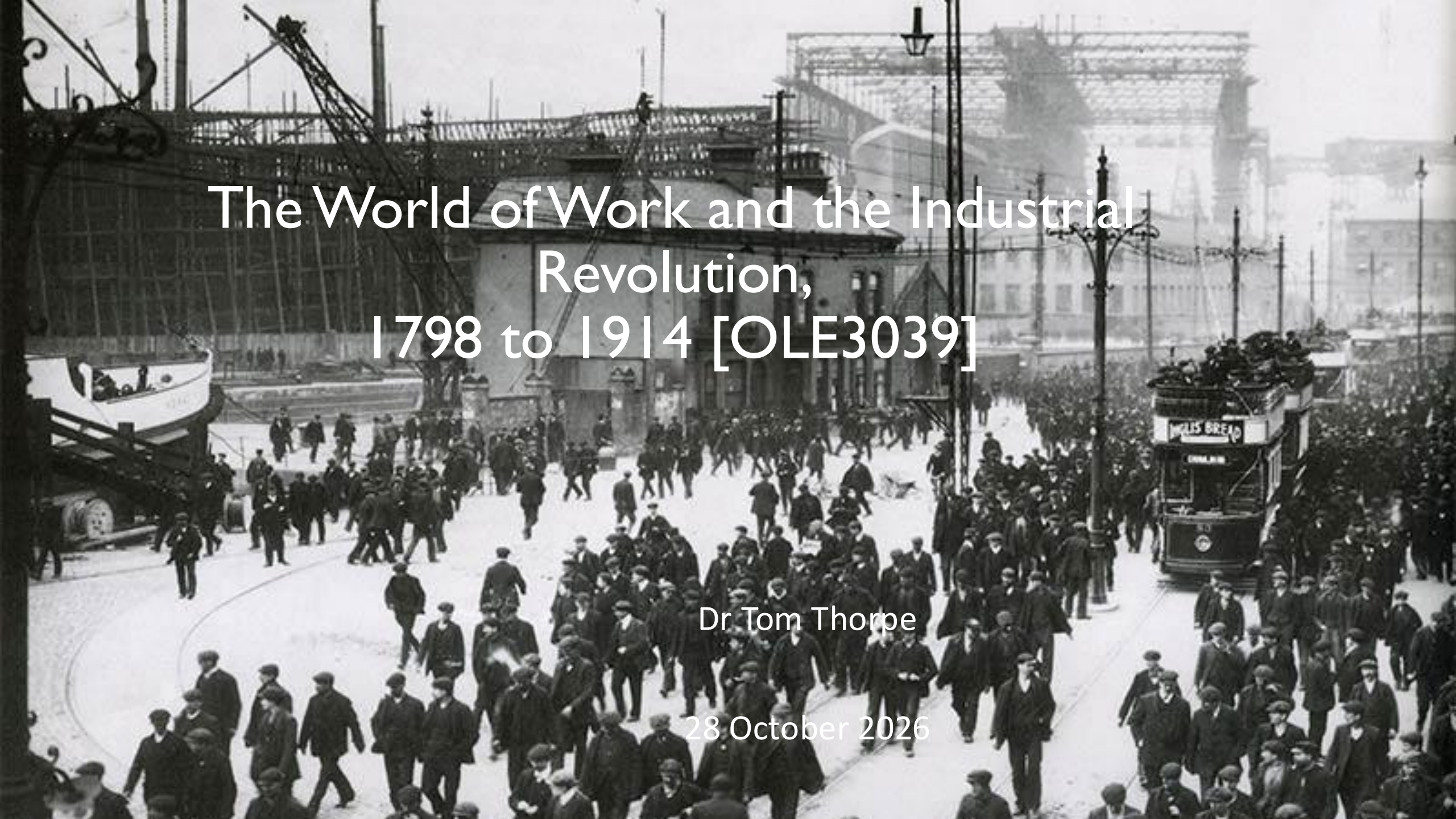


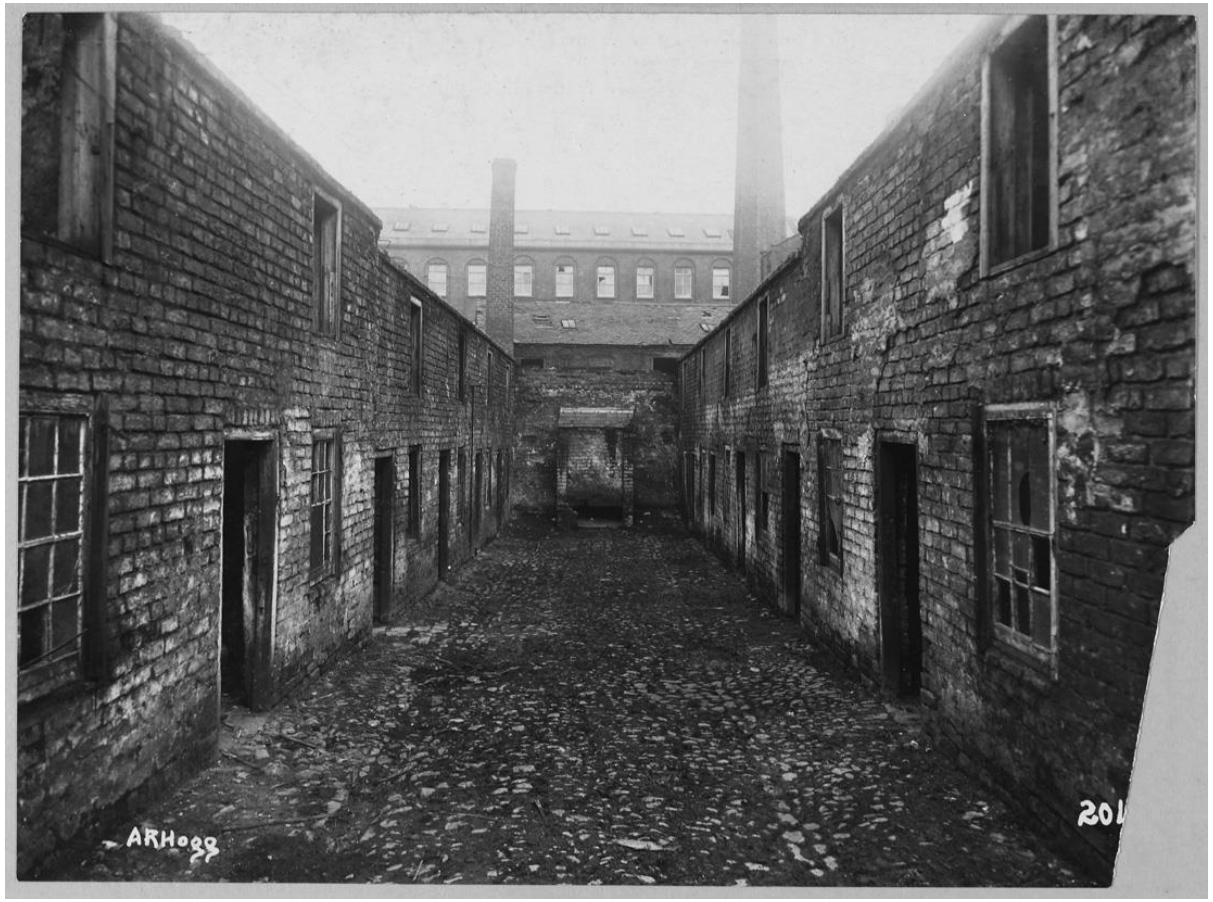
The World of Work and the Industrial Revolution, 1798 to 1914 [OLE3039]

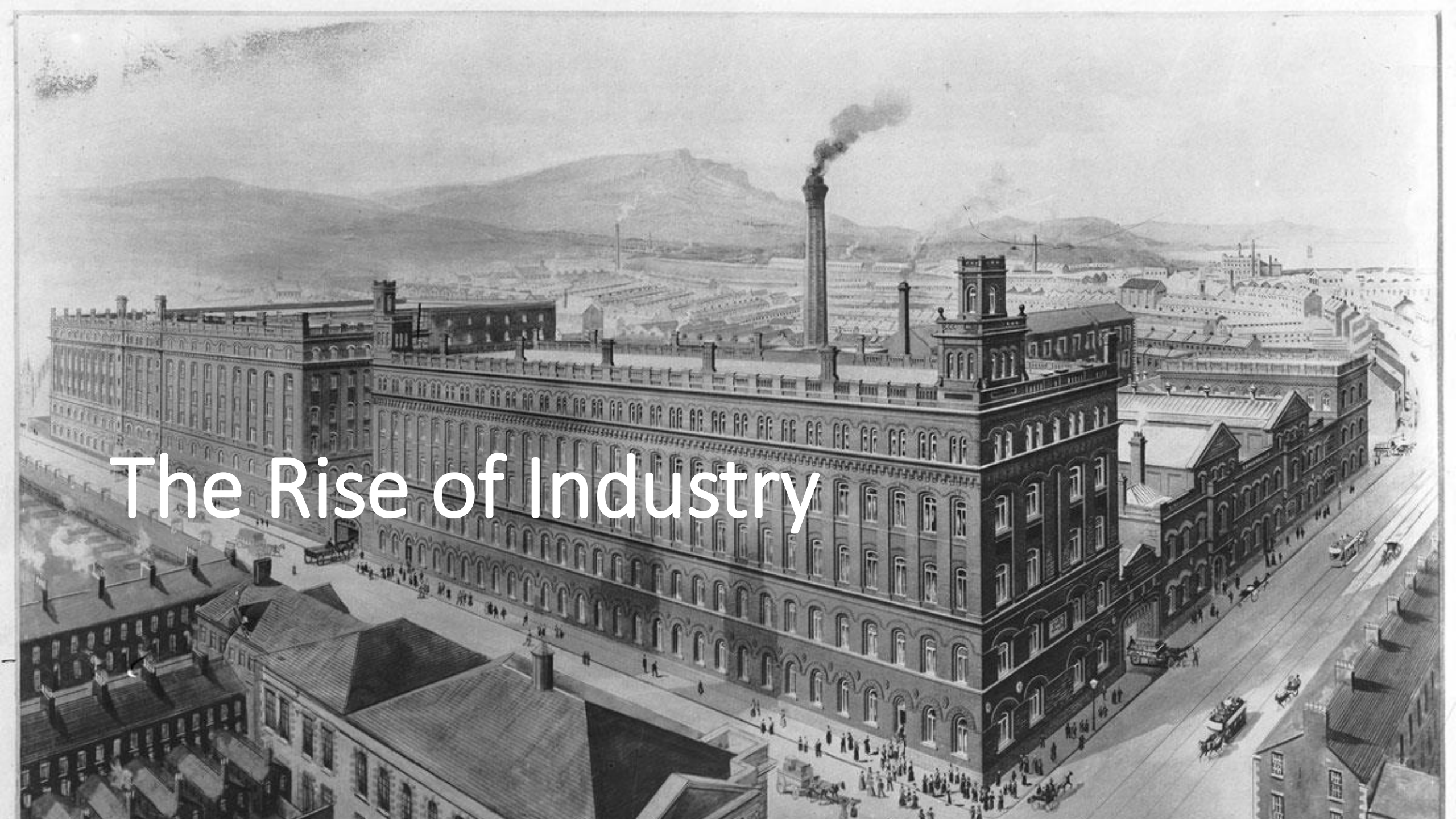
Dr Tom Thorpe

28 October 2026

Objectives

- Explore the rise of industry and how Belfast developed as an industrial city.
- Consider some of the men who turned Belfast into an industrial hub.
- Examine life at work and the experience of work.





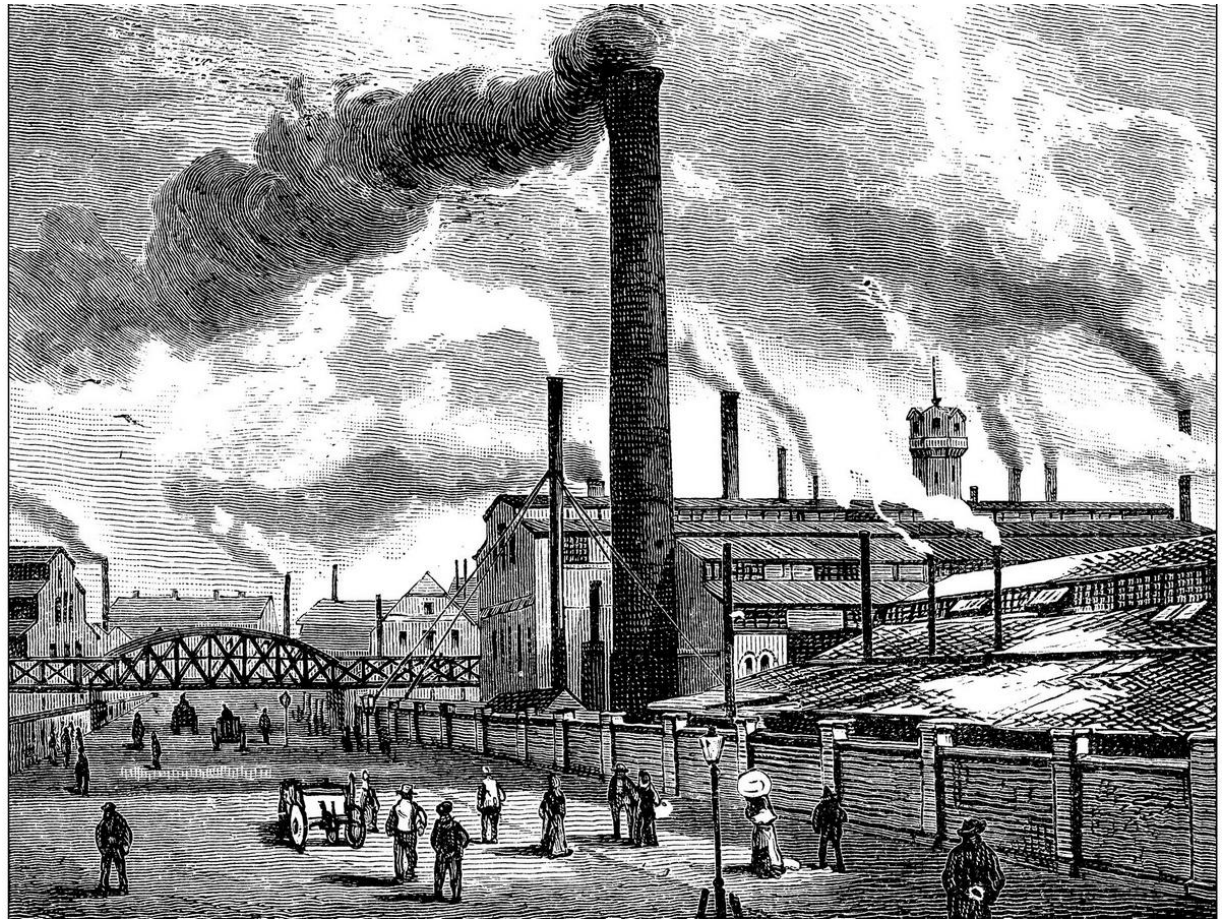
The Rise of Industry

Factors that shape the industrial revolution (1)

- Agrarian Reforms: Enclosure movements and innovations in agriculture boosted food production and freed up labor for industrial work.

- Rising Population: A growing and increasingly urbanized population provided a larger labour force and consumer base.

- New Ideas and Inventions: Intellectual movements of the Enlightenment and the development of new technologies spurred innovation.



Factors that shape the industrial revolution (2)

- Access to Capital: Accumulation of wealth, capital investment, and access to credit supported industrial ventures.

- Natural Resources: Abundant reserves of coal, iron, and other raw materials fuelled industrial growth.

- Transportation Improvements: The development of canals, roads, and later, railways, facilitated the movement of goods and people.

- Political Stability: A stable government and legal system encouraged entrepreneurship and protected property rights.



Cotton industry

- Cotton is a soft, fluffy staple fiber that grows in a boll, or protective case, around the seeds of the cotton plants of the genus Gossypium.
- The fibre is almost pure cellulose.
- The fiber is most often spun into yarn or thread and used to make a soft, breathable textile.



Birth of the cotton industry

- The Poor House introduced cotton spinning for inmates as ‘productive labour’ in 1777.
- Mills started to be erected in Belfast, both water and steam powered.
- In 1782, 25 looms, 1791, 229, 1806, 600.



Decline of the cotton industry

By 1836, cotton manufacture had almost ceased in the city. Reasons were:

- Belfast manufacturers had no incentive to cut labour costs as wages were very low.
- Cotton mills in Lancashire could produce cheaper and higher quality cotton than Belfast.
- Belfast mills had increased costs by importing coal, cotton and other raw materials.
- Linen was much more lucrative than producing cotton.



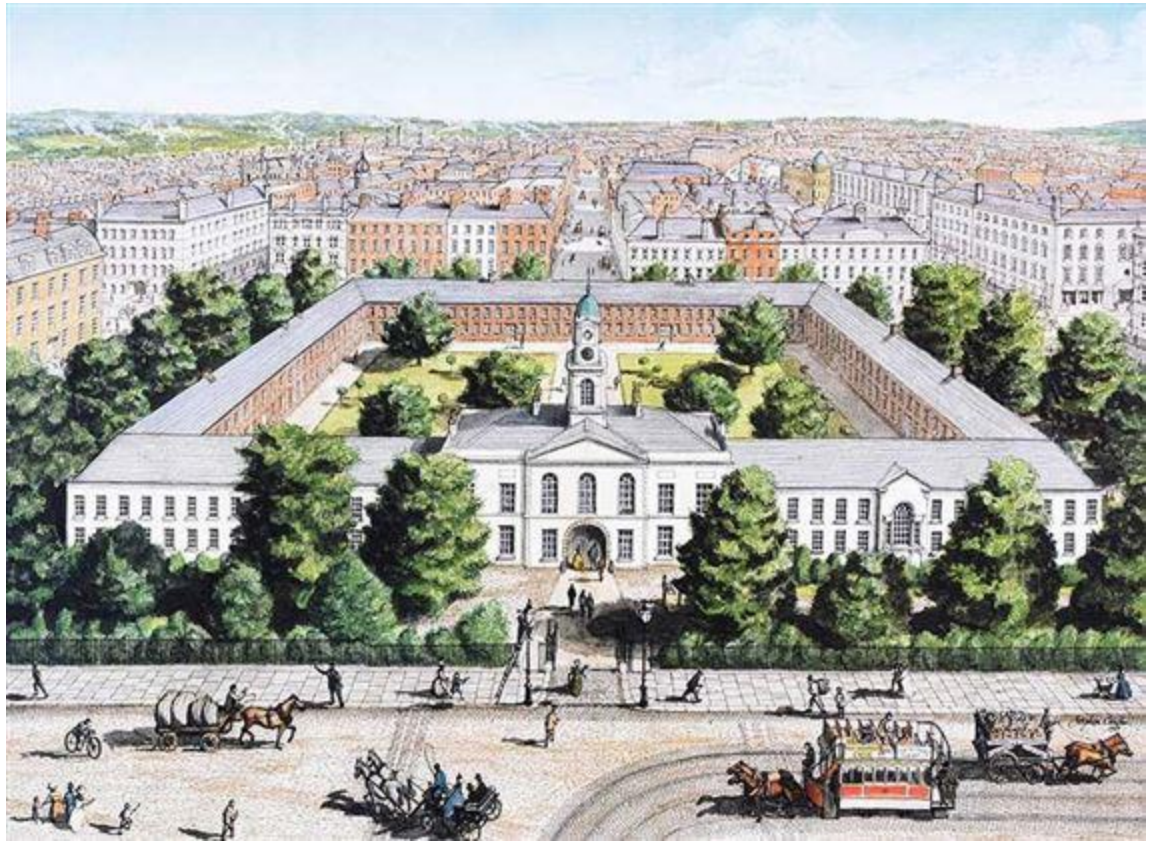
Linen

- Linen is made from Flax (Linum usitatissimum), also known as common flax or linseed, is a member of the genus Linum in the family Linaceae. It is a food and fiber crop cultivated in cooler regions of the world.
- Linen is very strong and absorbent, and dries faster than cotton. Because of these properties, linen is comfortable to wear in hot weather and is valued for use in garments.



Origins of the linen industry

- In 1699, William III sent Louis Crommelin, a Hugenout to Ireland to stimulate the linen trade. He was based in Lurgan and helped spread the trade to Lurgan and Portadown. Belfast became the main outlet for the finished product.
- 1st Linen Hall was opened in 1739.
- 2nd Linen Hall was opened in 1754 in Linenhall Street (now Donegall street). This was known as the Brown Linenhall.
- 3rd Linen Hall was opened on the site of City Hall in 1785 and was known as the White Linen Hall.
- By the end of the 18th Century, bleach greens were found on the outskirts of Belfast. These were open areas used for spreading cloth on the ground to be purified and whitened by the action of the sunlight.



Linen in the 18th century

- Belfast was one point of the production triangle for linen (Lurgan, Armagh, Lisburn) and it became increasingly important as a market place and export hub. Disputes with linen merchants in Dublin meant Belfast merchants sought to set up their own markets and distribution networks. The Brown Linen Hall was built in 1740s (for unbleached linen) and the White Line Hall set up in 1785).

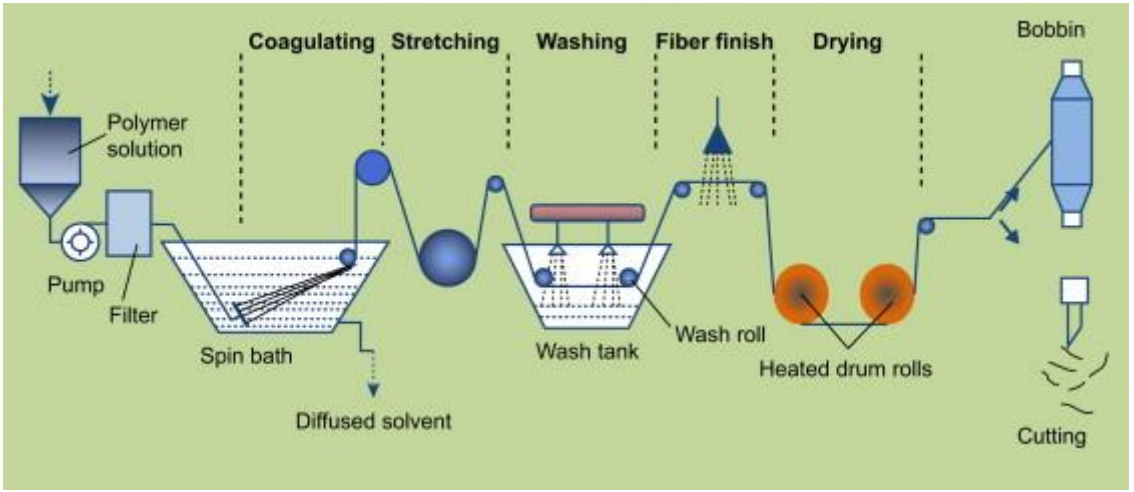
- The city also became know with innovation in the industry. 1763, Belfast doctor, James Ferguson was awarded £300 by the Linen Board in Dublin for his discovery of the addition of lime into the bleaching process.

- First ideas of mass production were in 1776 when the Belfast Newsletter advertised linen made by Nicolas Grimshaw. Grimshaw brought ideas of mass production through the use of Arkwright's water-frame and carding machine to Belfast. Robert Joy set up the first mill in Belfast in 1784 at Whitehouse.



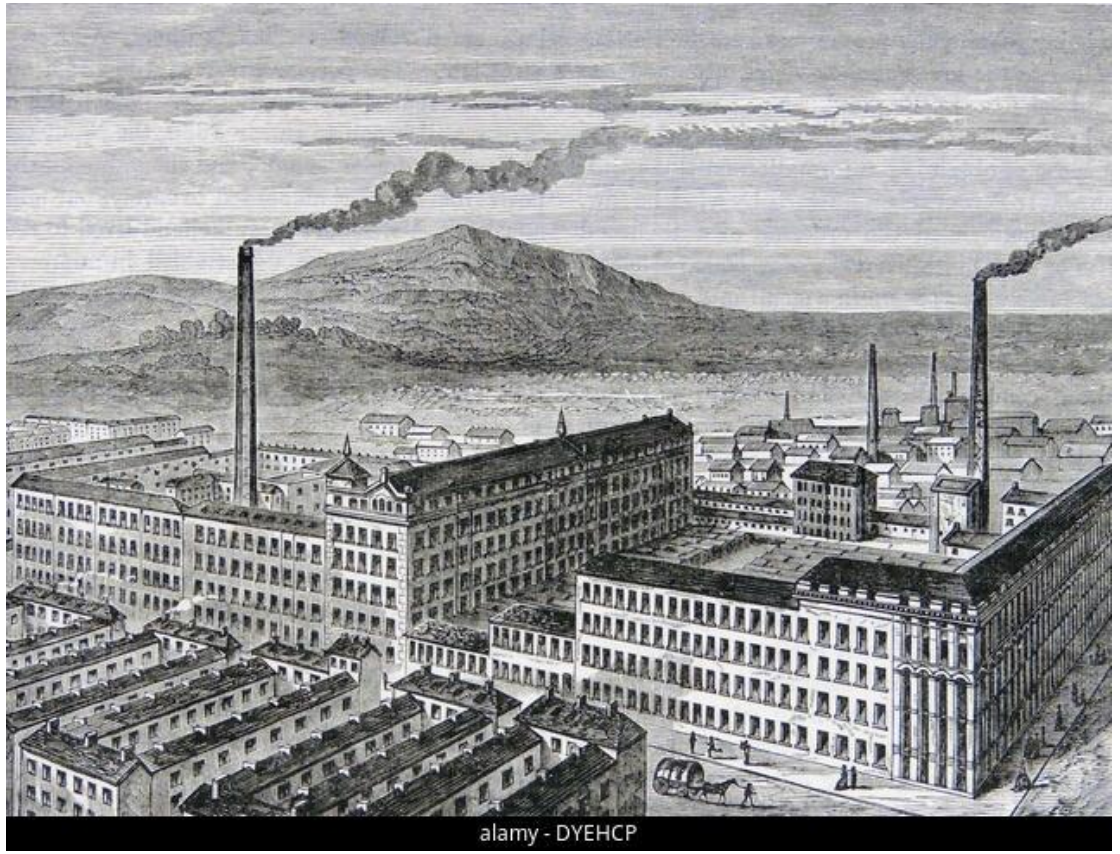
The linen breakthrough

- The success of cotton spinning inspired inventors to think of ways in which mechanisation could speed up linen production. The brittleness of the flax fibre meant that a new machine had to be invented - the cotton machines simply couldn't be converted.
- In 1825, James Kay of Preston invented a method of "wet spinning" which passed the flax through warm water and enabled a much finer yarn to be spun.
- By the late 1820s several "wet" spinning mills using water-power had been built in Ulster.



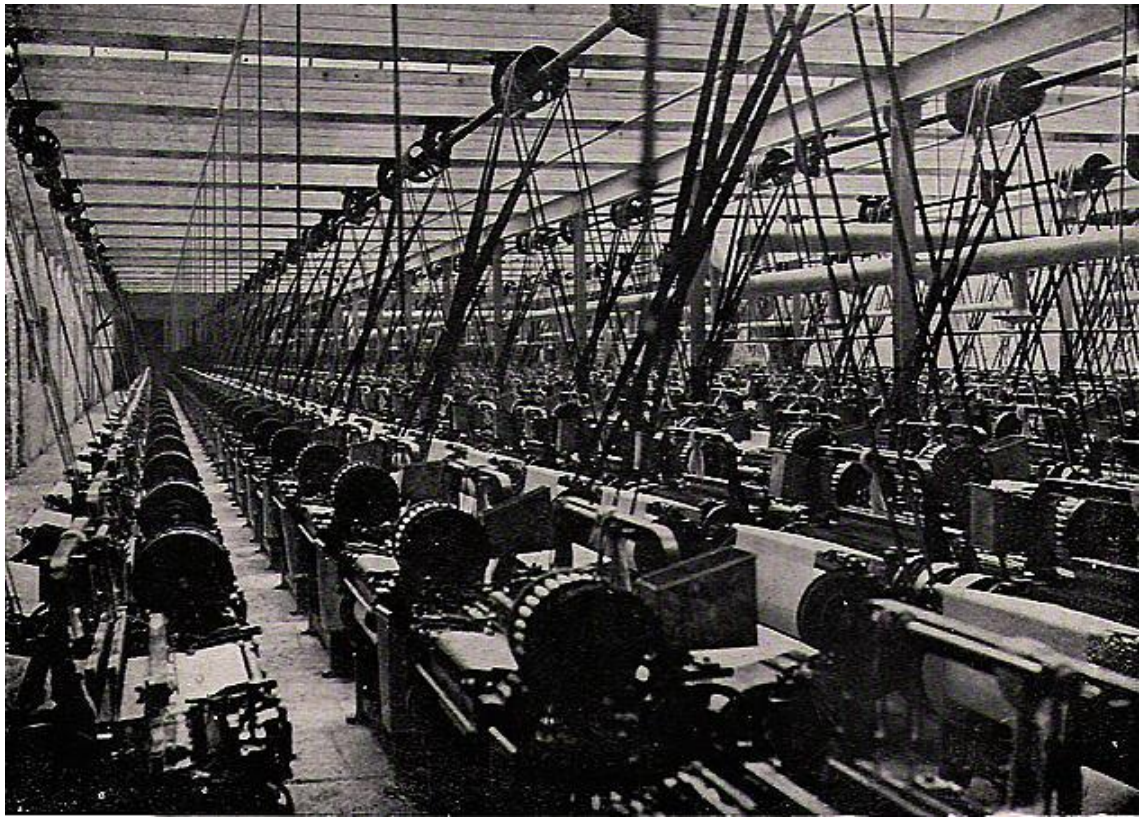
Mulholland York Street

- In 1828, the Mulholland York Street cotton mill burnt down.
- It was rebuilt as a linen mill and the first linen spun in a Belfast Mill by mechanical power in 1830.
- It started with 1,000 spindles in 1830 and had 17,000 by 1846 and 1,000 employees. In 1856, it had 25,000 spindles and was probably the biggest mill in the world.
- In 1830, there were 2 mills making power spun linen yarn, by 1846, there were 24.



Mid century boost to Linen

- In 1862, Belfast linen industry saw a massive boom. The US civil war had disrupted the US cotton supply and linen was the nearest substitute.
- Power looms had increased from 218 in 1853 to 4,900 in 1861.
- By 1867 it was 12,000 looms.
- In 1868, there was a major depression in the industry and 4,000 looms were idle.
- Linen industry remained the biggest employer. In 1871, there were 55k spingles and 69k by 1896.
- Belfast had over 80% of the spindles in the world in 1870.





Development of ship building

- Cork had been the centre of Irish ship building in the first half of the 19th century but Belfast over took it in the latter half of the century.
- Hugh and William Ritchie were the first people to build ships in Belfast launching the sail boat Hibernian in 1792.
- In 1820, the firm Richie and McLaine built their first steam ship.



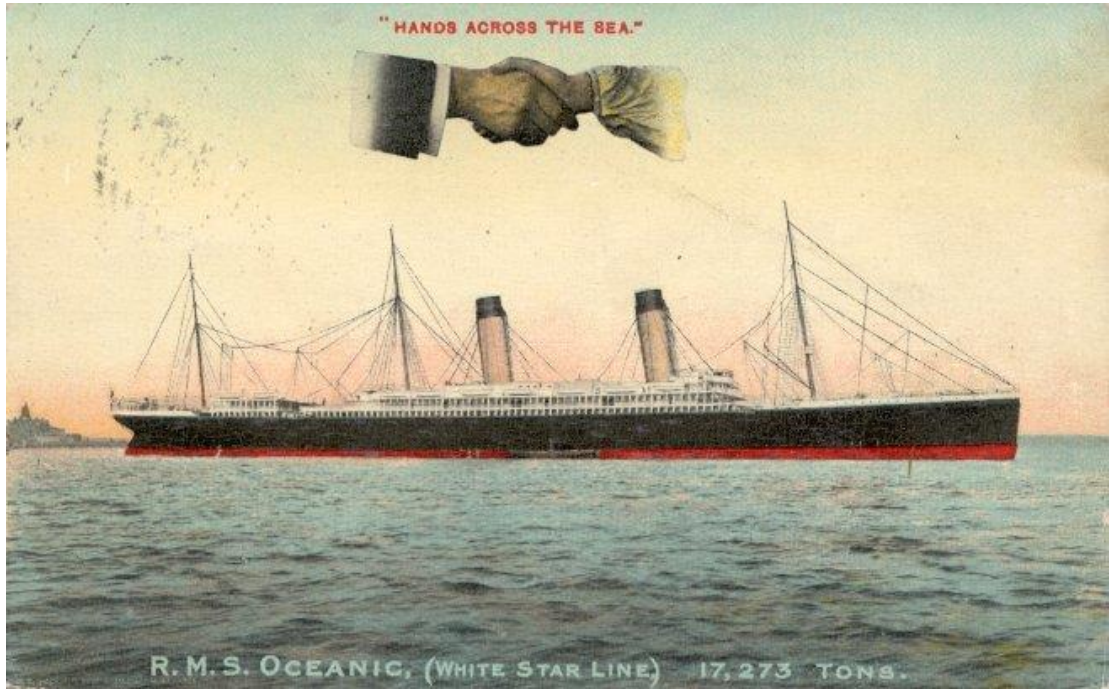
Mid-Victorian developments

- From 1851, Belfast ship building started to make iron ships launching 2 iron steam ships, 4 iron sailing boats and a paddle tug.
- Harland and Woolf was established in 1861. In the 1860's they started building compound engines driving screws rather than low pressure engines powering paddles.
- Workman, Clark and Co. established Frank Workman and George Clark in 1880. By 1895 it was the UK's fourth largest shipbuilder.
- In 1882, the global tonnage of steamships equalled the tonnage of sailing ships.



World beating ships

- In 1889, Harland and Wolff launched the *Teutonic* and *Majestic* as twin screwed ships.
- In 1871, *Oceanic* launched and this was the first ship for the White Star Line. It was the biggest ship in the world at the time weighing in at 3,888 tons and 437 feet.
- In 1899, *Oceanic II* was launched at 17,274 tones, then the biggest ship in the world
- In 1910, *Olympic* was launched, the biggest ship in the world. It weighed 45,000 tons.

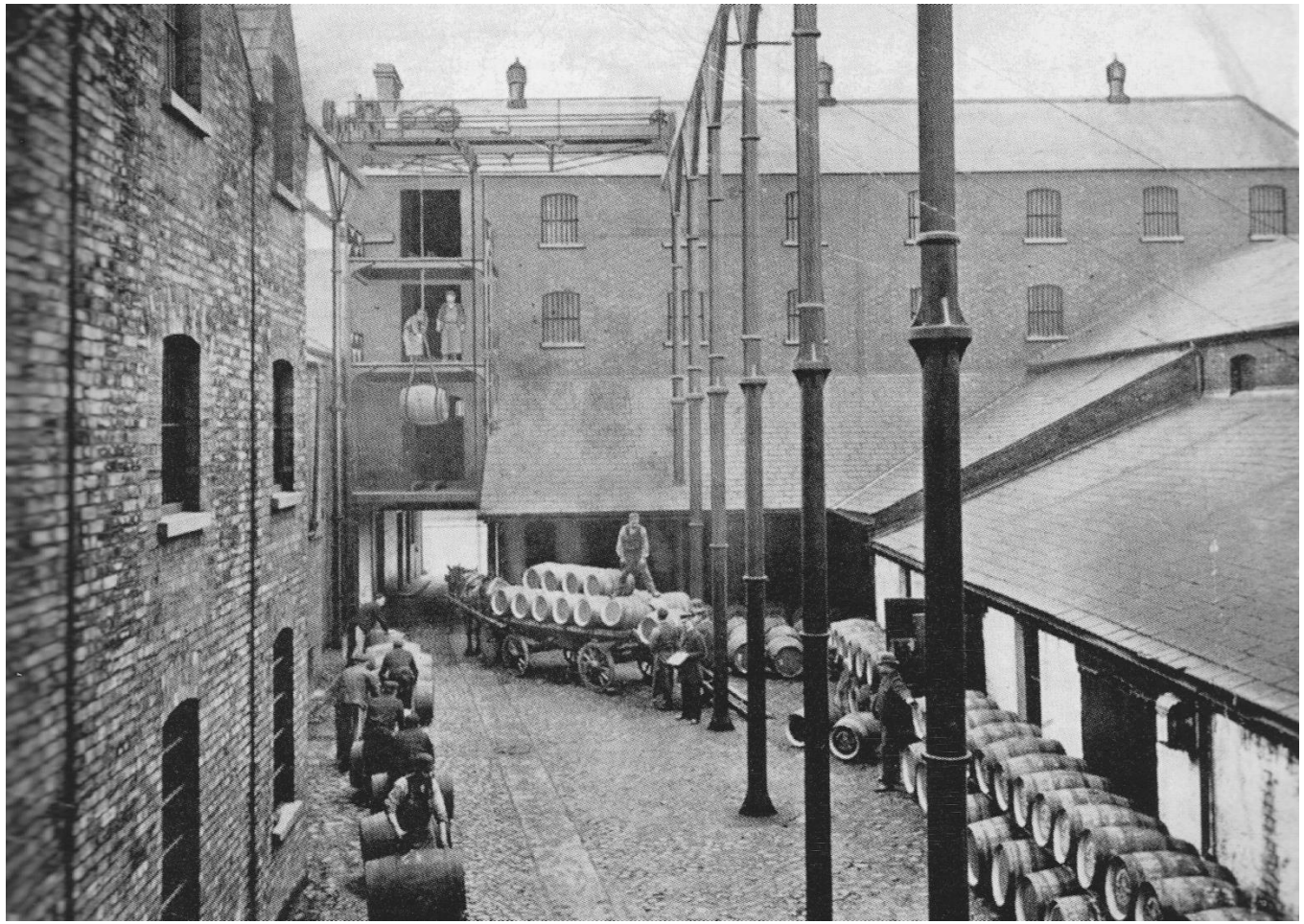


Whiskey - Dunville Distilleries

- By 1900, Belfast was responsible for well over half the total whiskey exports of Ireland
- Many were employed in successful distilleries in the city which included Irish Distillery at Connswater, East Belfast, and Avoneil distillery.
- Dunville Distillery established a plant off Grosvenor Road in 1870, and by 1890, was producing two and a half million gallons of proof spirit.



Mitchell and Co, Great George Street, 1910



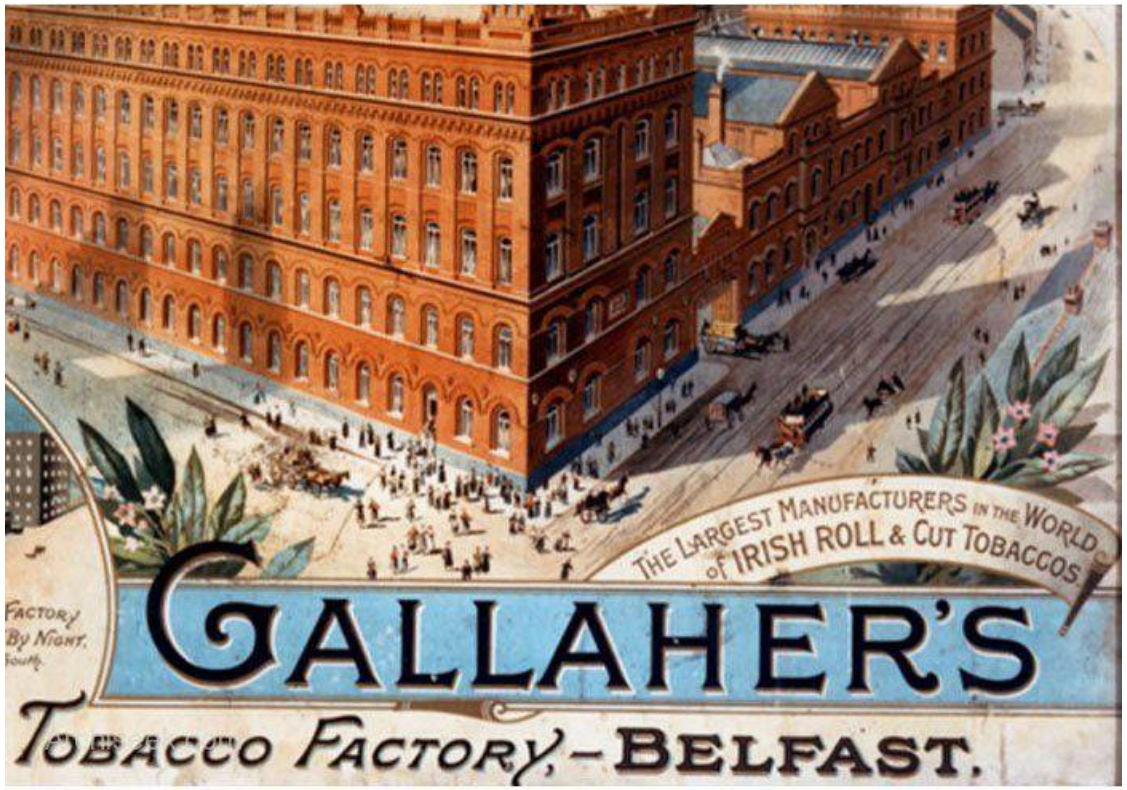
Belfast Rope Works Company

- Formed in the Queen's Island shipyard in 1873, it rapidly expanded, becoming the world's largest rope works by the turn of the century.
- 1900: employed 3,000 workers and produced rope and twine of all kinds, as well as fishing lines and nets, sash cord, and binder twine for harvesting machines.



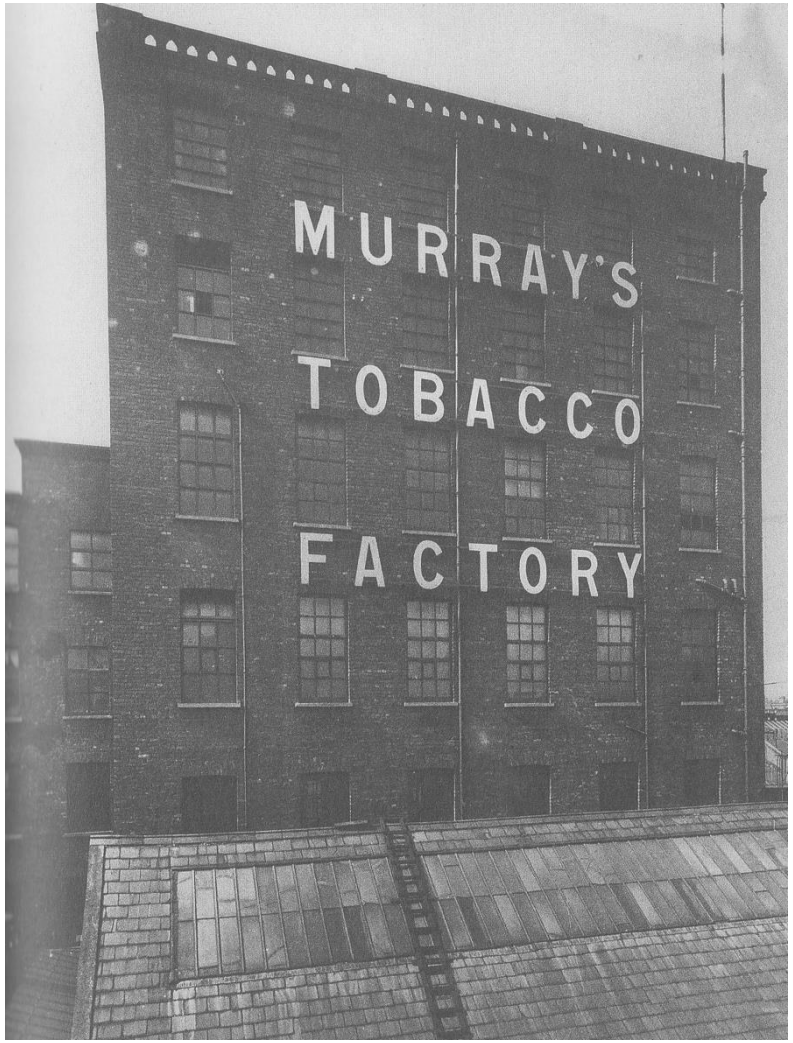
Tobacco - Gallaher

- Founded in 1857 by Tom Gallaher
- By 1896, he had opened the largest tobacco factory in the world in Belfast.
- The business was incorporated on 28 March 1896 to "carry on in all their branches the businesses of tobacco, cigar, cigarettes and snuff manufacture".
- Bonded warehouse in Connswater.
- In 1900 Thomas Gallaher wrote a cheque to H M Customs for £142,227, the largest sum they received in one go.



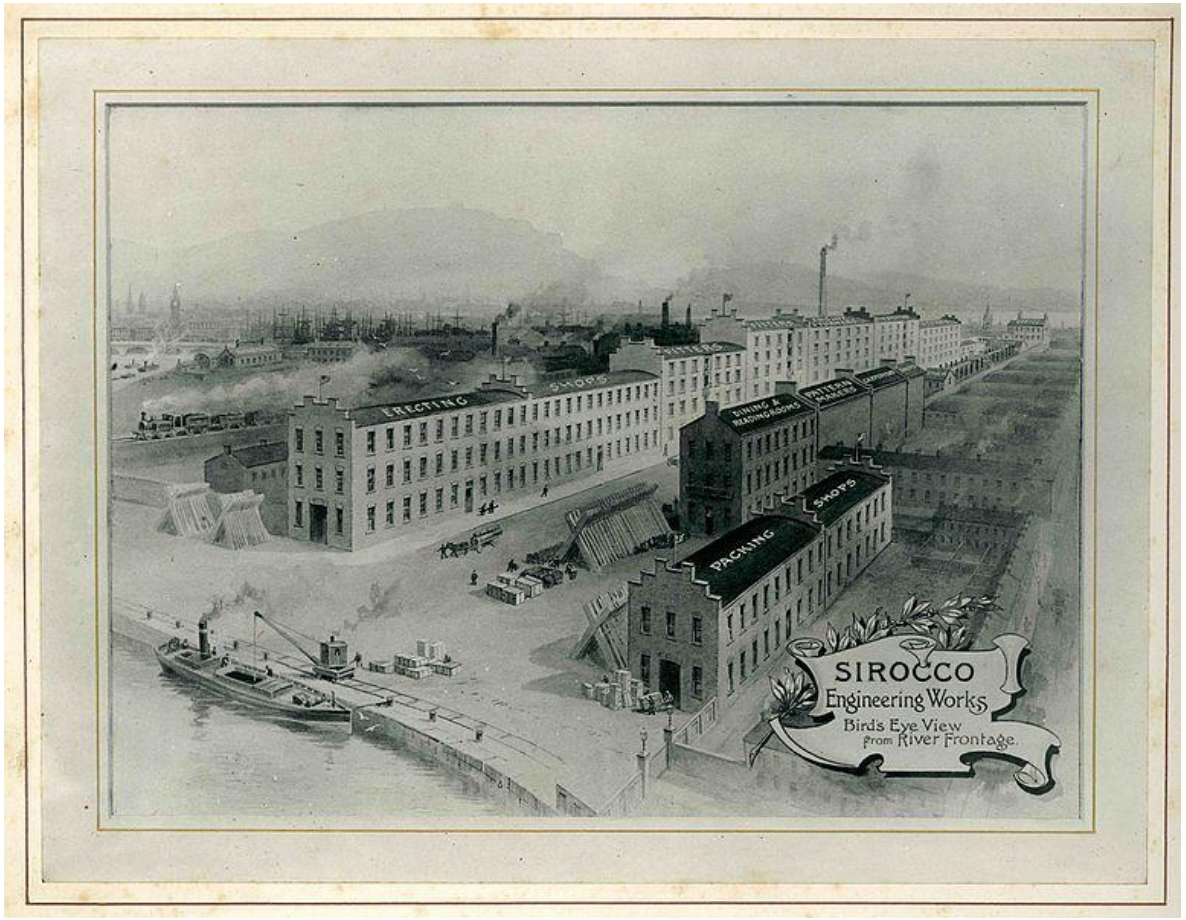
Murray's tobacco works

- Murray, Sons and Company Ltd began trading in Belfast in 1810.
- They became a limited company in 1884.
- Produced cigarettes, snuff, pipe tobacco

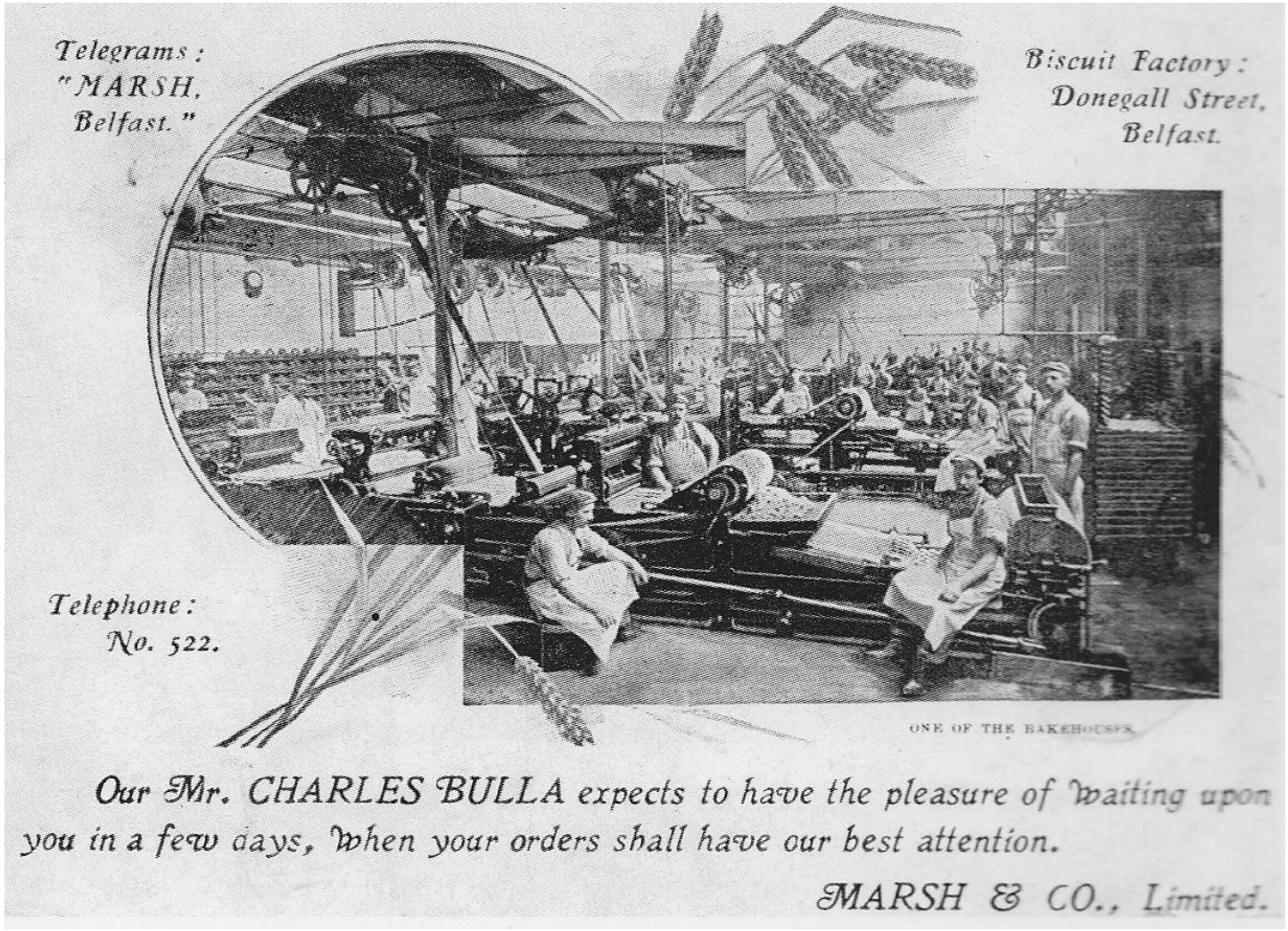


Engineering - Sirocco Works

- Sirocco Works, founded by Samuel Davidson in 1881,
- By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the world's tea drying machinery was produced by the works.
- As well as this, Sirocco Works produced a large proportion of the world's ventilation equipment (e.g. for German submarines)



Other industries…



Insurance



Banking





Who were the men that made Belfast?



Sir Edward Coey (1805-1887)

- Coey was born in Larne, and commenced work as an apprentice butcher.
- After a short period working in the US, Coey established a provisions and curing business in the dockland district of Belfast in 1841, called Coey & Co.
- This business was very successful, and led to Coey developing his business interests including property in Belfast, London, Liverpool and in the United States.
- In 1861 became the first and only Liberal to serve as Mayor of Belfast.



Bernard (Barney) Hughes (c.1805 - 1878)

- Bernard (Barney) Hughes was born in Armagh.
- Started work as a baker's boy in 1820; moved to Belfast in 1826.
- He worked in a small bakery in Church Lane and later in the Public Bakery in Church Street, becoming manager 1833.
- In 1840 he opened his own bakery business in Donegall Street.
- By 1870, Hughes owned the largest milling and baking enterprise in Ireland.
- Liberal councillor.



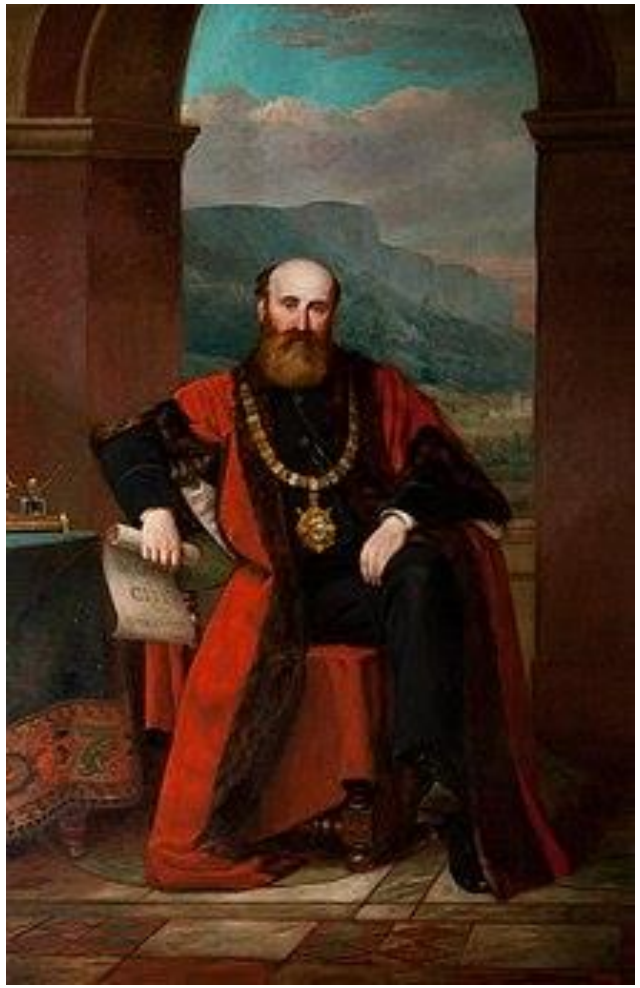
Sir Edward James Harland, 1st Baronet (1831-1895)

- Born in Scarborough; educated at Edinburgh Academy.
- Engineering apprentice at Robert Stephenson and Company in Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Moved to Belfast in 1854 to manage Robert Hickson's ship building yard.
- 1861: formed a business partnership with Gustave Wolff.
- Conservative MP, Mayor and councilor.
- Built many famous ships!



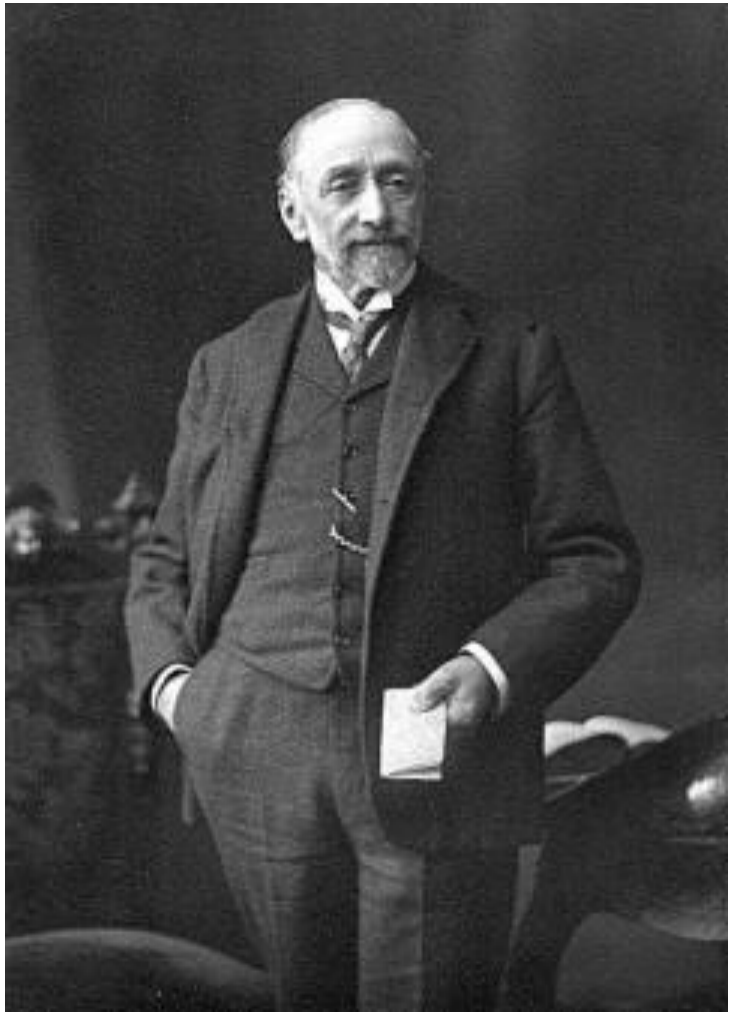
James Horner Haslett (1832-1905)

- Born in Knock, Belfast, the son of the Rev. Henry Haslett of Castlereagh, County Down
- Educated at Academical Institute Belfast and became a chemist and druggist. Known as ‘oily jack’.
- He was an alderman, and a Justice of the Peace (J.P.) of Belfast
- Mayor for 1887-8, 1888-9.



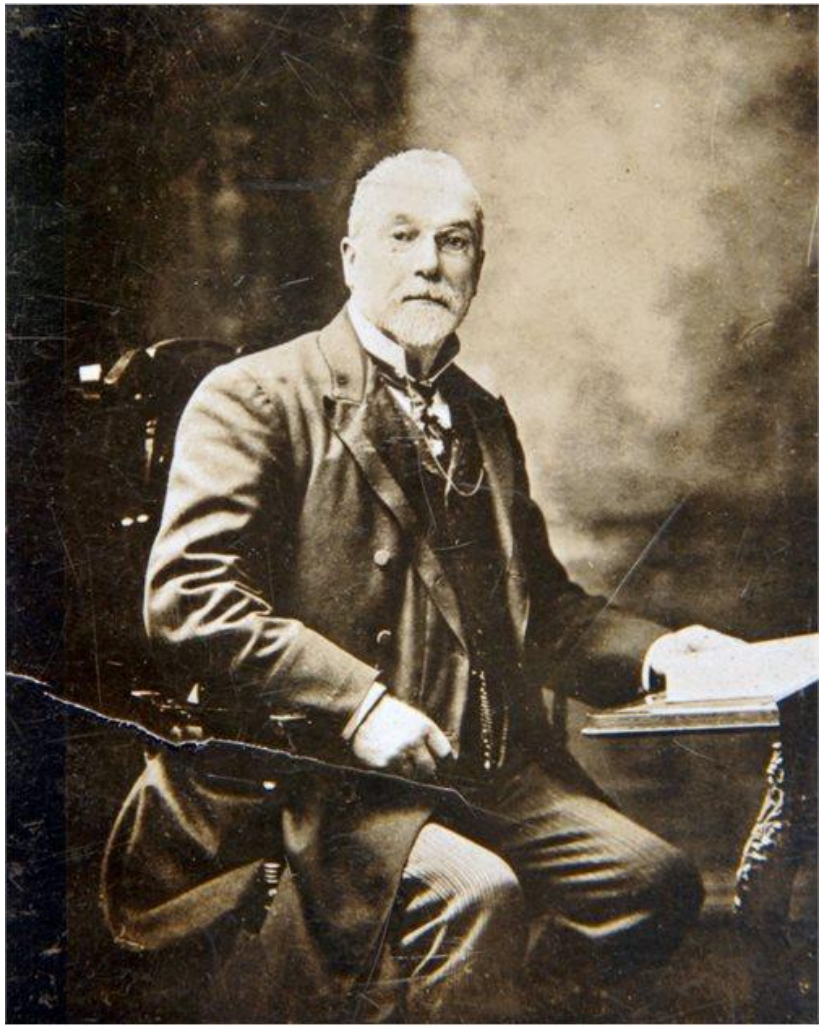
Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (1834-1913)

- Born in Hamburg, emigrated to England in 1849.
- After serving his apprenticeship in Manchester, Wolff was employed as a draughtsman in Hyde, Greater Manchester, before being employed by the shipbuilder Edward Harland in Belfast as his personal assistant.
- In 1861, Wolff became a partner at Harland's firm, forming Harland and Wolff. Outside shipbuilding.
- Wolff served as a Belfast Harbour Commissioner. He also founded the Belfast Ropeworks, served as Member of Parliament for Belfast East for 18 years and as a member of the Conservative and Unionist Party and Irish and Ulster Unionist parties.



Thomas Gallaher (1840-1928)

- Thomas Gallaher was born in Templemoyle, Co. Londonderry in 1840. At the age of 15, he was apprenticed in a firm specialising in importing tea and tobacco.
- He quickly picked up the basics of the trade and in 1857 started his own one-man business hand-rolling tobacco and selling it from a cart.
- His success, ambition and drive soon led him to open premises and in 1863 he moved to Belfast on Hercules St and later settled at the well known York Street site.
- Gallaher made his first journey across the Atlantic to America to buy his own tobacco leaf in the 1870s.
- Tom Gallaher's forceful personality and his shrewd grasp of all aspects of the industry earned him the title of 'Tobacco King'. Tom Foster, a former employee, recalls that it was a regular Saturday lunch-time practice for the old man to fill his pockets with twists of tobacco which he handed out to the unemployed men who usually gathered outside the factory. At the same time, of course, he cursed them roundly for being idle.
- Source: https://www.nmni.com/story/gallahers-tobacco#1



Sir Daniel Dixon, 1st Baronet (1844-1907)

- Born on 28 March 1844 the son of Thomas and Sarah Dixon of Larne, County Antrim, his father was a merchant and shipowner.
- Educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution.
- He joined his father's timber business, Thomas Dixon and Sons, becoming a partner in 1864.
- He served as Mayor of Belfast in 1892 and as Lord Mayor of Belfast in three terms; 1893, 1901 to 1903, and 1905 to 1906.
- He was also a Member of Parliament for Belfast North as an Irish Unionist from 1905 to 1907.



Samuel Cleland Davidson (1846-1921)

- Born in County Down; his father was a flour mill owner and tea importer
- Educated at Inst.
- Started work at 15 at William Hastings, a Belfast civil engineering firm.
- In 1864, went to work for his father. Worked on estates in India owned by his father.
- Developed tea drying machinery, fans and air circulation machinery.



Sir Crawford McCullagh, 1st Baronet (1868-1948)

- He grew up in County Armagh, the fifth of six children of tenant famer Robert McCullagh
- Apprentice in the drapery trade at the age of 14 in 1872.
- Worked for Roberston, Ledlie and Ferguson in the Bank Buildings in Belfast.
- Opened his own shop in 1894; brought new premises in Castle Lane in 1905 and built current Castle Buildings.
- Moved into property and investments.
- Lord Mayor for a record 17 times.
- Staunch unionist, presbyterian and conservative.



Why were they successful?

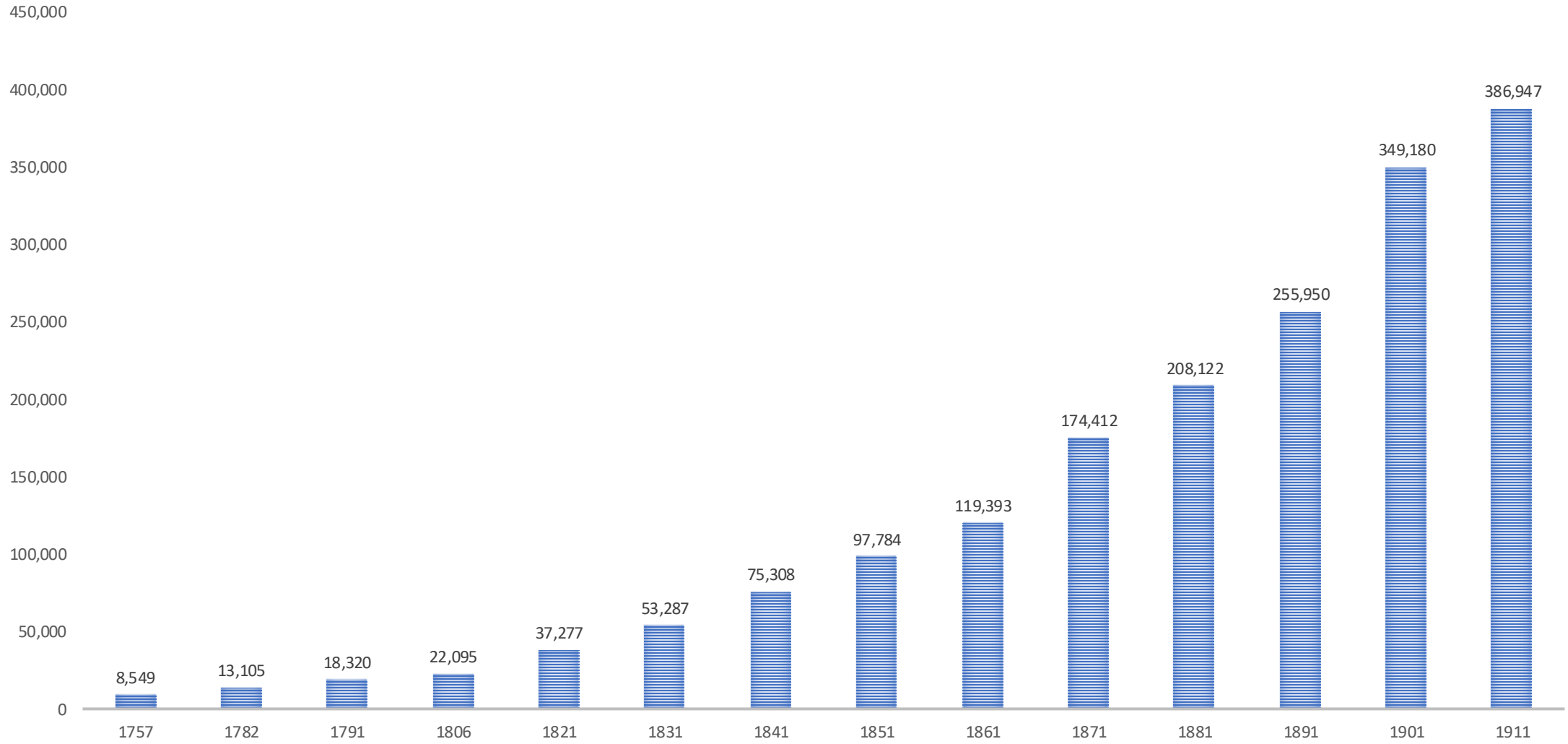
- Opportunities created by:
  - Expanding British population
  - British colonial expansion
  - New technologies – mechanisation, coal power, developments in science/industry
  - Belfast's geographical location
  - Cheap labour, divided workforce?
- Victorian enterprise culture
- Presbyterian work ethic?





The Work Force

Belfast population, 1757 to 1911



Overview: religious composition

Table 3: Religious Composition of Belfast Population, 1757-1891

Year	Total Population	No.of Catholics	% of Total
1757	8,549	556	6%
1784	13,000	1,092	8%
1808	25,000	4,000	16%
1834	60,803	19,712	32.4%
1861	119,444	41,237	34.1%
1871	174,412	55,575	28.8%
1881	208,122	59,975	28.8%
1891	255,950	67,378	26.8%

Source: I. Budge and C. O'Leary, *Belfast: Approach to Crisis*, (London, 1973), p. 28, p. 32.

Belfast workforce in 1790

Table 1: Occupational Structure of Belfast, c. 1790

Employing 15-39 workers:		*Employing 40-99 workers:*		*Employing over 100 workers:*	
Staymakers	15	Nailors	41	Tailors	100
Hosiers	16	Cabinetmakers	40	Coopers	115
Painters	17	Tanners	45	Carpenters	169
Saddlers	22	Bakers	67	Shoemakers	312
Watchmakers	22	Masons	68	Weavers	679
Chandlers	29	Smiths	69	Total	1,375
Barbers	30	Total	330		
Ropers	35				
Sawyers	37				
Hatters	38				
Butchers	39				
Total	300				

Source: Adapted from D. J. Owen, *History of Belfast*, (Belfast, 1921), p. 152.

Workforce in 1850

Table 2: Occupations Employing Over 100 Workers (over 15 years of age), Belfast 1851

Occupation	Male Workers	Female Workers
Ministering to Food:		
Farmers' Labourers and Servants	897	73
Gardners	100	-
Bakers	334	-
Tobacco Twisters	121	-
Huxters and Provision Dealers	105	21
Butchers	216	-
Grocers	339	83
Tavern Keepers and Vintners	274	67
Total (including occupations with less than 100 workers)	3,280	454
Ministering to Clothing:		
Flax Dressers	537	16
Spinners of Flax	32	532
Spinners (unspecified)	-	243
Factory Workers and Overseers	639	2,901
Weavers of Muslin and Cotton	936	298
Weavers of Damask and Linen	655	219
Weavers (unspecified)	461	926
Bleachers	123	18
Linen, Muslin and Cotton Lappers	119	9
Boot and Shoe Makers	1,139	-
Tailors and Vestmakers	616	11
Dressmakers	-	1,316
Milliners	-	317
Embroiderers	2	989
Sempstresses	-	1,461
Bonnet Makers	-	153
Drapers	147	5
Total (including occupations with less than 100 workers)	6,286	10,491
Ministering to Lodging, Furniture, Machinery, etc:		
Stonecutters	200	-
Stonemasons	194	-
Potter, Tile and Brick Makers	149	11
Bricklayers	261	-
Sawyers	248	-
Carpenters	939	-
Cabinetmakers	208	-
Coopers	264	-
Shipwrights	239	-
Miners	460	-
Iron Founders and Moulders	135	-
Blacksmiths	390	-
Nailers	140	-
Whitesmiths	140	-
Braziers and Cooper Smiths	102	-
Tinplate Workers	119	2
Copperplate Printers	311	-
Painters and Glaziers	349	-
Rope and Twine Makers	203	1
Total (including occupations with less than 100 workers)	7,621	241

Source: Census of Ireland for the Year 1851, pp. 414-416

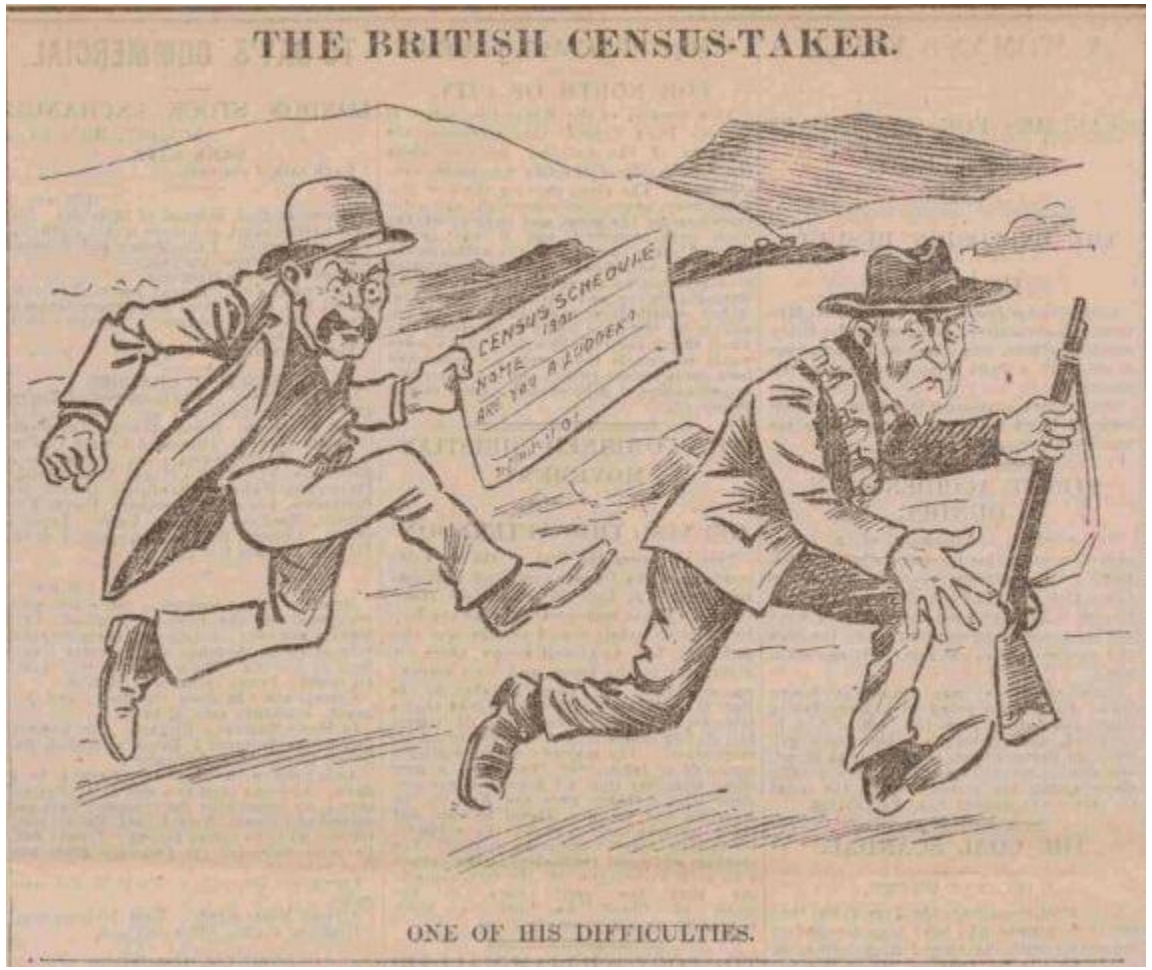
1901 Census – Classes and suborders

has been tabulated under the head of "Grocer."

Classes, Orders, and Sub-Orders.	All Ages.			Under 20 Years of Age.		20 Years of Age and upwards.	
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
ALL PERSONS,	349,180	161,616	187,564	74,800	75,599	86,816	111,965
PERSONS of SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS and CONDITIONS,	164,314	101,789	62,525	18,790	17,209	82,999	45,316
CLASSES.							
I. PROFESSIONAL CLASS,	9,644	6,808	2,836	1,113	597	5,695	2,239
II. DOMESTIC CLASS,	12,354	1,862	10,492	308	1,725	1,554	8,767
III. COMMERCIAL CLASS,	19,620	18,120	1,500	3,829	546	14,291	954
IV. AGRICULTURAL CLASS,	1,421	1,387	34	112	6	1,275	28
V. INDUSTRIAL CLASS,	121,275	73,612	47,663	13,428	14,335	60,184	33,328
VI. INDEFINITE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE CLASS,	184,866	59,827	125,039	56,010	58,390	3,817	66,649

1901 Census

- Protestant workers had monopolised many of the skilled trades. A high proportion Catholics were in unskilled roles.
- In the 1901 census showed that:
  - Catholics made up 24% of the skilled work force.
  - Catholics made up 41% of the dockers, half of the flax spinners and one third were general labouerers.



1911 Census: the workforce of Belfast

• Professional class	10,340
• Domestic class	11,075
• Commercial class	23,231
• Agricultural class	1,477
• Industrial class	129,371
• Non productive class	211,453
Total population	386,947

Workforce = 175,494 (36% women)

Civil service /local gov

Women

Men

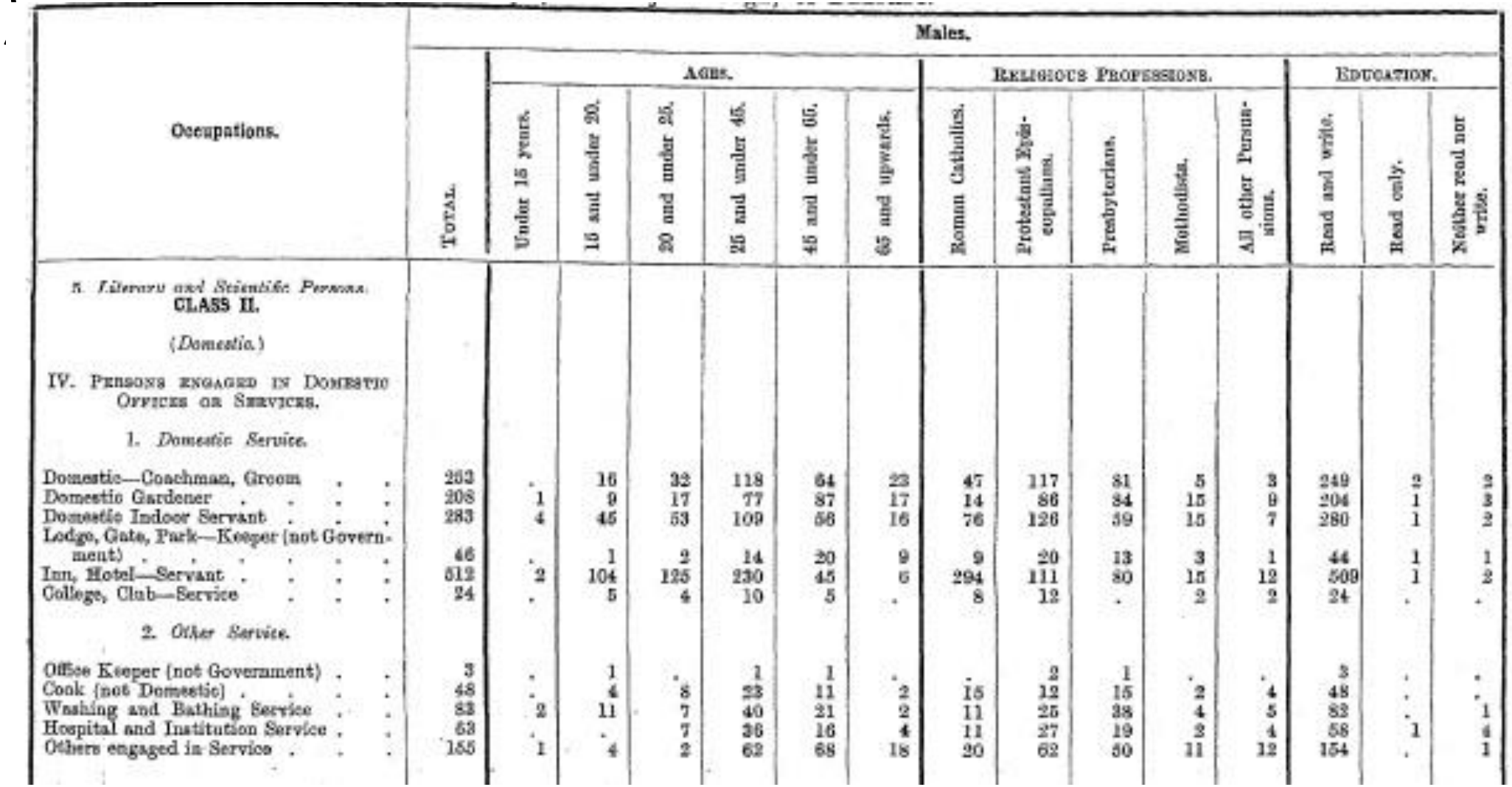
Occupations.	Females.														
		Ages.						Religious Professions.					Education.		
	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Denominations.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
CLASS I.															
(Professional).															
ORDER I. PERSONS ENGAGED IN THE GENERAL OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY.															
1. National Government.															
Civil Service (Officers and Clerks)	151	.	31	29	74	16	1	31	32	64	17	7	151	.	.
Prison Officer, &c.	17	.	.	4	12	1	.	10	4	3	.	.	17	.	.
2. Local Government.															
Municipal, Parish, Union, District—Officer	16	.	.	3	12	1	.	3	3	8	.	2	16	.	.
Peer of the Realm, Representative Peer, M.P., Privy Councillor (not otherwise described)	4	.	.	.	2	.	2	.	1	3	.	.	4	.	.
Civil Service (Officers and Clerks)	520	3	15	54	272	172	4	156	164	137	25	38	520	.	.
Civil Service (Messengers, &c.)	425	57	56	36	128	44	4	147	115	99	24	40	425	.	.
Prison Officer, &c.	52	.	.	4	30	17	1	32	9	8	1	2	52	.	.
2. Local Government.															
Police	1,061	.	.	78	808	175	.	501	371	150	35	4	1,061	.	.
Municipal Parish, Union, District—Officer	344	.	11	21	194	102	16	31	119	150	25	19	344	.	.
Other Local or County Official	55	.	2	2	12	16	23	13	18	19	3	2	55	.	.
3. East India and Colonial Service.															
East India and Colonial Service	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.

Medical professionals

Occupations.	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Persuasions.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
3. *Medical Profession.*															
Physician, Surgeon, General Practitioner	209	.	.	9	110	77	13	18	41	115	21	14	209	.	.
Dentist, Assistant	193	1	34	48	91	19	.	40	55	76	9	13	193	.	.
Medical—Student, Assistant . .	146	1	29	64	51	1	.	26	27	73	12	8	146	.	.
Subordinate Medical Service . .	23	.	1	.	14	6	2	4	10	7	2	.	23	.	.

3. *Medical Profession.*															
Physician, Surgeon, General Practitioner	4	.	.	.	3	1	.	.	2	2	.	.	4	.	.
Dentist, Assistant	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.
Medical—Student, Assistant . .	7	.	3	2	2	.	.	3	.	3	1	.	7	.	.
Midwife	66	.	.	2	40	20	4	11	19	26	4	6	66	.	.
Subordinate Medical Service . .	554	.	19	148	306	68	13	157	167	175	32	23	552	2	.
Hospital Certificated Nurse . . .	99	.	.	3	77	12	7	16	38	32	9	4	99	.	.

Class 2 – Domestic class (11,075 (84% women)



Occupations.	Males.														
		Ages.						Religious Professions.					Education.		
	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Persuasions.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
5. *Literary and Scientific Persons.* **CLASS II.** (*Domestic.*) IV. Persons engaged in Domestic Offices or Services. 1. *Domestic Service.*															
Domestic—Coachman, Groom	263	.	16	32	118	64	23	47	117	81	5	3	249	2	12
Domestic Gardener	208	1	9	17	77	87	17	14	86	84	15	9	204	1	3
Domestic Indoor Servant	283	4	45	53	109	56	16	76	126	39	15	7	280	1	2
Lodge, Gate, Park—Keeper (not Government)	46	.	1	2	14	20	9	9	20	13	3	1	44	1	1
Inn, Hotel—Servant	512	2	104	125	230	45	6	294	111	30	15	12	509	1	2
College, Club—Service	24	.	5	4	10	5	.	8	12	.	2	2	24	.	.
2. *Other Service.*															
Office Keeper (not Government)	3	.	1	.	1	1	.	.	2	1	.	.	3	.	.
Cook (not Domestic)	48	.	4	8	23	11	2	15	12	15	2	4	48	.	.
Washing and Bathing Service	83	2	11	7	40	21	2	11	25	38	4	5	82	.	1
Hospital and Institution Service	63	.	.	7	36	16	4	11	27	19	2	4	58	1	4
Others engaged in Service	155	1	4	2	62	68	18	20	62	50	11	12	154	.	1

TABLE XX.—*continued.*—OCCUPATIONS of *FEMALES* by AGES, RELIGIOUS

Occupations.	Females.														
		AGES.						RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS.					EDUCATION.		
	Totals.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Denominations.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
CLASS II.															
(Domestic.)															
IV. PERSONS ENGAGED IN DOMESTIC OFFICES OR SERVICES.															
1. *Domestic Service.*															
Domestic Gardener	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	2	.	.
Domestic Indoor Servant	6,360	52	916	1,505	2,540	942	406	2,726	1,703	1,596	161	174	6,014	152	194
Inn, Hotel—Servant	290	3	48	92	142	15	.	119	80	66	12	13	287	.	3
College, Club—Service	27	.	6	7	11	3	.	3	8	15	1	.	26	1	.
2. *Other Service.*															
Office Keeper (not Government)	8	.	.	.	3	5	.	5	2	1	.	.	7	.	1
Cook (not Domestic)	32	.	1	3	15	12	2	18	8	4	1	2	32	1	.
Charwoman	614	.	7	21	248	285	73	192	215	171	23	13	468	56	90
Washing and Bathing Service	1,991	38	274	348	853	316	74	649	637	491	72	52	1,789	40	72
Hospital and Institution Service (excluding Nurses)	103	.	1	7	53	31	11	10	49	34	4	6	88	2	13
Others engaged in Service	59	1	2	6	20	26	4	12	19	18	4	6	55	1	3

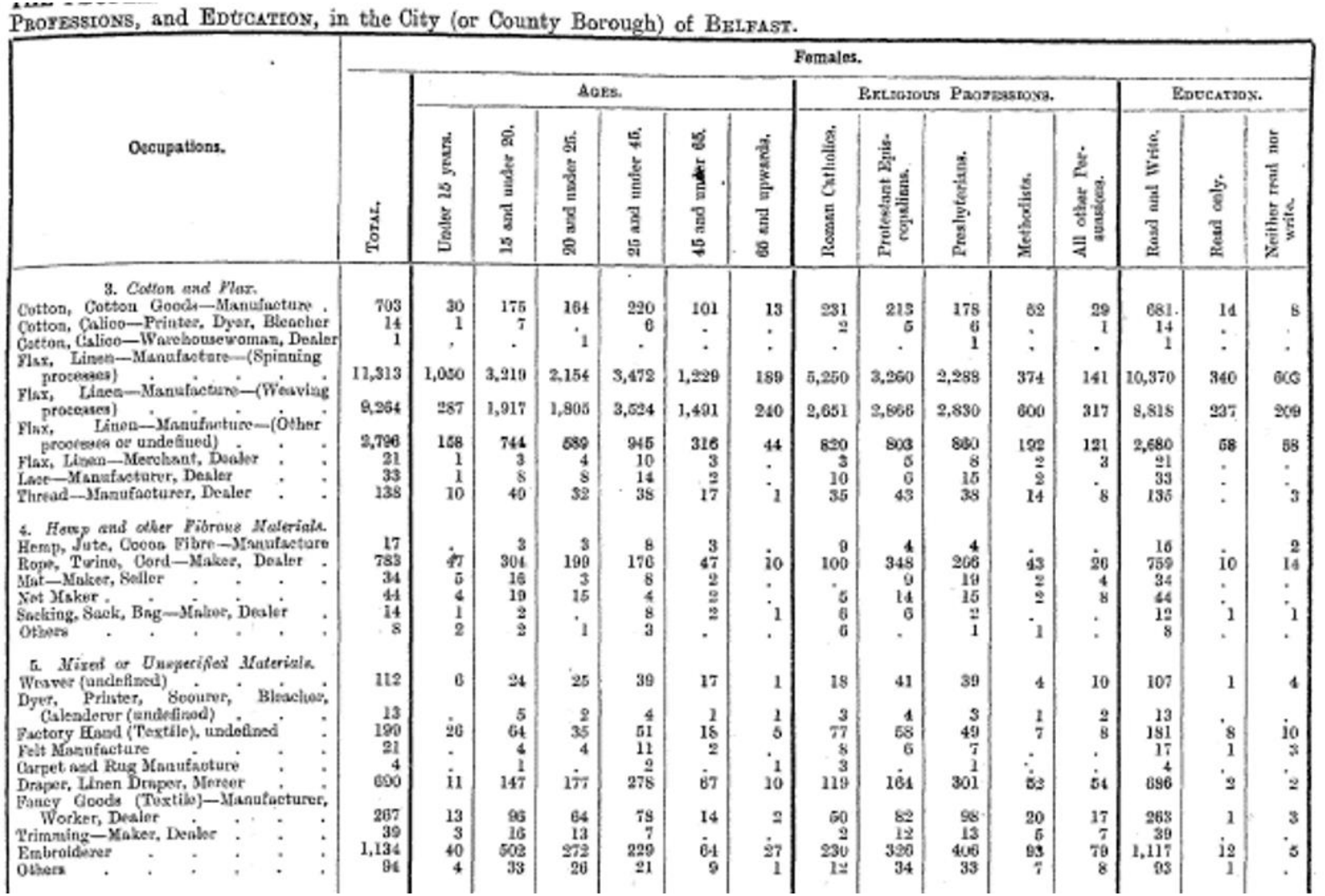
Class 5 – Industrial (brackets are suborders)

• Houses, furniture and decoration (11)	10,094 (1% women)
• Textile and Fabrics (17)	36,897 (75% women)
• Dress (18)	15,918 (76% women)
• Ships and boats (13)	6,935 (1 woman)
• Food and lodgings (16)	8,082 (15% women)
• Machines and implements (10)	6,893 (25 women)

Suborder 17 Textiles

Occupations.	Males.														
		Ages.						Religious Professions.					Education.		
	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Persuasions.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
XVII. Persons working and dealing in Textile Fabrics.															
1. *Wool and Worsted.*															
Woolstapler	7	.	.	1	4	.	2	2	.	4	.	1	7	.	.
Woollen Cloth Manufacture	106	1	22	14	39	20	10	9	37	44	9	7	105	1	.
Wool, Woollen Goods—Dyer, Printer	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.
Worsted, Stuff—Manufacture	8	.	1	.	6	.	1	.	3	4	1	.	8	.	.
Cloth, Worsted Stuff, Flannel, Blanket—Dealer	6	.	.	.	5	1	.	.	2	3	1	.	6	.	.
Others	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	2	.	.
2. *Silk.*															
Silk, Silk Goods—Manufacture	3	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	2	.	1	3	.	.
3. *Cotton and Flax.*															
Cotton, Cotton Goods—Manufacture	101	4	16	19	35	19	8	9	36	42	9	5	99	1	1
Cotton, Calico—Printer, Dyer, Bleacher	11	.	.	.	8	2	1	3	3	3	1	1	11	.	.
Cotton, Calico—Warehouseman, Dealer	6	.	.	.	2	3	1	1	.	2	3	.	6	.	.
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Spinning processes)	2,736	154	516	326	987	621	132	926	767	824	131	88	2,625	49	62
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Weaving processes)	1,569	40	291	227	555	356	100	270	545	580	94	80	1,534	20	15
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Other processes or undefined)	1,948	115	540	294	629	315	55	369	608	731	145	95	1,927	12	9
Flax, Linen—Merchant, Dealer	442	.	50	36	184	132	40	19	116	232	38	37	442	.	.
Lace—Manufacturer, Dealer	4	.	1	1	1	1	.	.	1	2	.	1	4	.	.
Tape—Manufacturer, Dealer	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.
Thread—Manufacturer, Dealer	32	1	8	4	10	9	.	14	8	7	1	2	31	.	1
4. *Hemp and other Fibrous Materials.*															
Hemp, Jute, Cocoa Fibre—Manufacture	12	1	2	1	5	3	.	4	2	5	1	.	10	.	2
Rope, Twine, Cord—Maker, Dealer	383	36	171	34	64	65	13	74	149	125	15	20	374	4	5
Mat—Maker, Seller	5	.	.	1	2	1	1	5	.	.	.	.	5	.	.
Canvas, Sailcloth—Manufacture	3	.	.	.	.	2	1	.	2	1	.	.	3	.	.
Sacking, Sack, Bag—Maker, Dealer	6	.	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	3	.	1	6	.	.
Others	1	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.
5. *Mixed or unspecified Materials.*															
Weaver (undefined)	13	2	1	3	4	3	.	4	6	2	.	1	13	.	.
Dyer, Printer, Scourer, Bleacher, Calenderer (undefined)	49	.	9	8	20	12	.	10	11	23	3	3	48	.	1
Factory Hand (Textile), undefined	63	3	23	14	19	3	1	17	25	16	1	4	62	1	.
Felt Manufacture	58	.	11	13	22	10	3	11	26	17	.	4	54	1	3
Carpet and Rug Manufacture	4	.	.	1	2	.	1	.	4	.	.	.	4	.	.
Manchester Warehouseman	2	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	2	.	.
Draper, Linen Draper, Mercer	1,242	20	276	213	501	193	39	170	284	511	106	171	1,236	3	3
Fancy Goods (Textile)—Manufacturer, Worker, Dealer	52	.	9	9	27	6	1	.	13	25	6	8	52	.	.
Embroiderer	71	1	16	12	35	5	2	5	22	31	7	6	70	.	1
Others	15	.	2	2	7	4	.	1	1	10	1	2	15	.	.

Sub17 - Female



PROFESSIONS, and EDUCATION, in the City (or County Borough) of BELFAST.

Occupations.	Females.													
		AGES.						RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS.					EDUCATION.		
	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Persuasions.	Read and Write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
3. *Cotton and Flax.*															
Cotton, Cotton Goods—Manufacture	703	30	175	164	220	101	13	231	213	178	52	29	681	14	8
Cotton, Calico—Printer, Dyer, Bleacher	14	1	7	.	6	.	.	2	5	6	.	1	14	.	.
Cotton, Calico—Warehousewoman, Dealer	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Spinning processes)	11,313	1,030	3,219	2,154	3,472	1,229	189	5,250	3,260	2,288	374	141	10,370	340	603
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Weaving processes)	9,264	287	1,917	1,805	3,524	1,491	240	2,651	2,866	2,830	600	317	8,818	237	209
Flax, Linen—Manufacture—(Other processes or undefined)	2,796	158	744	589	945	316	44	820	803	880	122	121	2,680	68	58
Flax, Linen—Merchant, Dealer	21	1	3	4	10	3	.	3	5	8	2	3	21	.	.
Lace—Manufacturer, Dealer	33	1	8	8	14	2	.	10	6	15	2	.	33	.	.
Thread—Manufacturer, Dealer	138	10	40	32	38	17	1	35	43	38	14	8	135	.	3
4. *Hemp and other Fibrous Materials.*															
Hemp, Jute, Cocoa Fibre—Manufacture	17	.	3	3	8	3	.	9	4	4	.	.	16	.	2
Rope, Twine, Cord—Maker, Dealer	783	47	304	199	176	47	10	100	348	206	43	26	759	10	14
Mat—Maker, Seller	34	5	16	3	8	2	.	.	9	19	2	4	34	.	.
Net Maker	44	4	19	15	4	2	.	5	14	15	2	8	44	.	.
Sacking, Sack, Bag—Maker, Dealer	14	1	2	.	8	2	1	6	6	2	.	.	12	1	1
Others	8	2	2	1	3	.	.	6	.	1	1	.	8	.	.
5. *Mixed or Unspecified Materials.*															
Weaver (undefined)	112	6	24	25	39	17	1	18	41	39	4	10	107	1	4
Dyer, Printer, Scourer, Bleacher, Calenderer (undefined)	13	.	5	2	4	1	1	3	4	3	1	2	13	.	.
Factory Hand (Textile), undefined	190	26	64	35	51	13	5	77	58	49	7	8	181	8	10
Felt Manufacture	21	.	4	4	11	2	.	8	6	7	.	.	17	1	3
Carpet and Rug Manufacture	4	.	1	.	2	.	1	3	.	1	.	.	4	.	.
Draper, Linen Draper, Mercer	690	11	147	177	278	67	10	119	164	301	52	54	686	2	2
Fancy Goods (Textile)—Manufacturer, Worker, Dealer	267	13	95	64	78	14	3	50	82	98	20	17	263	1	3
Trimming—Maker, Dealer	39	3	16	13	7	.	.	2	12	13	5	7	39	.	.
Embroiderer	1,134	40	502	272	229	64	27	230	326	406	93	79	1,117	12	5
Others	94	4	33	26	21	9	1	12	34	33	7	8	93	1	.

Demographics of the linen workforce

Percentage of total number employed				
Year	Children (under 13 years) %	Juveniles (under 18 years) %	Females (Total) %	Males (Total) %
1868	2	24	70	30
1875	6	27	70	30
1890	9	28	70	30
1895	7	26	68	32

Class 5, sub order 16 - Shipbuilding

Occupations.	Males.														
		Ages.						Religious Professions.					Education.		
	Total.	Under 15 years.	15 and under 20.	20 and under 25.	25 and under 45.	45 and under 65.	65 and upwards.	Roman Catholics.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Methodists.	All other Persuasions.	Read and write.	Read only.	Neither read nor write.
Ship, Boat, Barge—Builder	5,497	25	610	821	2,902	1,024	115	430	2,062	2,356	358	291	5,383	48	66
Shipwright, Ship Carpenter (ashore)	1,312	7	113	166	695	295	46	88	411	633	95	85	1,301	6	5
2. Masts, Rigging, &c.															
Mast, Yard, Oar, Block—Maker	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	2	.	.
Ship—Rigger, Chandler, Fitter	97	.	3	4	35	38	7	25	22	32	5	3	85	2	.
Sail Maker	36	.	4	2	18	9	3	4	17	14	.	1	36	.	.

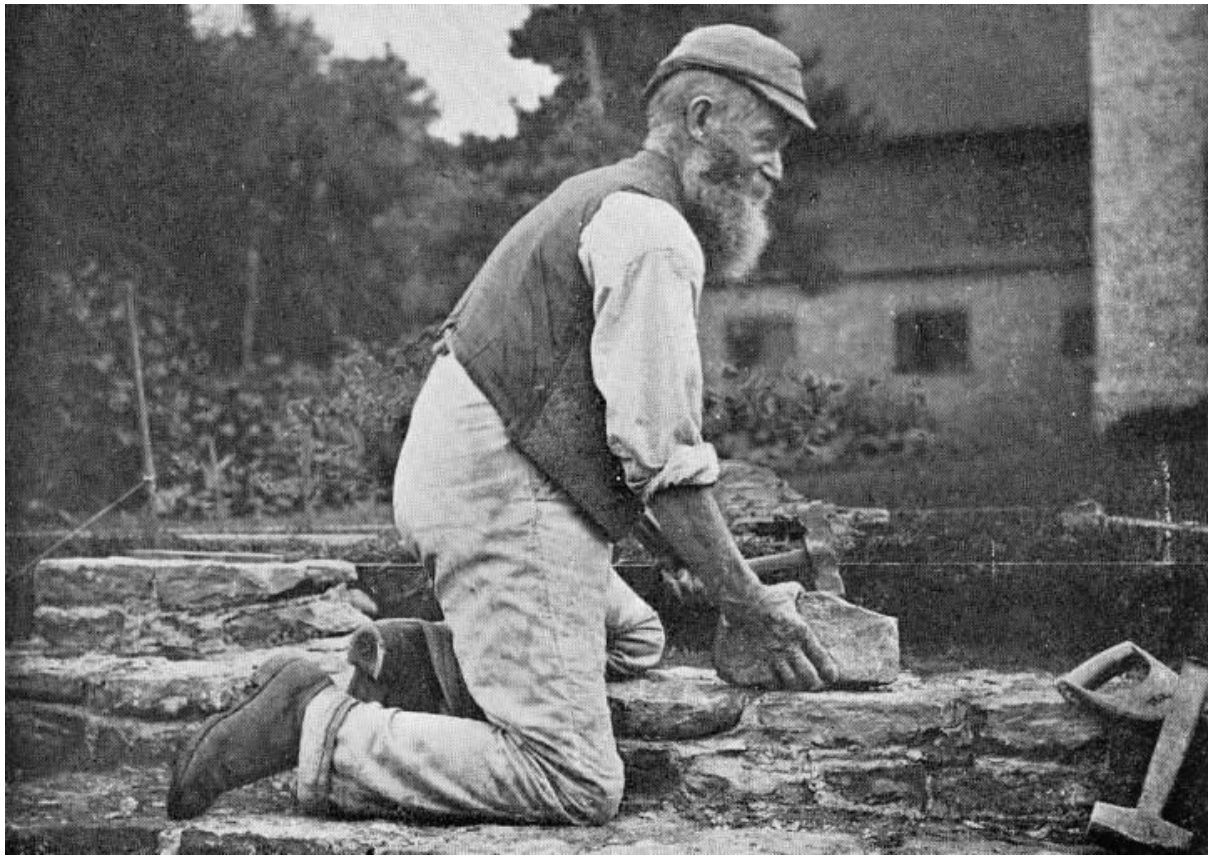


Wages

Weekly wages 1880s and early 1890s

Average weekly wages of worker:

- 1870: An Ulster Agricultural labourer working six days a week for 8s 3pence = £21 pounds per year (420s).
- 1886: linen worker, male, average wage = 23s = £60 (1,196s)
- 1886: linen worker, female weaver, average wage: 9s, 5pence = 490s = £25
- 1894: Shipwright, Belfast, 1894: 33s 6 pence = £106 (2,120s)
- 1894: Bricklayer, masons, plasterer, Belfast: 18s = £46 (936s)



Wages in the late 1890s

- March 1896: Michael Russell, a **cattle drover**, of 6 Patrick's Lane was summoned for neglecting his children. He earned 30 shillings a week but spent it all on drink. He was sentenced to three months in gaol. £78 pa.

- July 1896: William Spence, of 59 Broadbent Street, was summoned for neglecting his children. He was a **range setter** and could earn 30 shillings a week, but contributed nothing towards his family's upkeep. He was sentenced to three months gaol with hard labour. £78 pa.

- December 1897: John Rainey was charged with neglecting his children, As a **blacksmith** he could earn 28 to 30 shillings a seek but he chose to drink instead. He was bailed to see if his behaviour would improve. £78pa

- March 1898: John Dowie of 44 Riga Street was charged with the ill treatment of his three children. He was a **painter** who could earn at least £2 a week, but did not work, as he was addicted to drink. He was gaoled for six months. £105pa.



Wages in the linen trade, 1850 to 1906

Wages per week.							
Year	Roughers	Sorters	Preparers	Spinners	Weavers	Reelers	Average wage
1850	–	–	–	–	–	–	5/–
1855	13/–	16/6	4/6	4/9	–	6/–	7/–
1865	15/–	21/–	5/–	6/9	9/–	–	9/–
1875	19/6	25/–	7/6	7/9	–	9/6	11/–
1884	17/6	22/6	7/–	7/6	10/–	–	10/6
1886	18/6	23/6	6/10	8/5	11/6	8/11	11/–
1906	21/8	26/3	9/4	10/5	11/6	11/3	12/–

Enough to live on?

- In 1811, weavers earnt around 12 to 15 shillings.
- In 1824, this had fallen to 7 or 8 shillings a week.
- The Belfast Newsletter reported that weavers Ballymacarrett in 1830 were living on ‘Indian meal’ ‘unfit for cattle’.



Later in the century

- Between 1892 and 1912, the price of food rose 29%.
- During the same time, it was calculated that 59% of an unskilled labourers wage went on food.
- Working classes suffered a major decline in living standards in the last 30 years of the 19th century.



Comparative wages in 1914

- Second Lieutenant, junior officer in the British Army (infantry) £155
- Private in the British Army £18.25
- Robert McNeil, First Headmaster at CCB £900
- Turner in shipbuilding yard (Belfast) £109.25
- Agricultural labourer £43
- Compositor in printing trade (arranging letters to print pages of text) £94.77
- Elementary teacher £80 to £120
- Lieutenant-Colonel, senior officer in the British Army (infantry) £494
- Domestic servant (House keeper) £30-£60 (1906)
- General Domestic Servant £16



Fines – examples from the 1890s

- May 1891: Eliza O'Hare was summoned for keeping intoxicating liquor at her home, 13 Servia Street, without a license. She was fined 40 shillings plus costs.
- One man, John McAllister, was arrested and charged with being a member of a stone-throwing mob in connection with disturbances outside the Ulster Hall during Mr. Parnell's visit. He was later fined 40 shillings.
- August 1891: Hugh Diamond was charged with furiously driving a brake in Clifton Street and fined 20 shillings plus costs
- August 1894: Samuel Edgar was fined 40 shillings plus costs for being drunk and disorderly, it was his 135th conviction.
- July 1896: John McCormick and John Crofts were charged with stealing a goose from the ship 'Fairhead' at Dufferin Dock. They planned to sell the goose to get drink. They were each fined 10 shillings plus 5 shillings costs.

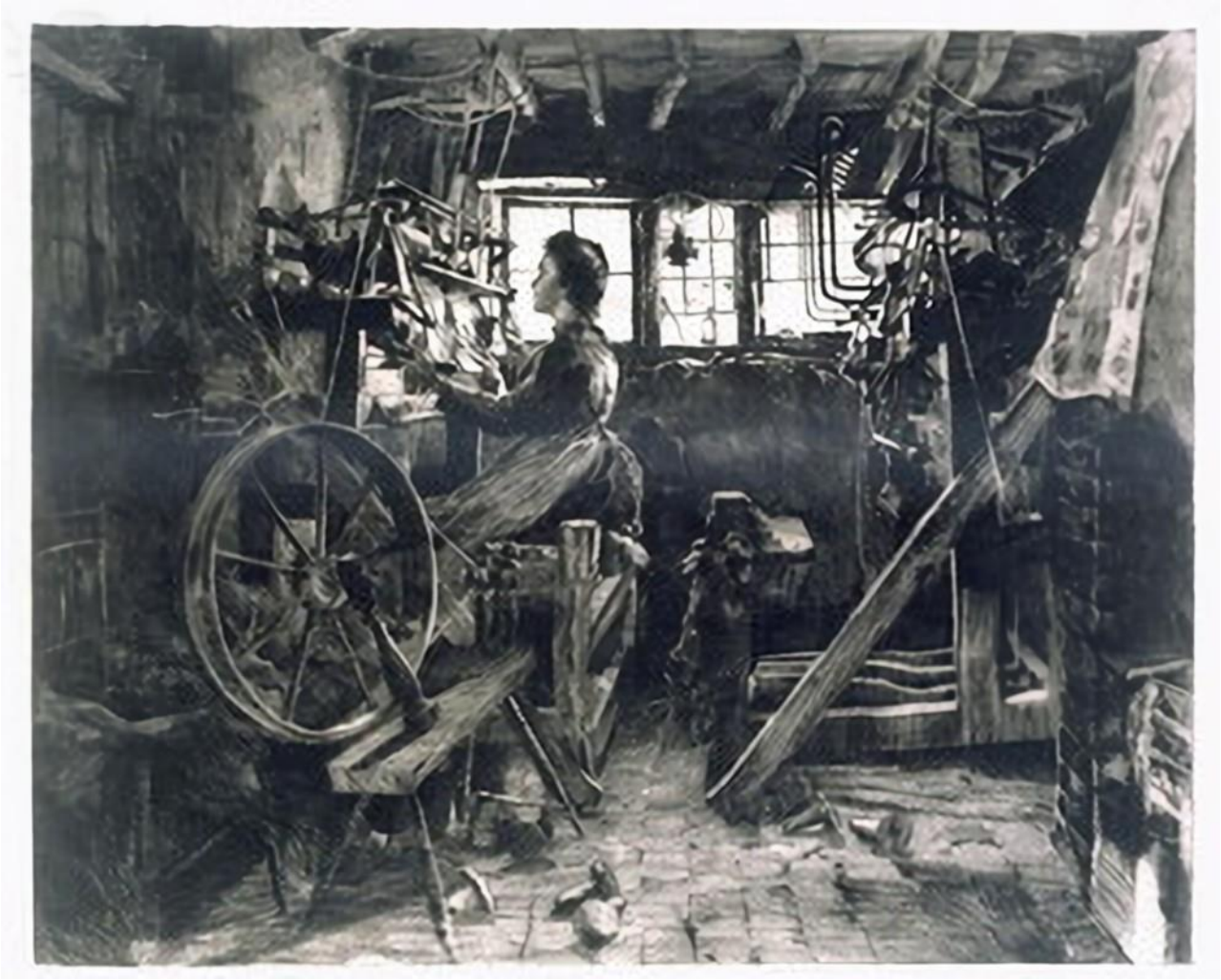


The nature of work



1. 1798-1840s

- Mechanization was in its early stages, with some basic machines in use.
- Workers were dispersed, with many engaged in small-scale, family-owned businesses and artisan workshops.
- Skills were often traditional and craft-based, with little need for advanced technical knowledge.
- The workforce consisted mainly of manual laborers.



2. Mid-19th Century (1850s-1860s)

- Mechanization advanced significantly, with the introduction of steam-powered machinery in textile mills and shipyards.
- There was a growing concentration of workers in larger factories and shipyards as industries expanded.
- The nature of skills began to shift as workers needed to operate and maintain machinery, requiring more technical expertise.
- The workforce started to see a rise in non-manual roles like supervisors and clerks, although manual labor remained predominant.



3. Late 19th Century (1870s-1890s)

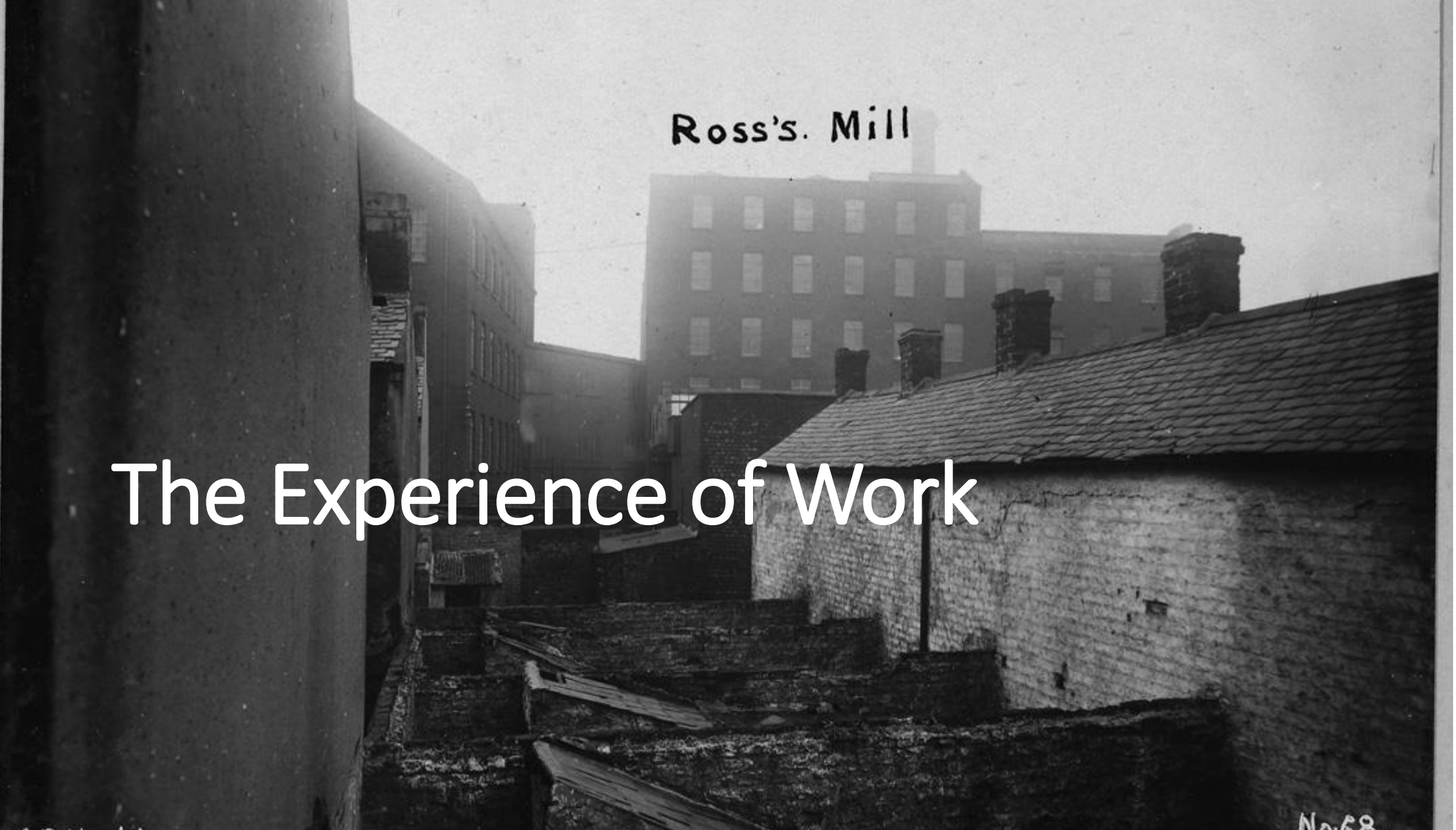
- Mechanization continued to progress with the adoption of electricity and more sophisticated machinery.
- The majority of the workforce became concentrated in large, centralized factories, particularly in textile and engineering industries.
- The demand for skilled technicians, engineers, and supervisors increased as the workforce shifted towards more specialized, non-manual roles.
- The proportion of non-manual workers continued to rise, reflecting the need for administrative, managerial, and technical expertise in areas like regulation, retail, insurance and financial industries.



4. Early 20th Century (1900s-1914)

- Mechanization was well-established in various industries, with further advances in automation and assembly-line production.
- Factories and corporations dominated the employment landscape, with a strong emphasis on mass production.
- The nature of skills continued to evolve, with a growing demand for administrative, managerial, and technical expertise, reflecting the shift towards a more diversified, non-manual labour force.
- The workforce saw a substantial increase in non-manual roles, such as managers, engineers, and clerical staff, alongside manual laborers.





The Experience of Work

The consequence of no work

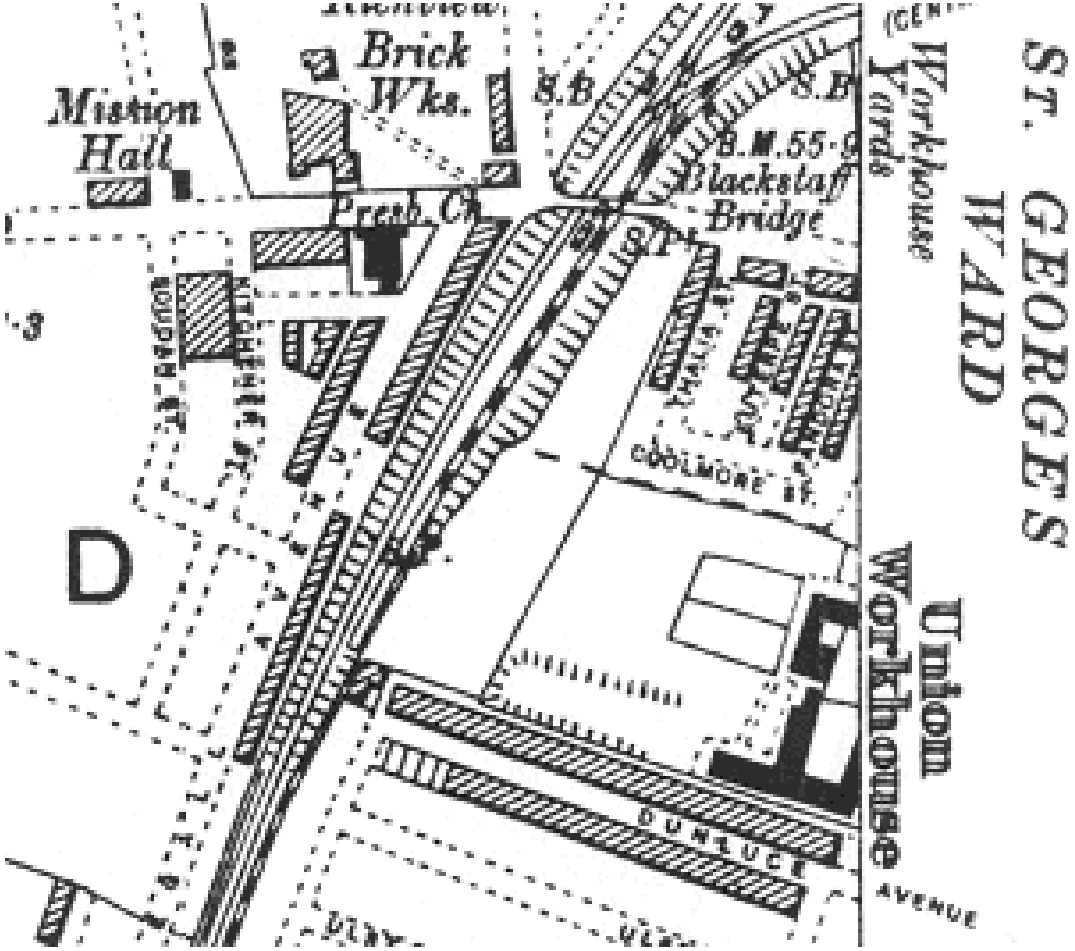
- September 1848: A woman named Eliza Mullen took seven pence worth of laudanum in an attempt to commit suicide. Dr. Aicken applied the stomach pump, but she subsequently died. Her husband, a soldier, had been dispatched abroad and she had no means of support, leading her to live a dissolute life. On receiving an affectionate letter from her husband, she was overcome with remorse and took the poison. An inquest returned a verdict of suicide.

- January 1896: Ann Loughlin was charged with threatening to murder her infant child to commit suicide at 66 Brownlow Street. She deposed she had said this because the child's father gave no money for its support. A man claiming to be her husband said he was a stager at Messrs. Workman Clark & Company but had been out of work for fifteen weeks because of the engineer's strike. He promised to care for his wife and child and the prisoner was discharged.



The work house

- Union Work House the place where many people who could not find work ended up.
- It aimed to to provide employment for paupers and sustenance for the infirm.
- Conditions in the workhouses were deliberately harsh and degrading in order to discourage the poor from relying on parish relief.



Sectarianism at work

- February 1863: A number of millworkers in Mr. Glenfield's mill, York Road, disputed with other millworkers, in the employment of Mr. Beck, Jennymount, and a serious riot ensued – stone-throwing – the usual mode of fight in Belfast at the time - being used.
- August 1884: Johnston, 48 Lindsay Street, David Wright, 36 Spamount Street, Samuel Linton, 100 Nelson Street, Patrick Kitchen of 41 Dock Street and William Smith, 48 Keegan Street, all Workman Clark & Co. employees were charged with attacking Francis McMahon, a fellow employee. Kitchen and Linton were sentenced to three months gaol; the others were given four months.
- April 1893: There have been disturbances in Belfast in connection with the Home Rule Bill, which included the wrecking of a public house and the refusal of workers to work alongside Catholics in Harland & Wolff.

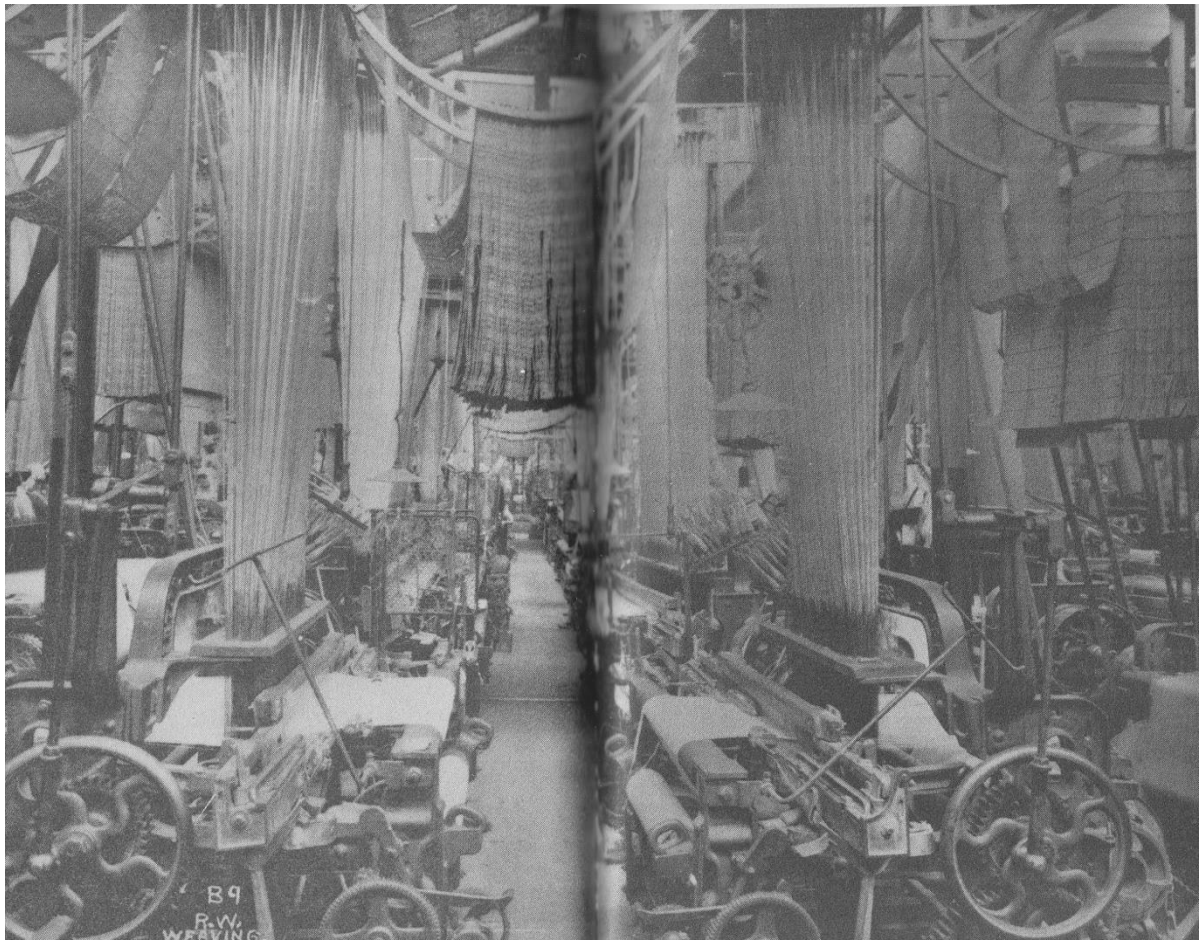


Industrial paternalism

- August 1880: Employees of Messrs. Harland & Wolff met at Whitla Street for an excursion to Portadown. 120 employees of Mr. John Hall, brass founder, of Queen Street, held their annual excursion to Massereene Park. Employees of Messrs. Fenton, Connor and Co, Linenhall Street held their eleventh annual excursion to Newcastle.
- June 1894: Employees of the Sirocco Engineering Works enjoyed an excursion to Glenarm.



The work place



Market trader, 1905



Street sweeper, Donegall Place, 1902



Tailors at Marshalls





Cutting corn, Lisnalichy, nr Ballyclare, 1904



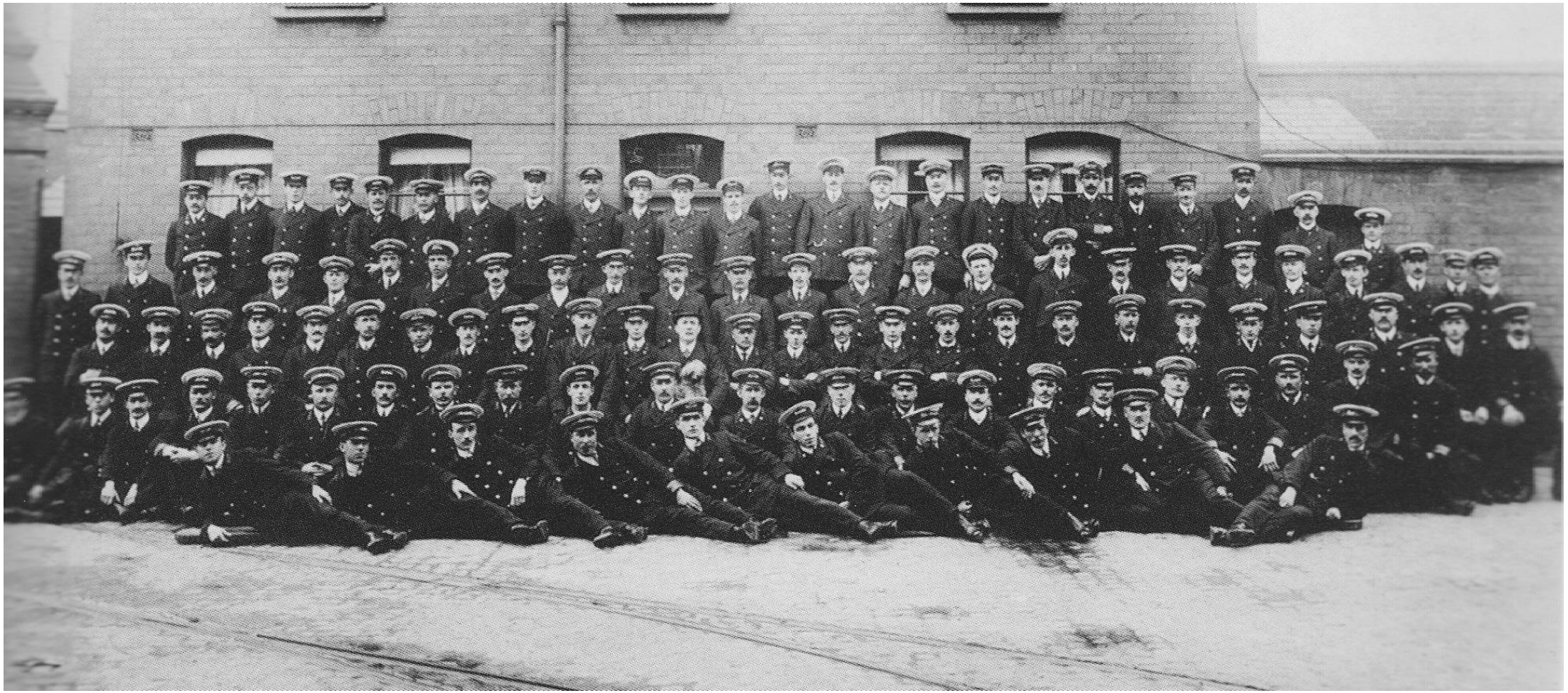
Horse tram, Crumlin Road, 1900



Last day of horse drawn trams, Lisburn Rd, 1905



Tramswaymen, Montpottinger Depot, 1911



Shop, 1892



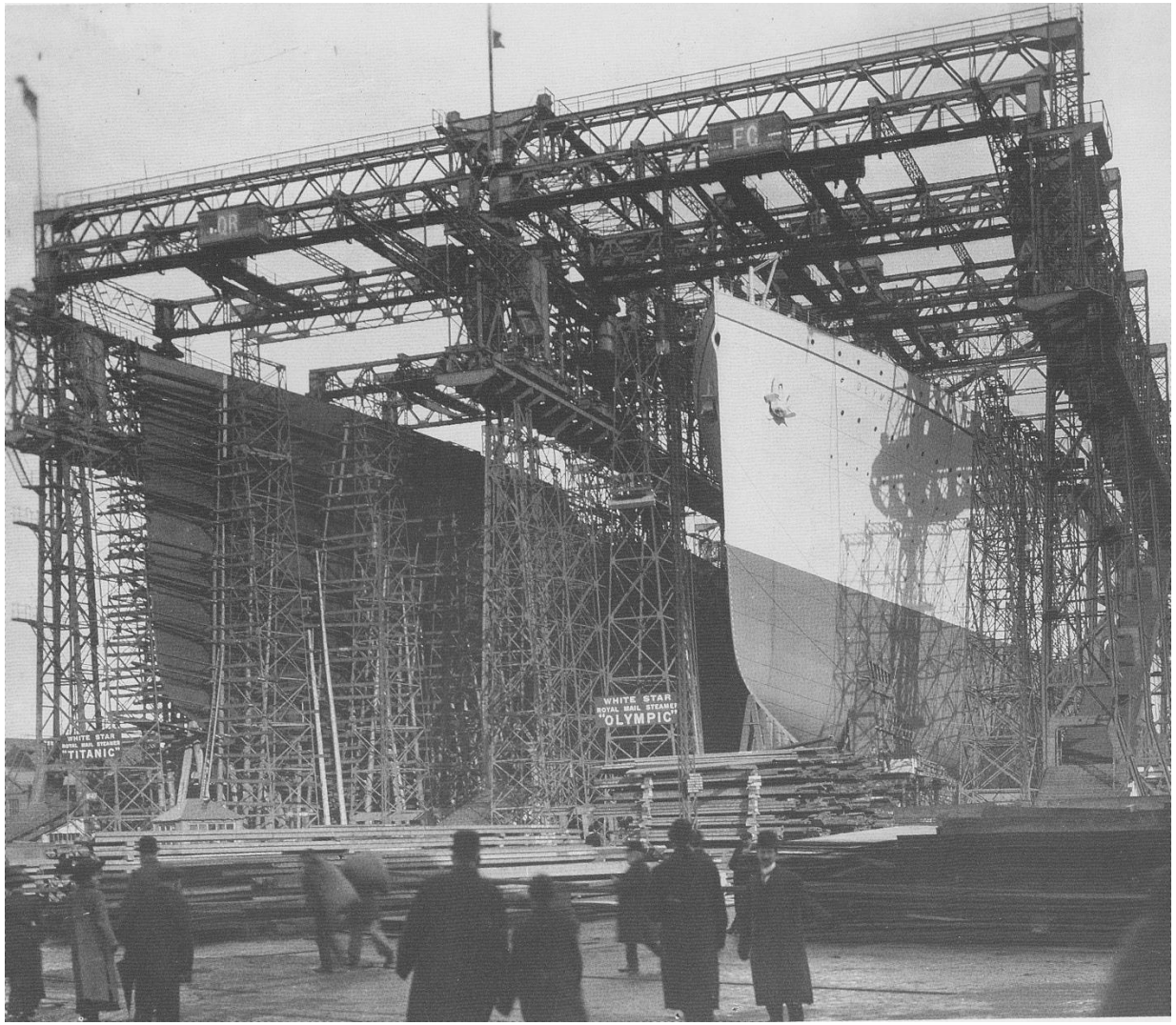
McWatter's Bakery



Railway workers, 1911

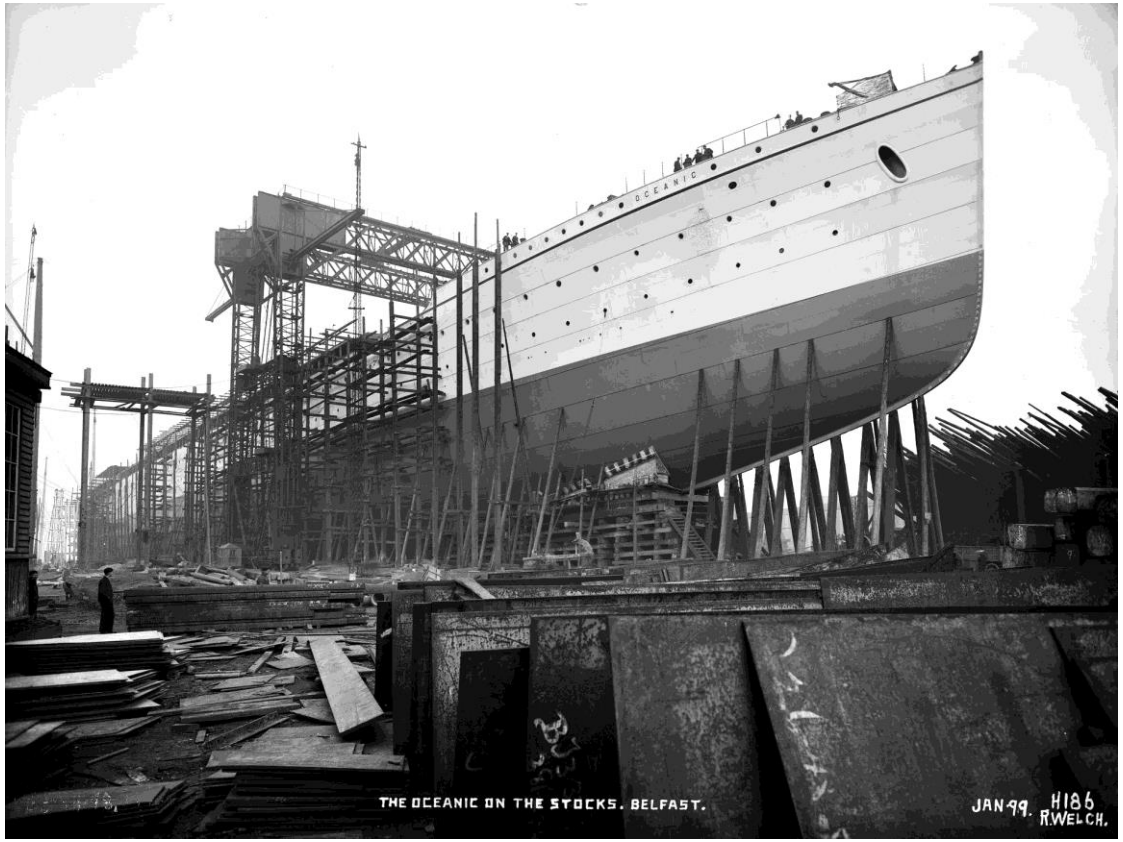


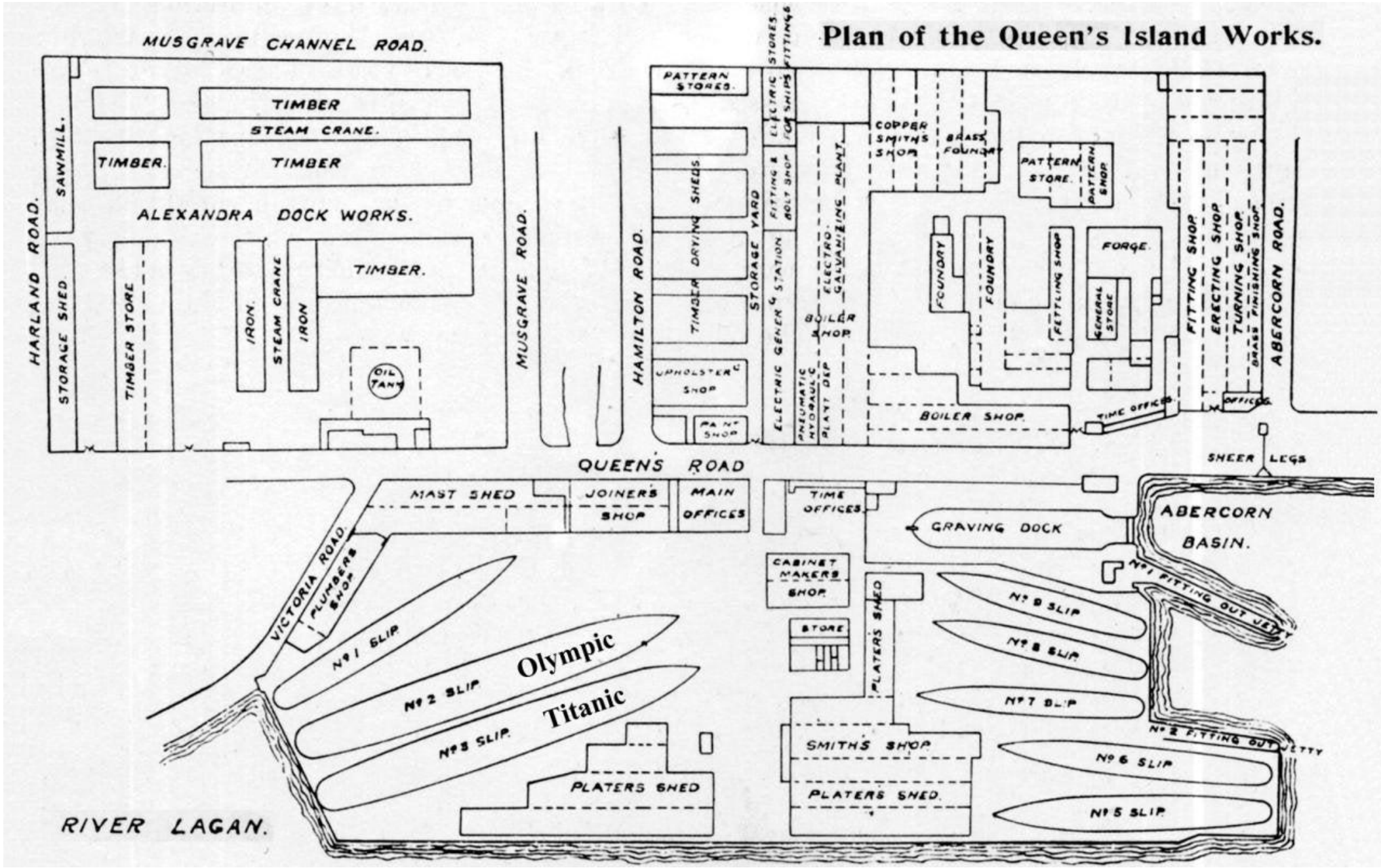
Shipbuilding



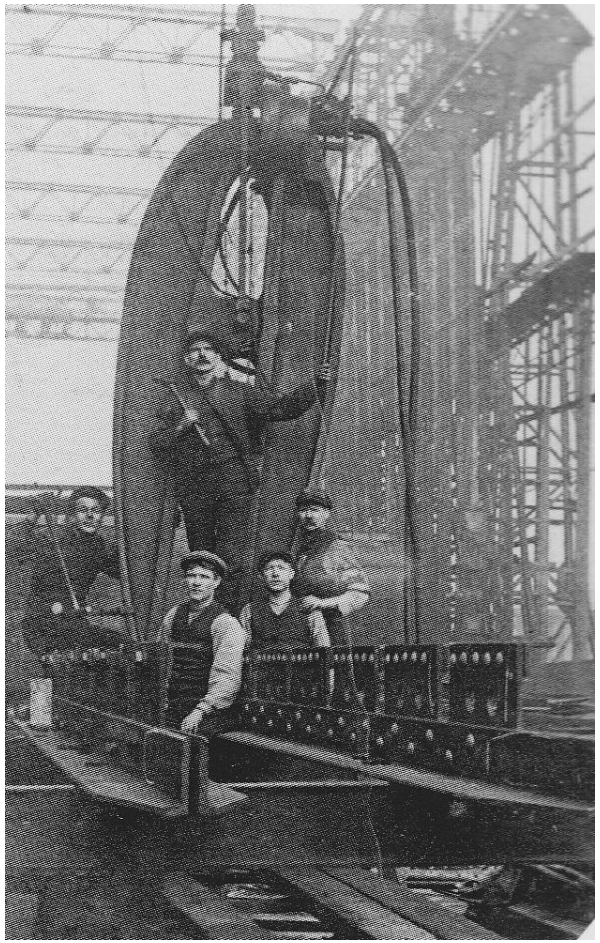
Unionist support at Harland and Wolff, 1912

- Many shipyard men were prominent in riots in 1857, and in attempts to expel Catholic workers in 1864, 1886, 1893, 1901, 1912, and 1920.
- RIC estimated in 1912 that of nearly 20,000 shipyard workers, 6,000 were active in Unionist clubs and Orange lodges in their workplaces.

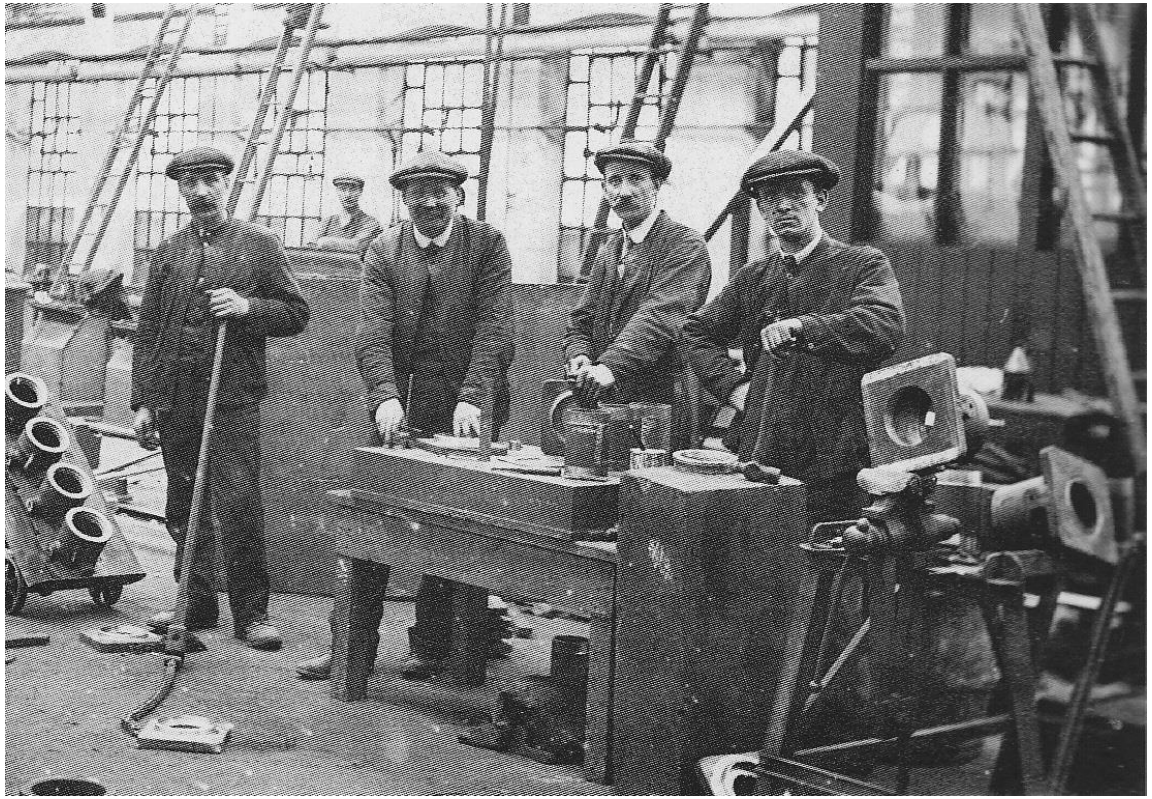



Plan of the Queen's Island Works.
MUSGRAVE CHANNEL ROAD.
HARLAND ROAD.
SAWMILL.
STORAGE SHED.
TIMBER
STEAM CRANE.
TIMBER.
TIMBER
ALEXANDRA DOCK WORKS.
TIMBER STORE.
IRON.
STEAM CRANE
IRON
TIMBER.
OIL TANK
MUSGRAVE ROAD.
HAMILTON ROAD.
PATTERN STORES.
ELECTRIC STORES.
FOR SHIPS FITTINGS
TIMBER DRYING SHEDS
STORAGE YARD
FITTING & BOLT SHOP
ELECTRIC GEN.G STATION
UPHOLSTER.G SHOP
PAINT SHOP
PNEUMATIC HYDRAULIC PLANT DEP.
ELECTRO GALVANIZING PLANT.
BOILER SHOP
COPPER SMITHS SHOP
BRASS FOUNDRY
PATTERN STORE.
PATTERN SHOP
FOUNDRY
FOUNDRY
FETTLING SHOP
FORGE.
GENERAL STORE
BOILER SHOP.
TIME OFFICES
FITTING SHOP
ERECTING SHOP
TURNING SHOP.
BRASS FINISHING SHOP
OFFICES
ABERCORN ROAD.
SHEER LEGS
QUEENS ROAD
MAST SHED
JOINERS SHOP
MAIN OFFICES
VICTORIA ROAD.
PLUMBERS SHOP
No 1 SLIP
No 2 SLIP
Olympic
No 3 SLIP.
Titanic
PLATERS SHED
RIVER LAGAN.
TIME OFFICES.
GRAVING DOCK
ABERCORN BASIN.
CABINET MAKERS SHOP
STORE
PLATERS SHED
No 1 FITTING OUT JETTY
No 8 SLIP
No 4 SLIP
No 7 SLIP
No 2 FITTING OUT JETTY
SMITHS SHOP
PLATERS SHED.
No 6 SLIP
No 5 SLIP

Workers in the ship yard



Riveting team



Workers, 1912

Industrial accidents

- December 1894: Two accidents occurred at the shipbuilding yard of Messrs Harland & Wolff, Queen's Island. John Cotter, aged 17, of 15 Cargill Street fell 65 ft from a gangway. He was dead on arrival at the Royal Hospital. Edward Grant, a riveter, of 27 Arundel Street fell from scaffolding sustaining a severe leg injury.
- Another inquest was held into the death of John Cotter, of 15 Cargill Street. The jury concluded he died from injuries received when he fell from a gangway at Harland &Wolff shipbuilding yard. They found negligence on the part of the employers and none on the part of the deceased.
- November 1897: David Scott of 29 Harvey Street, who was employed at Messrs. Harland & Wolff shipbuilding yard, Queen's Island, died when he fell into the hold of a White Star Liner called the 'Cymric' at Alexandra Dock. The inquest jury returned a verdict of accidental death.



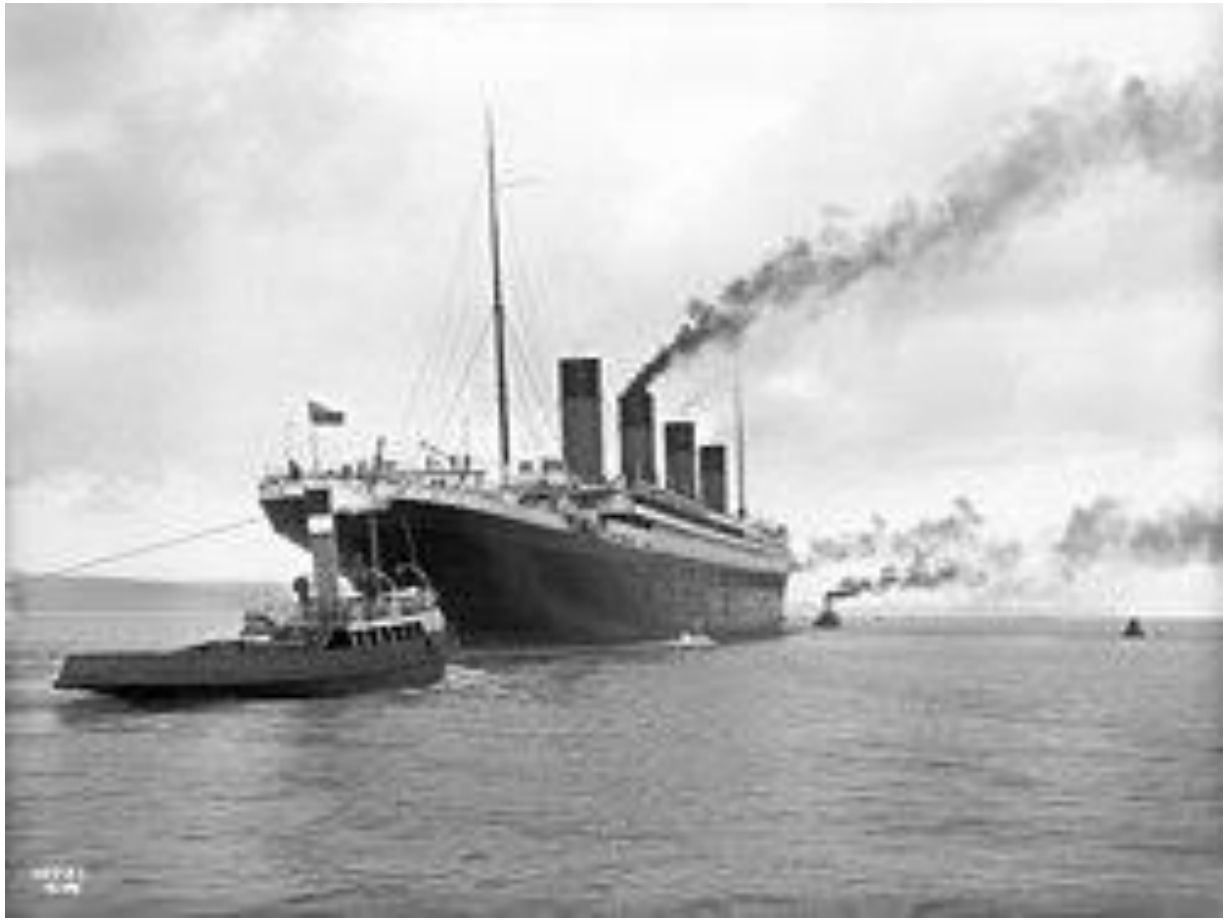
Accidents in families…

Yesterday afternoon, just before the ending of work for the day at six o'clock the Queen's Island, a rivetter named Robert Murphy. Hillman Street, when employed on-the Titanic, missed his hold and fell from one the upper decks, a distance of fifty feet. Assistance was immediately forthcoming, and the injured man was conveyed in the ambulance to the Royal Victoria Hospital. In that institution it was discovered that he was suffering from a fracture to the base of the skull. Recovery from the first was quite hopeless, and he expired some time after admission. What makes the accident a peculiarly sad one is the fact that the son of the deceased man, Robert Murphy, was fatally injured some time ago when working on the Olympic.
Belfast News-Letter - Wednesday 14 June 1911



Other health related problems of shipbuilding

- Asbestos – related lung cancer.
- Asbestosis – Inflammatory scarring of the lungs.
- Mesothelioma – An aggressive cancer of the lining of the lungs, heart or abdomen.
- Pleural thickening – thickening of the lining of the lungs.
- Pleural plaques
- Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD)

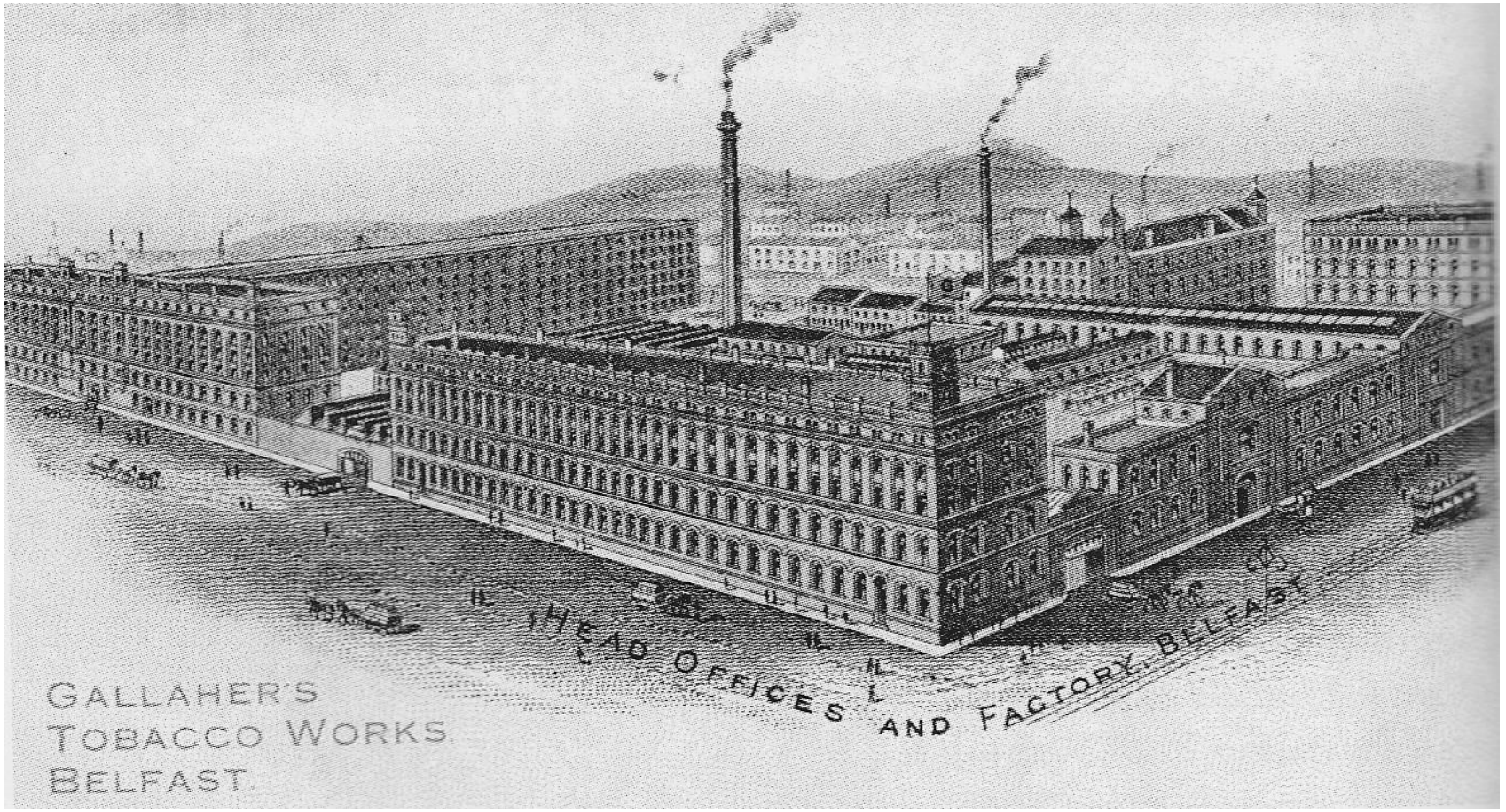


Liability and compensation

- Eight Harland and Wolff workers were killed during the construction of the Titanic five of whom have been identified.
- In addition to the fatalities there were 28 serious accidents and 218 minor accidents recorded by the firm.
- Compensation paid out for these incidents amounted to £4849 3s 5d.

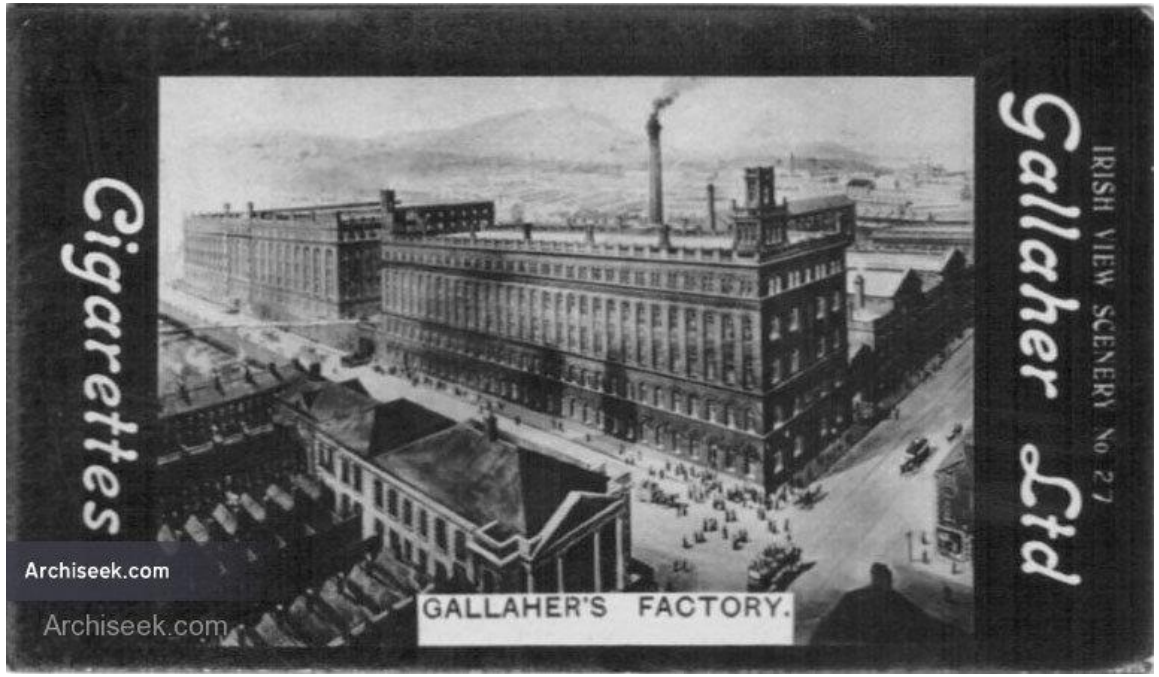


Tobacco workers



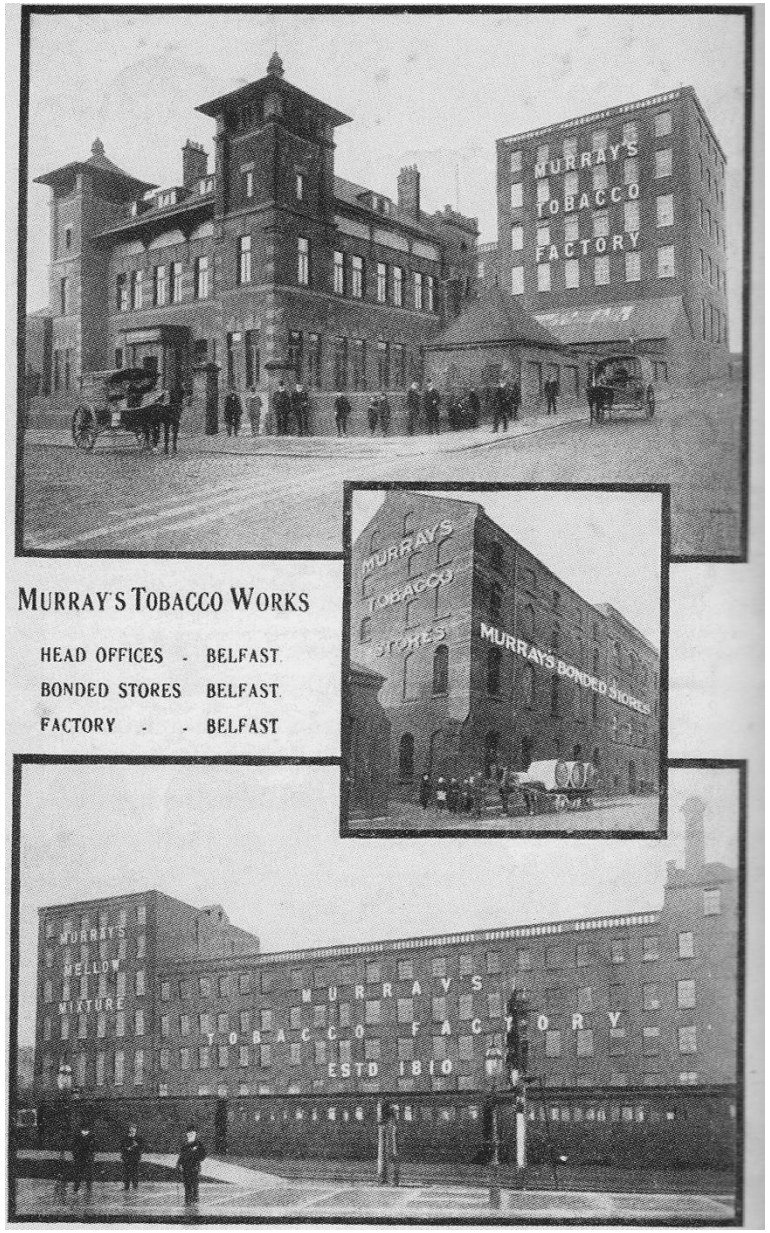
Gallaher's Tobacco Factory

- Gallaher's factory, founded in 1891, was a pioneer in the production of tobacco products.
- It was home to 45 cigarette-making machines, which were transferred from Derry to York Street, making it the largest independent tobacco factory in the world.
- With an investment of £7 million at the time.



Murray’s Tobacco Works

- **Establishment and Growth:** Murray, Sons and Company Ltd, a prominent tobacco manufacturing company, had its origins in Belfast in 1810. Over the years, it grew and expanded, eventually becoming a limited company in 1884.
- **Industry Influence:** By 1921, Murray's played a pivotal role in the tobacco industry of Belfast. It shared the production of tobacco, cigarettes, and snuff with Gallaher Limited, another renowned company in the field, which had relocated to Belfast in 1867.
- **Notable Brands:** Murray's was known for its production of tobacco and tobacco-related products, including the well-regarded Erinmore and Yachtsman Navy Cut brands. While the cigarettes had their own niche, the company excelled in producing high-quality, popular pipe tobacco.



May Curry, a former employee, recollections

- Stripping Tobacco Leaves: "I once sat in Gallaher's on a low chair, a bag on either side stripping the leaf into one and the waste into the other. A specific weight had to be reached, and if the veins weighed more than the amount laid down for the day, a bonus was paid."

- Challenges of the Job: "Look at my fingers," she holds them up, "All crooked, we cried every night with the pain but it was good money."



We know where you work!

- The smell: "You could smell us a mile off, and there was one story which went round Gallaher's about Minnie going over the bridge on a bus packed with the shipyard workers and one of the men offered her his knee but he screwed up his nose at the smell from her clothes... and I know where you work - in a bakery because I can feel your dough rising.'"



Cohesion and benefits

- Camaraderie Among Workers: "There was music all day and the long lines of workers singing along, the older ones talking about the dances in Belfast and what happened when the boys got fresh. It was all a great education for the young girl."

- Perks of the Job: "We were allowed 40 cigarettes every Friday, and at 10.30 every morning we'd get half a pint of milk and a biscuit which was thick with chocolate."



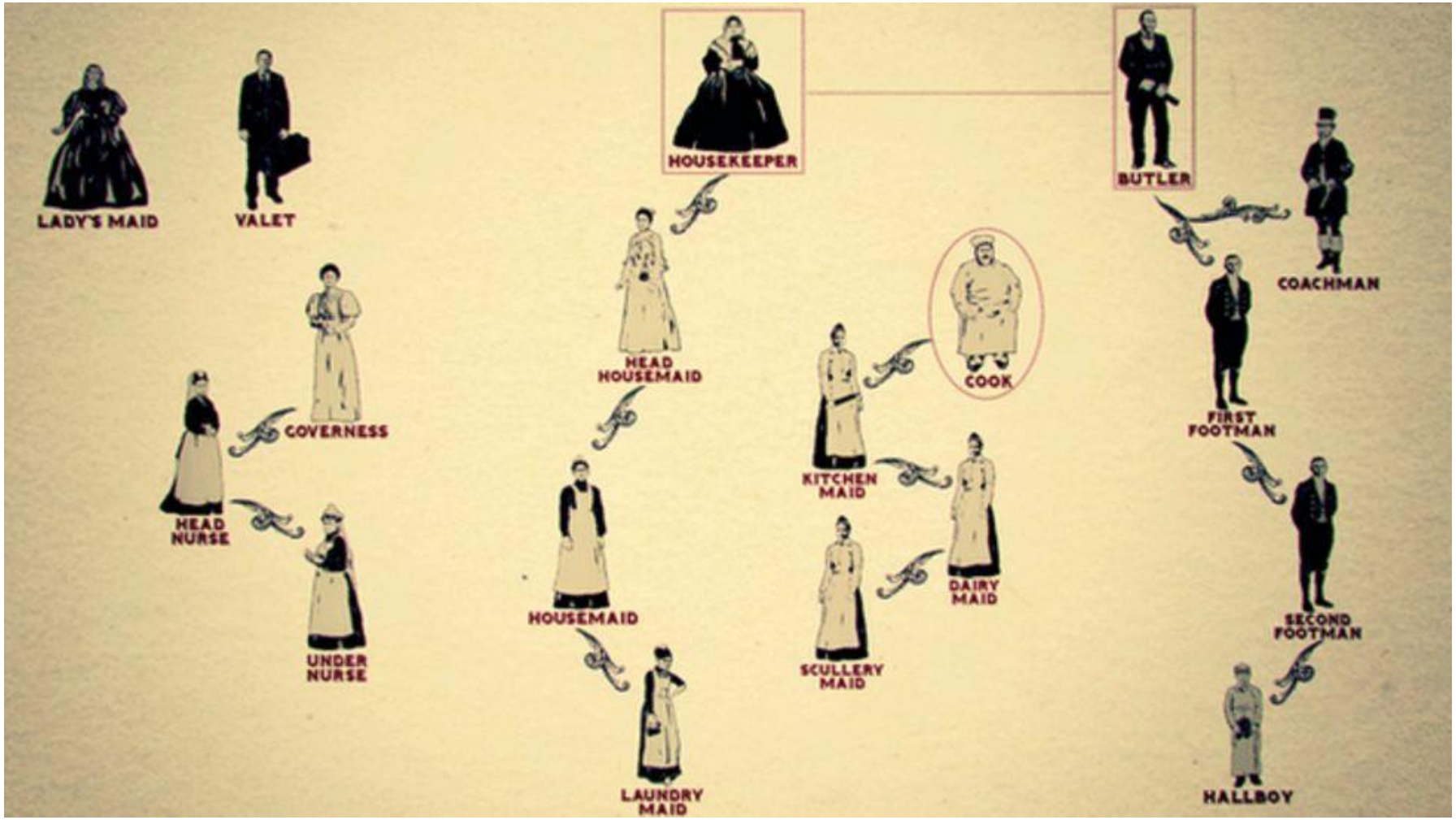
Domestic Service



Our perception: Up Stairs Down Stairs, Downton Abbey, Gosford Park



Hierarchy among servants



How do you become a servant?

HOUSEKEEPER to Clergyman seeks re-engagement; good Cook; careful manager; town or country; highest references. Address Housekeeper, 13 North Queen Street, Belfast. 18875

Irish News, 15.8.1904, p.2

WANTED, a Resident Governess to give instruction in Music, French, Drawing, and English; also, a Daily Governess to teach French three hours weekly. Apply at Mrs. EDGAR'S Governess' Agency Office, 17, May Street. 7117

BT, 1.9.1873, p.2

GOVERNESS.

A YOUNG LADY, about 26 years of age, a Protestant, wishes for a Situation as a GOVERNESS to young Children, under 12 years of age.

She proposes to Teach ENGLISH and PLAIN NEEDLE-WORK, also a little MUSIC. The Situation of Reading Companion to an elderly Lady would be agreeable. A Respectable Situation is more the object than emolument.

Inquire at the EDITOR of this PAPER. (566

Belfast Comm Chronicle, 23.3.1836, p.3

WANTED, a good House and Parlour Maid for a small family in England; Protestant; wages £10 a year; good references required.—Battleton House, Dulverton, Somerset, England. 1850

BT, 2.2.1883, p.2.

What makes a good servant? The Belfast Weekly News's advice in 1906

- Make sure they're aged over 25 as you'll know if they have had anaemia and can't do heavy work.
- Have 'nothing whatever to do with an untidy, dirty looking girl'. 'Do not mind if her clothes are cheap, even shabby, but do notice very particularly, if they are properly put on'. A girls who is too lazy…to attend to her personal appearance will almost certainly be too lazy to do your work'.
- 'Avoid a bad tempered girl'. But how can you find out whether a girl has a bad temper? 'bad temper will show in the face, not matter how she tries to hide it. Temper lines will come about the mouth…remember, too, that the eyes very rarely decieive you with regard to the temper and general characteristics and temperament.'
- 'Do not engage a delicate looking girls. A delicate girl cannot do her work properly…'



What was it like?

- ‘Sheela Brown’ worked undercover as a domestic servant and reported her experiences in the Irish News and Belfast Morning News (8.7.1909, p.4.)
- She found there was a major gulf between ‘mistress and maid’. ‘I had been “Miss Brown.” Now, as the general I was just “Nellie” to every member of the family.
- She found that doing the dull work she would ‘dream of a happier day for the middle class home, of a return to the simple life when space would be found for higher ideals’
- ‘With the passing of the days, I lose all sense of individuality.’
- She worked 14 hours a day.
- ‘As “Nellie” I was a ‘chattel’ in with any other article of household furniture. As “Miss Brown”, I am a women prepared to do eight hours’ honest work’.



Belfast washerwoman, 1905

A working day

- Up at 6am
- 6.30: maid downstairs with all shutters and windows open. Fire in the grate, kettles filled. Take hot water to mistress.
- 8.30 Breakfast. Clear front steps.
- 10.00 Go up to bedrooms. Turn beds, empty slops, sweep/dust rooms.
- Finish around 10pm (Belfast Weekly News, 6.9.1906, p.3.)
- One day off a month, one evening a week off, alternate Sundays



Letter from ‘A Domestic’, BT, 29.2.1896 (p.6)

A domestic from England came over to stay with a niece and decided to stay. She sought positions:

1. Bachelor. Immense house which had been staffed by ten to twelve servants but there was only the domestic and another indoor man servant. The master on Sunday gave out supplies for the week that included inadequate amount of food. She gave notice.
2. She moved to County Tyrone working for a bank manager. She was with two other servants. She gave notice because ‘never gave me a kindly word’ and he grumbled about her cooking.
3. She then worked for a Presbyterian minister. . ‘He practiced his sermons looking in the looking glass and his sole aim was his own glorification’. He also had a toxic step mother who ‘A billingsgate woman could not equal the language nor the vile epithets applied to me’. She left.
4. Another gentleman. He was find but ‘The one thing wanting is a little friendliness, a kindly workd…as though you are flesh and blood and one human family – not merely a machine…’
5. Two week stop gap where she had a bed that was damp with water leaking from the water closet. She ate nothing but butter.
6. She concluded ‘Oh pity your poor servants. I pity them with all my heart. Don’t be too hard on them’.



Domestic service had its advantages

‘The whole thing arises [the lack of women wanting to be servants] from what I consider a foolish idea on the part of young women nowadays that they have far more freedom and pleasure by taking situations either in shops or factories and mills, where they will have their nights to themselves and the whole of Sunday. In this I consider them unwise, because the in reality the life of a domestic servant is far superior…save perhaps the hours in which they are free…In Belfast, I know personally that domestic servants are treated in a generous fashion if they only strive to meet the wishes of their masters or mistresses; their wages are good…So that the gain the shop or factory girl has over the domestic is that the former has all her nights to herself during the week, and I am not sure that this is always an advantage to a girls in a city like Belfast with its many temptations. Then there are a great many girls who think that domestic service has something menial about it….It is the performance of womanly duties and the girl who is able to discharge these properly is more likely to find a husband and to make a good wife…’

- Letter from ‘A Belfast Matron’, BT, 29.06.1896, p.3.



Pregnancy at work

July 1840:At the Police Court, an unmarried female named Jane Anderson, was fully committed for trial on a charge of murdering her illegitimate infant immediately after its birth. It appeared, from the evidence produced, that the prisoner had lived, as servant in the family of Mr. Ferguson of Newforge for the last eight months; that, latterly suspicion had been excited that she was pregnant; and that on Sunday last, she was observed to be unwell. After retiring to rest, on that night her groans were distinctly heard by some of the household and the next morning she was closely interrogated by Mrs Ferguson, as to whether she had given birth to a child in the course of the night. This the prisoner strenuously denied but on her mistress instituting a search, the body of a dead infant was discovered in Anderson's box. A medical gentleman was sent for, who examined the body and gave his opinion that it had been born alive. On these indubitable proofs of her shame and guilt becoming known, the wretched woman made an attempt to drown herself in the Lagan but was promptly rescued and committed to the custody of the police. Her trial will take place at the ensuing assize.



Faith and work

August 1877: In Belfast a case of habeas corpus against William Mullan of Sydenham and proprietor of Mullans Bookshop, Donegall Place was heard and Mr Mullan made return to the writ. The case involved a young girl of fifteen, Catherine Smyth who was employed by Mr Mullan. Her mother wished her daughter to return to her, as she believed that her daughter was being influenced by the Mullans to give up her Catholic faith and become a Presbyterian. The daughter did not wish to return to her mother and wanted to stay with the Mullans. Mr Mullan appeared in court with Catherine Smyth and confirmed that she was his servant and remained in his service of her own free will and consent. Catherine Smyth confirmed this



Problems with employers

- January 1842: Margaret Perry, a servant of Mr. Hennessey, cabinetmaker of Rosemary Street, swallowed arsenic after a quarrel with her mistress, during which she was accused of stealing. Medical aid was procured, but the woman died in agony.
- November 1890: Alice Hilling, a domestic servant, sued her late employers for the recovery of £100, which she had won in a lottery connected with Cliftonville Cricket Club. She was awarded £75 plus costs.



Industrial accidents

- On 20 December 1887, Letitia Harriet died from burns after her dress caught fire after brushing the range; her death was recorded as death by accidental burning (Belfast Weekly News, 1.1.1887, p.4.)
- Servant Annie Lee, 22, severely burned while kindling a fire at the hose of Mr J. Carmichael, North Street. Her clothing became alight and she sustained injury to body, arms and legs (BT, 13.8.1907, p.4.)
- Domestic servant Annie Lena Kohler, 21, burnt do death while working at 162 Upper Newtonards Road. She had been ‘black-leading’ the range in the kitchen when her cloths caught fire. (Irish News and Belfast Morning News, 25.1.1913, p.5.)



‘The Servant Problem’

- 1895, Belfast Weekly News: ‘It is almost impossible to obtain good servants but it is difficult to get servants at all (25.5.1895, p.3.)
- 1900, Northern Whig: ‘On all sides complaints loud and deep are heard as to the scarcity of servants..’ (7.7.1900, p.8.)
- 1906, BWN, ‘‘It is certainly not by any means an easy matter to get good servants in Belfast. So many girls who would make good excellent maids foolishly prefer entering mills or warerooms to domestic servants’.
- 1909: 30 applications were made to a registry for servants but only four women were prepared to take vacant positions (Irish News and Belfast Morning News, 8.7.1909, p.4.)



Why was there a ‘servant problem’?

- ‘Of course, the trouble really arises from the extraordinary spread of education during the last few years and the preference of young women to enter a more independent sphere of action in shops and houses of business…’ (NW, 7.7.1900, p.8.)
- ‘What are the causes of this scarcity…firstly, it is not popular…it is thought to be degrading and, secondly, young women dislike service because they have not every evening to gad about…’ (Belfast Weekly News, 25.5.1895, p.3.)



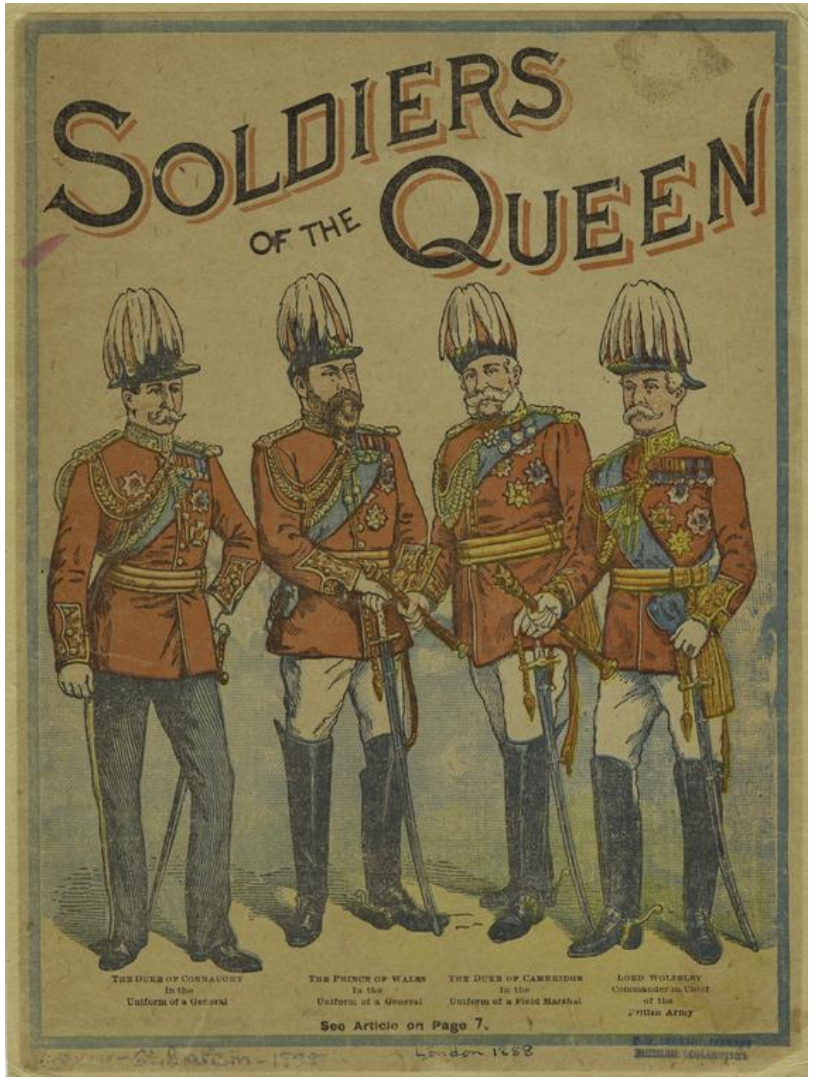
Women's Industrial Council, 1911

- Reported the problems attracting domestic servants were:
    - They believed the problems in the trade were absence of organisation
    - Poor wages (£16 per annum in Belfast, 1906)
    - Disadvantages of service compared to other trades and lack of prospects.
- Solutions:
    - Conferring 'official rank and title on servants' to help sold the 'servant problem'. It was said that 'Housemaid Jones', will herself with greater dignity and take more pride in her work than mere 'Mary'.
    - The ;feeble minded' are excluded from service.
    - Certification of skills for a minimum wage.
- (BT, 19.12.1911, p.4, BT, 18.10.1911, p.5.)



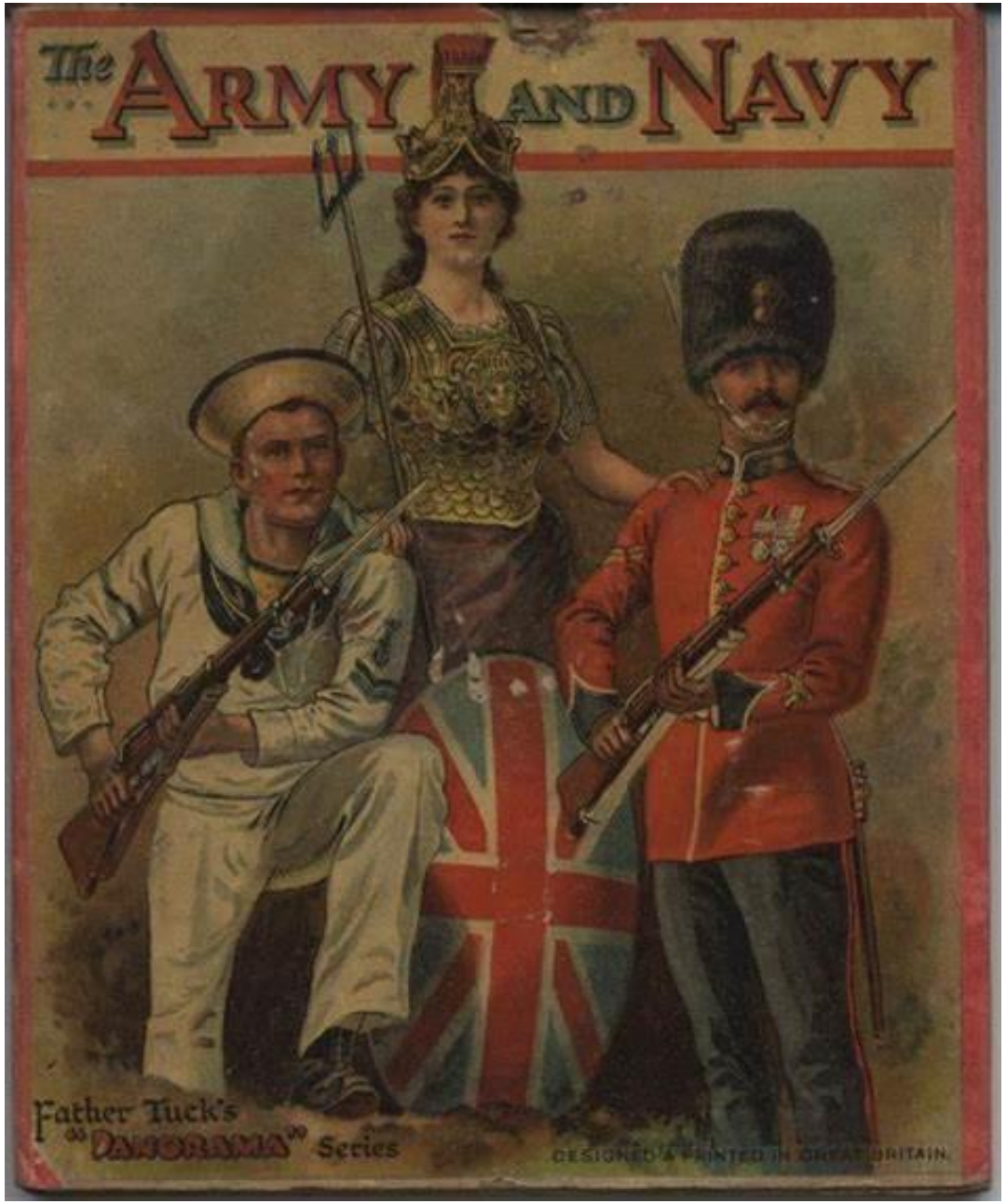
The Military: Taking the King's Shilling

- Papists Act 1778, allowed Catholics to own property, inherit land and join the British Army.
- British needed manpower to fight in the American Revolutionary War; they had made some concessions to North American Catholics with the Quebec Act earlier in 1774.
- Locally raised units in Belfast and Ulster were the Militia and the Yeomanry.



Numbers:

- 1776-83: 16% of the rank and file were Irishmen in the American Revolutionary War.
- 1805: Battle of Trafalgar around a quarter of the Royal Navy crew present (3,573 people) were Irishmen.
- 1813: the British Army's total manpower was 1/2 English, 1/6 Scottish and 1/3 Irish.
- 1830-1878: on average the Irish made up 28 per cent of the army.
- 1899-1902: Anglo South African War - 30,000 Irish troops in the Boer War, with 3,000 Irish dead.
- 1914-1918: 200,000 Irishmen serve in the British military.



Why join?

Michael McDonough, a teenager enlisting in the Connaught Rangers, 1898 said:

"I am full willing to leave my mansion and to go into the interiors of Africa to fight voluntarily for Queen Victoria and as far as there is life in my bones and breath in my body, I will not let any foreign invasion tramp on Queen's land. However, if her or her leaders ever turn with cruelty on the Irish race, I will be the first to raise my sword to fight against her. I will have plenty of Irishmen at my side, for they are known to be the bravest race in the world."



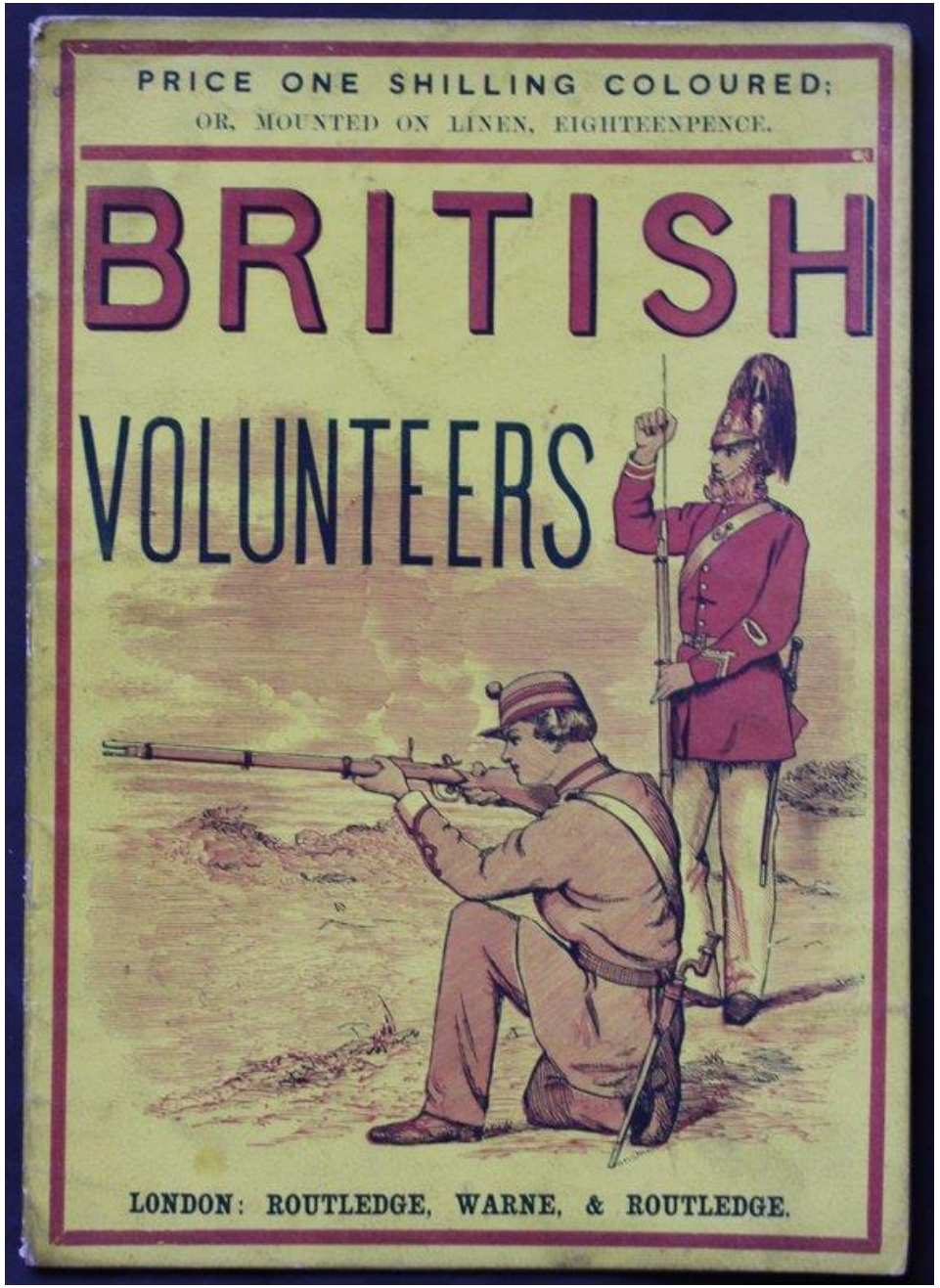
Other motivations

- Economic Opportunity: Escape from poverty, secure income, housing, and food.

- Adventure and Escape: Promised adventure, travel, and a break from everyday life.

- Social Mobility: Offered potential for advancement and increased status.

- Imperial and National Pride: Contributed to the British Empire and national pride.



Obstacles to a Career in the Army

- Ill-health: During the 1850s and 1860s, there was no recruitment in Belfast due to the health of the population. Dr. Purdon, 1877, noted that army recruiters were forbidden to recruit any former mill workers due to short life expectancy and health problems.

- Opposition from family and community: Many working-class families did not want their son ‘gone for a soldier.’ Objections based on political opposition, social shame of service, and the belief that they would spend much of their lives overseas.



Advantages of a Military Career

- Steady Income: Soldiers received a regular salary, which provided financial stability and security for themselves and their families.

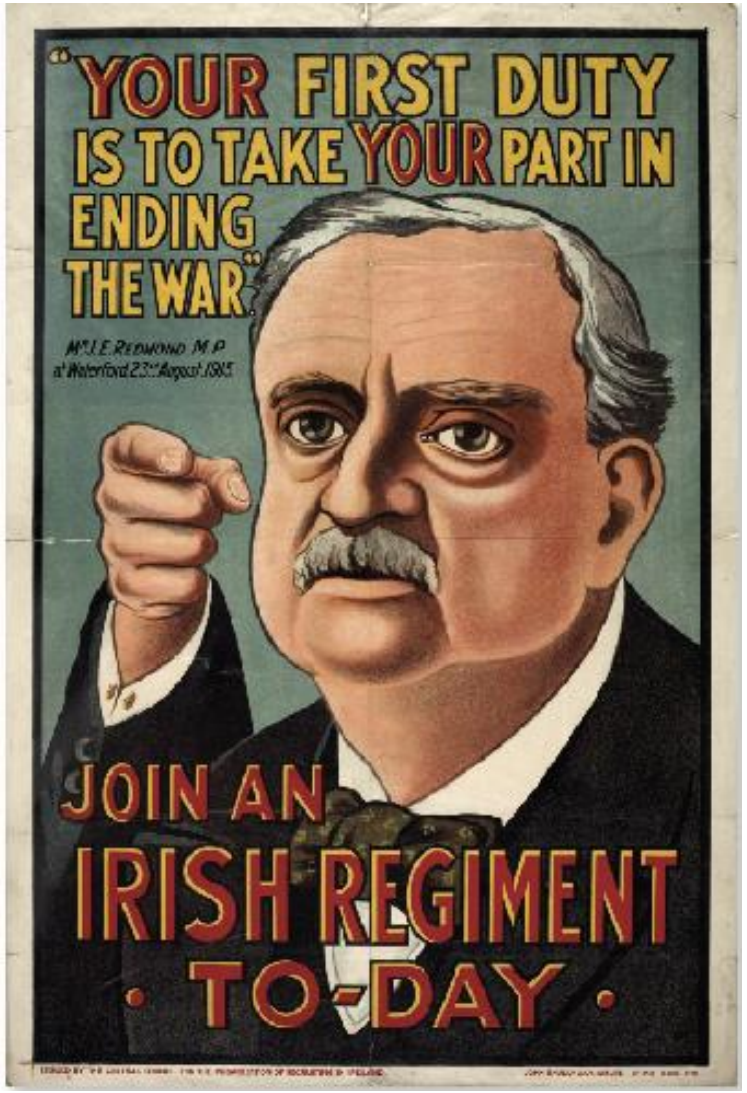
- Adventure and Travel: Military service offered the opportunity to see different parts of the world and experience adventures not available in civilian life.

- Training and Discipline: Soldiers gained valuable skills and discipline that could be useful in civilian careers after their service.

- Social Mobility: The military provided a path to move up the ranks and improve one's social and economic standing.

- Pension Benefits: After retirement, veterans received pensions, providing financial support in their later years.

- National and Imperial Pride: Serving in the army was seen as contributing to national and imperial pride, particularly during the height of the British Empire.



Disadvantages of a Military Career

- Risk of Injury and Death: Soldiers faced the constant danger of combat-related injuries, disabilities, or even death.

- Family Separation: Lengthy deployments and military commitments often led to prolonged separation from loved ones, causing emotional strain.

- Low Pay: Soldiers' salaries were often meager, and their families faced financial difficulties during their absence.

- Harsh Living Conditions: Soldiers endured challenging living conditions, including exposure to harsh weather and limited comfort.

- Limited Personal Freedom: Military life restricted personal freedom and autonomy, including the ability to make independent decisions.

- Social Stigma: In civilian life, soldiers sometimes faced discrimination or social stigmatization, especially during times of peace.

- Suppression of Working-Class Movements: Some soldiers were used to suppress working-class movements and strikes, leading to internal conflicts and ethical dilemmas.



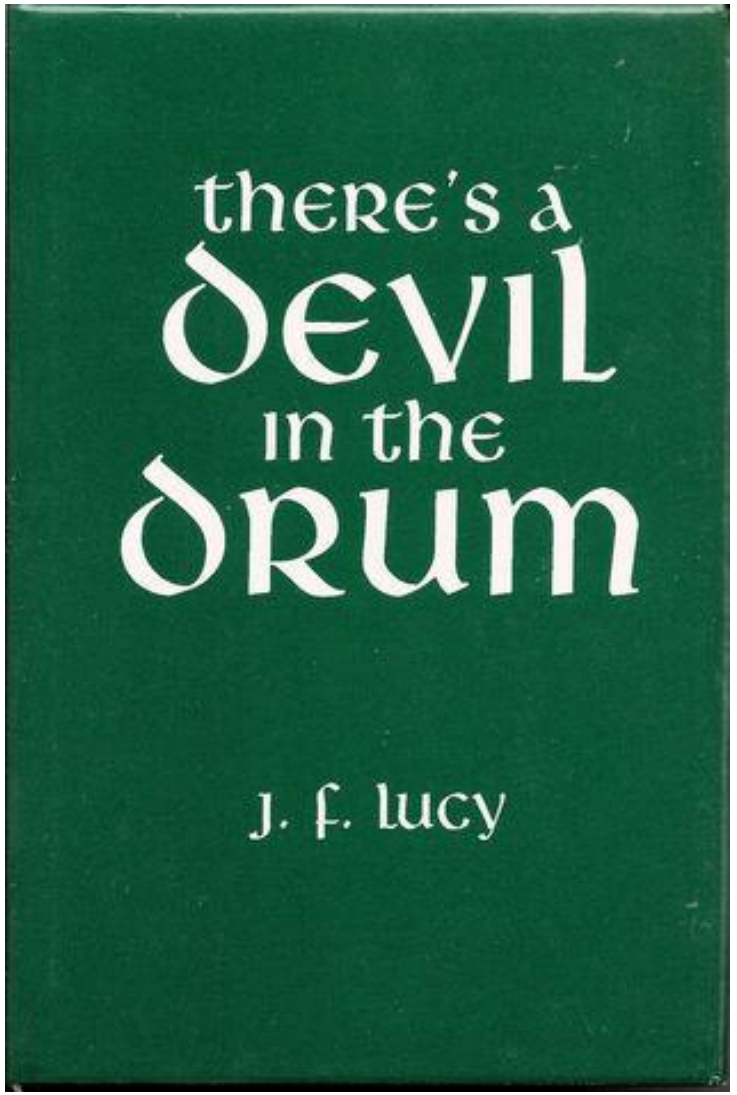
Where did Belfast men serve?

- Difficult to know where Belfast recruits ended up.
- Many joined RN or British Army, could have ended up in many units.
- Many joining the army enlisted in the local regiment:
  - 27th Regiment of Foot, raised in June 1689 to fight in the Williamite War in Ireland.
  - Regiment fought in Egypt in 1801, posted to West Indies from 1805 to 1814.
  - Under the Cardwell reforms of 1881 unit renamed Royal Irish Regiment with 2 battalions



Taking the Shilling: John Lucy's experience

- John Lucy, wrote "Devil in the Drum," about his service before and during the Great War.
- Originally from Cork, Lucy joined the 2nd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles (2/RIR) at Victoria Barracks in Belfast in 1911.



Culture and Environment

- New Surroundings and Language Differences: John Lucy and his fellow recruits from Dublin and Belfast found it difficult to understand one another due to their different accents. Their accents also seemed strange to the others.

- Strict Discipline: NCOs of the old army had the authority to punish soldiers immediately after a transgression. Punishments were swift and often harsh.

- Punishments for Minor Offenses: Soldiers were sometimes punished for minor infractions such as untidiness or slackness on parade. The treatment meted out to these defaulters could be severe, causing even the most cheerful individuals to break down.



Officers and Comrades

- Pre-war Officer-Enlisted Relations: Before the outbreak of the war, officers had limited interaction with the enlisted men, and there was a preference to keep some distance.

- Educational and Sectarian Differences: Soldiers from the north of Ireland were seen as less educated and slower in the schoolroom compared to others. Sectarian fighting among the men was not uncommon.

- Attitudes Toward Officers: While officers at the depot were somewhat distant, those in the regiment had more interaction with the soldiers. Irish officers were preferred for their friendliness and less feudal outlook.

- Affection and Loyalty: John Lucy and his fellow soldiers developed a strong bond with their officers, especially Lieutenant Edmond Thomas, who was considered a gentle and loveable man. Soldiers were willing to go to great lengths for officers who showed them respect and praise.



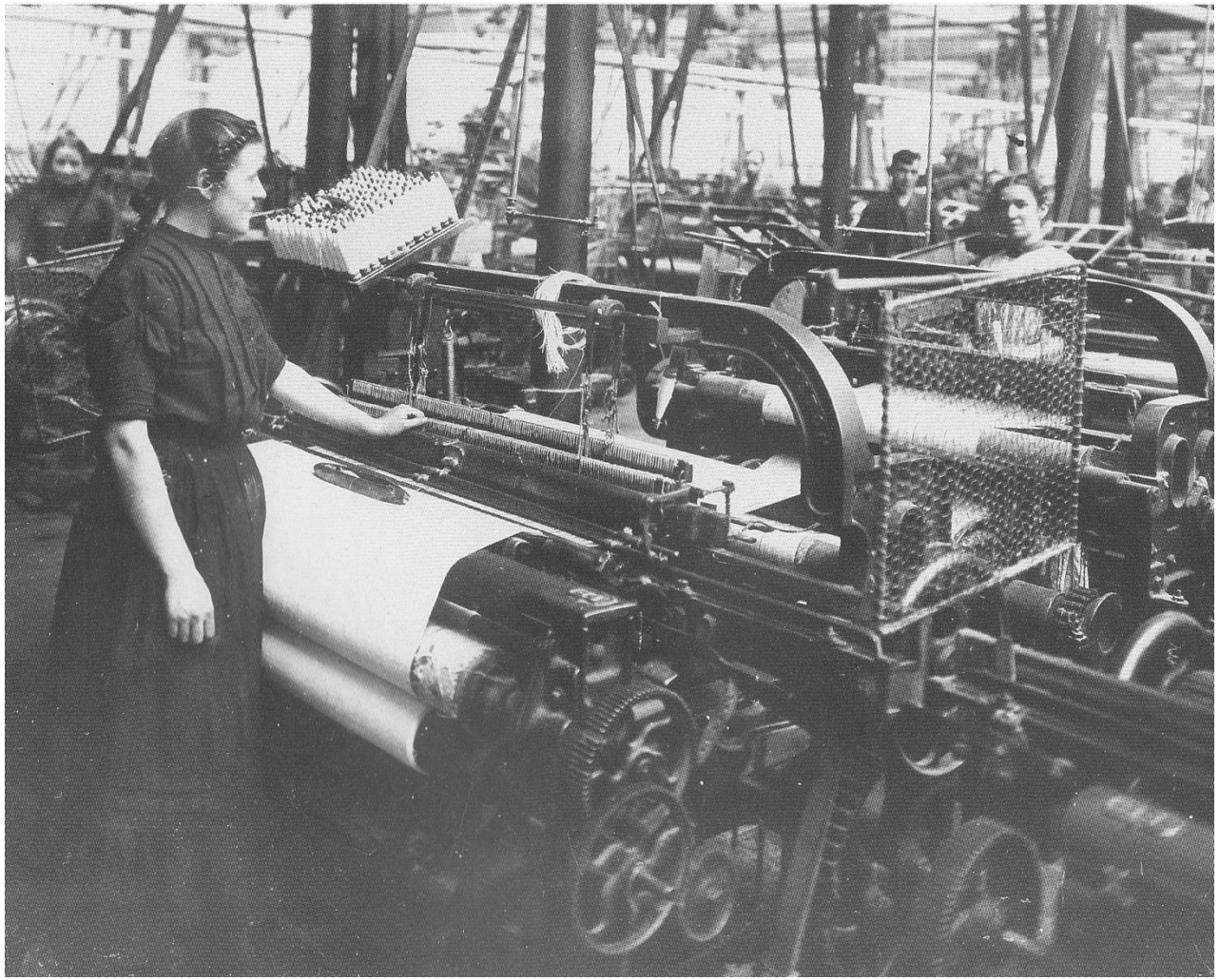
Place of birth other ranks serving in 2/RIR the year that they died between 1914-18 (Soldiers' Died)

Place of birth / Year service ended	Province of Ireland				Outside Ireland	Records
	Connacht	Leinster	Munster	Ulster		
1914	1.5%	22.0%	10.5%	51.5%	14.5%	332
1915	1.3%	13.2%	5.1%	55.9%	24.4%	311
1916	2.0%	17.3%	8.0%	53.0%	19.7%	249
1917	1.9%	15.1%	3.8%	44.0%	35.2%	159
1918	1.8%	9.0%	4.5%	51.6%	33.2%	223
Total	1.6%	15.8%	6.8%	52.0%	23.8%	1274

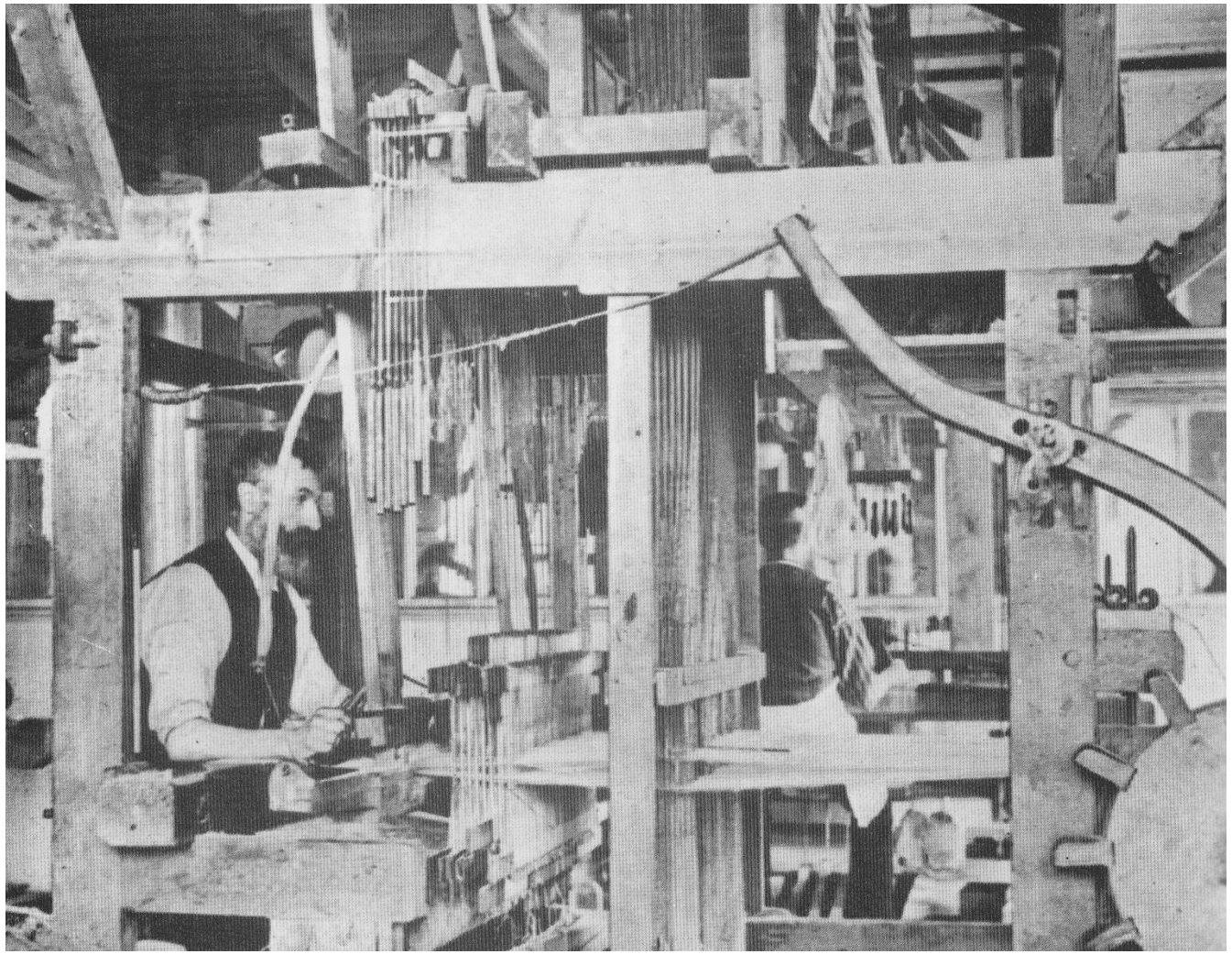
Religious composition of other ranks serving in 2/RIR the year that they died between 1914-18 (Soldiers' Died) (based on religious composition of their Irish province of birth)

	Catholic	Protestant	Other religions in Ireland	Religion unknown - born outside Ireland	Records
1914	53%	31%	2%	14%	332
1915	42%	32%	2%	24%	311
1916	47%	31%	2%	20%	249
1917	38%	26%	1%	35%	159
1918	36%	29%	2%	33%	223

Working in the linen trade



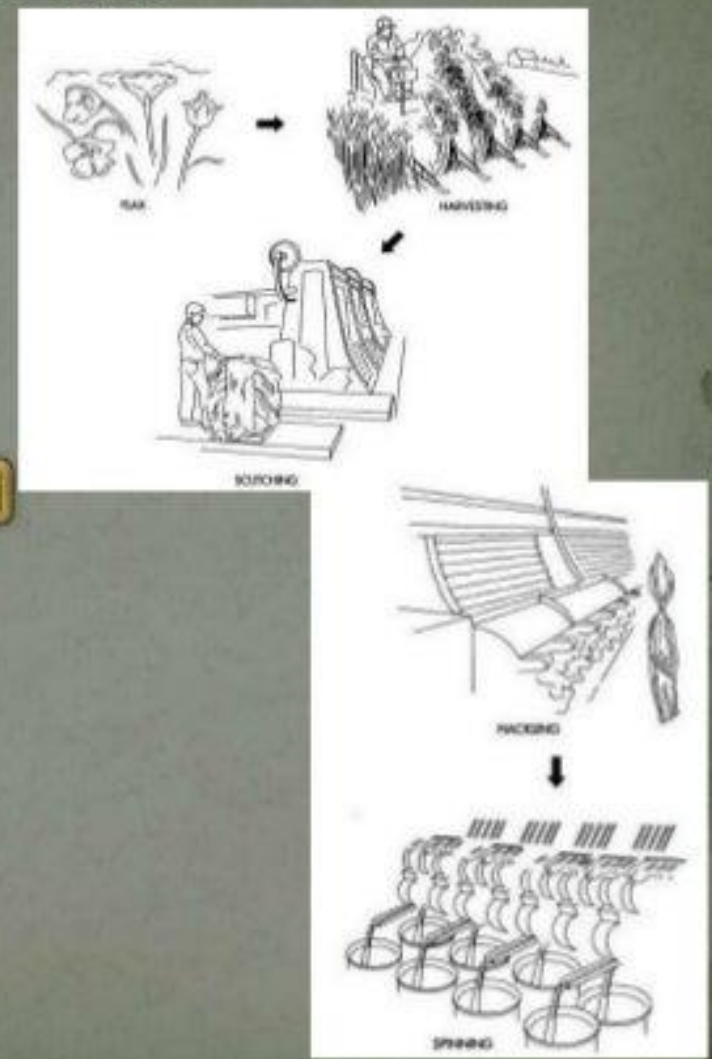
Cottage hand powered to mechanised factory system



Damask Handloom
weaver, Co. Down, 1890

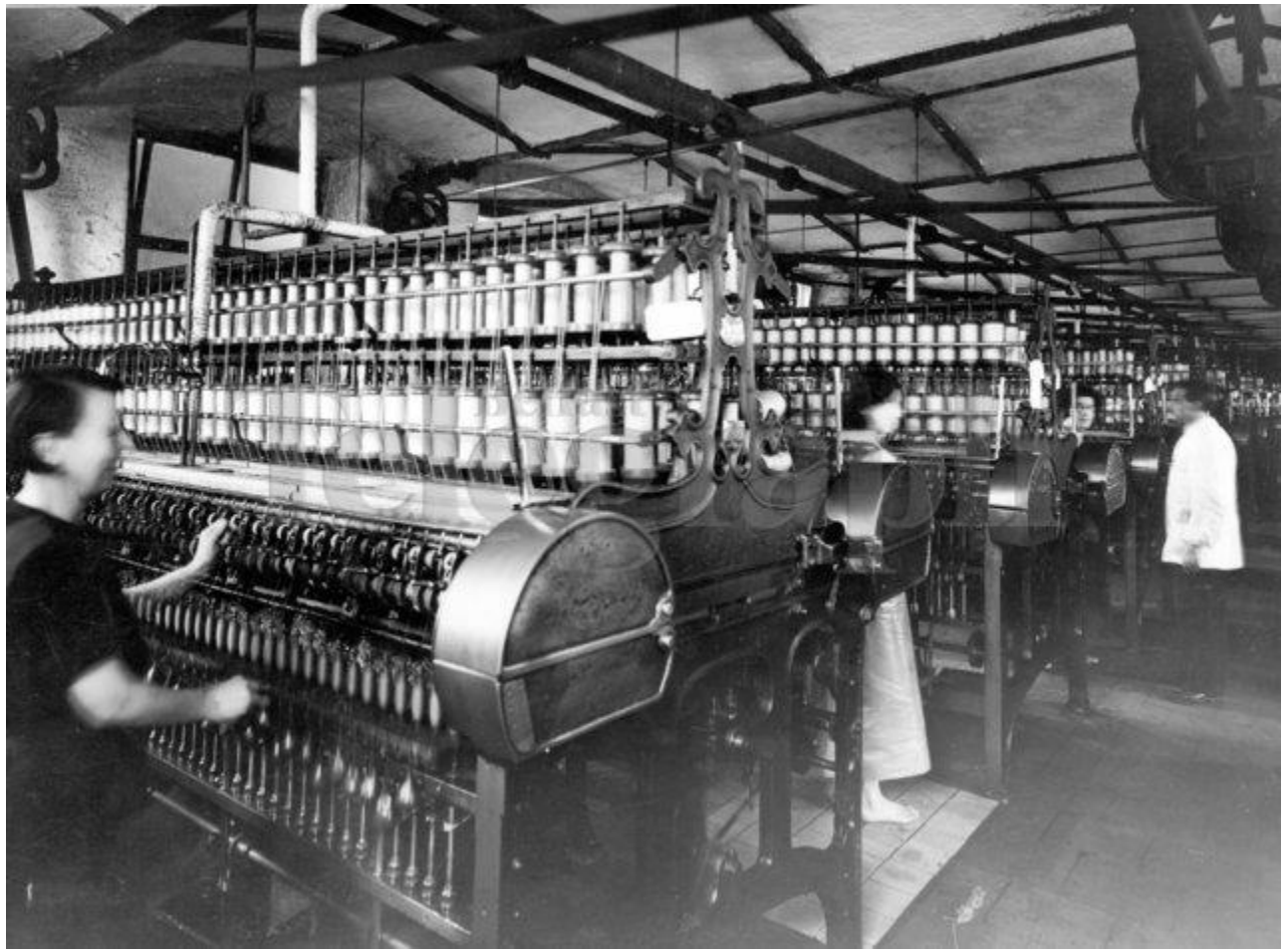
LINEN MANUFACTURING PROCESS

- Cultivation
- Harvesting
- Preparation of the Fiber
  - Ripping
  - Retting
- Breaking
- Scutching
- Hackling
- Spinning



Working in the mills

- 6.00 or 6.30: Start work.
- 8.15 to 9.00: Breakfast
- 13.00-13:45: Lunch
- 18:00: End



Scutching room

The scutching process separates the impurities from the raw material, such as the seeds from raw cotton or the straw and woody stem from flax fibers.

This was as one of the most unhealthy because the air was filled with dry flax plant dust called 'pouce' and workers could not avoid inhaling it. As it settled in the lungs, it caused shortness of breath and many bronchial complaints.



Rippling flax



The hackling and carding rooms

- Hackling splits and straightens the flax fibers, as well as removes the fibrous core and impurities.
- Carding is a mechanical process that disentangles, cleans and intermixes fibres to produce a continuous web or sliver suitable for subsequent processing.
- These processes used machines which were often not properly guarded. Facial and hand injuries, ranging from lacerations to mutilations.



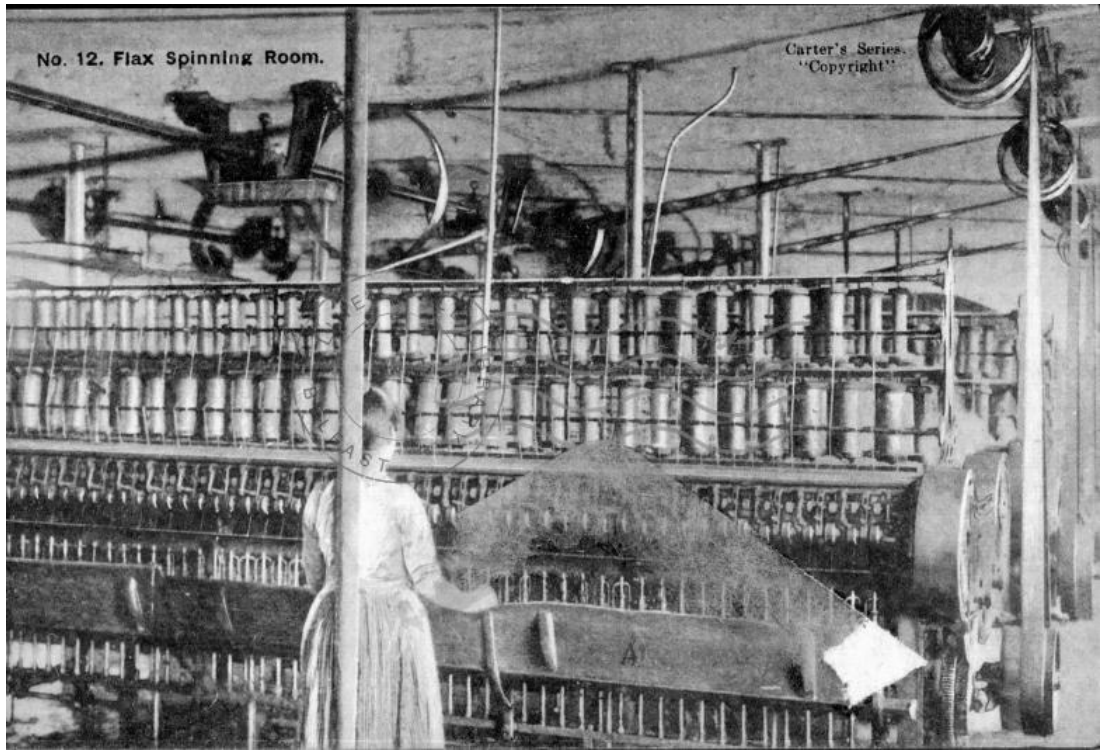




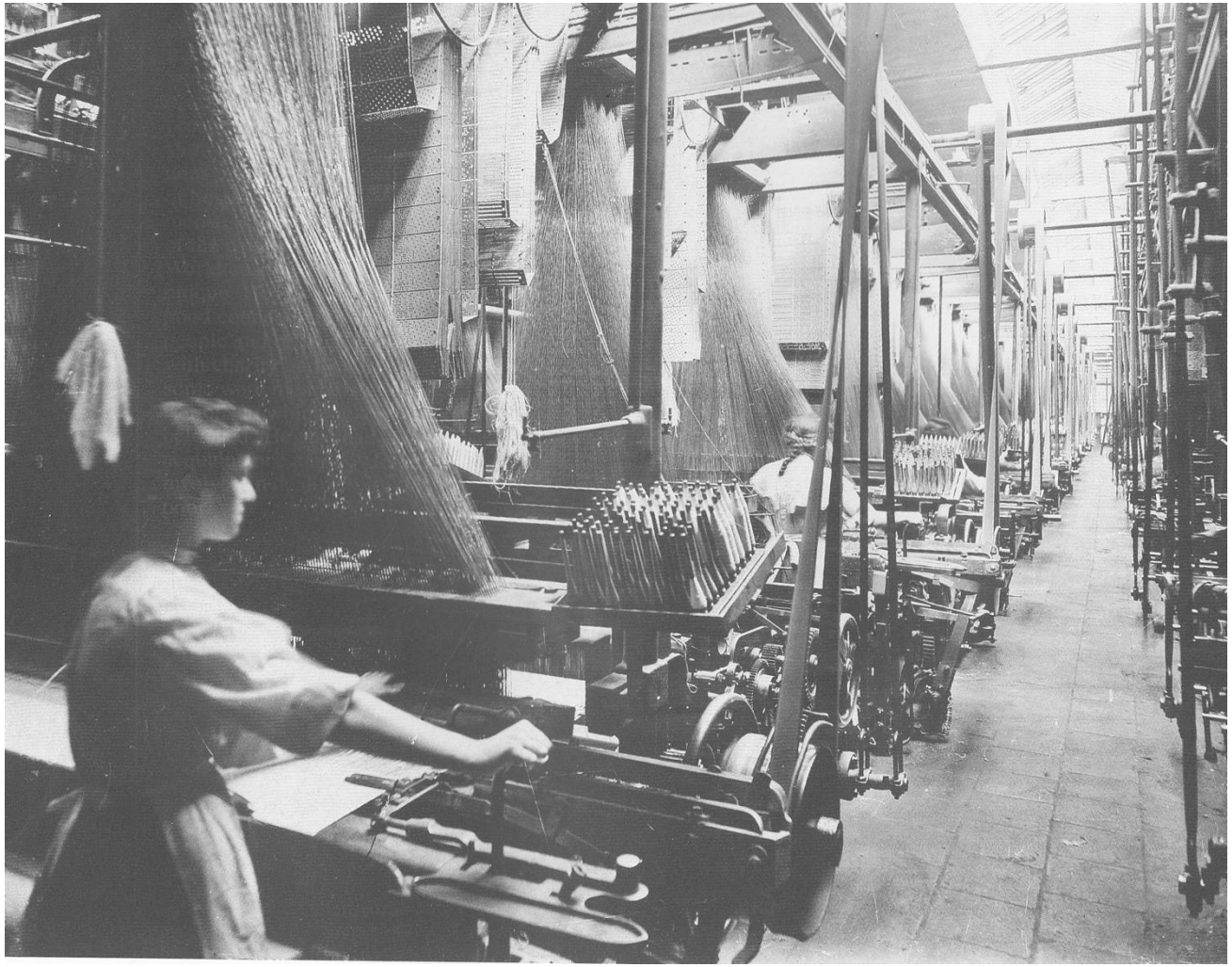
Mill workers attending a machine in Early Blanket Mill, Witney, Oxfordshire 1860

Spinning Room

- Flax was spun wet so the room was humid, damp and had water on the floor.
- Temperatures were hot and humid and workers tended to be barefoot.
- There was noise from the machines, a danger of injury from the machines and the dampness and heat.



Jacquard weaving looms





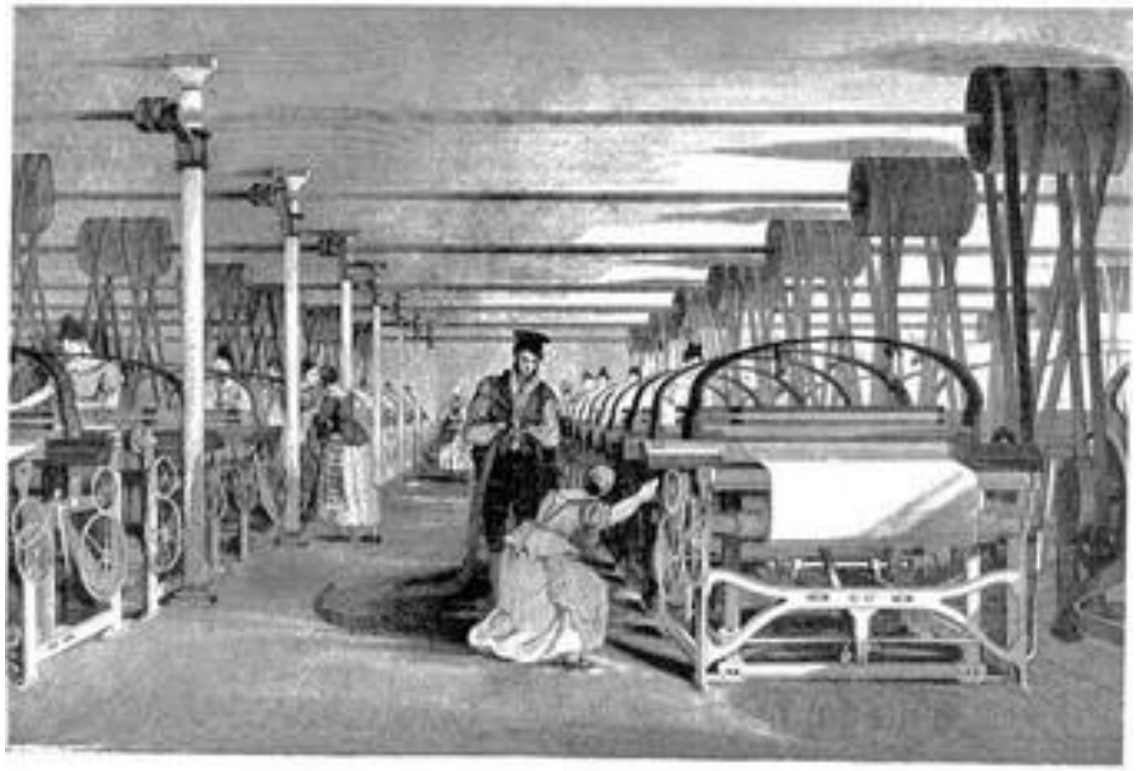
Bleach works

- Linen cloth often needed to be bleached white as its natural colour was brown.
- The bleachworks is where material was bleached. Workers were exposed to chemicals and
- Longer summer daylight hours meant bleachers often worked from 5.30am to 6pm Monday to Friday and 5.30am to 3pm on Saturdays. Less than two hours were allowed for breakfast and dinner.



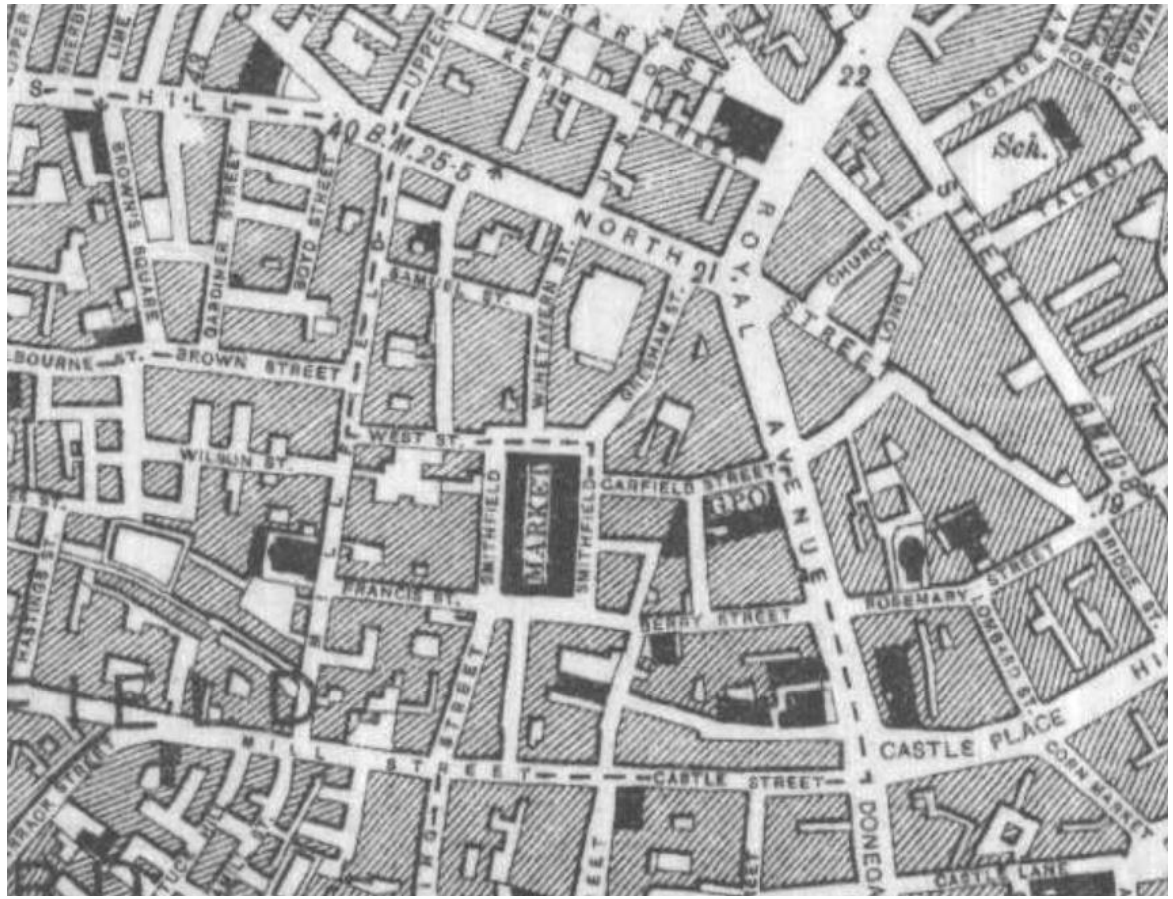
Health problems

- Dr John Moore, 1867 on hackling: ‘the dust and fine particles of the flax…[and cause] a great deal of bronchial irritation’. This is known as the ponce.
- Dr Purdon, 1877 noted that army recruiters were forbidden to recruit any former mill workers due to short life expectancy and health problems.
- Dr Moore observed that got ‘onychia’ an inflammation of the matrix of a toe nail often leading to suppuration and loss of the nail. This was caused by girls working bare foot in wet conditions in the spinning room.



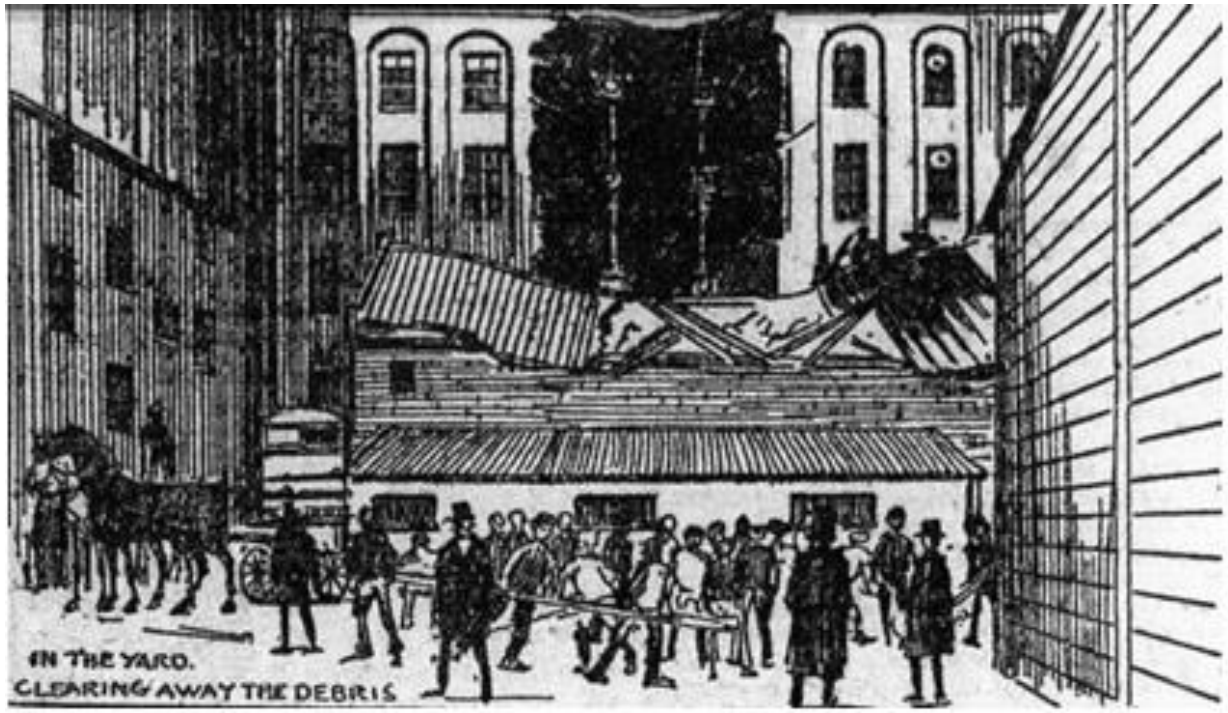
The Smithfield Mill Disaster - 1902

- Introduction to the Tragedy: On the morning of 20th January 1902, a devastating incident unfolded at the Smithfield Flax Spinning and Weaving Mill in Belfast, forever etching the Smithfield Mill Disaster into history.
- Historical Background: Situated on Winetavern Street, the mill had a storied history dating back to 1805, originally as a cotton mill and later converted to a linen mill by the Herdman family in 1853.
- Employment and Workforce: By 1902, it was one of the town's oldest mills, employing around 600 workers, predominantly women who worked in challenging conditions.



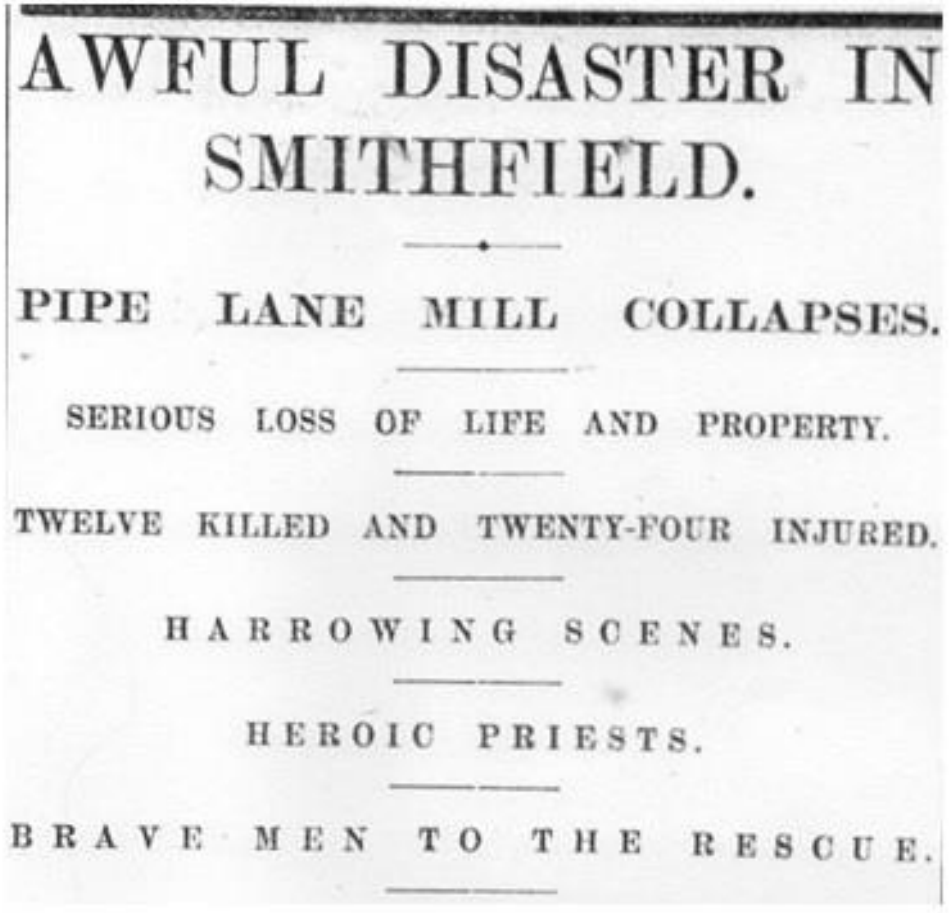
The Mill Collapse

- Tragedy Unfolds: At approximately 9:20 am on the fateful day, a section of the mill's east-facing exterior wall unexpectedly collapsed, causing extensive damage inside the facility.
- Devastation and Entrapment: Thirty tonnes of machinery plummeted across the mill's five floors, tragically trapping workers, particularly in the reeling room and carding room.
- Witness Accounts: Eye-witnesses described a deafening noise, a massive pile of debris, and the release of scalding steam from ruptured pipes, amplifying the gravity of the situation.



Rescue, Aftermath, and Community Response

- Rescue Operations: Firefighters and millworkers engaged in immediate rescue efforts, despite the perilous conditions and the threat of further collapses. Injured workers were transported to the Belfast Royal Hospital.
- Loss of Lives: The disaster claimed the lives of 14 women and girls, leaving numerous others with severe injuries and permanent disabilities. These victims were mainly from working-class backgrounds.
- Community Solidarity: The Belfast community responded with unity, holding a public meeting to express condolences and establish a fund to support affected families. The Belfast Evening Telegraph initiated a separate charitable fund.
- Inquest and Resolution: The official inquest determined that the mill's collapse resulted from a structural defect at the base of its piers, absolving individuals of blame. The Smithfield Mill was eventually rebuilt, but the memory of the disaster endured, with reports of apparitions within the former mill's site.



AWFUL DISASTER IN SMITHFIELD.

PIPE LANE MILL COLLAPSES.

SERIOUS LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

TWELVE KILLED AND TWENTY-FOUR INJURED.

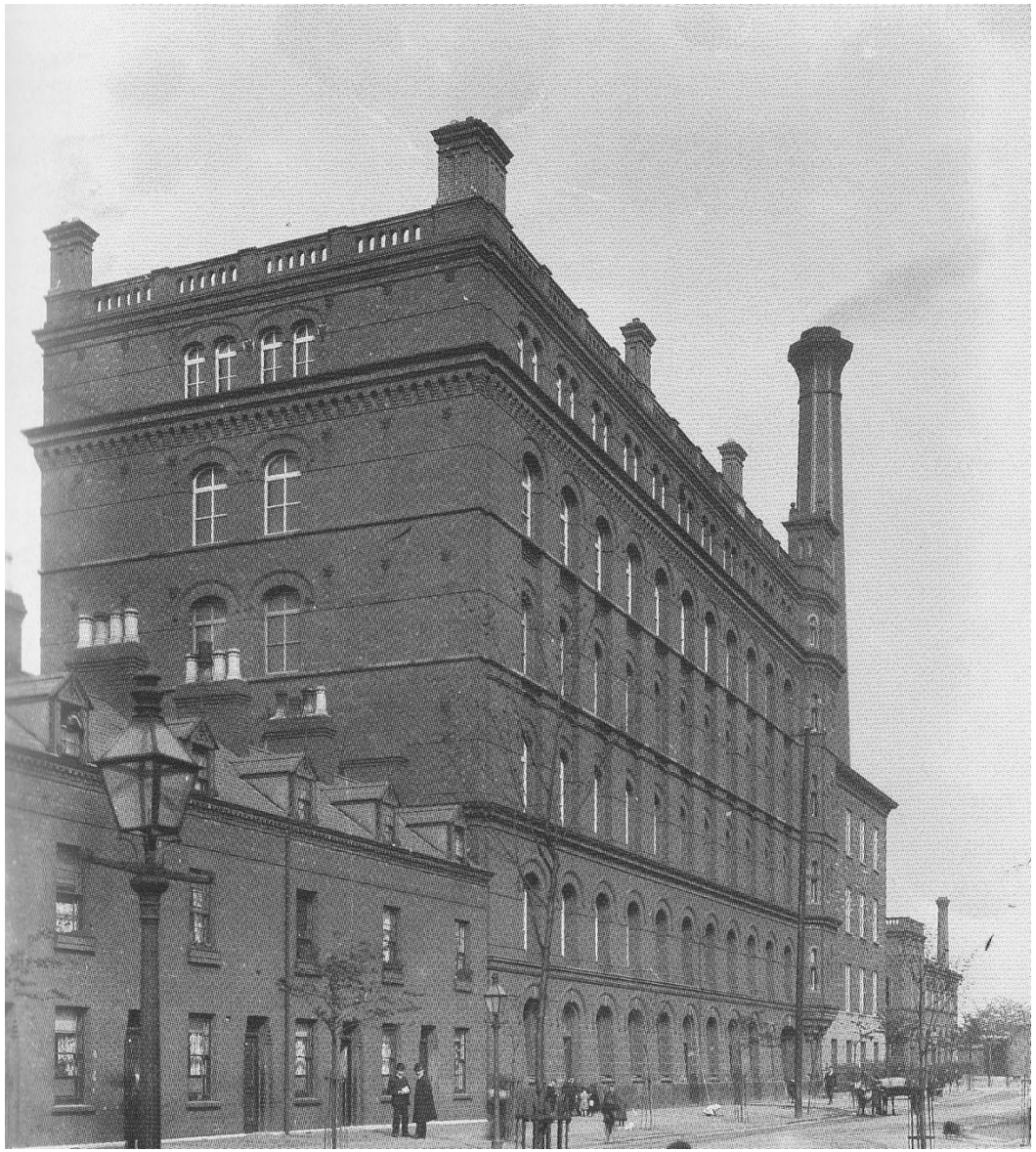
HARROWING SCENES.

HEROIC PRIESTS.

BRAVE MEN TO THE RESCUE.

Loyalty to the mill…

February 1863: A number of millworkers in Mr. Glenfield's mill, York Road, disputed with other millworkers, in the employment of Mr. Beck, Jennymount (right), and a serious riot ensued – stone-throwing – the usual mode of fight in Belfast at the time - being used.



Social division in roles in the mill or factory

Winders in the Belfast Linen Industry:

- Played a pivotal role in linen production, ensuring proper winding of linen thread
- Considered socially superior within the industry, along with weavers and warpers
- Selectivity in job placement, requiring recommendations from community leaders



Doffers in the Belfast Linen Industry

- Responsible for replacing full bobbins on spinning machines with empty ones
- Contributed to the smooth running of the spinning process
- Doffers typically worked near the spinning machines, moving from one machine to another to perform their duties.



Cleanliness and Status

- Social status within the industry correlated with the cleanliness of the role
- Cleaner jobs, like winding, were associated with higher social standing
- Factory work was considered comparatively cleaner, elevating the status of winders and their counterparts.
- Winders, weavers, and warpers were regarded as "aristocrats" in the industry due to the relatively clean and prestigious nature of their work.



The Rise of White-Collar Work in Belfast, 1850–1914

Clerks in Ulster	1901	1911
Male	7,352	7,809
Female	1,572	3,798
Total	8,924	11,607

- Between 1850 and 1914, Belfast developed into Ireland's leading industrial city.
- The growth of linen manufacturing, shipbuilding and engineering created thousands of jobs.
- Industrial expansion also increased demand for clerks, accountants, managers and office workers.
- A growing white-collar workforce helped establish a new urban middle class.

The Expansion of Office Employment

- Large companies such as Harland and Wolff required clerks to manage wages, accounts and correspondence.
- Belfast's international trade created greater demand for bookkeeping, shipping administration and commercial services.
- Banks, insurance companies and legal firms expanded alongside the industrial economy.
- Office work became an increasingly important part of Belfast's employment structure.



The Growth of Public Administration

- Belfast received city status in 1888, reflecting its growing economic importance.
- The expansion of local government created more administrative and clerical positions.
- Belfast Corporation employed staff to manage public services, including gas, electricity and tramways.
- The opening of Belfast City Hall in 1906 symbolised the growth of municipal administration.



The Emergence of a New Middle Class

- White-collar employment offered an alternative to manual labour in factories and shipyards.
- Clerks, bank officials and administrators increasingly formed a distinct lower-middle class.
- By the early twentieth century, Belfast's lower-middle class was estimated at approximately 5,000–6,000 families.
- Office employment was associated with education, respectability and opportunities for social advancement.
- Protestant workers were disproportionately represented in several clerical and administrative occupations.



Wages, Status and Living Standards

- White-collar workers did not necessarily earn more than skilled industrial workers.
- Skilled shipyard tradesmen could earn approximately 35–45 shillings per week.
- However, office employment generally offered cleaner working conditions and greater social prestige.
- Middle-class families placed considerable importance on education, respectable clothing and household possessions.
- Clerical employment was increasingly viewed as a route towards greater financial security and social mobility.



Women Entering White-Collar Employment

- During the late nineteenth century, clerical employment remained predominantly male.
- The introduction of typewriters and improved communications technology created new office occupations.
- Increasing numbers of women entered employment as typists, secretaries and telegraph clerks.
- Women generally occupied junior positions, while senior management remained dominated by men.
- By 1914, female clerical employment was beginning to challenge traditional expectations about women's work.



Who the clerks?

- George Cecil Gunning – a Belfast bank clerk (1911)
- The 1911 census records Gunning as a bank official clerk, boarding at 30 Eia Street near Antrim Road.
- Three other bank officials, aged 21–25, boarded in the same household.



Millie by Ross Wilson





Questions?