

The Famine in South Tipperary – Part Two

By Denis G. Marnane

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Introduction

By 1848 the Famine was over. Or so it seemed, judging from the attitude of the British government. Special measures to meet extraordinary circumstances in Ireland had been discontinued. Instead, the Irish Poor Law system was expected to cope with Irish poverty. This system had been put in place a decade earlier, at a time when there was a great deal of destitution but even the poorest individual or family had access to plentiful and cheap potatoes. For those on the margins of society, especially the unwanted young and the infirm old, workhouses were established to sweep them out of the way behind high grey walls and provide a minimum of cold sustenance, consistent with sound economy.

On the part of those who created this system of relief, there was a kind of terror that the Poor Law would, in the words of George Nicholls, "create the evil which it is sought to guard against".¹ This same attitude runs through *The Irish Crisis*, Charles Trevelyan's self-serving account of the Famine, which he first published in January 1848. In his conclusion, he warned that local distress could not be relieved out of national (meaning British) resources, without there being great abuses and that a culture of dependence, affecting both landlord and cottier, was part of the Irish national character.²

Addressing the grand jury at Clonmel quarter sessions in April 1848, the judge echoed the point that the Famine was over and – an idea that Trevelyan would have agreed with – ascribed its cause to Providence. "[The people] are but slowly rising from the afflictions of pestilence and famine which it has pleased the Almighty to send among them."³

During the first nine months or so of the Famine, when Robert Peel was prime minister, Indian corn was purchased in America and shipped to Ireland and early in 1846, as had been done during earlier famines, public works were instituted. In March a public health act was passed empowering the Lord Lieutenant to appoint a central board of health with power to direct poor law guardians to open fever hospitals. This act was amended and continued in April 1847.

Unlike 1845, the potato crop in 1846 was a disaster, thus forcing the new government (led by Lord John Russell) against their better judgment to continue providing public works, which by virtue of their scale, inadequate supervision and the lethal trinity of hard labour, harsh weather and inadequate diet, failed to stop the increasing loss of life. The provision of food, mainly porridge or soup, initially provided by voluntary groups such as Quakers, was taken over by the government in February 1847 and continued for some months. The potato crop in 1847 was quite sound but small.

In 1847 there was a general election which confirmed Russell's government in power but which shifted the balance of power within his party in favour of those who, like Charles Wood the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were against intervention in Ireland. This stance was reinforced by a temporary though severe economic crisis in Britain in the autumn of 1847.⁴

The original 1838 Act setting up the Poor Law system had been explicit that relief would only

be available within the workhouses. Taking the three poor law unions of Tipperary, Cashel and Clogheen (between them accounting for nearly three-quarters of South Tipperary), the accommodation they provided, 1,900 places, was just under 1% of the 1841 population of the area covered by these three unions. By April 1848 accommodation had increased to 3,720 or very nearly double.⁵

However, such was the demand for relief, especially with the cessation of alternatives, that large amounts of outdoor relief had to be offered. The Poor Relief (Ireland) Act (10 Vict., c. 31) of June 1847 empowered boards of guardians to grant outdoor relief to aged, infirm and sick poor and to poor widows with two or more dependent children, and also to give food to able-bodied poor but for limited periods. When these measures were being discussed in parliament, Sir William Gregory put forward an amendment, which was accepted, to the effect that any occupier of more than a quarter of an acre would not be considered destitute and therefore would not receive relief paid for by local taxpayers. As a recent writer noted: "This legislation marked the final stage in the shift from central to local responsibility".⁶

The story of the Famine and its consequences from this time on is the struggle by the poor law unions to cope with the burden placed on them.

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1848

In early 1848 there were scenes of terrible destitution and suffering in South Tipperary. In Clonmel, apart from the large numbers getting relief both inside and outside the workhouse, there were many who refused relief and went about the streets, breaking lamps and windows in the hope of being put in gaol and thus fed. "Numbers have died lingering deaths from actual starvation, of whom not one word is spoken."⁷

"In every street you meet famine-stricken creatures with the impress of death indelibly stamped on their cadaverous countenances, crawling from door to door, scarce able to ask from the overtaxed shopkeepers a little relief to appease the cravings of hunger, and in the several lanes and other parts of the town the dead remain for weeks without interment for want of coffins."⁸ What is not recorded is the mechanism which allowed shopkeepers and others not facing starvation to cope with such scenes; perhaps a blind eye and, later when it was over, a kind of collective amnesia?

On the evening of Saturday 12 February two boys who had broken the window panes of a shop in Bagwell St. were brought before the mayor. They declared: "We did it. We were hungry and we knew Your Worship would send us to gaol and we stopt [sic] outside the window till we were taken." Previously, their mother and her five children had been sent to the workhouse and from there had been consigned to outdoor relief.

Asked why, if the family was getting outdoor relief, they broke the windows, they answered: "What relief is two shillings a week for six of us and to pay rent out of it. We didn't eat a bit of anything since yesterday morning."⁹ The mayor sent them to gaol. At mass on Sundays in Clonmel the sheer number of the names of the deceased of the previous week reinforced the scale of what was happening.¹⁰

Elsewhere in the region there were similar scenes of hunger and desperation. In the Glen of Aherlow the house of the relieving officer was under constant siege from applicants for outdoor relief.¹¹ In Ballyporeen the P.P. wrote to the press describing how he called on a family consisting of a widow and her eight children and found them feeding on the flesh of a dead horse, found (so they said) in a nearby field.¹² In Lisonagh near Clonmel a widow, returning

home with her children after being refused entry to Clonmel workhouse, witnessed the death on the side of the road of her eldest daughter who was eleven years of age.¹³

It was not just the destitute who died. Those whose professions brought them into close contact with the poor ran a serious risk of contracting disease. At the beginning of 1848 in West Tipperary and East Limerick the death of Edward Dalton aroused much sympathy and received a good deal of press notice. The size of his funeral (as ever in Ireland) was a sign of the esteem in which he and his family were held. He was the eldest son of William Dalton of Abbey Athassel and had been medical officer to the Tipperary workhouse.

He was only 26 years of age and following his medical education in Scotland had been appointed dispensary doctor in Bansha, a post he held for 14 months before being appointed to Tipperary workhouse in January 1846. His timing therefore was unfortunate. In large measure he owed the workhouse position to the support he received from Hugh Baker of Lismacue near Bansha. During the two years he served the Tipperary workhouse, Dalton (who lived at 35 West Main St. Tipperary) demonstrated that, when he thought it necessary, he would push for improvements. However, in this he needed to carry a majority of the board (or more exactly, a majority of those present at the meeting) with him, and this he did not always manage to do.

The Limerick Chronicle published a poem entitled "On the death of Dr Dalton – who died in the prime of life of fever caught in Tipperary workhouse".¹⁴

He died himself of the taken plague
And we build him no trophy here,
But a book of remembrance we know is kept
In another and juster sphere.

In conditions of over-crowding and malnourishment, if not actual starvation, fever was inevitable. Famine fever was made up of two distinct types of disease, typhus and relapsing fever. The former was spread by lice and was widespread in unsanitary conditions even before the Famine; the latter, though caused by a different organism, was also spread by lice. Its onset was more dramatic, usually accompanied by severe gastric symptoms from which the patient seemed to get better only to suffer a relapse after a week or so, a pattern which could be repeated until the patient died.

In this context, soon after his appointment to Tipperary workhouse, Dr Dalton was shocked to find that patients transferring between the fever ward and the sleeping quarters of the workhouse took their bedding with them.¹⁵ Aiding the spread of disease was the market in used clothing, something very much helped by the extent to which pawnshops were used (see below). A recent



Fr. Mathew, who visited his native county during the Famine. (By kind permission of National Library of Ireland.)

writer has remarked on "the flotsam and jetsam of the rag trade flowing from east to west circuitously seeking its lowest market, where the final drops of profit could be wrung out".¹⁶

In Munster in 1847 48 doctors fell victim to fever, mainly typhus and nationally; of 473 medical officers appointed by the board of health, one in 13 died at his post.¹⁷ The following is a list of middle-class victims of famine fever in South Tipperary, as reported in the local press. It will be noted that the list contains four medical doctors as well as individuals associated with the work of the poor law unions, who comprise the largest number of victims. The list also contains two clergymen. The M.P. is included because, while not a native of the region, he represented the county from February 1845.

TABLE 1
Some middle-class victims of famine fever, South Tipperary 1847-48

Name	Status	Date Death Reported
Dr. Daniel	Fever Hosp., Cahir	L.C. 24/2/1847
John Power	PLG Clonmel	T.V. 21/4/1847
James Burke	PLG Clonmel	T.V. 21/4/1847
R. A. Fitzgerald	M.P. Tipperary	T.F.P. 16/6/1847
J. Fitzgerald	M.D. Carrick	T.F.P. 23/6/1847
Rev. Dr. Cummins	P.P. Killenaule	T.V. 30/6/1847
Thomas Eagar	Sub-Insp. RIC, Tipp.	T.F.P. 10/7/1847
J. Hewston	Apothecary, Fever Hosp. Fethard	T.F.P. 18/8/1847
E. Frewen	PLG Tipperary (Clonbeg)	BG 152/A/7, 16/10/1847
W. O'Donnell	PLG Carrick (chairman)	T.F.P. 24/12/1847
Edmund Scully	PLG Cashel	T.F.P. 24/12/1847
Edward Dalton	M.D. Tipperary PLU	T.F.P. 5/1/1848
George Grubb	Clonmel	T.F.P. 22/1/1848
J. B. McCraith	M.D. Killenaule	T.F.P. 16/2/1848
Rev. J. Curren	C.C. Ballyporeen	T.F.P. 15/4/1848
Capt. Hill	P.L. Inspector, Clonmel	T.C. 19/5/1848

The impact of the Great Famine on West Cork plays an important part in the popular understanding of the disaster. A study of that region gives the number of Famine-related deaths in 1846-47 as 7,332, 44% from "fever", 22% from dysentery and 34% from starvation. The writer designated "fever" and dysentery as together meaning famine fever, so that the number of deaths from this in two years was 4,817, an astonishing figure.¹⁸

In South Tipperary the number, while considerable, was nothing like that of West Cork. The statistics available for South Tipperary relate to deaths in fever hospitals. (The West Cork information is based on a specific and more detailed local source.) In South Tipperary deaths in fever hospitals in 1846-47 amounted to 1,150 persons. The year 1847 was the worst; but the situation in the three following years made it clear that famine cast a long shadow.

TABLE 2
Deaths in Fever Hospitals, South Tipperary 1844-50¹⁹

1844	148			1848	553
1845	168	1847	855	1849	715
1846	295			1850	553
Total	611			Total	1,821

Fever hospitals were located in Clonmel, Cahir, Carrick, Clogheen, Cashel, Tipperary; there were also a number of temporary fever hospitals, beginning in 1847.²⁰ The hospital in Cahir, a town which was not the focus of a PLU, opened in 1847 also. That year saw a massive increase in the number of admissions or as the source puts it, "receptions", to hospital. Receptions in 1846 were 4,801; in 1847 the figure was 12,951. The following year the figure was reduced dramatically to 5,852, but it rose again in the following two years – 1849 (7,075) and 1850 (7,072).

With regard to the increase in admissions to fever hospitals from 1846 to 1847, there were marked differences from place to place. In Clonmel the percentage increase was 243%, in Carrick 120%, in Clogheen 188% and in Cashel 30%. In Tipperary, such was the incidence of fever that the increase was just 4%. In both Carrick and Tipperary famine fever was already a very serious problem by 1846, with admissions increasing by 242% in Carrick and by 50% in Tipperary from the previous year.

TABLE 3
Deaths in Fever Hospitals as a percentage of receptions, 1844-50

Place	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850
Clonmel	4.2	2.8	5.4	4.2	8.4	11.9	1.7
Cahir	–	–	–	10.4	3.6	11.4	9.3
Carrick	5.1	12.2	8.5	9.8	16.3	10.5	11.2
Clogheen	4.2	3.0	1.0	6.0	8.6	11.6	7.6
Cashel	5.4	3.8	8.6	10.8	5.5	10.3	13.2
Tipperary	8.8	5.3	4.9	8.2	7.3	6.5	11.3
Temporary	–	–	–	5.1	8.0	7.8	8.3

These figures show that 1849 was the year with the highest mortality rates, a situation very much the consequence of a new disease, cholera, being added to existing misery. Mortality rates in individual fever hospitals in particular years owed a lot to local conditions such as over-crowding and the care exercised by medical officers. The relatively high rates of mortality in Tipperary in 1844 and 1845 reflected conditions outlined in the previous article of this series. The slight improvement in 1846 probably owed something to the efforts of the newly-appointed medical officer, Dr Dalton; but nothing could prevent the inexorable increase in the death rate in 1847.

The only exception to this trend was in Clonmel, where the rate decreased even though the actual number of deaths went from 72 to 194; receptions increased from 1,330 to 4,556. From the point of view of the likelihood of surviving admission to fever hospital in South Tipperary during these years, the best bet was Clonmel; very much the worst bet was Carrick-on-Suir, where a patient was almost twice as likely not to survive. The particular circumstances obtaining in the PLUs of Tipperary, Cashel and Clogheen are examined in more detail below.

Reference was made above to the extent to which poor people made use of pawnshops, especially in their efforts to turn rags to money to food. Towards the close of 1848 the Poor Law Commissioners examined the role of pawnbrokers in the economy of the poor.²¹ Patrick Casey, a pawnbroker of West Gate, Clonmel, who had been in the business for eight years, reported that the quality of articles being pledged, especially clothing, was getting worse and that the number of redemptions was becoming less frequent.

Another Clonmel pawnbroker, Edward Patterson, reported that he in common with others in the business was over-stocked with the better description of bedding which the small farmers

and cottiers "were wont to have of their own manufacture and rather abundantly" and which had been pawned. Not surprisingly, the witness declared that it was very difficult to get rid of.

In Tipperary town, according to a Poor Law official, David Ferguson was the only pawnbroker in the Tipperary PLU. (According to *Slater's 1846 Directory* there were two others, who may have gone out of business by the close of 1848.) Ferguson, who operated from 42 West Main St., had for the previous two years refused to take the clothing of the peasantry as it was too worthless to take as pledges. Both Ferguson and the Poor Law official, Captain Haymes, confirmed that the sight of people in rags was common and that such people had no bedding in their cabins other than filthy straw in a corner.

Haymes could not resist adding that in his opinion such conditions arose more from "slothful and apathetic habits" than real destitution. "After all," he added, "what farmer would refuse a bundle of straw for a bed, particularly if the old (straw) is returned to him for manure." He went on to comment that the clothing of the poor was such rags that "great ingenuity is displayed by making them adhere to the body".

Given such conditions, people suffered terribly in winter as they were totally without fuel. The report from Cashel with regard to clothing had a different emphasis, the point being made there that its standard was not as bad as the level of destitution would lead one to expect. The witness opined that the poor were in greater need of bed-clothes than wearing apparel.

TABLE 4
Average monthly pledges and redemptions, David Ferguson's Pawnshop, Tipperary town, 1844-48²²

Year	Average number of monthly Pledges	Average number of monthly Redemptions
1844	3,510	3,580
1845	3,377	3,551
1846	3,189	3,055
1847	2,216	2,262
1848	1,935	1,899

The least surprising thing about these figures is that Ferguson's volume of business declined as the Famine and its effects intensified. Information in this source begins in August 1843, a month that saw the highest volume of pledges that year. This pattern was repeated in 1844 and 1845. Traditionally, this would have been a particularly difficult time, just prior to the new potato crop. In 1844 and 1845 the summer months generally witnessed the highest volume of pledges as people took action to keep themselves and their families sustained between crops.

In each of those years also the lowest volume of pledges occurred in November and December. In 1844 the difference between the months of highest and lowest volume of pledges was 1,788, or a reduction in volume of 39%, and in 1845 the difference was 1,252 or 31%. With regard to pledges being redeemed, there was a similar pattern also in 1844 and 1845. January was the month of fewest and October the month of greatest redemptions.

In 1846 this pattern began to change. That year the highest volume of pledges occurred somewhat earlier in the summer, in June and July, as indeed did the lowest volume, occurring in September rather than November. That year also saw the greatest volume of pledges being redeemed in May, the month after the food riots (discussed in the second article in this series), when there was greater hope with regard to government help. The least volume of redemptions (as ever) was in winter, something that remained unchanged.

The disruption to the normal pattern of dealings was much more marked in 1847, when the number of pledges fell by over 30% and the number of redemptions fell correspondingly by 26%. As Ferguson made clear in his evidence, most of his transactions would have been for very small amounts, and by 1847 he was being more careful as to what he took in pledges. In that year, the highest number of pledges occurred in January (3,080), completely out of keeping with the previous pattern and an indication of winter desperation. This number of pledges was not exceeded in any of the subsequent 23 months. The number of pledges fell again in 1848, down 13% on the previous year. When the picture with regard to the number of articles pawned and the money raised on them is looked at in the various PLUs of South Tipperary between 1844 and 1847, the only coherent pattern is that universally the volume of transactions and their financial value fell between 1846 and 1847.

One thing made clear from this return is the importance of the pawnbroker to the economy of the poor. In Clonmel, for example, in 1846, from a total of eight pawn offices, £38,647 were loaned against 269,856 articles being pledged. This is an average of about 110 articles being pledged each working day of the year in each office, and the average amount raised on each article being about three shillings.

TABLE 5
Number of articles pawned and money loaned on them, PLUs South Tipperary 1844-47²³

PLU	1844	1845	1846	1847
Cashel	2/51,064/£7,127	2/58,207/£9,736	2/70,750/£10,108	2/51,636/£7,081
Carrick	6/78,518/36,756	7/86,585/£7,548	9,108,850/£9,528	8/74063/£6,026
Clogheen	—	1/33,191/£1,520	1/33,543/£3,751	1/18,950/£1,661
Clonmel	6/209,519/£26,184	10/261,418/£37,430	8/269,856/£38,647	8/202,612/£25,488
Tipperary	3/58,581/37,479	3/90,024/£11,685	4/77,815/£8,835	3/45,702/£4,195

Note: Under each year are three figures (from left) separated by a diagonal stroke – number of pawn offices/number of articles pawned/amount loaned.

One of the patterns suggested by these figures is that in all of these PLUs, with the exception of Clonmel, over the period in question the average amount raised on individual items pawned decreased. For example, in Tipperary, the amount was 13 pence in 1844 and 1845, declining to 11 pence in 1846 and 9 pence in 1847. In each of these PLUs, with the exception of Tipperary, there was a considerable increase in the volume of business transacted between 1846 and the previous year.

The different situation in Tipperary town probably owed a great deal to a tougher policy on the part of Ferguson regarding pledges. It comes as something of a surprise that the volume of pledges in 1847 was so high, virtually the same in fact as in 1844. Unfortunately, this source does not reveal the extent to which the socio-economic profile of the client changed over this period. For how many people in 1847 was their first visit to the pawn office also their confirmation that the ice was beginning to fracture under their feet?

If the pawn offices in Tipperary town provided a certain kind of comfort, the arrival of Fr Theobald Mathew to the town in February 1848 was at least the means whereby some pledge money did not end up as alcohol. Fr Mathew, in coming to Tipperary, was of course coming home. He stayed with his brother at his residence in Rathclogheen, and the highlight of his brief visit was his sermon on Sunday 27 February and the fact that some 2,000 persons took the pledge.

The emphasis of his sermon was that violence was the wrong response to the terrible conditions of the period and that compensation would be provided in the next life. Later that evening light refreshments were provided in the National Schools in St Michael St for a crowd of some 500. The day concluded with dancing, which lasted into the early hours. This last detail seems odd, or at the very least insensitive; but it serves as a reminder that alongside the misery of the Famine something of ordinary life went on.

Mathew's visit prompted a brief report on the town in the local press. While noting the filthy condition of the streets, the reporter thought that the town showed less signs of distress than other towns. In part this was ascribed to the employment of between 600 to 1,000 on the construction of the Waterford & Limerick railway line. However, it was admitted that very large numbers were seeking outdoor relief at the workhouse.²⁴

Six months later a similar view of the town was forthcoming from the reporter of the *Illustrated London News*. The illustration of the town which accompanied this report, a view from the Hills, is reproduced in the *Tipperary Historical Journal* 1995, p.6. This kind of outside attention was not drawn to the county because of the Famine, but was a response to what had happened at Ballingarry in late July. When, 150 or so years later, an attempt is made to recover something of the town as it was during the Famine, certain things surprise us, such as the scale of destitution or evidence that ordinary middle-class life went on. The point is that such matters are not necessarily what excited the attention of people at the time.

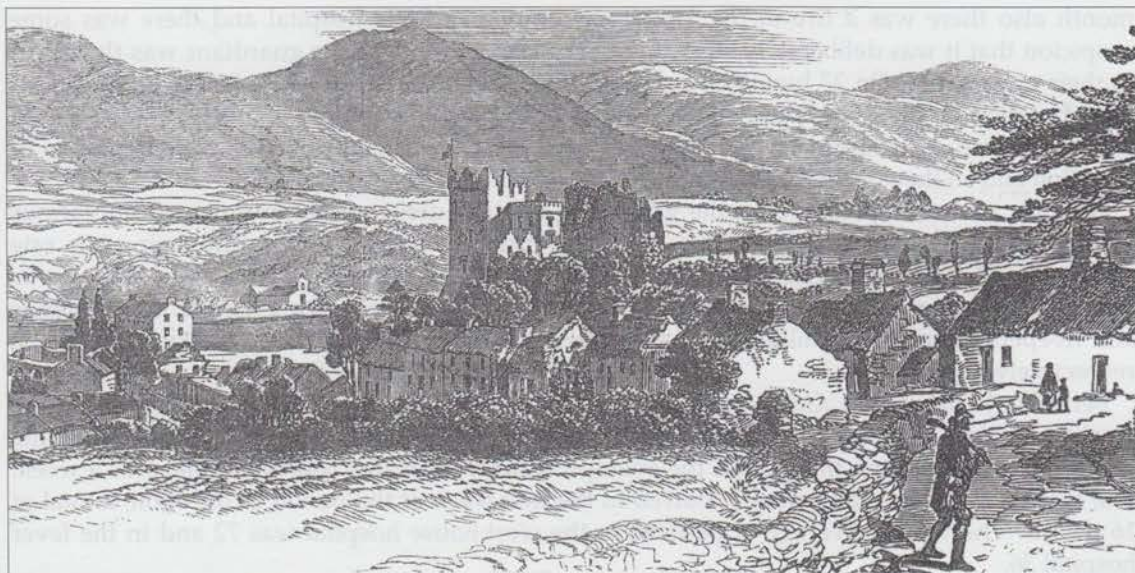
The reporter of the *Illustrated London News*, after remarking on the generally picturesque location of the town, was especially struck by the walled gardens in the town, which when inspected up close were "so completely overgrown with thistles, docks and luxuriant foulness that you cannot tell nor even guess at the nature of the crop that may have been sown". The account continued along more predictable lines, to the effect that outside the walls, by the pathway sides and at every street corner, "men, women and children of all ages and sizes are gathering around strangers to beg", and to every question as to why they are not working, the uniform reply was that "There is no work to do".²⁵

Poor Law Unions

In mid-January 1848 the number of persons depending on outdoor relief in the Tipperary PLU was 8,458.²⁶ Two months later this had increased to 15,139 persons, and the guardians found it increasingly difficult to cope.²⁷ In the context of such deprivation and want it might have been expected that the local community would have been as helpful as possible. In February the quality of the meal distributed to the poor in Toem district was of such bad quality that the contract had to be rescinded.

Merchants trying to take advantage of the destitute were not uncommon. Two attitudes intersected at the expense of that section of society least able to defend its interest. On the one hand, were the guardians, whose preoccupation was value for money; on the other hand were certain merchants, whose attitude seemed to have been that as the food was for the workhouse, any old rubbish would do.

Up to early March meal was distributed uncooked, and it was only on the prompting of the Poor Law Inspector and with considerable opposition from some of the guardians that cooked food was substituted.²⁸ The difficulty with cooked food was getting it to dependents if they lived at some distance from the workhouse. However, from the government's point of view, the advantage of cooked food was the unlikelihood of its being sold. The usual work done by those in receipt of outdoor relief was breaking stones, generally for around eight hours a day, weather permitting.²⁹



Ardfinnan – a drawing made in the Autumn of 1848.

One way of reducing pressure on the workhouse was to promote emigration. In March 1848 the guardians reacted enthusiastically to a circular which advocated the assisted emigration of female orphans to Australia. A subcommittee was appointed to explain the scheme to inmates, but such was the eagerness of the guardians that they interpreted the scheme as having a wider application than was in fact the case. Apart from putting the situation to 123 orphan boys and girls, 93 other children were also interviewed. In fact it does not appear that any such emigration took place in 1848.³⁰

Knockballynoe East and West are two small townlands in the parish of Kilfeacle and were part of the estate of the earl of Derby. In March 1848 the agent Thomas Bolton informed the guardians that a number of tenants from these townlands were intent on emigrating and the guardians agreed to pay £54, one-third of the passage money. It is not clear if these tenants were being evicted but it is likely that they were given rather a lot of encouragement to leave. From the point of view of the guardians such tenants would be a burden on the rates and so emigration was a very agreeable solution.

Before the Famine there had been some landlord-assisted emigration from this estate, a ship having been hired to take tenants to Canada. Why the focus was on these particular townlands is unclear, but for an area of 310 acres it had a very high population density before the Famine. Twenty-nine houses had a population of 220 in 1841. By 1851 there were nine houses and 84 people.³¹

By June the guardians in their deliberations gave every evidence that the situation was getting out of their control. There was considerable irresolution regarding the way fever patients should be dealt with. It was recommended that the temporary fever hospital at Golden be closed and the 40 or so patients be kept in Tipperary, even though the temporary fever hospital in Tipperary was itself at one point to be closed; but then the guardians changed their minds.

The temporary fever accommodation at Cappawhite was also under strain, such was the demand for places. In mid-June 37 people were rejected there because there was no room. That

month also there was a fire in the Tipperary temporary fever hospital and there was some suspicion that it was deliberately started. Not the least concern of the guardians was the threat to their own health. On 27 June they passed a resolution that, due to the number of applicants for admission to the workhouse, "labouring under" infectious diseases, who crowded round the workhouse door on days when the board met, the guardians themselves were in danger of infection and so they desired that an alternative entrance be constructed.

Another source of pressure on the guardians was the demands for payment from various contractors, which in turn made the guardians put increased pressure on their poor rate collectors. That these collectors were finding their job difficult, if not impossible, was demonstrated by the very high rates on some electoral divisions – for example, five shillings and fivepence and seven shillings and elevenpence in the £ in the districts of Doon and Toem respectively.³²

Between January and October 1848 the number of people who died in the Tipperary workhouse was quite low, especially when measured against the horrendous figures of the following years. During this period the average number of deaths was just under five a week. The highest number in any week occurred in the first week of the period in question, a total of 16 deaths. The weekly average of patients in the workhouse hospital was 72 and in the fever hospital 36.

During the period for which figures are available, mid-January to mid-September, the number of persons benefiting from outdoor relief very much fluctuated. In mid-January it was 8,458; this rose week by week until the week ending 11 March, when it stood at 16,564. For the following ten weeks the number stood at 15,000 plus. Thereafter it rose again to 16,000 plus, a situation that lasted for five weeks.

There was much concern about reducing these figures, and in late July the guardians were informed that after 1 August relief to all single able-bodied men and women would cease. During August and September numbers benefiting from outdoor relief fell very substantially, so that in the week ending 19 September it stood at 5,280.³³

As ever, cost was the factor that received most attention. Those on outdoor relief got a week's ration at a time, amounting to one lb of raw meal per day for adults and half that for children. The cost of this was just over one penny per lb. In late February 1848 Captain Haymes, the government inspector, worked on the guardians to persuade them to substitute cooked food. Having tried this in 1847 in some electoral divisions, the guardians were not pleased because of numerous frauds on the part of those employed in the kitchens. Also, they were alarmed at the cost of fitting up kitchens again.

In his report of 27 February Haymes noted that he had convinced the guardians to give the matter of cooked food a trial.³⁴ However, a week later they had changed their minds and Haymes thought that they should be ordered to comply by the Poor Law Commissioners. A few days later the guardians discussed the matter again and agreed to comply by a majority of two. Haymes and the Commissioners had their suspicions that the guardians were using delaying tactics and it was made clear that the necessary orders would be issued from Dublin.³⁵

The Poor Law Commissioners thought the situation in Tipperary PLU (and of course elsewhere) unsustainable. From a population of a little under 80,000, around 1,100 were receiving relief in the workhouse and its auxiliary houses, and 15,000 plus were depending on outdoor relief, all of which had to be paid for from local taxation.³⁶ In early March Captain Haymes inspected most districts of the Union and was struck by the contrast between the natural advantages of the territory, such as "the richest soil in Ireland", the fact that it was not over-populated and the extensive trade with England in bacon and butter and, on the other

hand, what he described as "the amount of pauperism (which) is altogether incredible".

He put forward a number of possible reasons for this terrible situation. "Vast" numbers had surrendered their small holdings "upon which they had no crops" in order to render themselves entitled to relief. This was an acknowledgement of the effect of the Gregory Clause. Secondly, the purchase of seed potatoes was beyond most people's means in 1847; consequently, such people had no provisions for the winter. The shortage of employment opportunities prevented families earning enough to purchase food, even though the cost of provisions had fallen.

Haymes had no doubt that most blame lay with landlords and farmers, who refused to employ people "unless on their own terms", which usually meant wages of a shilling or a shilling and twopence *per week* being offered, together with two meals a day *for the person employed only*. Haymes explained that on several occasions he had been asked by farmers if persons refusing to work (meaning of course, on such terms as are outlined above) were entitled to relief.

It is clear that Haymes was disgusted at the way in which the destitute were being taken advantage of. As he saw the situation, farmers with justice complained about the burden of taxation which lay on them; but if employment was created, farmers would be doing themselves a favour by reducing the demands on the Poor Law system. Haymes was realistic enough to know that any movement to employ the destitute could only happen if there was co-operation between landlords and tenants. Such co-operation was in his opinion the only formula for a country's prosperity.

He mentioned how an attempt had been made by the elected guardians, who (he pointed out) were chiefly well-off farmers, to suggest a meeting with landlords to discuss providing employment; but nothing had come of it. From the landlord's point of view, such a meeting would involve discussing rent reductions, something they were not in a position even to contemplate, such was the precarious nature of their own financial position.³⁷

While Haymes shared the mind-set of his masters, his experience on the ground and day-to-day confrontation with the sights and smells of poverty and destitution, moderated his views, so that, for example, he was emphatic that outdoor relief should be continued. He was in no doubt but that the level of destitution indicated by the number getting relief was genuine.³⁸ There was some question whether tenants, who having surrendered their land, kept their cottage and garden, would be eligible to receive relief.

Haymes obtained legal opinion to the effect that such persons could be relieved, but with the warning that any effort to use any part of such land would render them liable to prosecution for fraud.³⁹ It was understandable that persons and families forced to surrender their holdings would try and hold on to their homes; but in many cases, especially if these homes were vacant for any period of time, landlords moved in and demolished them. (This phenomenon is difficult to both quantify and document, but the evidence of the great number of houses that disappeared between 1841 and 1851 suggests a programme rather than a series of accidents. It will be discussed in the final article of this series.)

Haymes reported that dysentery was spreading in rural areas by mid-March. The average number of deaths over the previous weeks was around 80 per week, due (he said) to the consumption of inadequately cooked Indian meal by individuals whose general state of health was already bad.⁴⁰ The able-bodied destitute on outdoor relief were employed in various quarries breaking stones, and it was a constant lament by Haymes that, with the weather fine and farming operations under way, farmers provided no employment.

In late March Haymes asked the guardians to provide the men working eight hours a day

breaking stones with 20 ozs. of meal each per day instead of 16. They refused, claiming that a better diet would "reconcile" the men to the work. Haymes pursued the matter and obtained an official notice from the Central Board of Health that one lb. of meal per man per day was not sufficient.⁴¹ The reaction of the Tipperary guardians was based on the simple calculation of the cost of that extra Indian meal, especially at a time when the number depending on outdoor relief was increasing. Admittedly, the number in South Tipperary generally was very high.

TABLE 6
Numbers depending on outdoor relief, PLUs South Tipperary, week ending 4 March 1848⁴²

PLU	Number
Carrick-on-Suir	717
Cashel	11,226
Clogheen	5,891
Clonmel	2,587
Tipperary	15,450

With regard to Clonmel, the number on outdoor relief was remarkably low, and when in mid-March the Poor Law Inspector suggested to the commissioners that the board of guardians were neglectful of their duties and that perhaps a paid board should be appointed in their place, he was rapped over the knuckles and told that no such idea should be entertained by him.⁴³ From the commissioners' point of view, such economy by any PLU was to be encouraged.

At the beginning of February 1848 a new Poor Law Inspector arrived in Cashel on temporary appointment and immediately set about impressing his masters with his zeal. He found the state of the workhouse unsatisfactory; so he reorganised the disposition of the inmates between the workhouse and its auxiliaries. He emphasised his determination that every person on outdoor relief would perform a good day's work, breaking stones.⁴⁴

With regard to the workhouse, it was "almost impossible to describe the disorder and confusion that existed in every part of it". The guardians were, of course, to blame for this state of affairs; apart from their mismanagement of the workhouse, their collecting of poor rate was

TABLE 7
Statistics Cashel PLU, January-September 1848⁴⁷

Month	No. in workhouse	No. in hospital	No. depending on Outdoor Relief
Jan.	1,520	347	5,601
Feb.	1,324	421	13,093
March	1,309	383	13,991
April	1,486	256	9,804
May	NA	218	10,167
June	1,320	167	13,607
July	1,499	164	11,350
Aug.	1,152	124	7,987
Sept.	1,438	245	11

NA = Not available.

Note: The figures are for the last week of each month.

very negligent.⁴⁵ The minutes of the guardians' meetings very much confirm this picture of adequacy in normal times being overwhelmed by the chaos engendered by expecting a system to cope with numbers for which it was never designed.

The system had been designed to cope with 700. But by the first week in 1848 136 persons were admitted to join the 1,309 already in the system, a situation slightly relieved by the "departure" of 46 individuals – six through death.⁴⁶

Workhouse inmates were not always passive about decisions they did not like. In mid-February some 270 men and boys who had been removed from the workhouse to an auxiliary house in the town "broke out" and proceeded in a body to the workhouse and broke their way in, taking possession of the men's yard and old men's ward. Their reason, they explained, was the unhealthy nature of the auxiliary house. The police were called but the occupiers left without commotion, half returning to the auxiliary house, while the rest remained about the town. Four of the ringleaders were arrested.

The provision of auxiliary workhouse accommodation was used to cut down on the number on outdoor relief, which was never seen as other than a very temporary measure. In March, with new accommodation available for 170 families, relieving officers were told to strike that number off their lists by offering admission to the new accommodation. Many refused and thus were left without any relief.

In the words of the Poor Law Inspector: "This clearly proves how much more efficient the workhouse test is than any other". In other words, the best form of relief was that which most people would refuse and thus cut down on cost. By late March, because of extra workhouse accommodation being available, up to 600 men were offered admission; when they refused it they were struck off the relief lists.⁴⁹

The policy therefore was to create more workhouse places, mainly by renting auxiliary accommodation. Between the beginning of March and the beginning of May the number receiving indoor relief climbed week by week, from 1,153 at the start of the period in question to 1,502 at the end. By offering this increased workhouse accommodation to those obtaining outdoor relief, firstly to single men and then to married men with two children, the number on the relieving officer's lists came down, on two counts.

SUGGESTIONS To POOR LAW GUARDIANS In COOKING their POTATOES.

Commence with YOUR DISEASED POTATOES, by washing them well, then peel or scrape off the skins, carefully cutting out such parts as are discoloured; cut the large Potatoes to the size of the smaller ones, and steep them for a short time in salt and water.

Provide a few cabbage leaves (the white kind is the most suitable;) steep them in cold water, then line the bottom and sides of a common metal or oven pot, with the wet leaves; pack in it, the peeled Potatoes in layers, shaking salt and pepper over each layer until the vessel is nearly full; spread more wet cabbage leaves over them, cover all close down with a lid, and set them on a hot-hearth, or a moderate fire, as too hot a fire might be attended with risk.

The object of the above-mentioned method is, that the Potatoes should be cooked through the medium of their own moisture, instead of the usual mode of steaming or boiling them in water.

The following additions may be made by those who can afford to improve upon the above, by introducing sliced Onions, salt Herring, salt Butter, salt Pork, Lard or Bacon cut in slices, or small pieces, or Rice, previously boiled.

It would be found more economical, instead of peeling, to scrape off the skins of such Potatoes as are only slightly discoloured, or altogether free from taint.

Those who have a Cow or Pigs to feed should collect the peelings and rejected portions of the Potatoes, steep them for some time in salt and water, then pack them in a metal pot, in layers, with cabbage leaves, sprinkling salt over each layer, and cook them as above directed; if found necessary, a little Bran or Oatmeal may be added.

Derrylusau, 1st December, 1845.

A health notice printed during the Famine period by E. Woods, printer, Clonmel.

Apart from those who actually went into the workhouse (and none of the single men did so), the refusal of such an unwelcome offer was enough to reduce considerably numbers on outdoor relief during these months. In the same period mentioned above the number was reduced by between 3,000 and 4,000. From the authority's point of view, the ideal situation was the provision of large-scale employment by landlords.

In late March the Poor Law Inspector was quite excited about the prospect of all the able-bodied men in the electoral division of Cloneen (barony of Middlethird) being employed by the earl of Clare. He was going to drain his property, which consisted of five townlands, 3,180 acres in the parish of Cloneen. John Fitzgibbon, the 2nd earl of Clare (1792-1851), whose seat was at Mount Shannon in Limerick, was one of the Tipperary landlords most anxious to take advantage of the government's offer of loans to allow proprietors to improve their land.⁵⁰

According to a newspaper report of March 1849, the earl had provided "vast employment" during the previous year, under the Drainage Acts. (This same report noted with satisfaction that the earl had instructed his agent, Samuel Jellico of Cahir, to give a liberal rent abatement to all tenants.)⁵¹ Compared to many other estates in the region, a population decline of 26% in 1841-51 was fairly modest and in fact most of the change was in one townland, Cloran Old, where the number of houses fell from 40 to 16. Incidentally the earl of Derby was another landlord who took advantage of this legislation. At the centre of his estate, in Solohead, he established in 1848 the manufacture of tiles, 182,538 being made in the first year of operation.⁵²

The Cashel Poor Law Inspector, Robinson, in his report of 31 March 1848, seemed intent on displaying his efficiency to his masters, telling them that conditions in the workhouse had much improved, as had the guardians' conduct of business, he having convinced them to begin their meetings at 10 a.m. rather than 1 p.m. In the conflict between him and the guardians he emphasised that he was doing his best to enforce policy.

The issue related to Robinson's determination that outdoor relief should be cut back until the workhouse was full, whereas the guardians were more liberal regarding the categories to be given outdoor relief. He admitted that there was very great distress; this continued to hamper the collection of poor rates. About the collectors, he wrote that "they have great difficulty to contend with from the extreme poverty of numbers of the rate payers and in parts of the Union can obtain nothing without distraint".⁵³

The dispute over the relative merits of indoor and outdoor relief continued because the guardians maintained that relief in the workhouse was more expensive. The commissioners allowed that one individual in the workhouse for one week cost one shilling and sevenpence, whereas the comparable cost of outdoor relief was tenpence. The point, however, was one of scale; for every five persons anxious for indoor relief, fifty wanted outdoor relief.⁵⁴ Another argument made by the guardians was that when a family removed to the workhouse their house was pulled down, thus making permanent paupers.

One result of these efforts to cut back on outdoor relief was a demonstration by around 100 men on 21 April, outside where the guardians were meeting. They had been offered relief in the workhouse, and such was their anger that they rushed into the meeting room, some armed with sticks and hammers. The arrival of the police and the P.P. persuaded the protesters to withdraw. Comparing that week with the previous one, the number benefiting from outdoor relief had been cut by 667.

Relations between Robinson and the guardians was such that he suspected some of the guardians of stirring up trouble among the destitute, with himself as the prime target because of the restrictions on outdoor relief. A week or so later there was a similar protest outside the workhouse by around 150 men from the electoral district of Fethard. A new ploy was their offer

to go into the workhouse themselves but without their families, something absolutely against the rules.⁵⁵

Towards the close of 1848 the financial situation of Cashel PLU became unmanageable and in October the Poor Law Commissioners dissolved the board and replaced it with two paid vice-guardians. Similar action was taken with regard to many other PLUs.

TABLE 8.1
Growth of debt in Cashel PLU 1848⁵⁶

Net debt at close of	£
Jan.	264
Feb.	445
March	837
April	2,642
May	3,883
June	5,742
July	7,784
Aug.	8,726
Sept.	9,120

When in a report dated 2 October 1848 Robinson recommended getting rid of the Cashel board of guardians, one of his more telling points was that several of the guardians had not paid their own poor rate. He also reported with ill-concealed disgust that, just as outdoor relief had all but been dispensed with, several guardians were pressing for its renewal. At the date of his report the liabilities of the PLU amounted to £11,471 (which included £2,351 to be repaid to the government for advances under the Temporary Relief Act, the "Soup Kitchen Act" of February 1847).

To meet these liabilities the PLU had £500 to hand. Over £7,000 were uncollected from the rate struck in July and about £8,500 was expected to be raised from the new rate about to be struck, assuming it could be collected. One incidental consequence of this financial mess, and one which must have upset the sense of administrative propriety of the Poor Law Commissioners, was the fact that some 300 workhouse inmates wore their own clothes because there was no money for uniforms. This also contributed to the spread of disease.⁵⁸

With the PLU under more professional management from October 1848, the accommodation available was expanded by acquiring yet another auxiliary house, that of Mr Power. This was a former grain store in Main St. which had an immediate capacity of about 400; the rent was £150 p.a. This extra accommodation was vital because of increasing demands for relief and the determination not to fall back on outdoor relief. In mid-October, there were 1,510 inmates; a month later there were 1,784.⁵⁹ In mid-December, between the workhouse and auxiliaries, the number of inmates was 2,066.

TABLE 8.2
Growth of debt in other South Tipperary PLUs, April-June 1848⁵⁷

PLU	April	May	June
Carrick	£1,444	£1,917	£2,132
Clogheen	£579	£1,630	£2,541
Clonmel	£101	£963	£661
Tipperary	£558	£3,021	£4,456

In spite of the increased numbers, conditions appear to have improved somewhat. For example, a change in diet – bread and soup instead of the meal-based slop – brought about a reduction in the number of dysentery cases and had the additional advantage that it was cheaper.⁶⁰ By the close of 1848, because of increased numbers, difficulty in collecting poor rate and the inadequate rate struck by the board before their dismissal, the financial crisis continued. The rate struck on 28 September was £8,500; this was now increased to £3,263 by increasing the levy on Kilpatrick, Ballysheehan, Killenaule and particularly Cashel itself.⁶¹

A large part of the reason for this increased pressure on the Poor Law system was that potato blight reappeared in many parts of the country in 1848. Also, the weather was colder and wetter than usual, February, June, August and October being especially bad.⁶² In April the Ardfinnan and Newcastle Agricultural Society received a report on local conditions from an agricultural expert they had engaged, who visited many of the neighbouring estates such as those of Prendergast, Donoughmore and Langley. Agricultural methods were found to be very backward.

The P.P. of Ardfinnan admitted that the people “were deplorably ignorant of farming”. The main enterprise was tillage, and while the cultivation of wheat was badly done, there was optimism about the potato crop.⁶³ Robinson, the Cashel Poor Law Inspector, in a report of late April, commented that because of the severity of the weather, little had been done by farmers about planting potatoes or sowing oats. While “an immense deal” of land had been ploughed, work would have to begin within ten to fourteen days.

Such work meant employment for the poor except in the electoral divisions of Killenaule, Kiltinan, Peppardstown and Drangan, where there was little tillage and therefore less employment. On an optimistic note, there was no scarcity of seed potatoes, and Robinson remarked particularly on the abundance of oats and potatoes in recent markets. At Cashel market on 22 April oats sold for nine shillings and fourpence a barrel and potatoes for sevenpence halfpenny a stone.⁶⁴ Captain Haymes, in a report about prospects in Tipperary PLU was equally optimistic, commenting that if the potato crop did not fail, there would be more potatoes in the Union than for several years past.⁶⁵

In June and July press reports were very optimistic about agricultural prospects. In the words of a report from early July: “We never remember noticing a greater breadth of land under potatoes”.⁶⁶ Soon after this the picture changed for the worse. The appearance of blight was described as not as bad as in 1846 but far worse than in 1847. As the price of sound potatoes increased, it was admitted that wages paid to unskilled labourers, assuming they could get work, were not enough.⁶⁷

A report regarding the potato market in Limerick on 17 August described a very large supply of potatoes selling cheaply; but in all cases they were found to be damaged.⁶⁸ A report from Cashel of the same date described how blight had appeared in almost all of the potato fields in the neighbourhood.⁶⁹ Later that month a more general report spelled out the extent of the crisis. The weather was wet and cold and little of the wheat crop had been saved. A letter from John Moloney, P.P. of Kilcommon, who died of fever in 1850, claimed that harvest prospects had not been so bad since 1797.

The potato crop was described as so miserable, small and wet and every day becoming black, that it was scarcely worth digging out. Well might the writer ask the question: “From what sources will their rents and very heavy rates be paid?”⁷⁰ In late September a correspondent reporting on the district about Killenaule noted the severe damage to the potato crop.

The workhouse in Clogheen had been built for 500 persons but, like everywhere else in the region, additional accommodation had to be obtained. In March 1848, for example, the

TABLE 9
Numbers depending on Outdoor Relief, Clogheen PLU, February-December 1848⁷¹

Week Ending	5 Feb.	4 Mar.	8 Apr.	6 May	3 June	8 July	5 Aug.	9 Sept.	7 Oct. 4	4 Nov.	9 Dec.
Cahir	583	706	959	930	926	886	804	-	-	-	-
Ardfinnan	1,300	1,523	2,031	2,092	2,134	1,672	1,625	-	-	-	-
Ballyporeen	1,652	2,098	2,516	2,640	2,547	2,456	2,276	-	-	-	-
Clogheen	1,177	1,564	1,888	1,766	2,015	1,650	1,547	-	-	-	-
Totals	4,712	5,891	7,394	7,428	7,622	6,664	6,252	921	807	860	1,268

Notes: Only totals are available for September-December inclusive.

accommodation in Clogheen PLU was 500 in the workhouse, 80 in temporary sheds, 600 in an auxiliary workhouse at Tincurry and 20 in fever sheds.⁷² The house at Tincurry was used for children, and one of the most chilling notes in the minute books is the routine recommendation during a report on that place, that two dozen children's coffins, in three sizes, be purchased.⁷³ (Its juxtaposition to the requisition of a set of fire irons for the master's room is an excellent reminder of just how routine death had become.)

In the Spring there was a serious outbreak of measles among the children in Tincurry. In mid-March the doctor in attendance refused to continue his services if he was not paid better. This was an unusual collapse of professional standards in a profession that suffered many fatalities during the Famine. When around the same time two of the sick children were visited by their father, he was threatened with prosecution for leaving the Clogheen workhouse.⁷⁴

As was the case in other workhouses, while the administrative machinery continued to be used to punish individual infractions (in Clogheen there was a "Black Hole" into which such unfortunates were put), on a larger scale it was found increasingly difficult to cope with the numbers being pushed into the system as a means of reducing the numbers on outdoor relief. For example, in late October, 26 boys aged from six to fifteen, several weeks after coming into the workhouse, were found mixing with the men. All of the boys were filthy and several were still dressed in their own verminous rags. They should have been cleaned up and sent to Tincurry.⁷⁵

Perhaps the most damning indictment of the way in which Clogheen workhouse was run came from one of the inmates, who appeared before the board in April 1848. By his manner and mode of speech, it was obvious that he had seen far better days. The witness described the inadequate diet and the way in which rations in the workhouse were distributed on the basis of favouritism. He particularly objected to the way in which so much of the day-to-day running of the workhouse was in the hands of the paupers themselves, or rather, was dominated by what he suggested was a clique.

His most terrible criticism was that the female paupers in charge of the children (a very common practice) "sell and eat the very small portion of nourishment which you offer (to the children) for whiskey and other purposes". After describing how the place seemed more like a charnelhouse - on one day alone, he saw 16 dead, of whom 14 were children - he complained that he had twice previously tried to report "this inhumanity" to the guardians, but to no avail. The board showed no real willingness to investigate the matter; in any case (as with other boards) the system ensured that their focus was on the bottom line of the ledger rather than on any individual entries.⁷⁶

TABLE 10
A comparison between the PLUs of Tipperary, Cashel and Clogheen and their provision of Outdoor Relief, 1848⁸⁰

	Tipperary	Cashel	Clogheen
Average valuation per acre	80p	82p	49p
Average population per acre	2.3	2.2	2.6
The provision of Outdoor Relief in the week of its greatest extent as a proportion of the Union's total population	10 June 20.62%	24 June 19.53%	3 June 16.20%

Date refers to week ending.

A report on the auxiliary house at Tincurry in late 1848 gives a dreadful picture, made all the worse by being couched in the language of Victorian utilitarian self-righteousness. In fact the tone would not be out of place in any of the reports by the WVHA branch of the Nazi SS which controlled the business enterprises based on slave labour. In April, an agriculturalist was hired and the boys were set to work on the site's twelve Irish acres.⁷⁷

The guardians were especially mindful that this enterprise cost as little as possible, and a report signed by Samuel Barton on behalf of the visiting committee concluded (on an almost lyrical note) with the vision of self-sufficiency arising from the prospect of Tincurry's night-soil nourishing the grain and root crops which would feed the children, whose waste "by a proper arrangement of the sewers" would enrich the soil for further crops, and so on. Between 10 July and 20 October the average daily number of boys working on this land was 114.⁷⁸

Within Clogheen PLU outdoor relief was divided between the four areas of Cahir, Ardfinnan, Ballyporeen and Clogheen; not surprisingly, given its location, Ballyporeen made the greatest demands on the system. Of the three Unions of Tipperary, Cashel and Clogheen, the last was both the poorest and most densely populated, yet it seems to have provided less outdoor relief. Perhaps this is not surprising, given the emphasis on local property supporting local poverty.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Nicholls, *A History of the Irish Poor Law* (London, 1856), p.v.
2. First published in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1848. *The Irish Crisis*, pp. 183, 189.
3. *T.V.*, 12 April 1848.
4. C. Kinealy: *This Great Calamity* (Dublin, 1994), pp. 178-9.
5. *First annual report of commissioners for administration of the laws for the relief of the poor in Ireland, 1847-8* (1963), xxxiii, appendix B, 13, p. 168.
6. Kinealy, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
7. *T.V.*, 5 Feb. 1848.
8. *T.V.*, 16 Feb. 1848.
9. *T.V.*, 16 Feb. 1848.
10. *T.F.P.*, 9 Feb. 1848.
11. *T.V.*, 12 Feb. 1848.
12. *T.F.P.*, 9 Feb. 1848.
13. *T.F.P.*, 5 Feb. 1848.
14. *T.F.P.*, 7 Jan. 1846, 5 Jan. 1848; *Limerick Chronicle*, 5 Feb. 1848.

15. T.F.P., 28 Jan. 1846.
16. R.J. Scally: *The End of Hidden Ireland – Rebellion, Famine and Emigration* (Oxford, 1995), p. 32.
17. Edwards & Williams (eds): *The Great Famine* (Dublin, 1994 ed.), pp. 263-315, C. Ó Gráda: *Ireland – A New Economic History* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 186-7.
18. P. Hickey, "Famine, mortality and emigration: a profile of six parishes in the PLU of Skibbereen", 1846-7, in P. O'Flanagan & C.G. Buttimer, eds., *Cork History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 901-03.
19. *Census of 1851, 1856* (2087-1), xxix, pp. 376-7.
20. Various returns, *Parliamentary papers*, 1850, li.
21. *Distress indicated . . . Pawnbroker's Returns*, 1849 (1042), xlviii. See the Tipperary-based novel by R.B. O'Brien, *The D'altons of Crag*, pp. 30-31, for an account of a family on the downward slope to the pawn office. The novel was published in the 1880s.
22. *Pawnbroker's returns*, p. 147.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-7.
24. T.F.P., 1 March 1848.
25. *Illustrated London News*, 2 Sept. 1848.
26. BG 152/A/8, 15 Jan. 1848. (Note: BG = *Board of Guardians minutes*.)
27. BG 152/A/8, 11 March 1848.
28. BG 152/A/8, 4 March, 1 April 1848.
29. Edwards & Williams (eds.); *Great Famine*, pp. 251-52.
30. BG 152/A/8, 18, 25 March 1848.
31. *Pobal Ailbe*, p. 84; BG 152/A/8, 25 March 1848. See also C. O'Mahony, *Emigration from Tipperary Workhouse, 1848-58* in T.H.J. (1994), pp. 105-9.
32. BG 152/A/8, 13, 20, 27 June 1848.
33. BG 152/A/8 generally and 25 July 1848.
34. *Papers relating to proceedings for the relief of distress etc., 6th series*, 1847-8 (955), liv, report of 27 Feb. 1848.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 610-11.
36. *Ibid.*, report of 2 March 1848.
37. *Ibid.*, report of 5 March 1848.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 612, 616.
39. *Ibid.*, report of 12 March 1848.
40. *Ibid.*, report of 19 March 1848.
41. *Ibid.*, reports of 26, 29 March, 9 April 1848.
42. *Return . . . numbers of outdoor relief . . . Feb. 1848*, 1847-8 (309), liii.
43. *Relief of distress*, 6th series, pp. 577-80.
44. *Ibid.*, report of 5 Feb. 1848. This PL, Inspector Major Archibald Robinson, was typical of the military types who filled these posts. He joined the army in 1809 and was an engineer during the Peninsular Campaign. See his obit. in *Dublin Evening Mail*, 13 Feb. 1850.
45. *Ibid.*, report of 11 Feb. 1848.
46. BG 54/A/8, minutes Jan. and Feb. 1848.
47. BG 54/A/8 generally.
48. *Relief of distress*, 6th series, reports 14 Feb., 17 March 1848.
49. *Ibid.*, 23 March 1848.
50. *16th report Board of Public Works*, 1847-8 (983), xxxvii, pp. 82-92.
51. T.F.P., 31 March 1848.
52. *17th report Board of Public Works*, 1849 (1098), xxiii.
53. *Relief of distress*, 6th series, reports of 31 March, 7 April 1848.
54. *Relief of distress*, 4th series, p. 162.
55. *Relief of distress*, 6th series, reports of 22, 27 April 1848.
56. *Relief of distress*, 8th series, p. 159.
57. *Relief of distress*, 7th series.

58. *Relief of distress, 8th series*, pp. 158-9.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-62; BG 54/A/9, 16 Nov. 1848.
60. *Relief of distress, 8th series*, p. 164.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67.
62. *Census of 1851*, p. 308.
63. *T.C.*, 7 April, 23 May 1848.
64. *First annual report . . . relief of the poor in Ireland*, appendix A, viii, no. 19, p. 122.
65. *Ibid.*, no. 52, p. 134.
66. *T.V.*, 16 Aug. 1848.
67. *Second annual report . . . relief of the poor in Ireland, 1849 (1118)*, xxv, p. 10.
68. *Relief of distress, 7th series*, p. 18.
69. *T.V.*, 16 Aug. 1848.
70. *T.F.P.*, 23 Aug. 1848.
71. *T.V.*, 30 Sept. 1848.
72. BG 64/A/6, 18 March 1848.
73. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1848.
74. BG 64/A/6, 18 March 1848.
75. *Ibid.*, 28 Oct. 1848.
76. E. O'Riordan, *Famine in the Valley* (Galty Vee Valley Tourism, 1995), pp. 71-3.
77. See A. Lanigan, *Tipperary Workhouse Children and the Famine*, in *T.H.J.* (1995), pp. 66-7.
78. *T.V.*, 11 Nov. 1848.
79. BG 64/A/5 generally.