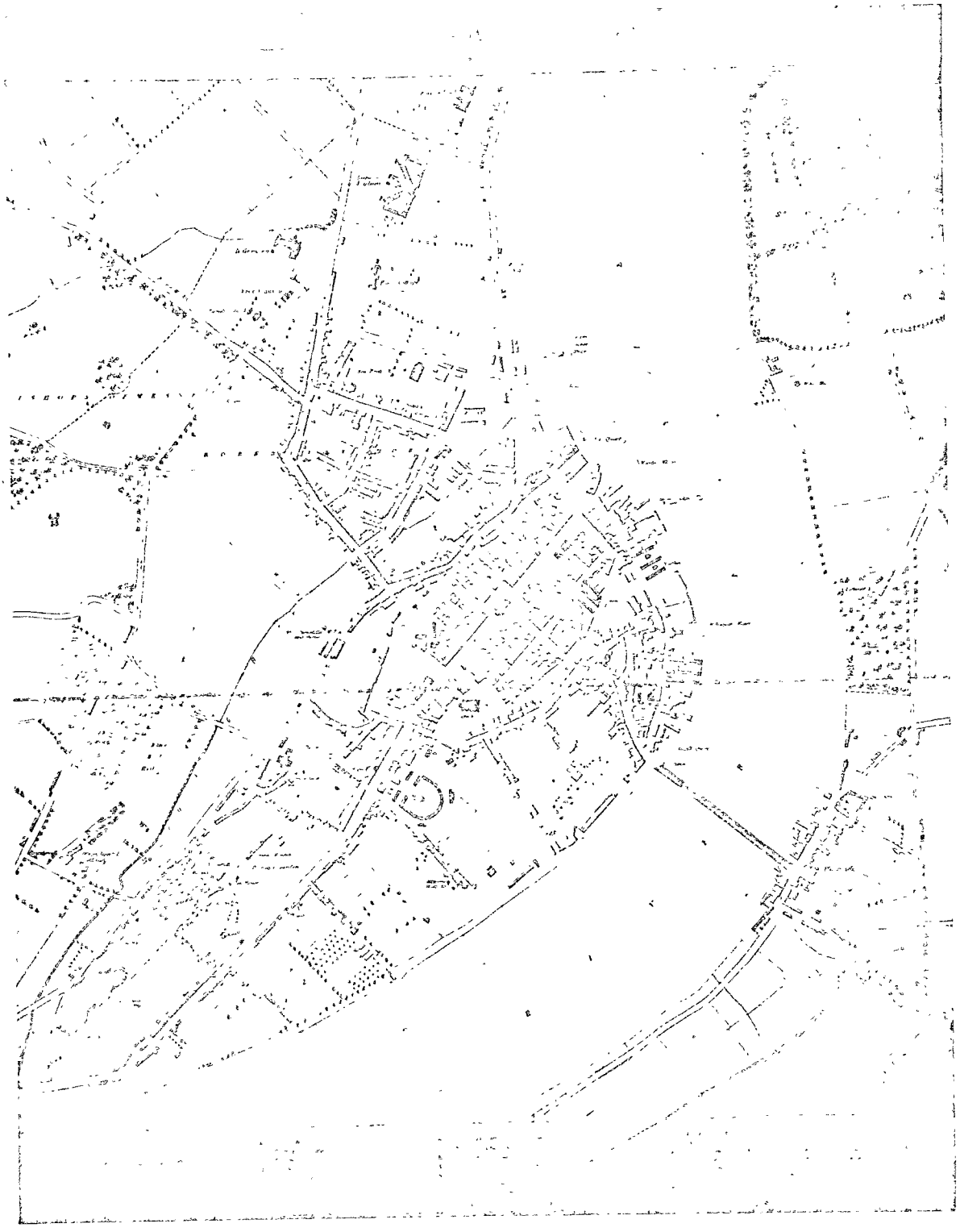

Plate 6

Map of the suburb of Edenbellymore in 1935

(taken from plate 5)

Plate 6

Plate 7

A map of Derry in 1847

by D. N. Burnside*

A comparison between this map and plate 6 shows the further development of the new suburb between 1835 and 1847. The development has been chiefly merchant streets - Great James St, Queen St, etc.

*Kindly lent by Rev. J. A. Coulter, St Columb's College.

Plate 7

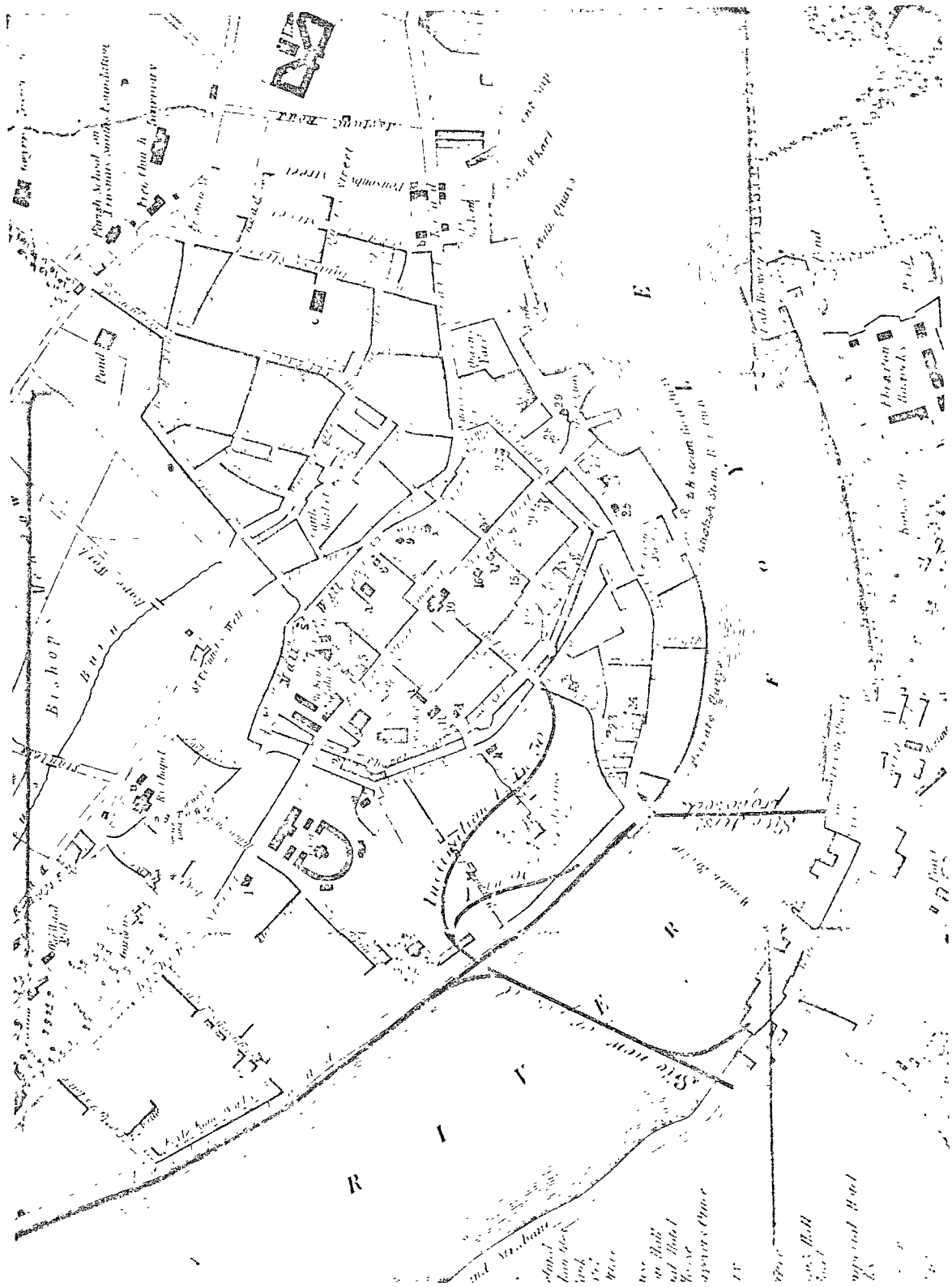

Plate 8

A detail of the suburb of Ecenballymore in 1847

(taken from O'Hagan's map of Derry in 1847 in P.R.O.N.I.)

This map gives another picture of the development taking place in the 1840s in this suburb. It shows the layout of new streets of middle class dwellings - Queen St, Patrick St, Ponsonby St (now Clarendon St) and Asylum Rd. The whole suburb shown on this map can be dated, therefore, from plates 4-8, to have taken place between 1800 and 1850. Evidence given in the text shows that the date of development can be narrowed even further to 1815-1850.

p. 251 plate 8

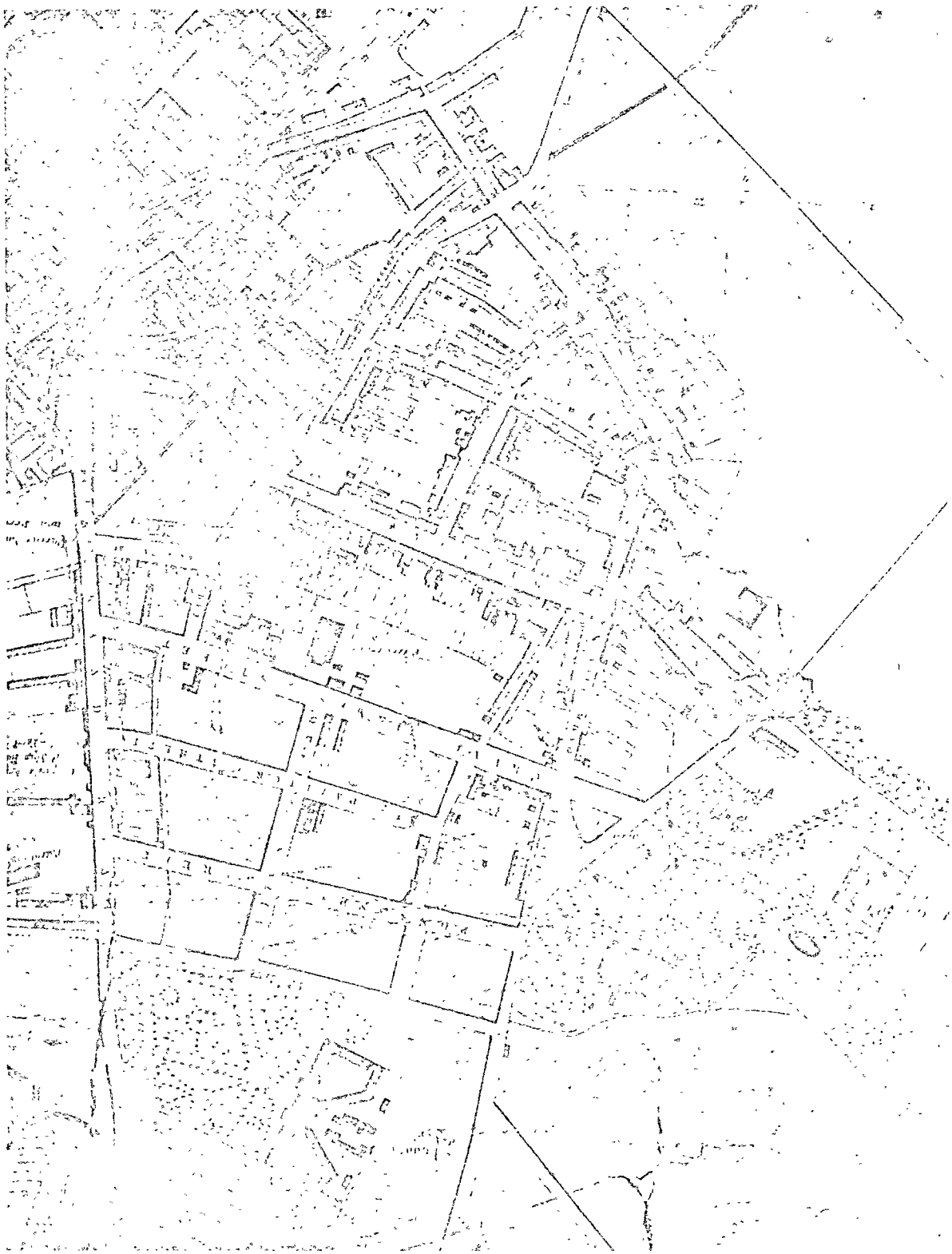

Plate 9

Lewis's Road map of Ireland in 1837

This map shows in detail the roads leading from Derry at this period. The subject is dealt with in Chapter VIII.

Plate 9

Map of
IRELAND,
Showing the
Principal Roads, Railways, Rivers & Canals.
DUBLIN,
Ireland.

Appendix I

Wages and Prices

(taken from O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.199)

	1823		1824		1825.		1826		1827		1828		1829.		1830.		1831		1832		1833		1834		1335.		1836.	
WHOLESALE PRICES.	s.	d	s	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d
Beef . . . . Per cwt	26	0	20	0	35	0	30	0	30	0	28	0	25	0	20	0	23	0	30	0	28	0	27	0	37	0	35	0
Pork . . . . . do.	38	0	25	0	48	0	31	0	36	0	37	0	28	0	33	0	37	0	37	0	31	0	23	0	19	0	25	0
Butter . . . . . do.	90	0	96	0	113	0	93	0	83	0	77	0	63	0	87	0	97	0	87	0	74	0	56	0	70	0	80	0
Oats . . . . . do.	6	0	6	6	8	8	9	0	5	0	7	0	5	10	7	0	6	10	5	3	4	10	6	3	7	4	8	0
Oatmeal . . . . do.	13	4	12	0	15	0	15	0	9	3	13	0	11	9	14	0	10	6	8	9	10	0	10	0	12	0	14	0
Flour . . . . . do.	25	0	23	0	26	0	23	0	20	0	27	0	18	0	23	0	19	0	18	0	19	0	16	0	16	0	18	0
Wheat . . . . . do.	10	0	12	0	14	0	12	0	8	0	16	0	12	0	14	0	12	0	11	3	11	3	9	9	0	0	11	0
Barley . . . . . do.	8	0	9	6	10	3	9	3	5	0	9	0	7	0	7	6	7	6	5	6	6	4	5	9	6	0	7	0
RETAIL PRICES.	d		d.		d.		d		d.		d.		d.		d.		d		d		d.		d.		d.		d.	
Beef . . . . Per lb.	3½		6		5½		5½		5½		4½		5		6½		5½		4½		5		4		4½		1½	
Mutton . . . . do.	4½		5½		6½		5½		6½		5¾		1½		6½		5½		5½		5		5		5		5½	
Pork . . . . . do.	3¼		0		4¾		2¼		0		3½		2¼		2¼		3¼		4½		2		2		2½		3	
Butter, Fresh . . do	7		10½		13		8½		7½		10½		6½		7½		9½		10½		10		9		10		10	
Oatmeal . . . Per peck.	10½		17½		14½		15½		19½		13		14½		13½		11½		11		12		12		14		15	
Potatoes . . . Per stone	3½		5½		2¾		3¼		5¼		3¼		2¼		4		4½		2¼		2½		2½		3½		4	
RATES OF WAGES.	s	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d	s.	d
Labourers . . . Per week,	10	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	0	7	6
Shoemakers . . do.	14	0	14	0	14	0	14	0	13	0	13	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	6
Tailors . . . . do.	18	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	15	6	15	6	16	3	16	3	16	0	16	0
Shipwrights . . do.	24	0	24	0	22	0	22	0	22	0	22	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0
Rope and Sail-makers do.	13	6	13	6	13	6	13	6	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	12	0	12	0	13	0
Painters and Glaziers do.	18	0	18	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	16	0
Coppersmiths . . do.	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	22	0	25	0
Masons . . . do.	19	0	19	0	19	0	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	6	18	0	18	0
Whitesmiths . . do.	18	0	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	16	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	15	0	16	0
Blacksmiths . . do.	12	0	12	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	10	0	10	0	10	0	10	0	10	0	10	0
Coachmakers . . do.	25	0	25	0	24	0	24	0	24	0	24	0	22	6	21	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	8
Carpenters . . do.	19	0	19	0	19	0	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0
Cabinetmakers . do.	21	0	21	0	21	0	20	0	18	0	18	0	18	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	6	15	0	16	0
Printers . . . do.	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0	21	0

Appendix II

Classification of diseases treated in Londonderry County Infirmary, 1832-1835 (taken from O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.172)

Classification of Diseases for Four Years.

Name.	1832.	1833	1834.	1835.	Name.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.
Febrile Diseases.					Insanity	0	2	0	0
Ague	0	0	1	0	Meningitis	0	1	1	0
Erysipelas	3	0	1	0	Paralysis	12	12	6	2
Fever	113	40	24	44	Paraplegia	0	0	0	5
Rubeola	0	0	1	0	Sciatica	0	2	1	4
Small-pox	0	1	1	2	Trismus	1	0	0	0
Scrofulous Diseases.					*Diseases of the Circulating System.*				
Scrofula	21	4	12	5	Aneurism of thoracic aorta	0	0	0	3
Cancerous Diseases.					Arteritis	0	0	0	1
					Disease of heart	1	0	3	3
					Hæmorrhoids	0	2	0	2
Cancer	6	18	11	11	Varicose veins	0	0	1	2
Carcinoma uteri	0	9	2	4	*Diseases of the Respiratory System.*				
Diseases of the Nervous System.					Asthma	5	2	4	2
					Cough	0	5	0	0
Apoplexy	0	1	2	0	Disease of larynx	0	0	0	2
Chorea	0	0	1	1	Hydrothorax	0	0	1	0
Concussion of brain	1	0	0	0	Influenza	0	1	0	0
Debility	0	0	3	3	Peripneumony	0	3	8	7
Delirium tremens	0	0	1	1	Phthisis	4	4	9	10
Epilepsy	3	2	2	0	Pleuritis	0	3	1	0
Do. with Bronchocele	0	0	1	0	Pneumonia	2	2	0	0
Hemicrania	0	1	3	2	Ulcer of epiglottis	0	0	0	1
Hemiplegia	0	0	2	2					
Hypochondriasis	0	0	2	4	*Diseases of the Digestive System.*				
Hysteria	0	2	1	1					
Inflammation of brain	0	0	3	0	Ascites	0	18	8	6

Name.	1832	1833	1834	1835
Colica pictonum	0	0	3	0
Diarrhœa	4	1	1	8
Diseased Liver	0	0	3	0
Dysentery	4	1	3	3
Dyspepsia	48	29	18	23
Fistula ani	3	0	2	2
Gastrodynia	0	0	1	0
Hæmatemesis	0	0	0	1
Hepatitis	2	0	0	0
Hernia	2	3	0	1
Icterus	0	1	0	0
Irritability of stomach	0	2	0	1
Peritonitis	1	0	0	0
Polypus recti	0	0	1	0
Tympanitis	0	0	1	1
Vermes	0	1	0	1
Diseases of the Genito-Urinary System				
Amenorrhœa	0	0	1	0
Diabetes	2	4	4	1
Dysuria	0	0	1	0
Fistula vaginæ	2	0	0	0
Gleet	0	0	1	0
Gonorrhœa	1	11	8	6
Hernia humoralis	0	0	1	2
Hydrocele	2	3	2	1
Hydro-sarcocele	0	0	0	2
Irritable bladder	0	0	4	5
Leucorrhœa	0	2	3	1
Paraphymosis	0	0	0	2
Phagedæna	0	1	0	0
Prolapsus uteri	0	0	1	1
Retention of urine	0	1	1	3
Sarcocele	0	0	1	2
Sibbens	0	3	2	0
Stricture	1	1	3	2
Syphilitic diseases	43	21	21	36
Diseases of the Mouth.				
Cynanche tonsillaris	0	0	1	2
Fistulous communication with Antrum Maxillare	0	0	1	0
Ptyalism	0	1	0	0
Sore throat	0	0	1	0
Tubercular tongue	0	0	1	1
Diseases of the Eye, Ear, and Nose.				
Albugo	0	1	0	0
Amaurosis	4	2	1	0
Atresia iridis	0	0	0	1
Cataract	3	1	3	6
Cataract and Amaurosis	0	0	1	0
Chronic Iritis	0	1	0	2
Disease of Schneiderian Membrane	0	1	0	0
[illegible]	0	1	1	3
[illegible]	0	0	1	1
[illegible]	0	0	0	1
[illegible]	2	0	0	0
[illegible]	0	0	0	1
[illegible]	0	0	1	2
[illegible]	3	2	7	13
[illegible]	4	0	1	2
[illegible]	[illegible]	0	0	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6

Name	1832	1833	1834	1835
Diseases of the Bones and Ligaments				
Caries	0	0	0	2
Contracted fingers	0	0	1	0
Disease of ankle joint	0	0	0	1
Do of elbow	0	0	0	2
Do of fingers	0	0	0	4
Do of spine	0	3	5	0
Enlarged ankle joints	0	0	1	0
Injury of knee joint	0	0	2	0
Morbus coxarius	0	1	2	0
Necrosis	4	2	8	2
Nodosity of joints	0	0	1	0
Osteosarcoma	0	0	0	1
Periostitis	0	2	0	1
Swelling of jaw	0	1	0	0
Do of knee	0	1	0	0
White swelling	3	3	6	2
Diseases of the Skin and Cellular Membrane.				
Anasarca	0	0	0	7
Carbuncle	0	0	1	2
Diffuse cellular inflammation of arm	0	0	0	2
Dropsy and Anasarca	14	2	8	7
Elephantiasis	0	0	1	1
Erythema	0	0	0	3
Herpes	4	1	0	0
Herpetic ulcer	0	1	0	0
Ichthyosis	0	1	0	0
Impetigo	0	0	6	7
Lepra	3	1	0	2
Lupus	1	0	3	1
Œdema of leg	0	0	2	0
Pernio	0	0	1	0
Psoriasis	0	5	5	1
Scabies	0	1	3	4
Sycosis	0	1	0	0
Tinea capitis	0	6	0	3
Ulcers	35	34	27	34
Verruca	0	0	2	0
Diseases of the Muscular System.				
Lumbago	5	3	2	1
Rheumatism	17	23	16	16
Miscellaneous Diseases.				
Abscess	3	2	3	9
Accidents	3	22	0	6
Burns	5	4	8	5
Contusions and Slight Injuries	31	37	27	[illegible]
Dislocations	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
Effects of mercury	0	0	1	[illegible]
Fractures	13	[illegible]	15	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
[illegible]	0	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Appendix III

Exports of linen from the port of Derry, 1800-1835

A. Exports to Gt. Britain.

	Linen cloth yds.		Yarn cwt.		Undressed flax cwt.	
	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.
1800	2,376,902	18,361	5,571	891	0	0
1801	2,383,326	14,966	5,524	1,091	0	0
1802	3,332,144	16,007	6,242	2,470	0	1,284
1803	2,329,689	15,430	1,201	1,[illegible]	0	0
1804	4,622,976	31,500	834	634	0	0
1805	2,907,135	27,737	1,203	1,[illegible]39	80	0
1806	3,[illegible]09	26,491	793	846	0	0
1807	2,742,141	8,152	1,287	1,593	20	35
1808	2,971,275	1,159	1,[illegible]50	1,[illegible]24	150	38
1809	2,870,594	38,001	4,463	4,163	13,443	4,677
1810	1,845,120	13,321	2,344	2,526	2,644	3
1811	2,049,632	22,895	1,661	1,540	0	172
1812	2,602,962	12,019	1,931	2,054	2,219	1,012
1813	2,563,127	17,005	1,455	4,150	0	14,519
1814	2,847,859	13,247	1,464	4,[illegible]68	4,423	12,580
1815	3,242,176	18,042	1,[illegible]50	2,703	2,495	4,449
1816	3,230,496	41,559	2,392	3,835	3,[illegible]26	5,[illegible]33
1817	3,089,683	66,019	1,314	5,945	4,576	10,[illegible]40
1818	3,759,[illegible]06	21,019	1,671	9,544	3,[illegible]22	11,140
1819	3,445,687	25,256	1,[illegible]58	3,379	5,[illegible]00	11,963
1820	3,885,956	14,669	546	1,966	6,341	4,331
1821	4,430,713	92,533	725	3,643	16,[illegible]91	11,[illegible]02
1822	3,720,623	844,094	1,417	2,496	7,547	12,092
1823	2,752,695	1,327,744	560	973	0	9,065

The above figures, published in general export tables in O'Donnell, Londonderry, were taken from Custom House figures. Since none were available between 1827 and 1835, the figures given below were compiled from figures for linen sold in Derry Linen Hall. They show a marked decline from above figures but all exported linen may not have passed through the Linen Hall.

*Drawn from trade tables in O'Donnell, Londonderry.

	No of webs	Yds.
1827	23,324	1,212,848
1828	23,130	1,202,760
1829	22,040	1,146,080
1830	19,900	1,034,436
1831	19,893	875,524
1832	16,837	907,140
1833	17,445	972,088
1834	18,694	

B. Foreign exports.

	Linen cloth yds.					
	U.S.	Denmark/Norway	Russia/France	Spain	Portugal	Africa
1800	71,829					
1801	85,905					
1802	172,154					
1803	128,556					
1804	151,914					
1805	165,688					
1806	218,902					
1807	255,996		31,739			
1808	100,281					
1809	76,859					
1810	62,926					
1811	60,031			3,432		
1812	0					
1813	25,261	6,229				
1814	0	0	7,685		1,431	
1815	0	0				
1816	157,037	3,033				
1817	82,819	3,130				
1818	45,275	768				
1819	21,176	1,650	11,258			11,258
1820	18,898	697				
1821	33,203	540				
1822	25,858	332				
1823	19,968					

C. To British Colonies.

Linen cloth yds.

	Canada	N.Brunswick		Newfoundland	N.Scotia
1820	680	619	1810	0	3,111
1821	0	158	1817	803	
1822	0	295	1818		17,587
1823	6,667	0	1819	12,230	57
			1821		1,132

British W. Indies

1810	19,368
1813	94,546
1814	65,159
1815	81,477
1816	132,026
1817	79,730
1819	12,495
1822	0

Appendix IV

Table of exports and imports between Gt. Britain and the port of Derry, 1811-1835*

FROM 1811 TO 1823. SCOTLAND.

ARTICLES IMPORTED.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.
Apparel, value £	724 16	147 7	166 17	1999 0	194 4	249 4	149 8	122 16	168 17	230 6	312 19	268 19	380 11
Books, unbound, cwt.	2¼	1¼	10	11	1	5	0	3	1¼				
do. bound, value £	108 0	63 12	132 12	40 6	4 10	63 0	24 0	5 0	7 0				
Carpets & Carpeting, yds.	4100	1203	2786	3712	2419	2075	2239	1667	1178	3400	2303	3743	3491
Coals, tons.	2305	2324	3160	1906	2943	5155	6166	6967	5683	6319	5763	7273	7059
Cotton, Yarn, lbs.	2277	2000	4012	5089	0	0	2261	1105	0	1620	988	1023	1805
do. Calicoes, &c. yds.	0	597	100	1303	441	1419	1892	3686	1467	4336	4911	2268	3914
do. manufactured, val. £	193 9	67 1	93 13	124 19	57 18	27 13	198 16	114 9	126 3	40 13	224 11	442 9	183 7
Drapery, yds.	2372	2416	786	2715	440	677	4	634	774	7	681	3451	2253
Dye-stuffs, cwt.	35	31	184	204	157	183	208	352	383	396	122	337	200
Earthenware, value £	183 13	32 15	178 18	76 16	42 18	144 17	224 1	151 16	186 11	50 9	118 18	228 9	231 14
Fish, Herrings, brls.	6177	10145	10284	4676	5465	7484	4755	4097	6518	6836	2086	7102	4069
Glass, Bottles, &c. no.	22420	664	43238	13034	5480	65988	41572	28188	57456	56736	24840	11744	44840
Grocer. hulled Barl. cwt.	10	20	85	105	108	275	165	198	196	785	122	121	268
Iron, do.	0	0	0	300	1004	600	100	630	1072	531	520	734	2775
do. Hardware, value £	370 14	309 10	309 12	534 5	310 7	216 18	194 19	306 7	259 9	666 15	718 5	754 4	1300 4
Linen, Kentng, &c yds.	4721	2358	2624	950	0	0	12	0	4787	2113	1360	1854	2476
do. Cotton & Silk, v. £	175	183	422	232	114	1 15	0	21 4	13 16	0	0	0	0
Molasses, cwt.	506	409	905	498	455	331	289	189	254	288	214	286	100
Oil, Train, gals.	0	567	1660	2928	1107	5812	1764	2415	2816	2502	2554	1175	5163
Pot & Pearl-ashes, cwt.	0	0	0	0	292	1412	46	714	893	137	142	0	189
Seed, Linseed, hhds	3130	1876	0	4901	4360	950	707	1223	2959	4705‡	248†	9172†	2567†
Soap, cwt.	84	0	34	72	30	15	67	69	20	34			
Spirits, Rum, gals.	0	6817	4988	2999	0	0	1245	0	2741	4	0	0	176
Stockings, pairs.	2358	474	1875	564	0	12	190	262	96	0	389	738	632
Sugar, raw, cwt.	0	1663	1413	2399	2176	302	1569	0	1628	1967	2052	4436	6315
do. refined, do.	190	261	318	223	140	158	70	83	77	147	106	182	359
Tallow, do.	0	72	0	241	450	789	396	0	153	441	415	227	73
Tobacco, lbs.	0	221328	29017	68816	0	67307	31132	12244	12061	45762	0	8601	21093
Vitriol, Oil of, do.	0	25000	58760	15900	87292	7566	0	8400	576 0	28000	16100	33450	66960
Small Parcels, value £	332	1037	1522	1635	453	453	628	2613	1903				

Importations from England. (Continued.)

FROM 1811 TO 1823.

ARTICLES IMPORTED.	1811.	1812.	1813.	1814.	1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.
Bark, brls.	5239	4626	6137	3275	7278	4560	4443	3914	4568	6025	2060	cwt.7160	24189
Beer and Ale, do.	50	46	6	47	38	17	18	14	103	97	27	0	83
Blankets, no.	1468	1214	1475	899	553	535	227	197	282	108	195	0	96
Bricks, thous.	2636	8800	7000	14000	2000	15000	24000	5000	11500	2800	7500	6250	16900
Carpets & Carpeting, yds.	1081	2940	2110	2149	59	1539	338	973	1563	1066	530		1121
Cheese, cwt.	126	289	268	141	160	73	38	53	107	44	42	52	57
Cider, gals.	3024	441	0	63	252	0	0	0	0	2702	0	476	434
Coaches, value, £	107 3	208 5	100 0	0	162 17	194 5	642 15	0	101 3	225 14	56 18		150 6
Coals, tons.	1498	1898	3168	4301	2528	3589	5081	4774	3669	4398	3370		3195
Copper, cwt.	110	134	126	190	175	108	88	58	96	9	421	75	93
Corn, Barley, brls.	0	0	0	1	0	0	427	6808	1121	0	0	0	6748
do. Malt, do.	0	0	0	0	245	307	346	100	934	200	100	0	224
do. *Ground*, Flour, cwt.	50	0	0	0	42	0	338	8284	1686	256	0	120	200
Cotton, Yarn, lbs.	2597	330	2703	2310	764	0	0	2136	0	2887	15083	15079	17119
do. manufac. yds.	81	1084	943	735	448	961	521	374	752	28656	10012		6449
Cutlery, value, £	1689	716	1014	878	497	971	700	1210	716				652 12
Drapery, new & old, yds.	65284	57684	97903	89820	76102	33820	19105	13577	26367	29043	24167		35577
Dye-stuffs, cwt.	211	311	830	132	176	213	148	212	62	124	46	119	46
Earthenware, value, £	2521 8	2012 4	3711 10	3150 10	2412 15	2777 16	1639 11	1413 7	1947 16	2498 18	1671 19		1519 0
Fish, Herrings, brls.	434	0	2	600	400	420	264	40	0	863	54	2	0
Fruit, dried, cwt.	139	124	80	5	27	75	37	5	64	56½	59	72	17
Glass, Bottles, &c. doz.	812	2720	8	7	247	8	31	0	45	59½			
Gloves, leather, prs	552	2716	477	2148	741	1040	1050	492	678				1380
Haberdash. Small Par. £	893 18	711 13	965 9	1731 13	1644 6	882 3	527 10	768 14	768 3	1589 8	704 5		
Hats, no.	1736	480	2483	1579	1304	869	60	133	220	48	218		505
Hemp, cwt.	885	300	307	796	200	0	22	65	483	1027	322	617	119
Hides, tanned, no.	70	293	449	649	464	233	141	1211	96				
Hops, cwt.	65	30	183	0	269	135	167	20	51	206	51		76
Ironmongery, Hardw. £	9637 0	6439 0	9712 14	9834 15	9583 19	9613 14	6362 11	4770 10	6253 1	8327 8	8723 5		5622 7
do. Iron, cwt.	2348	1563	6927	6883	2395	1910	1728	4079	8145	7298	12027	17132	10182
do. Steel, do.	171	2	52	48	32	35	23	30	52	89	21	154	136
Instruments, musical, £	218 0	301 0	228 1	467 17	212 10	478 11	146 9	254 18	123 12	260 0	312 18	119 8	449 0
Lead, pig, shot, sheet, cwt	436	327	621	699	640	611	409	422	393	866	565	578	933
do. white, do.	90	33	0	26	38	12	5	27	42	102	37	61	3
Linen, Canvas, yds.	12915	2473	5078	89879	0	1733	3209	0	1578	318	331	2087	3792
do. Cotton & Silk, val. £	7883	3434	8574	6602	5524	3514	3689	2314	3450	959	2334		2162
Mats, no.	924	790	856	107	288	106	36	1000	420	0	1200	1820	540
Molasses, cwt.	251	262	331	40	222	266	62	177	197	350	47	126	95
Mustard, lbs	5300	3736	4162	442	8052	252	1188	72	324	216	5846	1242	2278
Oil, Linseed & Train, gals	3511	1999	1703	1737	2469	2558	4244	3611	1860	4614	2412	1235	522
Painting Stuff, value, £	115 1	154 8	114 4	218 0	126 8	261 7	150 4	131 10	217 5	170 11	285 9	184 1	173 15
Perfumery, value, £	10 3	19 9	24 0	4 4	0 8	14 12	14 5	23 2	9 10	5 12	3 6	12 14	26 4
Pot and Pearl ashes, cwt.	551	4681	2180	1494	910	326	1165	2136	1719	1251	1464	1818	1625
Rosin, do.	215	303	243	0	21	290	212	13	88	281	189	240	228
Saddlery Ware, value £	322 7	78 1	178 16	38 9	71 9	91 17	6 7	25 13	54 15	267 13	18 17		27 18
Salt, rock, cwt	18850	12340	21830	12610	24500	26580	29380	26840	27160	16180	3400		63520
do. white, bushels.	9654	12454	32860	3737	1608	7396	5504	23875	2524	8231	4400		7588
Seeds, Grass & Garden, lbs.	4826	11860	23434	6874	5836	35660	27937	5176	25263	22302	8171	33018	15824
do. Flaxseed, hhds.	1216	433	599	3472	1735	2084	116	100	627	174		18406*	13279*
Silk & Cot manufac. £	277 3	127 13	71 11	99 11	0	36 10	83 5	12 12	175 14				1186
Silk, manufactured, lbs.	263	316	255	313	160	119	80	126	128	729	368		
Silk & Worsted. mtd £	35 9	125 12	226 8	95 17	76 6	117 8	102 5	146 18	188 8				
Slates, tons.	47	60	79	72	58	65	80	97	123	228	159	281	171
Spices, Ginger, &c. lbs.	1140	9356	1746	8967	1486	5253	2113	7520	8843	3450	2973	1861	1193
Spirits, Rum, gals.	1805	3085	5081	1836	238	107	930	3124	1358	1742		2371	2751
Stockings, prs.	10458	7506	9170	3977	2908	4052	1530	1393	9349	6138	2690		5745
Sugar, raw, cwt.	5936	10877	7212	5205	5104	3864	7053	6721	9205	7855	3925	4606	3840
do. refined, do.	518	611	212	329	105	89	170	231	404	245	264		237
do. Liquorice ball, lbs.	168	2810	597	1714	817	1606	7104	7107	9577				
Tallow, cwt.	2356	1719	0	0	920	1163	329	227	558	2140	713	2179	1037
Tea, Bohea & Green, lbs	61097	70691	53133	75092	39437	74092	48776	71754	109260	72203	67134	47014	75499
Tin Plates, brls.	2	6	184	78	75	57	98	29	78	0	0	0	3
Tobacco, lbs.	0	347371	280415	190514	34471	213769	146990	183821	233565	169653	48485	71044	97751
Turpentine, do.	834	760	504	456	341	1178	1280	743	1000	624	80	37	53
Upholstery ware, val. £	365 1	488 7	89 17	442 15	286 14	161 18	146 12	710 5	46 16				
Watches, &c. value £	298 3	198 5	221 0	212 0	222 0	60 12	40 10	0	33 2			42 0	0
Whiting, cwt.	26	679	794	240	32	616	0	520	873	530	240	500	103
Wines, general, gals.	119	0	1379	0	0	946	2653	2751	4978	2604	1369	2310	6747
do. Madeira, do.	161	483	0	0	0	56	105	165	399	315	0	105	385
do. Port, do.	1743	0	0	1316	735	1050	140	4053	4340	1757	133	1134	71
Wood, Canes, no.	3940	4000	5000	3625	0	0	12950	0	0	31100	0	16400	123.8
do. Hoops, thous.	15	137	10½	164	154	263	114	82	214	198	435	258	172
do. Woodenware, v. £	179 18	124 3	5 19	81 12	6 8	4 3	72 1	204 0	4 8	28 12	15 15	105 1	6 3
Wool, Beaver, lbs.	90	80	152	105	50	0	0	0	8	0	0	644	336

* brs[illegible]

Exportations to Great Britain.

ARTICLES EXPORTED		FROM 1826 TO 1834								1835.		
		1826.	1827	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832	1833	1834	Steam Vessels	Sailing Vessels	Total
Beef,	tierces	130	103	108	831	2485	1128	1219	2781	2307	2199	787	3186
do. Tongues,	kegs	0	0	0	26	28	74	77	61	43	0	0	0
Bacon,	bbls	0	20	70	184	2773	674	92	200	150	496	363	859
do	hhds	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	38	46	227	5	232
Bones,	tons	0	0	0	0	3	20	58	0	15	12	9	21
Butter,*	firkins	31510	51970	48755	36982	24096	26576	39821	42564	46494	65649	708	66414
do.	crocks.	0	0	0	732	1436	340	0	0	0	6787	0	6787
Corn, Barley,	tons	573	1339	1732	1661	1698	1665	621	538	673	0	0	0
do. Oats,	do	8467	11293	19725	21252	18710	19819	14092	16649	18536	4119	14194	18313
do. Wheat,	do.	83	83	70	33	81	224	91	348	536			
do. Oatmeal,	do.	1064	558	925	786	468	1008	845	2280	3170	998	1159	2157
ground, Flour,	do.	43	0	37	4	3	64	1	15	0	51	0	51
Cotton,	yds	0	0	0	7412	0	0	0	0	0	0	968	968
do.	bales	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	1	1
Eggs,	boxes	2	0	6	315	1414	1813	2537	1211	2343	8264	0	8264
Fish, Herrings,	brls	0	0	0	20	60	170	456	330	0	0	714	714
do salmon,	boxes	0	0	0	0	268	60	0	861	705	0	3996	3996
do. do.	casks	0	0	0	0	415	12	5	0	0	0	0	0
Flax,	bales	0	96	10	0	1519	0	0	382	437	0	0	0
do.	tons	0	79	4	155	0	0	0	0	0	1751½	2392⅔	4056
Fruit, Ir crates or hhds.		8	0	29	50	96	507	166	50	170			
Hides,	ommdies.	0	114	240	1500	2614	2381	1292	0	0	1133†	514†	1653†
Linen, Yarn,	bales	0	12	2	7	58	6	0	8	0			
do Cloth,	yds										1.46932	58772	1605704
Lard,	firkins	0	12	0	116	431	155	7	7	130	331	28	429
Lead Ore,	tons	0	240	317	267	306	160	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oysters,	casks	0	0	0	42	126	140	924	0	465	0	1400	1400
Pork,	brls	203	411	311	1341	3069	3176	1604	2629	2573	3309	5655	8964
Salt,	ton	0	0	0	87	0	1	112	0	0	0	693	693
Seed, Flaxseed,	hhds	0	200	108	0	84	231	371	170	136	0	1088	1088
Skins, Calves',	tierces	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spirits, Whiskey, punch.		5	41	20	7	9	302	203	120	110	0	529	529
Tallow,	casks	0	0	0	0	16	313	123	60	0	0	2	2

* From weigh-master's account

† hogsheads

Importations from Great Britain.

ARTICLES IMPORTED.		FROM 1826 TO 1834								1835		
		1826.	1827.	1828.	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	Steam Vessels	Sailing Vessels	Total
Barilla and Kelp,	tons.	15	0	48	62	64	272	110	10	47	0	194	194
Bark,	do.	20	0	0	150	118	176	613	235	321	0	700	700
Beer & Ale,	brls or casks	67	32	137	81	13	5	26	0	130	206	0	206
Coal,	tons.	12335	7378	16241	10960	10611	11497	13831	11806	15476	0	13906	13906
Coffee,	bags & brls	27	53	60	91	84	159	110	42	60	0	0	0
Cork,	cwt	20	40	67	110	80	37	20	104	0	50*	40†	
Corn, Wheat,	qrs	200	0	36	155	39	35	91	38	9	0	0	0
do. *ground*, Flour,	bags	109	226	188	1417	2069	3071	2091	1559	1674	0	5955	5955
Cotton, manufac	bales.	37	113	210	97	81	56	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dye-stuffs, Copperas,	casks	6	8	7	10	14	8	5	7	9	34	0	34
do Indigo,	chests	12	24	31	23	12	17	9	1	5	0	12	12
do Shumac,	bags	4	12	15	30	15	64	42	35	43	0	416	416
Fruit, dried,	boxes	511	710	1046	784	1021	1112	525	671	452	0	680	680
do Lemons, Orang	boxs	148	170	246	206	97	148	121	247	167	176	510	686
do Nuts,	bags	28	44	72	70	112	12	47	31	19	0	26	26
Fish, Herrings,	brls.	0	0	0	4233	1338	0	1949	7079	8456	0	10811	10811
Glass Bottles,	mats.	700	234	1050	0	0	0	20	0	15	0	0	0
do Crates,	no	196	194	195	7	0	0	0	683	537	28	648	676
Hemp,	tons.	30	36	40	59	42	17	92	4	0	60	40	100
Hides,	bundles	1500	980	2229	1147	648	639	3308	4220	3576	0	484	484
Hops,	pockets	0	22	18	11	6	3	11					
Iron,	tons	16	49	44	79	42	129	4	18	130	536	1102	1638
Lath,	bags	304	645	655	197	190	74	109	32	14	0	0	0
Oil,	casks	28	59	92	136	61	114	120	161	136	160	154	314
Potashes,	brls	1098	351	323	248	320	291	325	304	430	0	408	408
Potatoes,	tons.	80	150	210	329	523	428	153	712	657	0	1259	1259
Salt,	do.	0	0	0	422	624	640	750	1455	1316	0	3640	3640
Seed, Clover,	tierces	0	0	32	0	0	83	57	49	39	0	151†	151
do. Flaxseed,	brls	500	2315	317	0	0	0	0	0	0	2412	24424	27216
do do.	hhds	187	333	1130	1004	0	727	1001	876	1085	0	0	0
do. Garden,	sacks.	0	0	0	30	0	154	78	30	44	163	23	186
do. Vetches,	bags	20	0	0	0	32	157	30	0	14	0	0	0
Staves,	tons.	575	439	749	559	695	640	615	504	595	0	1032	1032
Spirits, Ginger,	brls.	14	24	21	39	10	10	27	37	24	0	67	67
do. Pepper,	bags	142	69	295	149	116	294	340	170	275	292	66	358
Spirits, Rum, Luncheons		22	14	11	22	14	26	14	23	18	24	15	39
do Whiskey,	do.	420	710	518	1024	680	748	603	470	530	1031	69	1100
Sugar,	hogs.	101	56	114	194	143	6	17	31	0	0	0	0
do	Hds	1505	699	720	763	554	311	1035	1173	1234	1598	429	2027
do.	tierces	370	40	49	52	41	58	60	59	76	0	0	0
Tallow,	casks	673	164	236	120	45	456	95	160	133	0	741	741
Tar,	brls	125	57	79	206	183	543	6	73	30	116	243	359
Teas,	chests	652	971	1134	1205	863	1547	1573	1127	1357	1249	953	2202
do.	Hhds.	78	247	163	150	149	254	103	170	155	250	9	259
do.	tons	170	70	71	55	58	99	8	10	14	0	201	201
do.	Hhds.	163	191	210	141	79	211	151	197	224	167	272	289
Wines,	Hogsheads	0	8	0	170	230	300	1139	31	1020	0	993	993
do	Pipes	52	91	30	35	100	45	24	14	22	61	16	16
do	Hhds.	6	76	194	49	58	47	32	25	41	0	17[illegible]	17[illegible]

Appendix V

Foreign imports through the port of Derry*

Foreign Importations compiled from the Custom House Books.

ARTICLES IMPORTED.	1830.			1831			1832.			1833			1834			1835.			1836.		
	Direct.			Direct			Direct.			Direct.			Direct.			Direct			Direct		
	British Ships.	Foreign Ships.	Coasters	British Ships	Foreign Ships	Coasters.	British Ships	Foreign Ships	Coasters.	British Ships.	Foreign Ships	Coasters	British Ships.	Foreign Ships	Coasters.	British Ships.	Foreign Ships.	Coasters.	British Ships.	Foreign Ships.	Coasters
Ashes, Weed, cwt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	738	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1578	645	774	2142	0
Prussia,																					
Barilla,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1610	0	0
Canaries,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1799	0	0	554	0	0
Naples and Sicily,	9317	0	764	0	0	2.92	499	0	693	1740	0	125	2407	0	1240	1467	0	703	0	0	454
Spain,																					
Coffee cwt	6	0	17	1	0	216	0	0	297	0	0	209	0	0	165	0	0	104	0	0	104
British West Indies,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	42
East Indies,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Columbia,																					
Fruit, dried, lbs	0	0	4288	0	0	0	0	0	4150	0	0	912	7220	0	0	1538	0	28	0	0	0
Spain,																					
Hemp, tons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	0	0	110	0	0
Russia,																					
Hemp Mats, no	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	153	3847	0	0
Russia,																					
Indigo, lbs	0	0	0	0	0	1056	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1243	0	0	0
East Indies,																					
Iron, unwrought, cwt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	125	0	0
Russia,																					
Molasses, do	285	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	724	0	0	6	0	0
British West Indies																					
Seeds, Clover, cwt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	141	0	0	0	0	47
Holland,																					
Seeds, Flax-seed, qrs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	283	967	0	0	2074	0
Holland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1191	0	0	7191	0	0
Russia,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1215	1160	0	0	1819	0
United States,																					
Spices, Pepper, cwt	0	0	77	0	0	123	0	222	0	0	0	60	0	0	186	0	0	78	0	0	192
East Indies,																					
Spirits, brandy, gals	0	0	54	0	0	56	0	0	622	0	0	1943	0	0	473	0	0	775	0	0	627
France,																					
do Geneva, do	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	0	6
Holland,																					
do Rum, do.	1509	0	6	0	0	324	2746	0	944	722	0	1613	0	0	697	629	0	1571	0	0	2121
British West Indies,																					
Sugar, tons	419	0	361	377	0	451	184	0	707	152	0	819	173	0	924	130	0	914	197	0	917
British West Indies,																					
East Indies,	0	0	11	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tallow, cwt.																					
Russia,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1494	0	1957	6319	0	0
Tea, do																					
China,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	563	0	0	1314	0	0	1277
Tobacco, do																					
United States,	0	0	1642	0	0	2149	0	14	1188	0	146	1847	0	0	2694	566	0	2311	0	0	3027
Wine, gals																					
Cape,	0	0	1711	0	0	9228	0	0	3011	0	0	4509	0	0	3323	0	0	5757	0	0	6315
Canaries,	0	0	109	0	0	414	0	0	196	0	0	0	0	0	195	0	0	0	37	0	0
France,	0	0	396	0	0	365	0	0	288	0	0	312	0	0	347	0	0	671	0	0	478
Holland,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	12	0
Madeira,	0	0	22	0	0	491	0	0	59	652	0	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portugal,	0	0	1003	2176	0	2103	631	0	2729	6073	0	2206	3588	0	2233	0	0	1693	0	0	1227
Sicily,	0	0	187	0	0	230	0	0	473	0	0	0	511	0	0	396	0	725	0	0	766
Spain,	5469	2172	1568	0	0	2744	1914	0	3314	6432	0	5019	6965	0	334	0	0	5339	0	0	2135
Wood, Deals, hund																					
British America,	364	0	0	284	0	0	154	0	0	309	0	0	241	0	0	810	72	0	769	0	0
Norway,	0	243	0	2	83	1	331	292	0	0	142	0	0	83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prussia,	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0
Russia,	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Wood, Timber, loads																					
British America,	221	0	0	336	0	0	362	0	0	1482	0	0	628	0	0	2296	0	0	636	0	0
Prussia,	249	0	0	0	0	0	146	0	0	0	607	0	27	0	0	0	127	0	0	504	0
Russia,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wood, Staves, hund																					
British America,	585	0	0	222	0	0	263	0	0	404	0	0	320	0	0	1243	0	0	480	9	0
United States,	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Holland,	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79	0	0	0	0
Prussia,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0
Wood, Lathwood, fath.																					
British America,	0	0	0	94	0	0	0	6	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	93	0	0
Prussia,	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	33	0	7	0	0	0	13	0	0	92	0
Russia,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

*O.S. memoir, Londonderry

Appendix XI

Net registered tonnage of ships arriving at the port of Derry, 1826-1853*

Year	Home Trade	Foreign Trade	Total
1826	32,632	10,450	43,082
1827	42,165	9,961	52,126
1828	50,243	6,686	56,929
1829	48,912	7,537	56,449
1830	51,068	10,939	62,007
1831	58,955	6,286	65,241
1832	62,052	10,310	72,362
1833	63,879	11,294	75,173
1834	63,726	10,406	74,132
1840	73,896	10,282	84,178
1841			82,408
1842			93,626
1843			78,[illegible]
1844			102,305
1845	124,473	11,150	135,623
1846	125,535	19,917	145,452
1847			136,261
1848			147,312
1849	123,500	29,099	152,599
1850	138,800	22,739	161,539
1851	152,946	41,261	194,207
1852	176,063	39,436	215,499
1853	190,910	43,001	233,911

*Published in Annual report of Londonderry Port and Harbour Commissioners, 1932.

Appendix VII

A table of customs duties in operation at the port of Derry in 1803*

Names of Articles.	Custom Duties. British Produce.	Custom Duties. Foreign.	Names of Articles.	Custom Duties. British Produce.	Custom Duties. Foreign.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Apparel, per cent.	10 0 0	...	Cutlery, per cent.	10 0 0	27 10 6½
Bark,	free.	free.	Drapery, new, per yard.	0 0 2¾	0 6 9
Beer and Ale, per brl.	0 4 6	...	do. old, do.	0 0 8½	
Blankets,	free.	...	Earthenware, per cent.	10 0 0	33 17 7
Books, bound, per lb.	0 0 2	0 0 3	Glass Bottles, do.	10 0 0	...
do. unbound, do.	0 0 2	...	and 3*d.* per doz.		
do. do. per cent.		14 6 5	Fish, Anchovies, per brl.	...	0 2 1½
Bricks, do.	10 0 0	...	do. Herrings, do.	free.	0 4 10¼
Cards, Wool,	free.	...	Iron, per ton.	do.	0 12 8½
Carpets,	do.	...	do. Hardware, per cent.	10 0 0	27 10 6½
Cheese, per cwt.	do.	0 1 5	Salt, rock, per ton.	3 0 0	...
Coaches, per cent.	10 0 0	...	do. white, per bushel.	0 2 0	...
Coals, per ton.	0 1 9	...	do. foreign, do.	...	0 2 0
Cordage, per cwt.	free.	0 15 0½	Seed, Clover, per cwt.	free.	0 2 10

Names of Articles.	Custom Duties. British Produce.	Custom Duties. Foreign.
		£ s. d.
Seed, Garden,	free.	...
do. Grass,	do.	...
do. Flaxseed,	...	free.
Spirits, Brandy, in Foreign ships, per gal.	...	0 8 2½
do. in British ships, do.	...	0 7 3¾
Tallow, per cwt.	free.	0 0 8
Tar, Foreign, per last.	...	*0 4 7½
do. Colonial, do.	...	0 13 1
Tobacco, per lb.	...	0 0 7¾
Wine, French, per tun.	...	59 12 0
do. Madeira, do.	...	38 14 0
do. Port, do.	...	38 14 0
do. Spanish, do.	...	38 14 0

*[0 14 7½]

*O.S. memoir, Londonderry, p.282.

Appendix VIII

The income and expenditure of the Corporation of Londonderry, 1790-1833*

EXPENDITURE OF THE CORPORATION.

Bridge.	Quays	Salaries	Charities	Contingencies	Rent.	Pensions.	Interest.	Total Amount
£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
.	..	568 4 6	189 0 0	..		..	..	757 4 6
51 0 0	48 11 2½	557 13 4	191 0 0					
175 0 0	41 1 2	557 13 0	202 0 0					
550 0 0	1231 6 6	531 18 1	163 5 0					
554 0 0	1183 10 10	561 13 4	154 3 0					
377 0 0	..	534 18 4	156 8 6					
171 0 0	.	584 18 4	153 17 6					
237 0 0	39 9 1½	584 18 4	153 17 6					
500 0 0	..	634 19 4	156 3 0					
375 0 0	.	634 19 4	156 3 0					
503 0 0	59 5 7½	634 19 4	158 8 6					
382 0 0	..	634 19 4	174 0 0					
650 0 0	3675 0 0	684 19 4	180 0 0					
2800 0 0	..	705 4 4	190 5 0	611 7 5		67 10 10		
2865 0 0	..	654 8 4	195 6 0	840 4 5		79 0 6	1669 6 9	6303 6 0
3291 0 0		778 9 4	208 19 9	1168 2 6		189 0 6	1719 0 0	7384 12 1
387 0 0	.	785 19 4	223 8 7½	705 16 7		126 8 0	1995 6 9	4223 19 3½
322 0 0	.	821 1 4	212 13 10	800 16 0		121 16 3	2100 0 0	4384 7 5
1851 0 0	.	1456 5 4	169 16 0	867 6 1		125 1 9	2482 15 0	6952 4 2
725 0 0	..	1124 19 1	195 1 7	2351 13 4		154 16 3	2769 18 3½	7321 8 6½
644 0 0	.	974 19 1	213 17 9	950 16 0½		154 16 3	2812 0 0	5750 9 1½
317 0 0	..	1074 19 1	252 13 3	1624 0 3		154 16 3	3237 0 0	6660 8 10
850 0 0	7777 2 3	1135 6 7	250 13 9	2524 2 7½		159 16 3	3919 0 0	10826 1 3½
1050 0 0	.	1135 6 7	234 13 6	853 17 10		207 2 3	3579 15 0	7060 15 2
14774 0 0	..	1141 6 7	218 0 6	532 12 0		176 12 9	3609 17 6	20455 8 10
4136 0 0	..	1157 6 7	196 17 10	1008 10 0		207 12 9	3523 18 10	10230 6 0
496 0 0	..	898 10 7	180 13 6	804 3 4½		107 1 9	3601 12 8	6091 1 10½
663 6 0	..	798 10 7	155 13 0	648 8 0		127 1 9	4244 14 2	6627 13 6
1540 3 1	..	806 11 10	102 1 9	403 3 9		102 1 9	3568 3 8½	6522 5 10½
2913 16 2	..	{780 18 1} {780 18 1}	257 16 9	2959 5 2½		370 0 0	2436 12 8	10499 6 11½
640 6 11	..	823 5 7	109 11 7	3193 19 7½		177 1 9	6333 11 5½	12077 16 11
834 8 3	..	823 5 7	109 17 1	2795 14 11		163 6 6	3767 13 9	8494 6 1
672 12 5	..	1126 15 7	128 11 1½	3820 0 3½		194 7 9	3749 4 6½	9691 11 8½
1015 0 3	..	1012 4 3	103 15 1½	5510 10 3		238 11 3	3821 19 6	11702 6 7½
..	..	1141 18 8	157 0 8	4185 18 11½		304 9 3	8522 5 4½	26111 12 10½
17292 13 1	12897 9 7½	29657 14 7	6258 13 11½	39750 9 5½		3711 12 4	69026 15 5½	190671 3 11
13651 15 5½	11905 7 4	27376 7 3½	5777 5 2½	36692 14 10		3426 2 2	63717 0 5	176001 8 1
861 0 0	..	1083 17 9	124 8 10½	3059 7 4	..	259 12 0	3333 3 3	8704 9 2½
850 15 4	100 6 2	1091 2 4	117 5 11	1599 10 6	..	303 8 11	3289 8 10½	7352 15 0½
802 17 9	141 4 2	998 19 9	111 19 10½	2034 5 1	600 12 3	293 17 11	3393 5 1	8377 1 10½
572 5 8	69 5 0½	1000 10 11	114 5 11	1092 17 6	600 12 3	299 14 3	3 24 10	7176 2 1
518 10 10½	..	812 5 10	65 5 6	938 15 9	600 12 3	278 5 1	3584 0	6707 15 11½
472 18 10½	..	..	..	325 10 1	300 6 1½	90 19 10	3535 12	4738 7
882 12 4	..	..	..	450 10 10	..	145 4	3140 2	4945 15
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3014 6	3014 6
48618 16 3½	12207 2 8½	32364 3 10½	6310 14 3½	46183 11 11	2102 2 10½	5968 4 6	93043 3 5	226
6762 6 1	4726 10 6	7770 7 10½	2198 7 9	564 6 9½	..	62 6 11	..	.
31856 10 2½	7180 12 2	24590 16 0	4112 3 4½	45619 5 1	2102 2 10½	5905 17	88032 3	

Previous to 1828 the rent was charged in the contingent account.

Not ascertained for these years.

Not ascertained for these years.

[illegible] Londonderry, pp. 133-134.

REVENUES OF THE CORPORATION.

Year	Bridge	Tonnage	Quayage.	Rent.	Town's Customs.	Tolls of Markets.	Total Amount.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1790		138 0 0	330 0 0	909 0 0	95 11 7	230 0 0	1702 11 7
1791	1530 0 0	204 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	96 0 0	232 0 0	3011 0 0
1792	1470 0 0	252 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	96 0 0	216 0 0	3013 0 0
1793	1500 0 0	204 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	96 0 0	292 0 0	3041 0 0
1794	1305 0 0	210 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	96 0 0	287 0 0	2847 0 0
1795	1400 0 0	185 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	114 15 10	320 0 0	2968 15 10
1796	1415 0 0	263 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	76 6 5	320 0 0	3023 6 5
1797	1476 0 0	228 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	92 4 10	392 0 0	3137 4 10
1798	1500 0 0	238 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	98 19 5	320 0 0	3105 19 5
1799	1590 0 0	303 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	160 15 3	281 0 0	3253 15 3
1800	1569 0 0	317 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	124 17 2	276 0 0	3235 17 2
1801	2270 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	276 0 0	3975 2 3
1802	2505 0 0	311 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	366 0 0	4300 2 3
1803	2700 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	341 0 0	4470 2 3
1804	2635 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	282 0 0	4346 2 3
1805	2865 0 0	311 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	370 0 0	4664 2 3
1806	2900 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	166 2 3	380 0 0	4709 2 3
1807	2915 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	204 3 7	425 0 0	4807 3 7
1808	3020 0 0	314 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	204 3 7	346 0 0	4833 3 7
1809	3205 0 0	246 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	264 3 7	410 0 0	5044 3 7
1810	3530 0 0	454 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	204 3 7	120 0 0	5257 3 7
1811	3455 0 0	391 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	151 7 1	375 0 0	5321 7 1
1812	3525 0 0	397 0 0	330 0 0	619 0 0	219 8 6	395 0 0	5485 8 6
1813	3580 0 0	317 0 0	330 0 0	1243 0 0	113 7 4	399 0 0	6012 7 4
1814	3750 0 0	286 0 0	500 0 0	1365 0 0	138 7 0	470 0 0	6309 7 0
1815	4200 0 0	393 0 0	500 0 0	1562 0 0	89 4 2	520 0 0	7264 4 2
1816	4000 0 0	390 0 0	500 0 0	1737 0 0	72 13 7	565 0 0	7264 13 7
1817	3920 0 0	408 0 0	500 0 0	1736 0 0	72 8 5	541 0 0	7177 8 5
1818	4050 0 0	407 0 0	500 0 0	1798 0 0	76 4 1	525 0 0	7356 4 1
1819	4360 0 0	464 0 0	500 0 0	2832 0 0	65 11 5	435 0 0	8656 11 5
1820	4055 0 0	351 0 0	500 0 0		55 18 5	525 0 0	5189 18 5
1821	4155 0 0	387 0 0	500 0 0	1384 0 0	50 12 7	362 0 0	6838 12 7
1822	4335 0 0	400 0 0	500 0 0	1723 0 0	50 12 7	175 0 0	7183 12 7
1823	4140 0 0	388 0 0	500 0 0	1823 0 0	50 12 7	260 0 0	7161 12 7
1824	4150 0 0	450 0 0	500 0 0	2514 0 0	50 12 7	537 0 0	8501 12 7
1825	4155 0 0	325 0 0	650 0 0	2084 0 0	..	400 0 0	7614 0 0
Irish.....	103130 0 0	11541 0 0	14370 0 0	36328 0 0	4217 18 8	13026 0 0	182612 18 8
British	95196 18 5½	10653 4 7¼	13264 12 3¾	33541 4 7¼	3893 9 6½	12024 0 0	168565 15 11
1826	3800 0 0	468 0 0	610 0 0	1738 2 7½	..	415 0 0	7031 2 7½
1827	3800 0 0	438 17 7	855 0 0	1896 17 5	..	523 0 0	7513 15 0
1828	3850 0 0	541 0 0	525 0 0	1889 13 6	..	422 0 0	7227 13 6
1829	3950 0 0	504 0 0	400 0 0	1804 8 3	..	320 0 0	6978 8 3
1830	3859 0 0	609 0 0	349 0 0	1805 8 11	..	425 0 0	7038 8 11
1831	3800 0 0	508 0 0	400 0 0	956 17 4	..	384 0 0	6138 17 4
1832	3888 6 0	631 0 0	338 0 0	..	..	170 0 0	5027 6 6
1833	..	..	..	..	..	150 0 0	150 0 0
Total	122135 4 5½	14143 2 2¼	16741 12 0¾	43632 12 7¾	3893 9 6½	14833 0 0	213671 7 6½
Deduct the amount from 1790 to 1803, inclusive, British.....	20520 0 0	3216 0 0	4264 12 3¾	8267 1 6½	1519 5 2	3857 10 9¼	41614 6 5½
Total from 1804, inclusive.....	101615 4 5	11227 2 2½	12476 19 11½	35365 11 1½	2374 4 4½	10975 9 2¾	174027 1 2½

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