Kilmacthomas Union The Administration of Poor Law in a County Waterford workhouse 1851-1872.

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I, John Gerard Crotty, certify that this work is my own report and I have not copied the work of any other student or individual. Any ideas, information, or quotations derived from other sources have been duly referenced.

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Introduction.

This paper examines Kilmacthomas Union in the period 1851 to 1872, presenting an opportunity to examine the workings of the poor law administration outside the period of the famine. The principal argument of this thesis will centre on the implementation of the poor law and the way in which the workhouse moved from a narrow workhouse base to becoming the major provider of the statutory social services which came about as a direct result of the legislative changes in the poor law in the period following the famine. The minute books provide us with the opportunity for detailed analysis of how the poor law impacted on the administrators, ratepayers, officials and inmates. The geographical area of the union covered sixteen electoral divisions with a population of almost 25,000 people in 1851. The spatial aspect will primarily focus on the workhouse and will reference the actual townlands in the context of the administration of the union, outdoor relief and the administration of the dispensary system established by the Medical Charities Act of 1851. Analysis of assisted emigration, disease control and the changing role of the poor law in the provision of fledgling social services at local level gives a picture of the changes brought about by legislation such as the Sewage Utilisation Act 1865 and the Sanitary Act of 1866. By examining the union as a community as defined by Hoskins and Finberg, we can view it as a 'distinct and fundamental entity and organism with a continuous, ordered, coherent life of its own'.¹ The union provides a local view of the political, economic, social and cultural life of a rural workhouse against a national backdrop. As Kinealy points out the poor law system can only be worked out through detailed examination of its implementation at local level.²

The Formation of the Union.

The Amendment Act of August 1849 provided the basis for the formation of new Poor Law unions resulting in the Poor Law Commission becoming one of the largest and most powerful government agencies in

¹ Oscail, 2006, History 6, Dublin: Dublin City University.(hereafter Oscail, History 6), p1-9

² Christine Kinealy, The Workhouse System in County Waterford, 1838-1923 in William Nolan & Thomas Power, Waterford History and Society- Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County, (Dublin, 1992) (hereafter Kinealy, The Workhouse System), p579.

Ireland.³ The Union of Kilmacthomas, one of the final eight formed,⁴ can be found in County Waterford and is surrounded by the Unions of Waterford, Dungarvan and Carrick-on-Suir. The workhouse buildings are located on the main Waterford-Cork road approximately 12 miles from Waterford and 1 mile from Kilmacthomas in the townland of Carriganonshagh in the electoral division of Kilmacthomas.



Fig.1 Map of Waterford showing location of Kilmacthomas Workhouse.⁵.

The site consists of a dining hall, chapel, two storey male and female hospital buildings, three storey male and female dormitory buildings and two single storey buildings at the site entrance. The mortuary is still intact and three of the rooms retain original limestone laying out slabs.

The union consisted of sixteen electoral divisions, with a population of 24,735 at formation in 1851, and covering more than 64,000 statute acres.⁶

³ RD Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics: The Irish Dispensary System and the Poor Law, 1836-1872 (New York, 1997) (hereafter Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics), p78.

⁴George Nicholls, *A History of the Irish Poor Law* (Reprint, London, 1856, New York, 1867) (hereafter Nicholls, *the Irish Poor Law*), p373. See Christine Kinneally, *The Irish Poor Law*, 1838-62: a study of the relationship between the local and central administrators (Dublin, 1984) p252 for detail on Kilmacthomas as one of the final eight unions formed as a result of the changes which came about in the aftermath of the famine.

⁵ http://www.mountainviewhse.com/waterfordmap.shtml

⁶ GB Handrahan, Townlands in Poor Law Unions- A Reprint of Poor Law Union Pamphlets of the General Register's Office, (Massachusetts, 1997) (hereafter Handrahan, Townlands in Poor Law Unions), p275.

Most sources quote Kilmacthomas as having opened in 1851 and the first minute books are for October 1851 although it did not actually admit paupers until 1853.⁷ The date on which the declaration of the new union took effect was set at 7th June 1850⁸ with the first election of guardians set for the 30 July 1850.⁹ The date of acceptance of the site for the workhouse was recorded in the 4th Annual Report as 11 October 1850 with the advertisement for tender issued on 18 February 1851 and tender accepted in April.¹⁰ The minute books for 1851, 1852 and 1853 hide this fact as the observations section of the weekly reports were badly damaged by water prior to their storage in the County Archive. These were the sections containing the entries regarding the number of inmates resident in neighbouring institutions.¹¹

Electoral Divisions								
Ballylaneen	Fox's Castle	Knockmahon	Georgestown					
Carrigcastle	MountKennedy	Kilmacthomas	Gardenmorris					
Comeragh	Stradbally	Annestown	Newtown					
Fews	Tinnasaggart	Dunhill	Kilbarrymeaden					

Table 1. Kilmacthomas Union Electoral Divisions

Source: Information compiled from Handrahan, Townlands in Poor Law Unions.

The board resolved on 12 June 1852 that the Clerk contact the Poor Law Commissioners for plans of the furniture required for Kilmacthomas workhouse.¹² Shortly after the opening of the workhouse the plans for the Fever Hospital were approved with the board accepting the tender from Mr.

⁷ 7th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1854 (NLI, PP, XXIX.531) (hereafter 7th Annual Report 1854), p30. The report of George Wilkinson on building and erection of new unions in the 5th Annual Report 1852 states "work in progress and in a very advanced state. The 7th Annual Report refers to Kilmacthomas as one of 27 new unions which were completed and in occupation. ⁸ 4th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1851, (NLI, PP, XXVI.547)

[°] 4th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1851, (NLI, PP, XXVI.547) (hereafter 4th Annual Report 1851), p194.

⁹ Ibid, Table I, p2. The Waterford Evening News for Nov 8th 1850, reporting on the proceedings of the Waterford Board of Guardians, quotes the chairman as seeing it as "a good time to seek some of their money from the Kilmacthomas Union as he had heard they were now collecting in their own funds."

¹⁰ Ibid, p159.

¹¹ Ibid, Table II, p6. The Reservation Order dated 09th July 1850 and issued under section 3 of 12 & 13 Vict.c.104 records accommodation reserved in the neighbouring unions until the building was completed. Waterford reserved 424 spaces and Dungarvan 239.

¹² BG/KILTHOM/1, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 12 June 1852, (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/1).

Terence O'Reilly for the erection of a fever hospital.¹³ The fever hospital was reported completed on 9 December 1854 although the male probationary ward was still being used as a temporary fever ward.¹⁴ There are references found in newspaper accounts and the minute books which give us the first clues to the relationship between Kilmacthomas and the neighbouring unions of Waterford and Dungarvan. There is an account in the Waterford Evening News for November 8th 1850 reporting on the proceedings of the Waterford Board of Guardians which quotes the chairman as seeing it as "a good time to seek some of their money from the Kilmacthomas Union as he had heard they were now collecting their own funds." He described it as a great hardship on Waterford Union to be supporting Kilmacthomas Union paupers and "could see no honesty in their dispositions. We have a right to make them honest even if they have not a mind to do so".¹⁵ There is a letter from the clerk of Waterford Union sending the statement of account for the half year ending 29 September 1851.¹⁶

Date	Class	Number of Pupils
26 th June 1852	In Girls School	210
June 1851	In Girls School	253
26 th June 1852	In Infants School	144
June 1851	In Infants School	212

 Table 2. Kilmacthomas Children in Dungarvan Minute Books June 1852.

Source: William Fraher (Ed), Desperate Haven- The Poor Law, Famine, & Aftermath in Dungarvan Union (Dungarvan, 2001), p143.

The entry notes that, of the above children in 1852, half belonged to

¹³ BG/KILTHOM/4, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 18 February 1854 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/4). The Poor Law commissioners sent a sealed order in July authorising the borrowing of £1400 to defray the cost of erecting the fever hospital (BG/KILTHOM/5, 22 Jul 1854). However, the loan was turned down by the Commissioners on 16th September. Due to the difficulty getting a loan the board set up interest payments to Mr. O'Reilly. The loan was eventually paid off in January 1861 when the new Master advanced a loan to pay O'Reilly at 4% interest (BG/KILTHOM/12).

 ¹⁴ BG/KILTHOM/5, 09 December 1854 Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/5).
 ¹⁵ Waterford Evening News, 8th Nov 1850. It was reported in the same newspaper on the 19th

¹⁵ Waterford Evening News, 8th Nov 1850. It was reported in the same newspaper on the 19th November that the clerk "had received a cheque for £250 from the Kilmacthomas Union as part payment for the support of their paupers to which Mr. Meagher MP (father of Thomas Francis Meagher) commented "This is their first money" and which was accompanied by laughter from the rest of the board (*Waterford Evening News*, 19th Nov 1850).

¹⁶ BG/KILTHOM/1, 25 October 1851.

Kilmacthomas Union.¹⁷ The is still a record of two paupers in the Waterford workhouse on 4th February 1854, reducing to one two weeks later while the week after records no paupers in the other workhouses.¹⁸

County Waterford and Kilmacthomas-the effects of the famine

In 1841 County Waterford contained 10,729 land holdings of above one Irish acre in extent. Some 42% of farms in Waterford were over 15 Irish acres and operating commercially and should have been better equipped to weather the coming storm. These strong farmers were well integrated into the market economy and well tuned to fluctuations in the demands of the market. They also increasingly assumed leadership roles in the political, religious and social spheres. The remainder were small holdings with small farmers and cottiers. These classes along with the large number of labourers and spailpins, would be the ones most affected by the famine. Burtchall uses data to support his argument that Waterford had the most commercially viable farming structure of any county in Ireland. Compare this with the bottom of the scale where Mayo had only two percent of holdings above thirty Irish acres.¹⁹ With more potatoes per capita and a well established farming structure, the county seemed to be better positioned than most others to survive the potato blight of the late 1840's.

It is within this context that we can look specifically at the area making up the union of Kilmacthomas. The union is flanked to the north by the Comeragh Mountains and to the south by extensive coastline. To the south of the Comeraghs the land declines in approaching the sea and "presents a large alluvial tract, highly cultivated and fertile".²⁰ Lewis Topographical Dictionary describes many "teeming townlands along the coast in cottier/fishing communities such as Knockane, Dunabrattin, and Tankardstown, to Ballyvoyle." The copper mining activities at Knockmahon concentrated

¹⁷ William Fraher (Ed), Desperate Haven- The Poor Law, Famine, & Aftermath in Dungarvan Union (Dungarvan, 2001)(hereafter Fraher, Desperate Haven), p143.

¹⁸ BG/KILTHOM/4, 25th February 1854. Entries in BG/KILTHOM/4 record the final close out of accounts for Dungarvan on 04 March 1854. The Final Adjustment Order of £200 for Waterford was drawn on the 17 July 1854.

¹⁹ Jack Burtchall. The demographic impact of the famine in county Waterford in Des Cowman (ed). The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: Teacht Na bPratai Dubha (Waterford, 1995) (hereafter Burtchall, *The Famine in County Waterford*), p267. ²⁰ Lewis Topographical Dictionary, (Vol II p677)

population in Knockmahon itself and the neighbouring townlands of Rathquage, Kilduane, Templeyvrick and Ballynarrid. With the exception of the Bonmahon area, gross overpopulation was an isolated phenomena in east County Waterford.²¹

Prior to the opening of the Kilmacthomas workhouse paupers were sent to the neighbouring workhouses of Waterford and Dungarvan. The distance between the electoral divisions and these workhouses sometimes resulted in sick paupers travelling a distance of over twenty miles.²² Immediately prior to the famine the pauper population was quite small in the workhouses and up to 1845 the poor law system was reasonably effective in relieving distress.²³ The second failure of the potato crop resulted in severe strain on the workhouses in County Waterford and also saw the collapse of the public works system.²⁴ During the period of the famine there were three temporary and generally ineffectual relief acts leading to a separate and independent Irish Poor Law Commission formally created by the Poor Law Relief (Ireland) Amendment Act of 1847.25 One of the chief features of the crisis was that despite the increased collection of local rates they were totally insufficient to deal with the level of destitution.²⁶ Kinealy argues that by 1849, and despite widespread emigration, the entire fabric of the poor law system was disintegrating.²⁷ The county had a high mortality rate similar to rates shared by western counties such as Cork and Kerry-running at 3 to 4 per cent of its population.²⁸ The death rate for County Waterford has been estimated at between 20.8 and 30.8 per thousand excess deaths as compared to between 58.4 and 72.0 per thousand for Mayo and 1.7 to 6.6 for Wexford.²⁹

²¹ Burtchall, *The Famine in County Waterford*, p272.

²² Fraher, Desperate Haven, p73.

²³ Kinealy, The Workhouse System, p582.

²⁴ Ibid, p587.

²⁵ Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p64. Cassells argues that this act resulted in the Poor Law Commission becoming one of the largest and most powerful government agencies in Ireland(Cassell, p78).

²⁶ Kinealy, *The Workhouse System*, p587. See Cassells *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p65 for a discussion on the impact of increased rates on the medical charities, which relied on the upper and middle classes for support. The 6d in the pound and a further 2d in the pound in December 1850 saw the funds available from this source reduce dramatically.

²⁷ Ibid, *The Workhouse System*, p587.

²⁸ Ibid, The Workhouse System, p588.

²⁹ Burtchall, The Famine in County Waterford, p268.

Total number of people relieved both in and out of workhouses in county Waterford									
Type of	Union	Year End							
Relief		29 Sept							
		1847	1848	1849	1850	1851			
Indoor	Dungarvan	3,788	7,721	11,884	6,220	4,656			
Outdoor	Dungarvan	<u></u>	12,592	7,086	183				
Indoor	Kilmacthomas			<u></u>	735	1,520			
Outdoor	Kilmacthomas								
Indoor	Lismore	2,001	4,224	6,628	5,132	3,656			
Outdoor	Lismore		4,500	552	605				
Indoor	Waterford	6,393	6,614	12,313	10,859	13,550			
Outdoor	Waterford	<u> </u>	8,998	7,528	973	144			

Table 3. Relief in County Waterford during the Famine

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1848-1852. Table reproduced from Kinenly, C. 1992, The Workhouse System in County Waterford, 1838-1923.

The census returns for 1841 put the Irish population at 8,175,124. By 1851, as a result of famine, disease and emigration, it had fallen to 6,52,386. The fall in population varied by province with the Connaught dropping by 29% while Munster dropped by 22%. Ulster and Leinster followed losing 16% and 15% respectively.³⁰ Overall the population drop for Kilmacthomas Union was 26% over the period of the famine while there were significant variations within the electoral divisions. While the average was in the mid to low twenties, Kilmacthomas lost 39% of its population while Comeragh was as low as 10%.³¹

The Guardians.

The workhouse was administered by a board of guardians, a position on which only ratepayers and therefore those with property could sit with the system supported by the payment of rates.³² Much of the day to day business

³⁰ Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p63.

³¹ Comparative View of Census of Ireland, 1841-51. PP 1852 (373), xIvi, p357.

³² Kinealy, *The Workhouse System*, p579. Kinealy argues that because "all ratepayers were entitled to vote in annual poor law elections, the concept of local self government was well established in Ireland long before the 1898 Local Government Act." When considering the setting of rates it is important to note that guardians often had vested interests. For example, both the Uniacke family and Lord Waterford had interests in the mining company in Knockmahon and were happy for the rates to be spread over the ratepayers rather than have high rates against the mining company property.

involved dealing with requests from the Poor Law Commissioners for returns on rates, issues around chargeability, auditing of union accounts and elections.³³ The administration was carried on in a very business like manner and it is only rarely that there is any mention of the condition of the paupers. The focus of the guardians often rested on saving money and keeping rates down. On the 21st January 1854 the board called on the schoolmaster and agriculturalist to resign so that they could appoint one Mr. Coffey to take up the joint position.³⁴ In a visit to the house in December 1859 Mr. Hamilton, Poor Law Inspector, suggested warmer clothing for the children for the winter.³⁵ However, the following week the guardians examined the clothing and deemed it sufficiently warm.³⁶ When differences of opinion did occur and the board refused to comply with the commissions wishes, the latter resorted to sealed orders with invariable success.³⁷ The appointment of the workhouse doctor in March 1854 caused a level of disagreement between the board and the commissioners. Following his resignation he reapplied for the position and was approved by the guardians but the commissioners refused to sanction his appointment.³⁸ The issue was finally resolved when Dr. Coughlan resigned at the end of June³⁹ and a new doctor was appointed in early July.⁴⁰

An example of the ongoing concern of the guardians regarding rates is clear in the entry for March 1854. There was a four page account outlining the reason for the high rates in Knockmahon, which was due to people flocking to the mines for work. The result was that the ratepayers were bearing the high

³³ BG/KILTHOM/1, 06 Mar 1852. The level of involvement of the PLC extended down to detail such as the direction of the drains leading from the workhouse. See Cassells *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p78 for an examination of the powers of the Poor Law Commission over taxation, poor law property, and supervision of the guardians.

³⁴ BG/KILTHOM/4, 21 Jan 1854.

 ³⁵ BG/KILTHOM/11, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 10 December 1859 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/11).
 ³⁶ Ibid, 17 December 1859.

 ³⁷ Ibid, p81. In Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics,* p80, the role of the commissioners in supervising the work of the guardians is discussed. The minutes of each weekly meeting were read and compared to the detailed evaluations contained in the inspector's reports.
 ³⁸ BG/KILTHOM/4, 25 March 1854.

³⁹ Ibid, 24 June 1854.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 08 July 1854. There is a hidden reference to the relationship of some of the inmates with Dr. Coughlan in the Masters report for 15 July 1854. Some of the female inmates in the hospital abused all those they felt had not supported Dr. Coughlan including some of the Board members.

cost of maintaining the destitute families of miners who resided in the area.⁴¹

Electoral	1857	1859	1860	1862	1865	1871	1872
Division							
Ballylaneen	10d	6d	1s	1s8d	1s	_1s 2d	1s4d
Carrigcastle	1s4d	9d	1s	1s2d	1s2d	1s10d	2s
Comeragh	1s	1s	1s2d	1s10d	10d	1s4d	1s
Fews	1s	8d	1s	1s5d	10d	1s4d	1s4d
Fox's Castle	1s2d	10d	1	1s7d	1s	1s4d	1s8d
MountKennedy	8d	9d	1s4d	1s5d	1s3d	1s 2d	1s2d
Stradbally	<u>1s</u>	10d	1d	2s3d	1s4d	1s 2d	1s8d
Tinnasaggart	6d	8d	8d	1s3d	9d	1s10d	1s
Knockmahon	1s2d	10d	1s6d	1s11d	1s9d	3s 6d	3s
Kilmacthomas	2s	1/-1d	1s	2s2d	2s3d	1s10d	2s2d
Annestown	1s	11d	1s2d	1s8d	1s	1s 2d	1s
Dunhill	1s	8d	1s2d	1s4d	9d	1s 2d	1s4d
Georgestown	1s	9d	1s	11d	10d	1s 2d	1s2d
Gardenmorris	8d	1/-2d	8d	1s6d	1s10d	2s6d	3s
Newtown	1s	1/-3d	1s6d	2s2d	10d	1s4d	1s
Kilbarrymeaden	1s6d	1/-4d	2s6d	2s1d	2s6d	1s6d	2s6d

Table 4. Rates struck showing general trend over twenty year period.

The level of concern with costs is evident in a request minuted on the 08th September 1855 from the chairman of the South Dispensary District requesting the clerk to provide the dispensary with a sweeping brush.⁴² Despite a request for consideration by Mr. J.B. Franks, Esq. R.M., in the case of a destitute child found at the side of the road the board refused to accept any

Source: Information compiled from BG/KIL/THOM/Minute Books 1851-1872.

⁴¹ Ibid, 18 March 1854. Following on from an earlier discussion on the re-valuation of the mines at Knockmahon based on the company's half year profit reports. The 1871 census returns showed the population increase from 339 in 1841 to 480 (1851), 584 (1861) and drawing back to 479 in 1871.

⁴² BG/KIL/THOM/6, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 08 September 1855 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KIL/THOM/) (hereafter BG/KIL/THOM/6). On 3 November 1855 the Medical Officer "requested warm socks for pauper boys of the institution throughout winter months to prevent their feet from being affected by sores or chilblains as last winter there were a large number of them in the infirmary with bad sore feet from the cold weather." The board so ordered. Entries of this nature outline the harshness of workhouse life.

liability for 3/- incurred by the person who took charge of the child and referred the case to the Commissioners noting that the mother was in jail.⁴³

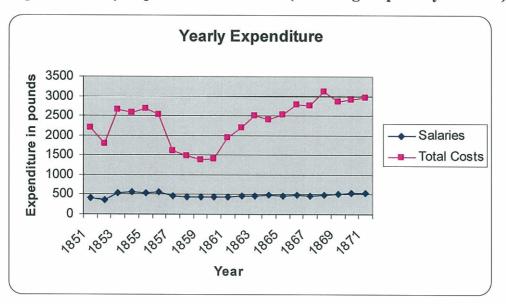


Figure 2. Yearly Expenditure 1851-1872 (excluding Dispensary Districts).

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1851-1872.

The guardians did not operate in isolation despite the strict controls of the Commissioners. The boards could be highly political in terms of protecting their own interests and petitioned each other on various issues.⁴⁴ The Commissioners noted in their 10th Annual Report in 1857 the responses to calls for the amalgamation of unions. The answer from the unions "was generally an unfavourable one, the exceptions being those that wished to extend their unions areas."⁴⁵ On the 19th June 1865 the board ordered that the clerk summon a special meeting for the following Tuesday to take into consideration a copy of a resolution received from Limerick Board of Guardians regarding the Catholic Pledge.⁴⁶

 ⁴³ BG/KILTHOM/15, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 29 March 1862 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/15).
 ⁴⁴ See Appendix 3 for examples. An example of political awareness is evident in an entry in

¹⁷ See Appendix 3 for examples. An example of political awareness is evident in an entry in BG/KILTHOM/14 for 28 December 1861 when the board sent a message of sympathy to HRH on the death of Prince Consort and their devoted loyalty to Her Majesty.

⁴⁵ 10th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1857 Session 2, (NLI, PP, XXII.137) (hereafter 10th Annual Report 1857), p9. Of all the 32 newly formed unions they either remained silent or expressed an objection to the proposal as it was recognised that the move would only suit larger unions who were left with spare accommodation in the wake of the famine.

⁴⁶ BG/KILTHOM/19, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 19 June 1865,

The Officials.

The lives of the officials along with the paupers were strictly regulated. The officials were employees of the union and this is very evident in the primary materials. However, some of the officials, such as the Relieving Officers and Doctors, were also ratepayers with land in the area. Others were related to members of the board and both can be found renting accommodation for the dispensary's and supplying goods to the workhouse. There were a number of entries in the early years of the workhouse which showed the difficulty which accompanied the setting up of the workhouse. Complaints were made on occasion against officials in the workhouse. There were ongoing issues with one of the collectors, Henry Langley, over discrepancies in his accounts. An entry for 31 January 1852 records a request from the board for Henry Langley to furnish his books for inspection by the clerk as there were issues with "no monies being lodged."⁴⁷ In March 1854 the board resolved that the Poor Law Commissioners should be asked to reconsider the case of Andrew Kearney, late Relieving Officer, to have him reinstated as no bills had been found against him at the assizes.⁴⁸ The commissioners agreed to his reinstatement in a letter on the 25 Mar 1854.49 Five months later, following an altercation between the Master and some boys wanting admission, the Commissioners recommended that the Master should use his discretion in admitting cases of sudden and urgent necessity under Number 3 of Article 1 of the workhouse rules and such relief shall not be limited.⁵⁰

In a letter entered on 22 July 1854 the Poor Law Commissioner called for the resignation of the porter, Nicholas Power, for being drunk. The board argued that, while the porter was under the influence of alcohol, he had

⁽Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/19).

⁴⁷ BG/KILTHOM/1, 31 January 1852. There was constant weekly communication between all the parties including the threat of legal action by the Poor Law Commissioners until he finally attended on 29th May 1852 and, while there were still some issues with the books, the account was closed in June.

⁴⁸ BG/KILTHOM/4, 04 Mar 1854.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 25 Mar 1854. There is no reference to the reason for his arrest. BG/KILTHOM/3 is badly damaged and cannot be referenced.

⁵⁰ BG/KILTHOM/5, 05 August 1854. The Master was reminded again on the 18th April 1857, of the powers which he possessed in relation to three boys he turned away from the house (BG/KILTHOM/8, 18 April 1857).

returned a day earlier than his leave of absence had expired. They also highlighted the heat of the day as having affected his alcohol intake.⁵¹ At the same time the infirmary nurse was also called on to resign to which she replied that "she was afflicted by tyranny of the Master and Matron." The board deferred calling on the nurse to resign as it was felt that the Master had not told the full story.⁵² The following week the porter sent in a letter further criticising the Master and stating that he felt he would not get a fair hearing as the Master "had too many friends on the board."53 In September the Master was reprimanded by the Commissioners for giving keys to paupers and warned "not to give grounds for suspecting him of drinking."⁵⁴ In June of the following year there was an ongoing dispute between the Master and the schoolmaster, John McCaffrey, which resulted in the schoolmaster being accused of being under the influence of drink and of "accosting young girl inmates more than once."⁵⁵ The porter also ended up in dispute with the Master and was forced to resign. The culmination of the dispute was that Mr Hamilton recommended that it was necessary to dismiss all the officers.⁵⁶ John McCaffrey, Mrs. McCaffrey and Nicholas Walsh, Porter, all resigned.⁵⁷

The Master and Matron again appear in difficulty in 1860 with the board receiving a letter from the commissioners regarding a visit from the PL Inspector, Capt Hamilton, who had visited the house on 22 March 1860 and found both missing, the doors unlocked, the infirmary wards dirty and "the inmates not clean in their person." The Poor Law Commissioners called the

⁵¹ Ibid, 22 July 1854. This dispute ran into counter argument with the porter accusing the master of inappropriate behaviour. The following week the porter again wrote to the board and the commissioners stating that he could not get a fair hearing as the Master "had too many friends on the board." The Commissioners did not sway and there is an entry for 02nd August 1854 appointing a new porter, Thomas Murray, at £8 pa. It was also decided to alter one of the buildings to provide a gate/porters lodge.

⁵² Ibid, 22 July 1854. When the position of infirmary nurse was advertised at £12 per annum the nurse reapplied for her position and was appointed on trial at her old rate of £9 per annum on condition she withdraw her accusations against the Master and Matron and resolve to "tender respectful obedience to the Master and Matron."

⁵³ Ibid, 29 July 1854.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 09 September 1854.

⁵⁵ BG/KILTHOM/6, 07 June 1855. In another entry for 8 December 1855 the board received a letter from the Commissioner for National Education withdrawing the grant of salary from Robert McGrath, the new schoolmaster, it appearing that he was addicted to intemperance and that he should not be again recognised.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 07 July 1855.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 18 August 1855. The Board respectfully asked the Commissioners to give the Master and Matron another chance to which the commissioners agreed on 18 August 1855.

attention of the board to the actions of the Master and Matron being unsatisfactory and questioning whether it was in the interest of the union to retain such officials. In reply the Master pointed out that himself and his wife had been in office for the last 7 years and had carried out their duties faithfully.⁵⁸ However, within the next few weeks they were both dismissed from their posts due to this and unexplained discrepancies in stock.⁵⁹ Entries for the 29th July 1871 note a "charge of scandalous and immoral conduct" against Richard Power, Relieving Officer which culminated in his resignation on the 04th August.⁶⁰ The principle trend in the early years of the workhouse in Kilmacthomas is marked by a degree of instability, petty bickering and controversy in the actions of many of the officials. However this stabilised and some of the official's names appeared in entries for 1851 right up to 1872.⁶¹

The Paupers

The paupers themselves were from the area and shared information on opportunities for getting work or nursing out children. It is interesting to see how the paupers used the workhouse to their own advantage moving in and out as needed. The records show that the average stay at certain periods was around 80 days and peaked during the "hungry months."

In 1851 national statistics on admissions showed that 34.5 per cent of workhouse inmates were able-bodied men and women and another 44.4 per cent were children under 15, while only 6.8 per cent were listed as aged and infirm. However, the pattern altered in the next two decades. By 1871 the first two categories had declined to 19.9 per cent and 26.6 per cent respectively while the figure for aged and infirm had climbed to 24.3 per cent. In 1851 only 14 per cent of the workhouse inmates were admitted in sickness while by 1871 the figure had ballooned to fully 32.2 per cent.⁶²

⁵⁸ BG/KILTHOM/11, 31 March 1860.

⁵⁹ In an entry for the 19th June the clerk was directed to summon the late Master in order to settle the claim of the union for £27-6-7 against these deficiencies.

⁶⁰ BG/KILTHOM/27, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 29 July 1871 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/27).

⁶¹ William Hunt served as clerk and carried out his duties in a reliable and efficient manner apart from some periods of illness up to his death which was recorded in an entry in BG/KILTHOM/28 for 02 March 1872. Dr. Walker and Dr. Coughlan served as dispensary doctors over the period of this study.

⁶² Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p103.

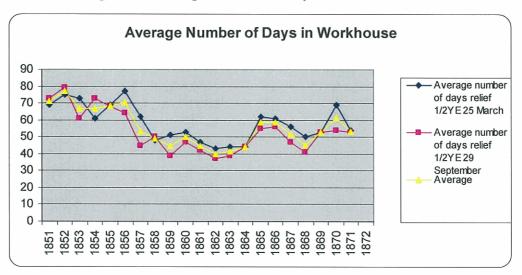


Figure 3. Average number of days in the workhouse

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1856-1872.

There were significant increases in the numbers in the workhouses during the "hungry months". In line with national trends the Kilmacthomas Minute Books clearly show how vulnerable women and young children were simply by analysing the ratio of men to women. In all the records examined women clearly outnumbered men in terms of workhouse population. The records for 1851 should be taken in the context of the end of the famine period. The entry for the 01st October 1851 showed sixteen able-bodied men and four males over fifteen but not working on the books. This could be compared to sixty nine able bodied and nineteen not working females. This presented a ratio of more than four to one female's inmates to every male, with children making up the remainder of the 235 inmates.⁶³ Following the famine period the numbers in the workhouse dropped due to different factors, although there would be periodic rises due to various contributing factors.

Even within the workhouse itself the paupers showed solidarity with each other, an example being a young boy, Pat Lanigan, who tried to hit the agriculturalist with a shovel while working in the field.⁶⁴ Discipline was harsh within the workhouse and is evident in entries such as a reference to the Punishment Book. Four boys, including Pat Lanigan, were confined to the

⁶³ BG/KILTHOM/1, 01 October 1851.

⁶⁴ BG/KILTHOM/4, 04 February 1854. Despite the fact that there were other inmates in the fields there were no witnesses to the alleged attempted assault.

house in April for insulting the agriculturalist. The Master was informed that he could not inflict severe punishment without the Medical Officers certificate.⁶⁵ In May 1854 two inmates who committed assault were committed to jail for one month. There are also numerous cases of inmates absconding with clothes received in the workhouse. In May 1854 of the same year 2 boys absconded with clothes and were caught in Portlaw having sold one of the pairs. They were arrested and summoned to appear in front of the magistrate.⁶⁶ Four boys, aged between 15 and 20, were arrested in November 1854 for begging, threatening and injuring the gate with stones.⁶⁷

Paupers did not confine themselves to the territorial confines of particular unions but showed high levels of mobility, a feature which caused great concern to the Poor Law Commissioners and individual Boards of Guardians.⁶⁸ However, there are other examples such as the entry for 20 December 1851 regarding two women, Mary Carlin and Mary Harrington, who had entered the Kilmacthomas workhouse under false pretences. Within a short time of entering Kilmacthomas it transpired that the women had also entered Dungarvan and Waterford under fictitious names and it was recommended that they be "prosecuted for their criminal actions."69

<u>The Diet</u>

There is much discussion over the years on the dietary scale in place in the workhouse. The food was meagre and was continually criticised by the Medical Officers. The workhouse inmates were given a diet which was not superior to that of independent labourers.⁷⁰ The Commissioners issued a circular in April 1854 outlining the risk of cholera and drawing the board's attention to the quality of the dietary during their visits.⁷¹ In particular they focus on the quality of the milk in the event of a cholera outbreak as "the

⁶⁵ Ibid, 29 April 1854.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 20 May 1854.

⁶⁷ BG/KILTHOM/5, 04 November 1854.

⁶⁸ Dympna McLoughlin, Workhouses and Irish Female Paupers, 1840-1870 in Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy, Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Womens History in the 19th and 20th Centuries, (Dublin, 1990) (hereafter McLoughlin, Workhouses and Irish Female Paupers), p117. ⁸⁹ BG/KILTHOM/1, 20th December 1851.

⁷⁰ Helen Burke, The People and The Poor Law in 19th Century Ireland (West Sussex, 1987) (hereafter Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*), p160. ⁷¹ Circular, BG/WTFD/114 (Waterford County Archive Service).

Medical Officers appear sometimes to rely on an increased quantity of Milk, as conducive to the preservation of the health of the inmates."⁷² The commissioners took a concentrated approach to the cholera outbreak by notifying the boards and enforcing the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Acts,⁷³ even going as far as threatening to prosecute any suppliers who violate their contracts in terms of quality in the event of the guardians declining to do so.⁷⁴ The diet was seldom satisfactory and in September 1854 the agriculturalist requested increased diet for the boys reaping as they were working extra hours and which the board allowed⁷⁵ The dietary table below gives a good indication of the food available to the inmates by 1859.

Class	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
1	8oz Indian Meal	16oz White Bread	8oz White Bread
	1pt Buttermilk	2 ¹ ⁄ ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	loz Cocoa
			1oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
2	80z Indian Meal	16oz White Bread	8oz White Bread
	1pt Buttermilk	2 ¹ / ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	loz Cocoa
			l oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
3	7oz Indian Meal	12oz White Bread	6oz White Bread
	1pt Buttermilk	2 ¹ ⁄ ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	loz Cocoa
			l oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
4	7oz Indian Meal	12oz White Bread	6oz White Bread
	1pt Buttermilk	2 ¹ / ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	1oz Cocoa
			l oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
5	5oz Indian Meal	8oz White Bread	4oz White Bread
	lpt Buttermilk	2 ¹ / ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	1/2 oz Cocoa
			1/2 oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
6	4oz Indian Meal	6oz White Bread	4oz White Bread
	1pt Buttermilk	2 ¹ / ₂ oz Oatmeal with vegetables	1/2oz Cocoa
			1/2oz Sugar
			1/16qt Sweet Milk
7	4oz Indian Meal	4oz White Bread	4oz White Bread
	1/2pt Buttermilk	1/20z Oatmeal with vegetables	1pt Sweet Milk

Table 5. Dietary Scale 12 July 1859

Source: Extract from Minute Book BG/KILTHOM/11 12 Jul 1859

The Masters report for the 6th August 1859 draws attention to the issue of spoiled beef which was delivered to the workhouse during the previous

⁷² 7th Annual Report 1854, p24.

⁷³ Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p112. See p108 where Cassells argues that by implementing Clause 19, which made the Poor Law Commission responsible for implementation of the act, state intervention became more effective in Ireland over the next two decades than in any other part of the British Isles.

 ⁷⁴ 7th Annual Report 1854, p24.
 ⁷⁵ BG/KILTHOM/5, 02 September 1854.

week. Rather than waste the meat the master removed the spoiled portions and prepared the remainder with vegetables for the healthy inmates.⁷⁶ There are numerous accounts in the minute books of the Medical Officer requesting changes to the diet either as a result of shortages of particular foodstuffs or due to extremes of weather. On 17 October 1868 the Medical Officer requested that "the healthy inmates to get vegetable soup three or four times a week for dinner instead of buttermilk during winter months same as formerly used."⁷⁷ The following year the doctor recommended vegetable soup should be given with bread for dinner to the healthy inmates in lieu of buttermilk.⁷⁸ An entry for 27 May 1871 reports that Poor Law Inspector Capt Hamilton visited and was pleased to see inmates eating potatoes.⁷⁹ The diet improved gradually over the two decades and is evident in the increased use of meat in the diet.

Medical Charities Act

In the late stages of the famine and in the immediate post famine period the poor law administration became increasingly concerned with the provision of medical relief in Ireland. The dispensary system was established by the Medical Charities Act of 1851, combining medical relief and public health powers in the Irish Poor Law Commission.⁸⁰ One of the key provisions of the act was the appointment of a medical commissioner to the Poor Law Commission and the addition of medical personnel to the poor law inspectorate.⁸¹ The Medical Charities Act marked the move to state provision of healthcare although it must be recognised that it was far from satisfactory. However, the act and the legislation which followed turned a largely uncoordinated approach to medical care into a nationwide system providing the most comprehensive free medical care available in the British Isles.⁸² In 1852-

⁷⁶ BG/KILTHOM/11, 06 August 1859. On occasion the contract was cancelled if the meat was of poor quality over a constant period (BG/KILTHOM/13, 11 May 61).

⁷⁷ BG/KILTHOM/30, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 17 October 1869 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/30). ⁷⁸ BG/KILTHOM/24, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 16 October 1869.

⁽Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/24)

⁷⁹ BG/KILTHOM/27, 27 May 1871.

⁸⁰ Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p78. Over the next two decades the poor law system was transformed into something like a national board of health. ⁸¹ Ibid, p86.

⁸² Ibid, p128.

53 the system cost £88,440 and rose to £127,362 in 1871-72.83

At a meeting in November 1851 the board resolved that the union be divided into two districts- North District and South District. As a rule the boards preferred fewer districts in order to keep costs down.⁸⁴

North Dispen	sary District	South Disper	nsary District
Electoral Division			Area (Statute Acres)
Kilmacthomas	5,450	Knockmahon	3,059
Newtown	5,458	Dunhill	2,629
Tinnasaggart	3,474	Annestown	4,764
Fews	4,834	Carrigcastle	2,314
Mount Kennedy	6,447	Georgestown	2,315
Fox's Castle	5,100	Gardenmorris	3,330
Stradbally	4,164	Kilbarrymeaden	3,059
Comeragh	5,912	Ballylaneen	3,835

Table 6. Kilmacthomas Union Dispensary Districts

Source: Extract from BG/KILTHOM/1BG/1, 29 Nov 51 and Handrahan, G.B. 1997, Townlands in Poor Law Unions- A Reprint of Poor Law Union Pamphlets of the General Register's Office, Massachusetts: Higginson Book Company.

This meeting also resolved that the salaries of the doctors be set at £100 per annum.⁸⁵ A change in legislation would later come into operation in 1867 defraying half of the medical officer's wages out of the consolidated fund, an arrangement already in place in England.⁸⁶ The efficiency of the board is noteworthy as they implement the directive at a meeting on the 02nd December

⁸³ Ibid, p94.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p87. Each district was run by a committee answering to the board of guardians and ultimately to the poor law administration. The Commissioners had ultimate authority and supervised the actions of the dispensaries through its inspectors.

⁸⁵ BG/KILTHOM/1, 29 November 1851. Nationally salaries averaged less than £80 annually by the mid fifties. Some were over £100 but many were much less. The salaries, set by the commission itself, were calculated on the basis of the size of the dispensary district, both in terms of area and population, and the prospects the medical officer might have a private practice. Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p98.

⁸⁶ Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p98. This is first mentioned in BG/KILTHOM/19 for 25 Mar 1865 when Thomas Power resolved a motion of thanks to those members of the House of Commons who voted for Mr. McIvor's motion for a grant of half the cost of the Medical Officers salaries in Poor Law unions in Ireland and "that the board regret the absence of many Irish members from that important division in consequence of which the motion was lost" (BG/KILTHOM/19).

recommending that "the formation of the Dispensary Districts...take effect the 1st day of January 1852"⁸⁷ although the first meeting did not take place until the 17th February 1852.⁸⁸

The Medical Charities Act ended the contract vaccination system in Ireland and required the dispensary medical officers to vaccinate, free of charge, all those who applied at the dispensaries.⁸⁹ An inspection by Mr. Hamilton, Poor Law Inspector, in October 1854 criticised the medical officers because records of sickness and mortality were not properly kept and that paperwork was not in order for the Northern District.⁹⁰ An entry for the 17 September 1859 showed the Commissioners were not beyond withholding payments because of improper filling out of requests under 3rd & 4th Articles of the Vaccination Act.⁹¹ The Births and Deaths Registration (Ireland) Act (62 & 27 Vic., c.11) and the Compulsory Vaccination (Ireland) Act (26 & 27 Vic., c.52) proved more effective in Ireland than similar measures implemented in other parts of the United Kingdom and provided the authorities with detailed patterns of illness and mortality rates.⁹² Again in early February 1869 Hamilton questions the neglect of duty by Dr Coughlan in relation to the Form G.⁹³ The issue dragged on into March and on the 13th March Dr. Walker reported that all defaulters in his area had been summoned to appear in court. Coughlan is still on the defensive and writes a detailed letter pointing out that he had not one defaulter and also taking the opportunity to point out the deficiencies in the Act. In particular he highlights issues with carrying out vaccinations during the "difficult seasons."94

⁵⁴ Ibid, 13 March 1869. On the 20th March it was reported that Dr. Walker's defaulters had

⁸⁷ BG/KILTHOM/1, 01 January 1852.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 17 February 1852.

⁸⁹ Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p120.

⁹⁰ BG/KILTHOM/5, October 1854.

⁹¹ BG/KILTHOM/11, 17 September 1859.

⁹² Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics* p125. Cassell argues on page 128 that the primary reason appeared to be the Irish dispensary system. While medical officers continued to be public vaccinators, they were the births and deaths registrars also (Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p128).

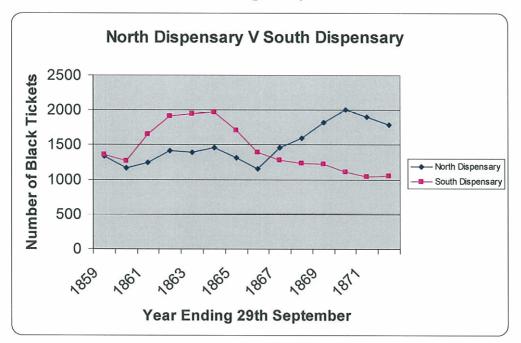
⁹³ BG/KILTHOM/22, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 13 February 1859 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/22). Form G was the Vaccination Register and contained name, age, date(s) of vaccinations. It also contained the residence, names of parent(s) if a child, the number of the entry on the births register and the Medical Officers signature; See Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics* p92 for a discussion on the increased paperwork which would be a source of continuing grievance to the medical officers.

Туре	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856				
North Dispensary District									
Dispensary	802	1308	1244	1486	1472				
Tickets									
Vaccination	88	151	115	30	358				
Tickets									
		South Dispen	sary District						
Dispensary		592	1222	1320	1457				
Tickets				,					
Vaccination	-	54	311	11	163				
Tickets									

Table 7. Dispensary and Vaccination Tickets 1852-56

Source: BG/KILTHOM/8 01st November 1856.

Figure 4. Issue of Dispensary Tickets 1859-72





An essential feature of medical relief provided by the dispensary system was the provision of free drugs to the holders of the black and red tickets.⁹⁵ Any examples of ticket abuse occurred generally as a result of carelessness

been prosecuted.

⁹⁵ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, 248. The issue of a black ticket entitled the recipient to care at the dispensary and the red ticket to care in the home.

rather than premeditation, and the medical officers were required under the legislation to honour the tickets regardless of their suspicions. However, they could later appeal to the committee for cancellation.⁹⁶ While there is evidence nationally of abuse there are very few recorded cancellations in Kilmacthomas, averaging only three or four per year.⁹⁷

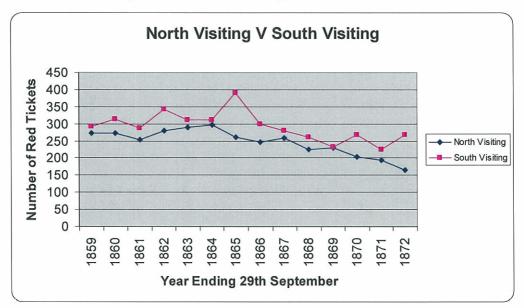


Figure 5. Issue of Visiting Tickets 1859-1872

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1859-1872.

The Sewage Utilisation Act 1865 and the Sanitary Act 1866 consolidated public health legislation and broadened the role of the Board of Guardians outside the workhouse.⁹⁸ These acts gave the guardians control over sewers and the protection of water supplies and the prevention of disease.⁹⁹ The board received a circular from the Poor Law Commissioners on the 26th Aug

⁹⁶ Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p99. It is recorded under the Medical Charities report in the minute books for 16th June 1860 by the dispensary committee for the South District that tickets 583 and 621 "be cancelled and that Mr. Hughes of Annestown be informed that the committee do not consider him entitled to dispense relief (BG/KILTHOM/11, 16 June 1860)."

⁹⁷ The source for this information is the Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners.

⁹⁸ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p275. The Sewage Utilisation Act gave the board of guardian's responsibility as the "sewer authority" in towns which did not have any other governing body.

⁹⁹ BG/KILTHOM/20, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 01 September 1866 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/20). By 1866 the sewer authorities were actively engaged in taking steps to supply water to towns such as Stradbally.

1865 explaining the Removal of Nuisances Act which resulted in the board instructing the Relieving Officer to implement the Nuisances Act rigidly.¹⁰⁰ One of the most important developments brought about by the Sanitary Act was the introduction of a new type of official into the system, the Sanitary Inspector. In some unions the Relieving Officer was able to combine his office with that of Sanitary Inspector,¹⁰¹ an approach taken by the Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians.¹⁰² There was constant communication between the commissioners and the guardians regarding the outbreak and response to cholera.

The sanitary officer's report highlights 7 cases of nuisance in the entry dated 23 Jun 1869, some of which had been removed and some of which were still outstanding.¹⁰³ The Sanitary Officers reports for 8 April 1871 gives an indication of the issues dealt with; in the No. 1 District under Lenehan there were three cases of nuisances and three cases of scarlatina. Notice was also given to defaulters under the Vaccination Act. Richard Power, the sanitary officer for the No 2 Southern District reported two cases of fever visited by Dr. Walker and the houses were limewashed.¹⁰⁴ The Sanitary Officers report for 2 November 1872 included the names of 5 people who had pools of stagnant water in the yards and outlined the legal steps being taken against them. It also reported on two men keeping pigs in their houses who had notices served on them. There are reports of scarletina in the dispensary house in Lemybrien.¹⁰⁵

The two decades following the formation of the union saw the dispensary system expand its facilities and services and also saw a steady expansion of state control of healthcare. The issues which affected the officials and guardians nationally also affected Kilmacthomas. The unions changed from the role it had held before and during the famine, with those who entered increasingly made up of the old, infirm and the sick. The entries throughout the minute books clearly show the transition and composition of the workhouse

¹⁰³ BG/KILTHOM/22, 23 June 1869.

¹⁰⁰ BG/KILTHOM/19, 26 August 1865. The cholera epidemic of 1865-66 saw mortality down from the earlier outbreak in 1854-55. This compared favourably with England which was hard hit by the epidemic. Removal of nuisances was central to the campaign.

¹⁰¹ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, 276. See Cassells, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p117 for a discussion on the increased powers of the poor law system.

¹⁰² BG/KILTHOM/20, 02 February 1867, Relieving Officers, Lenehan and Power empowered to act as Sanitary Inspectors in their respective districts.

¹⁰⁴ BG/KILTHOM/27, 08 April 1871.

¹⁰⁵ BG/KILTHOM/30, 02 November 1872. Scarlatina was a highly infectious disease which attacked red blood cells. The symptoms were sore throat, high fever and a punctuate rash.

population change as the numbers of able-bodied inmate's declines and numbers using outdoor relief and the dispensary system increase.

Workhouse Infirmary

The hospital was an integral part of the workhouse and was administered by a workhouse doctor appointed separate to the dispensary doctors. Prior to his resignation in February 1854, Dr. John Coughlan's report for 14 January 1854 highlights the hospital as overcrowded with healthy children being accommodated with children suffering from hooping cough. His report goes on to state that the infirmary "is in fact used as a district hospital."¹⁰⁶ The conditions prevalent in the hospital are evident in the reports of Dr. Coughlin's successor who highlighted the outbreak of fever in March within the hospital. He also reported that he had asked the Matron that the bedclothes of the fever ward should be especially marked and washed separately but found that they were mixed with other clothing and given to healthy inmates.¹⁰⁷

By the mid 1850's the guardians began to allow the admission of accident cases and non-contagious disease patients to both kinds of institutions, with the commissioners generally overlooking the practice. There is reference in March 1857 to Dr. Greene requesting permission to get a second doctor to help in the amputation of a leg.¹⁰⁸ The boy, Michael Norris, is further referred to in the medical report of 16 May when he requests that he be allowed go home and also requested an artificial leg at a cost of $\pm 1-10-0$.¹⁰⁹ This can be viewed in the context of a letter in early 1861 from Dr. Greene requesting the board to increase his salary from ± 70 .¹¹⁰ The salary of the workhouse doctor

¹⁰⁶ BG/KILTHOM/4, 14 January 1854. In the 9th Annual Report 1856 the Commissioners refer to the changing nature of the Poor Law system. The Medical Officers of Kilkenny Union draw attention to the number of sick in the hospital as being "markedly disproportionate" to the number of healthy inmates. The Commissioners viewed the numbers in reference the population of the whole union rather than the workhouse population.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 11 March 1854.

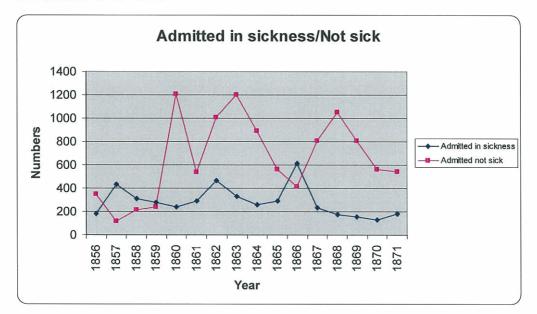
¹⁰⁸ BG/KILTHOM/15, 07 March 1857.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 16 May 1857.

¹¹⁰ BG/KILTHOM/13, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 26 January 1861 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/13). The board passed the increase on the 9th Feb but it was rescinded at the meeting 16th Mar 1861 after the Poor Law Commissioners requested that the board reconsider their decision. His letter gives an insight into the changing nature of the workhouse as the "workhouse is gradually assuming more the character of a hospital, a large proportion of those admitted come in to the

was always lower than the two dispensary doctors throughout the period of this research. It is worth noting that the Medical Officer was expected to carry out a variety of medical functions.

Figure 6. Comparison between those sick and not sick entering the workhouse 1856-1871.



Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1856-1871.

In the hospitals of the larger workhouses and in all the fever hospitals "salaried" nurses were employed and "assisted by the most eligible of the female inmates."¹¹¹ This eligibility was conditional as evident in a letter from the Poor Law Commissioners regarding the appointment of Mary Kiely as nurse of the Fever Hospital in February 1861. The circumstances of her having a child as a pauper in the workhouse was not compatible with her holding paid office in the union.¹¹² She was finally accepted when she agreed that she would use her salary to support her child outside the workhouse.¹¹³

Those who were able to pay for services were expected to. In May 1861 the son of a local police constable was admitted with fever and the constable

house as medical relief." His letter also gives a view of the dangers faced by those who worked in the workhouse drawing attention to the risks faced from fever and infectious diseases. This is amply demonstrated in his own experience of taking a bad typhoid fever in 1856 to which he nearly succumbed.

¹¹¹ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p262.

¹¹² BG/KILTHOM/13, 02 February 1861.

¹¹³ Ibid, 30 March 1861. She did not take the position at £6 pa and the clerk was directed to advertise the position at £10 pa. which she finally accepted on the 30^{th} Mar 1861.

agreed that he would pay for the treatment and this was approved by the guardians.¹¹⁴ The following week a child was admitted whose legs had been injured by machinery at Knockmahon mines in Bonmahon. The manager of the company requested that the union to "take every care of the little thing" and that they would gladly pay for this care.¹¹⁵ The workhouse did not have the facilities to deal with all cases which came to their doors. While the Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland Amendment Act 1862 opened the workhouse hospital to sick people who were not destitute, it also gave the Board of Guardians the authority of the parent and the right to place children out to nurse.¹¹⁶ This must be considered in the context of the high death rate among the young children in the workhouses. In December 1854 the board resolved "that the Poor Law Commissioners sanction be requested to have three orphan children named Thomas Wade, Mary Hayes and Margaret Baldwin and who are now over the age of 5 years and have been out at nurse continue at nurse until they attain 8 years."¹¹⁷ The Commissioners directed that children should only be left out to nurse over the age of 5 years on grounds of health.¹¹⁸ The minutes for the 16 September 1854 report an 8 year old child sent to the Deaf and Dumb school under the provisions of the legislation in place.¹¹⁹ Ellen Power was to be sent to Dublin for an eye operation on the 13 January 1866.¹²⁰ The medical report for 21 November 1868 shows how inadequate the facilities were in terms of dealing with lunatics and mentally unstable with an account of the necessity for restraining a violent female inmate who was then sent to the Lunatic Asylum.¹²¹ An entry as late as 31 November 1872 shows that despite the changes in the poor law and the growth of services the workhouse was not viewed with any great affection.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 11 May 1861.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 18 May 1861. There are a number of references of this type. On the 9th April 1870 there is reference to receiving 9/- from a Mr. Langford on account of maintenance in hospital for fourteen days (BG/KILTHOM/25).

¹¹⁶ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p226.

¹¹⁷ BG/KILTHOM/22, 19 December 1868.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 09 January 1869. Following the Medical officer's report on the three children (BG/22, 23 Jan 1859) the Commissioners sanctioned that only Thomas Wade could be left out to nurse for health reasons for one extra year (BG/22, 30 Jan 1869).

¹¹⁹ BG/KILTHOM/5, 16 September 1854. This was a recurring theme throughout the years.

¹²⁰ BG/KILTHOM/19, *Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book*, Waterford County Archive Service, (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/19), 13 January 1866.

¹²¹ BG/KILTHOM/22, 21 November 1868.

The Relieving Officers report states that:

"a beggar woman is very ill at Carrigachilla. She is not fit to be removed and she requires wine and beef tea. A man in the neighbourhood has £6 belonging to her and says he will give it to me [Relieving Officer] but she refuses to allow any of the money be given for her support and states that if anything is bought for her she will not use it. She wants the money to bury her." ¹²²

Religion.

No study of nineteenth century Ireland would be complete without taking in to consideration the religious friction at work in all parts of Irish society. As a result the commission was required to appoint religious chaplains and see to the regulation of religious services for the inmates.¹²³ One of the earliest entries of a religious nature comes from the Masters report 28 Jan 54 when he stated "that the members of the Protestant faith who go to church from here on Sundays are in the habit of going to Kilmacthomas before and after the prayers and on two occasions lately had attempted to convey tobacco in their shoes." The board resolved that a separate service would be required in the workhouse if it continues.¹²⁴ Shortly after the workhouse opened the Roman Catholic chaplain "drew attention to want of accommodation for performing divine service." The Board resolved that tenders for the erection of an altar be sought. On the same day the Poor Law Commissioners requested a return of the number of paupers members of the Established Church to which the Board returned an account of nine.¹²⁵ When the Catholic chaplain saw the timetable for the boys schooling and farmwork he complained that there was not enough time set aside for religious instruction. He requested that the time be taken from the farmwork rather than school work and the board so ordered.¹²⁶ It is significant that there were reports that the chaplain interfered with the election of guardians in the union along with a resolution of strong disapproval.

 ¹²² BG/KILTHOM/30, 31 November 1872. The board was not quite sure how to deal with this problem and decided to leave it to the discretion of the Relieving Officer.
 ¹²³ Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p80. Cassells discusses in detail how this duty

¹²³ Cassell, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics*, p80. Cassells discusses in detail how this duty required careful consideration in the context of differences which could arise between guardians of different religious and political backgrounds. The salaries for the RC chaplain and Protestant chaplain were set at £40 and £20 respectively (BG/KILTHOM/8, 15 Nov 1856).

¹²⁴ BG/KILTHOM/4, 28 January 1854.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 04 February 1854.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 18 February 1854.

However, it is interesting to note that the resolution was defeated soundly and along the lines of religious and political loyalties.¹²⁷ However, the RC chaplain, Rev Roger Power, resigned on the 13th December 1856 in a dispute over the salary agreed as he had originally agreed on £50 per annum.¹²⁸ In an unrelated entry for 13 June 1857 the Master reported that a baptismal font was required in order to avoid sending infants to Newtown chapel for christening.¹²⁹ The Master received the reply from the new chaplain, Rev Shanahan, stating that he was happy to organise a font but must apply to the bishop for permission to baptise in a private chapel.¹³⁰ In October there was particular controversy when it was learned that the Catholic chaplain had baptized a three to four week old infant left at the gate of the workhouse. Following a ruling by the board of guardians, based on advice from the commissioners, the Protestant chaplain stated his intention to take the child and baptise it in the Protestant faith.¹³¹ In June 1859 Mr. Edward Elliott, secretary of the Protestant Orphan Institution sent in a request to be informed if there were any Protestant children in the workhouse.¹³² The 1862 Amendment Act went a long way to removing much of the religious acrimony from the workhouses by overruling Blackbournes controversial judgement that all foundling children in the workhouse be reared as Protestants.¹³³

Outdoor Relief.

The first official record of outdoor relief is found in an entry for the 14 July 1855 when 1 shilling outdoor relief was given to a woman on the order of Dr Walker and was sanctioned by the Board as "a very rare occurrence."

 ¹²⁷ Ibid, 25 March 1854. See Cassells, *Medical Charities, Medical Politics,* for a discussion within the context of the political changes which followed the Catholic Emancipation and repeal campaigns and the increasingly politicised nature of public bodies.
 ¹²⁸ BG/KILTHOM/15, 13 December 1856. He also made an allegation against the Master on

¹²⁸ BG/KILTHOM/15, 13 December 1856. He also made an allegation against the Master on the 10 Jan 1857 that he had made one of the female pauper inmates pregnant.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 13 June 1857.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 20 June 1857.

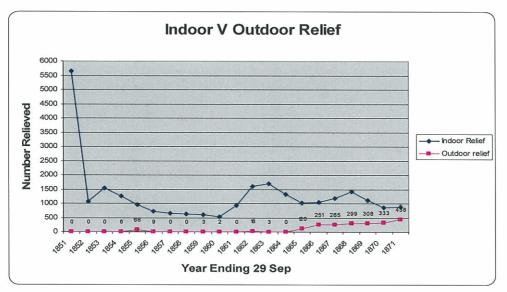
¹³¹ BG/KILTHOM/9, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 7 November 1857 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/9). The Roman Catholic chaplain warned the Master not to compel any of the inmates to bring the child to the Protestant church against their religious convictions. The following week a vote was taken by the board in favour of baptising the child Roman Catholic. The commissioners ruled on 28 November 1857 that the child must be registered Protestant and deemed it serious that any officer would go against the law.

¹³² BG/KILTHOM/11, 11 June 1859.

¹³³ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p226.

Indeed it was so rare that the union did not possess a set of outdoor relief books. The board proposed that they would not get books as outdoor relief "is not calculated to exceed a few shillings a week."134 In September 1865 the Medical Officer reported that an inmate with a fractured leg be given outdoor relief.¹³⁵ There was a steady but significant growth in outdoor relief over the period from 1858 to 1867. The figure of 6 people getting outdoor relief in 1858 must be taken in the context of 40 in total receiving outdoor relief in the whole of the province of Munster and with only 2 other unions giving outdoor relief. The pattern is the same for 1859 and 1860. 1862 showed a significant growth with almost 60% growth in outdoor relief in Munster although Kilmacthomas figures showed no growth and the union also remained the only one in County Waterford giving outdoor relief.¹³⁶ Cassells argues that the figures for outdoor relief are misleading as they do not take into account the medical relief administered by the dispensaries.¹³⁷ Figure 7 shows how the level of outdoor relief for Kilmacthomas increased with a greater reliance on outdoor relief by 1872.





Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1851-1872.

¹³⁴ BG/KILTHOM/6, 14 July 1855. However, the Commissioners directed that they did not have the power to dispense with such books and as a result the board ordered the books (BG/6, 21 July 1855).

¹³⁵ BG/KILTHOM/19, 16 September 1865.

¹³⁶ Return of Number of Able-Bodied Persons who received Provisional Outdoor Relief in Cases of Sudden and Urgent Necessity in Poor Law Unions in Ireland, 1858-67. PP 1867 (427), Ix, p1-21.

¹³⁷ Cassell, Medical Charities, Medical Politics, p102.

The Commissioners were meticulous in their accounting of outdoor relief and its provisions. In cases where relief was given illegally the auditors were required to investigate.¹³⁸

Female Paupers and Young People.

When the entries in the minute books are examined there are many references to women staying in the workhouse for years along with their children. It is interesting to note that young people between the ages of 15 and 20 who were unmarried also tended to stay longer than the average. An example of the seriousness of this for the Poor Law Commissioners was a request from the Commissioners to the Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians in July 1859 for returns specifying the number of inmates between fifteen and twenty years of age and their length of stay. They also requested the cost of keep and clothing for these inmates.¹³⁹

Table 8. Return of the Number of Unmarried Male & Female Inmates inCounty Waterford on 23rd July 1859.140

RETURN RELATING TO POOR LAW UNIONS (IRELAND).

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	_	Number	•					Average Cost		
UNIONS.	Males.	Females.		Males.		Fewales.			per Head per Annum for In-Maintenauce and	
	1418163.	Females.	TOTAL.	Years.	rs. Months. Duys. Years.	Months.	Days.	Clothing.		
COUNTY OF WATERFORD : Dungaryan	4	7	11	2	6	-	4	6	 →	5 12 8
Kilmacthonias Lismore Waterford 4	2 1 44	5 10 75	7 11 119	4 10 1	1	- 8	3 4 1	- - 9	14	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
TOTAL (MUNSTER) -	528	1,048	1,576	3	7	20	8	4	12	595

NUMBER of Unmarried Male and Female Inmates of each Workhouse in Ireland on 23d July 1859, &c.--continued.

¹³⁸ BG/KILTHOM/22, 30 January 1869. The auditor was not happy with the extent of the investigations carried out by the Relieving Officer into the state of the health of applicants, their ability to work and their previous earnings. He also drew attention to the unsatisfactory accounting methods used by the Relieving Officer. The board instructed Lenehan to carry out the auditors instructions but were unhappy with his ruling that "the sum of illegal monies issued to the Relieving officer be charged against the guardians who signed the order." ¹³⁹ BG/KILTHOM/11, 23 July 1859.

¹⁴⁰ Return of Numbers of Unmarried Male and Female Inmates of Poor Law Unions in Ireland, between Ages of Fifteen and Twenty Years, 1859 Session 2. PP1854 (189), xix p765.

Despite the abject poverty in which women found themselves middle class standards were applied to the classification system within the workhouse with inmates defined as "deserving" or "undeserving". An entry for 13th August 1859 "ordered that Bridget Walsh be discharged from the workhouse as the Guardians did not consider her as destitute, she being in good health and able to work."¹⁴¹ Another request by an inmate Mary Walsh, who had been admitted the previous February, for a "suit of clothes for her infant born in the house and a few articles for herself as she is about leaving" saw her receiving 15/- worth of clothing for the child but her own request was denied.¹⁴² An entry for the 12th November 1859 by the Chairman of the Board of Guardians dealt with the nurse in the workhouse hospital. The entry states that he "begs to inform the Guardians that the infirmary nurse Mrs Dee, having been confined within the last week, requests permission to keep her infant in the house to nurse. I consider as she has hitherto been an efficient and active nurse this permission will not prevent her being as diligent as hitherto."143 Another example of the attitudes towards women is found in an entry for the 10th December 1859 concerning the results of an inspection carried out by Mr. Hamilton, Poor Law Inspector. He suggests the porter be removed to the house at the lower gate to provide accommodation for the kitchen women who were sleeping on the kitchen floor, "a source of particular hardship during the winter months." However, the Board did not consider it appropriate to ask the porter to move and the women were left in the kitchen.¹⁴⁴

On the other hand where inmates were seen as deserving the board was more compassionate. The case of Fanny Morrissey, a weaver's wife and widow, found her in the position of being unable to pay hospital expenses. The Board ordered that due to the "indigent circumstances in which she found herself through no fault of her own she is forgiven and her expenses paid."¹⁴⁵ Entry to the workhouse involved separation even where desertion or emigration was not an issue. An entry for 06th May 1871 refers to a "Margaret Holohan, an inmate with five children, who had two persons calling from her husband who

¹⁴¹ BG/KILTHOM/11, 13 August 1859.

¹⁴² Ibid, 13 August 1859.

¹⁴³ BG/KILTHOM/15, 08 March 1862.

¹⁴⁴ BG/KILTHOM/11, 10 December 1859.

¹⁴⁵ BG/KILTHOM/27, 20 June 1871.

is working at Bonmahon Mines. As her children's clothes are bad she requests help to get her to her husband."¹⁴⁶ There are many references in the minute books studied concerning the chargeability of female paupers. There are numerous requests throughout the minute books researched of women, both single and with children, requesting help with clothes or shoes in order that they could leave the house in order to take up employment. An entry for the 03rd June 1871 refers to a woman, Bridget Condon, with four children who wanted to leave to get employment following five years in the house.¹⁴⁷ Another entry for the 04th July refers to an Ellen Kiely who had been in the house four years and Mary Donnell, "a woman in the house eight years."¹⁴⁸ There is also a report by the Relieving Officer regarding one Edmond Heffernan who got a months imprisonment for not supporting his wife. His wife was ill in the workhouse and the Relieving Officer was directed to prosecute Heffernan "as soon as the Medical Officer considers his wife fit for discharge from the hospital."¹⁴⁹

Under the Irish Poor Relief Act of 1838 the unmarried mother was liable for the support of her illegitimate child up to the age of 15 with the natural father having no liability under the provisions of this act. Burke uses statistics showing that of the 24,008 adult women under fifty years of age on 1 January 1854, 2796 (or 11.6 per cent) were mothers of illegitimate children.¹⁵⁰ Another aspect of this issue relates to the issue around moral classification. The 15th Annual Report outlines the concerns of the Commissioners in terms of "separating females of notoriously profligate character," another way of describing prostitutes, from ordinary female inmates. In the abstract on this issue Kilmacthomas reported that there was "no arrangement at present but that the guardians consider such an arrangement would be most desirable," as regards workhouse accommodation and treatment.¹⁵¹ An entry for the 13th July

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 06 May 1871.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 03 June 1871.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 04 July 1871.

¹⁴⁹ BG/KILTHOM/5, 02 December 1854.

¹⁵⁰ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p191. The vulnerability of the unmarried mother in 19th century Ireland is illustrated by the number who relied on the cold comfort of the workhouse.
¹⁵¹ 15th Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1862, (NLI, PP, XXIV.535) (hereafter

^{15th} Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1862, (NLI, PP, XXIV.535) (hereafter 15th Annual Report 1862), p86. It is interesting to note that Waterford had a classification system in place but neither Dungarvan or Lismore had any system other than normal

1861 refers to a woman of no fixed abode who was admitted on that day and who gave birth within one hour of entry.¹⁵²

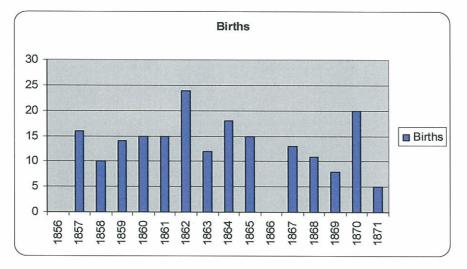
workhouses on	1 st day of .	January 1854			
Union	Number	Illegitimate	No.	of Total	Total No.
	of		women wit	th Number of	of women
	Births		illegitimate	illegitimate	in
			children	children	workhouse
Kilmacthomas	8	7	14	18	68
Dungarvan	6	4	32	32	199
Lismore	4	2	15	17	191
Waterford	28	17	35	48	387

 Table 9. Numbers of Illegitimate children in County Waterford

 workhouses on 1st day of January 1854

Source: Return of Number of Females with Illegitimate children 01st January 1854.153

Figure 8. Births in Workhouse 1856-1871



Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1856-1871.

The guardians were focused on this issue to the extent that a solicitor was appointed in September 1862 to conduct a "prosecution on their behalf against the fathers of illegitimate children" and that the clerk instruct the clerk of petty

classification (15th Annual Report, p84-90). The board issued an order issued for 26th October 1861 that a separate room be made available to separate mothers with illegitimate children from the rest of mothers (BG/14).

¹⁵² BG/KILTHOM/13, 13 July 1861. On 29th March 1862 the board converted the former nursery and secured the windows and doors to prevent contact with other females in the yard. ¹⁵³ Return of Number of Females with Illegitimate Children in Workhouses in Ireland, January

^{1854;} Number of Children born in Workhouses in Ireland, 1853. PP 1854 (183), Iv, p747.

sessions to summons those men.¹⁵⁴

<u>Work.</u>

The paupers were expected to work for their keep or at least those ablebodied and old enough. At Kilmacthomas the men worked on the workhouse farm and the women were engaged mostly in providing clothes for the inmates. The return for Kilmacthomas farm for 1853 reflects the fact that it is only in this year that the inmates start to populate the workhouse. The return shows that there were 6 persons above 15 years of age and 25 under that age employed on the farm. In the observations column it is noted that the land was not under crops and that the 31 persons were "employed in sub-soiling, and preparing it for turnips." There were no persons employed in Manufacturing and Trades. The difference the following year is evident with over 12 acres of land cultivated and 24 working the farm.¹⁵⁵ The board directed that the Relieving Officer Richard Power, on behalf of the guardians, was to summons Patrick Mahony to Stradbally Sessions for the wages due to a child pauper named Mary Walsh who was hired to him from the board the previous July.¹⁵⁶

The union, and in particular the workhouse, were a vital and integral part of the local economy. Shortly after the opening of the workhouse the maintenance of the site began and this impacted on many businesses in the surrounding district. Mr. Cummins took on the maintenance of the pump.¹⁵⁷ John Smith, the workhouse baker resigned on 9th September and in the same minutes it is recorded that he was appointed the contract for bread for the next three months.¹⁵⁸ There are tenders for local business people; provisions, shoe tacks, sweeping brushes, lime brushes, tin platters, books and forms, glass, chimney sweep, etc.¹⁵⁹ The agriculturalists report for 28 October 1854 gives a

- ¹⁵⁷ BG/KILTHOM/5, 02 September 1854.
- ¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 09 September 1854

¹⁵⁴ BG/KILTHOM/16, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, 13 September 1862 (Waterford County Archive Service, BG/KILTHOM/) (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/16). 13 September 1862.

¹⁵⁵ Return from Unions in Ireland of Workhouse Farm and Manufacturing Accounts, 1853-54. PP 1855 (345), xIvii, p1-29.

¹⁵⁶ BG/KILTHOM/22, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, Waterford County Archive Service, (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/22), 06 February 1869.

¹⁵⁹ BG/KILTHOM/8, Kilmacthomas Board of Guardians Minute Book, Waterford County Archive Service, (hereafter BG/KILTHOM/8), 11 April 1857.

good indication of the impact of famine and emigration on the inmates. Of 29 boys working on the farm in the period of the report 28 were in the 9 to 15 category and one between 5 to 9. Thirteen of the boys have parents in America while 6 had both parent's dead and 2 have 1 parent dead.¹⁶⁰

School

The commissioners outlined their interpretation of the duties of the schoolmaster and mistress of the workhouse in a circular issued on 17th September 1853 and included in the seventh annual report. They saw them not just as teachers but as being in the position of a parent and cautioned the unions against frequent change of teachers as it destroys the parental relationship. In the 7th Annual Report the Commissioners cautioned against the approach of some Boards of Guardians of underpaying teachers.¹⁶¹ There is extensive communication with the National Board of Education throughout the Minute Books. The returns for 11 April 1854 show that Kilmacthomas was one of 142 "Unions that have their Schools in connexion with the National Board."¹⁶² In the 7th Annual Report the commissioners refer to the method of agricultural instruction (in unions which have no skilled agriculturalist), both in the school rooms and field, which "devolve on the schoolmaster, who should devote a portion of his time to these objects without sacrificing the three hours in school prescribed by Article 23 of the workhouse rules. In ordinary circumstances it has been found sufficient to devote one hour before breakfast, and three before dinner, to literary instruction, and to devote from two to five to the farm."¹⁶³ The Master recorded an entry in that the children requested that they be allowed one weeks vacation which was granted.¹⁶⁴ There are constant references throughout the minute books to inspections by the poor law inspector and tests of the schoolteachers.

¹⁶⁰ BG/KILTHOM/5, 28 October 1854.

¹⁶¹ 7th Annual Report, p18.

¹⁶² Return of Names of poor Law Unions of Ireland, distinguishing those that have Schools in connection with National Board, 1854. PP 1854 (206), Iv, p1.

¹⁶³ 7th Annual Report 1854, p19.

¹⁶⁴ BG/KILTHOM/27, 01 April 1871. BG/KILTHOM/25, 20 August 1870 has a similar request. Leave was granted on both occasions and reflects the changing nature of workhouse.

Timetable	Description
0600-0830	Wash, clean schoolroom, read prayers followed by breakfast.
0900-1100	School
1100-1430	Farmwork
1500-1530	Dinner
1530-1630	School
1700-1830	Farmwork
1900-1930	Supper
1930	Prayers
2000	To dorms

Table 10. School Timetable February 1854.

Source: BG/KIL/THOM/4 11 Feb 1854

Emigration

Emigration was not a new concept in Ireland having been seen in the pre-famine period as a solution for Ireland's economic and social problems. Kinealy highlights the opinion of economists such as Malthus and Nassau Senior who saw emigration as a means of social improvement.¹⁶⁵ During the period 1852 to 1872 the poor law authorities were directly involved in assisting some of the inmates of the workhouses to emigrate as a means of relieving distress.¹⁶⁶ In the immediate post famine period emigration dropped off, and while the boards assisted many, it is important to note that the majority of fares were provided by the emigrants themselves, their friends or family members. Throughout the minute books there are references to the board assisting pauper inmates to emigrate after they had received money or passage, with the poor law making up the balance required.¹⁶⁷ It is worth noting that Mr. W. Hamilton reports in the 7th Annual Report that emigration has reduced the numbers in the workhouse and that for most of those who remain work is

¹⁶⁵ Christine Kinealy, The Irish Poor Law, 1838-62: a study of the relationship between the local and central administrators, Ph.D., (Dublin, 1984), p300.

¹⁶⁶ Burke, *The People and The Poor Law*, p31.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 5.

constant.¹⁶⁸ As with all other aspects of the poor law administration the commissioners had the final sanction of any monies or assistance given to paupers.¹⁶⁹ Women with children were seen as a particular burden on rates and tended to be encouraged when they left to find work or to emigrate. Assisted emigration has been estimated at rates up to 4 to 5 females to every 1 male during certain periods. There are references throughout the minute books to women and children leaving the workhouse to emigrate either through assisted emigration or as a result of passage tickets arriving from America. However, the pattern outlined below in terms of male to female ratio is not evident. It is only by looking at the minute books that we see the pattern which was in place within the workhouse in particular. There are very few instances of males being assisted to emigrate in comparison to the numbers of females, many of them with large families.¹⁷⁰ The underlying message behind the entries in the Minute Books reflects the misery and unhappiness of separation behind many of the human stories which made up life in the workhouse.

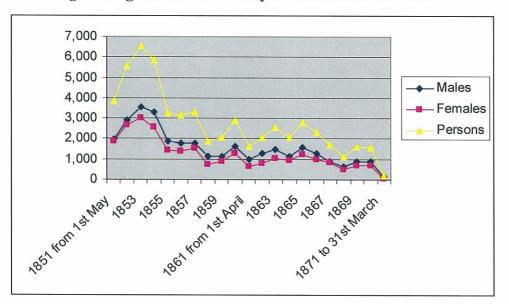


Fig 9. Emigration from County of Waterford 1851-1871

Source: Table XLI, emigration from the County of Waterford during each year, from the 1st of May, 1851, to 31st March, 1871, to 31st of March, 1871; compiled from the Returns of the Registrar-General. Census of 1871.

¹⁶⁸ 7th Annual Report 1862, 20th April 1862. This points to the improving situation in terms of employment which resulted from the population drop following the famine.

¹⁶⁹ There are a number of cases of monies claimed back from the guardians by the Commission.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 5.

The fluctuations which occurred tended to reflect the periodic subsistence crises which occurred. The high rates of female emigration and their use of the workhouse as a means to achieve it shows women were not entirely passive in their use of the union. The 1871 Census records during the period from the 01st May 1851 until 31st March 1871 give a good indication of the levels of emigration showing a total loss to County Waterford of 58,064 persons through emigration.¹⁷¹

Mortality

Prior to and during the famine the two greatest threats to public health were cholera and typhus. Cholera had a high death rate and was no respecter of class. While the figures for cholera were low by contemporary standards in 1854-55 and 1865-66, cholera had swept the country during the height of the famine.

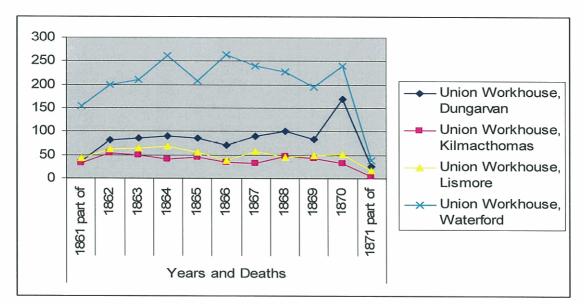


Figure 10. Mortality rates for workhouses in County Waterford 1862-1870.

Source: 7th Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners.

In the seventh annual report the commissioner's point to the mortality

¹⁷¹ Table XLI, emigration from the County of Waterford during each year, from the 1st of May, 1851, to 31st March, 1871, to 31st of March, 1871; compiled from the Returns of the Registrar-General. Census of 1871.

rates slightly exceeding the previous year but point to the workhouses assuming "to a certain extent, the character of hospitals." The report also refers to an increase in the proportion of inmates in the hospital from 3rd January 1852 to 1st April 1854 from 15 per cent to 23 per cent despite "the country being peculiarly free of epidemic disease."¹⁷² The principle cause of deaths in County Waterford were as a result of debility caused by poor nutrition, bronchitis and many other ailments caused by poor living conditions.

Conclusion

The visible face of the Kilmacthomas Union, the workhouse, is an impressive structure and provides with a link to our past. This research has provided a view of the poor law at a local level and, as such, is essential if a full understanding of national trends and events are to be understood. The period chosen has taken us from the formation of the union, through the Medical Charities Act, up to the setting up of the Local Government Board in 1872. Research of this nature provides an important link to historians who have dealt with the workhouse system in County Waterford. The time span covered in this paper also provides a solid base for further research on the union throughout up to its closure in the early twentieth century. By the time the Kilmacthomas Union was formed the county had seen the worst of the famine and the situation was improving although there were still high levels of disease, mortality and emigration. Analysis of the minute books, the 4th Annual Report and newspapers has clarified the confusion which existed around the opening date of the workhouse. Further examination of primary materials has given a useful insight into the relationship which existed between the guardians, the officials and the paupers. The impact of legislation such as the Medical Charities Act at the local level provides corroboration of studies of national trends by historians such as Cassells. A close study of the union and workhouse has brought into focus the impact of emigration, religion and entry to the workhouse itself on those who administered and availed of relief. While there is little documentary evidence of the pauper inmates, a picture of their lives can be extracted from the minute books. Analysis of the minute books, supported

¹⁷² 15th Annual Report 1862, p4.

by annual reports and other primary sources clearly show the growing trend towards outdoor relief form the mid 1860's onwards and also the changing nature of the workhouse hospital in the provision of outdoor relief. The twenty years following the passage of the Medical Charities Act comes across clearly as a period during which there was a rapid increase in the provision of state controlled medicine. This had resulted in a decline in the ravages of cholera, smallpox and other contagious diseases. By 1872 state medicine, as it was understood by the commission, was firmly established in Ireland along with the governments acknowledgement of a basic responsibility for the health and welfare of those at the bottom of the scale. While this healthcare would fall short of 21^{st} century expectations it must be viewed in the context of its time.

The workhouse is one of the most visible features which still exists of the hardship and destitution which was part of nineteenth century Ireland. As such it is inextricably linked with the history of our people and worthy of study. In the words of Gillespie and Moran local communities are 'the building blocks of nations... groups of men and women who lived within a well-defined geographical area and shared common bonds and assumptions.'¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Oscail, History 6, p1-9

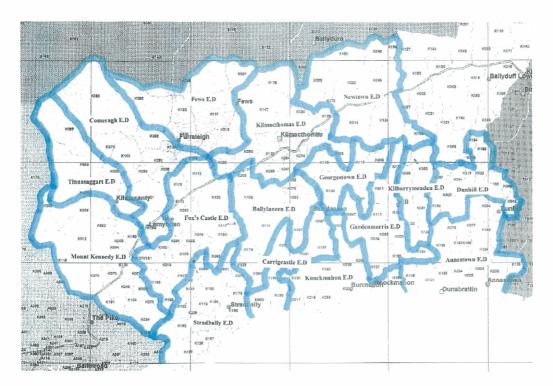
Appendix 1. Index and Status of Minute Books

- 1 7 October 1851-29 June 1852.
- 2 13 July 1852-16 June 1853 (badly damaged and of limited value).
- 3 23 June 1853- 10 January 1854.
- 4 17 January 1854- 18 July 1854.
- 5 25 July 1854- 17 April 1855.
- 6 24 April 1855- January 8 January 1856.
- [7] January 1856- October 1856 (missing).
- 8 28 October 1856- 28 July 1857.
- 9 4 August 1857- 4 May 1858.
- [10] 11 May 1858- 31 May 1859 (missing).
- 11 7 June 1859- 26 June 1860.
- 12 3 July 1860- 8 January 1861.
- 13 15 January 1861- 23 July 1861.
- 14 30 July 1861- 4 February 1862.
- 15 11 February 1862- 19 August 1862.
- 16 2 September 1862- 14 February 1863.
- [17] 21 February 1863- 22 March 1864 (missing).
- 18 29 March 1864- 21 March 1865.
- 19 28 March 1865-28 March 1866.
- 20 4 April 1866- 2 April 1867.
- [21] 9 April 1867- 6 October 1868 (missing).
- 22 13 October 1868- 30 March 1869.
- [23] 6 April 1869- 5 October 1869 (missing)
- 24 12 October 1869- 29 March 1870.
- 25 5 April 1870- 4 October 1870.
- [26] 11 October 1870- 28 March 1871 (missing).
- 27 4 April 1871- 3 October 1871.
- 28 19 October 1871- 25 March 1872.
- [29] 2 April 1872- 8 October 1872 (missing).
- 30 15 October 1872- 1 April 1873.



Appendix 2. Maps of Waterford and Electoral Districts

Source: Lewis Topographical Dictionary.



Source: Waterford County Engineer Map of Townlands.

Appendix 3. Contacts with other Unions.

Name	Date	Source	Comment
Lord Stuart	11 Nov 1854	BG/5	Lord Stuart de Decies requested the
de Decies			cooperation of the Board in
			collecting subscriptions in aid of the
			Patriotic Fund. Lord Waterford
			started off the collection with a
			subscription of £100. On the 25
			November it was agreed that each
			guardian would be responsible for
			collecting the Patriotic Fund in their
			own electoral division and the
			subscription list would be published
			by the clerk.
Oldcastle	17 Jan 1857	BG/8	A letter came in from the clerk of
Union			Oldcastle Union requesting that a
			deputation be sent to a meeting in
			Dublin on the 30 January 1857 for
			the purpose of discussing the
			amalgamation of unions.
Unspecified	24 Jan 1857	BG/8	The board received a request for
			support for their amendment of the
			"existing laws relating to the
			removal of Irish poor from
			England."
Enniscorthy	24 Jan 1857	BG/8	There is also correspondence with
and Cashel			Enniscorthy and Cashel union on the
			price they are paying for bread and
			milk
Rathdrum	01 Oct 1859	BG/11	The board received a letter from
Union			Rathdrum union requesting the
			cooperation of the board in
			petitioning parliament to introduce a
			clause in the contemplated Poor Law
			Amendment act in order to compel

Table showing examples of contact with other unions

			parents to support their illegitimate children
Dungarvan Union	14 Apr 1860	BG/11	Letter received from Dungarvan union in relation to a petition to parliament on the appointment of rate collectors and hospital inspections by Medical Inspectors
Poor Law Commission	28 July 1860	BG/12	Letter addressed to New Ross Union from Mr. Buchanan, Emigration Agent at Quebec on case of infirm paupers sent out and that in future such persons would not be supported in Canada.
Limerick Union	19 Jun 1865	BG/19	The board ordered that the clerk summon a special meeting for the following Tuesday to take into consideration a copy of a resolution received from Limerick board of Guardians regarding the Catholic Pledge

Source: BG/KILTHOM/ (Waterford County Archive).

Abstract showing numbers admitted Year Ending 29 September for Kilmacthomas Workhouse	Suffering under Fever and other contagious diseases	Suffering from other diseases	Suffering accidental injury	Total number admítted in sickness	Number admitted not sick	Total Number admitted	Number of births in workhouse	Number of Deaths in Workhouse during year
YE 29 th Sep 1855	No brea	kdown	of figur	es avail	able			
YE 29 th Sep 1856	37	140	4	181	349	530	N/A	40
YE 29 th Sep 1857	106	320	6	432	116	548	16	30
YE 29 th Sep 1858	52	257		309	216	525	10	16
YE 29 th Sep 1859	45	232	3	280	236	516	14	22
YE 29 th Sep 1860	81	153	2	236	1208	1444	15	56
YE 29 th Sep 1861	74	211	7	292	536	828	15	35
YE 29 th Sep 1862	118	333	11	462	1007	1469	24	61
YE 29 th Sep 1863	145	175	8	328	1203	1531	12	46
YE 29 th Sep 1864	70	190	1	261	892	1153	18	46
YE 29 th Sep 1865	70	216	6	292	564	856	15	43
YE 29 th Sep 1866	199	410	6	615	413	1038	N/A	N/A
YE 29 th Sep 1867	94	129	7	230	805	1035	13	39
YE 29 th Sep 1868	44	121	8	173	1053	1226	11	45
YE 29 th Sep 1869	39	108	5	152	806	958	8	46
YE 29 th sep 1870	35	88	7	130	563	693	8	32
YE 29 th Sep 1871	57	122	4	183	543	726	5	23

Appendix 4. Numbers admitted to workhouse and categories.

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of Poor Law Commissioners 1856-1872.

There was no column in the annual reports for births until 1857. The entry for 1866 did not break down the data for births and deaths in the "Abstract of Returns from Clerks of Unions" showing the total numbers admitted, those admitted in sickness, births and deaths in the same manner as previous and subsequent reports. Much of the additional data in the 20th Annual report related to the cholera epidemic.

Name	Date	Source	Comment
Not known	13 May	BG/4	A woman received £5 from
	1854		America and wants to emigrate with
			her three children
Paupers	08 Jul 1854	BG/4	£45 drawn in order to send paupers
			to America
7 paupers	26 Aug	BG/5	Seven paupers wanted to emigrate
	1854		to Quebec and provided £5
			themselves. Board sanctioned £49-
			11-3 and charged to Electoral
			Division of Mount Kennedy
Mary Lanigan	02 Sep 1854	BG/5	Received money from her brother
			Pat in America. Ordered that the
			money be kept with the rest of the
			passage money previously sent
Mary Connors	15 Sep 1854	BG/5	Woman and four children receive
			letter and money from husband with
			ticket of passage to America on
		-	"Jerimiah Thompson" leaving
			Liverpool. Sanctioned £8 and
			cleared by Medical Officer.
Mary Power	09 Dec 1854	BG/5	Mary Power received £4 to pay
			passage for herself or her sister
Honora	27 May	BG/19	Both women, each with a son and
Harrington	1865		daughter, received passage to
and Bridget		-	Toronto and requested clothes to
Veale			emigrate.
Mary Power	03 Jun 1865	BG/19	Both women, each with one child,
and Ann			embarked at Queenstown.
Hayes			
Nora, Mary	17 Jun 1865	BG/19	Passage paid to New York
and Julia Ryan			
Mary	24 Jun 1865	BG/19	Recorded that along with her seven
Morrissey			children she received passage from
			her husband. On the 22 July
			recorded cost to union at £4-12-6

Appendix 5. Examples of Assisted Emigration.

No name	22 Aug	BG/19	Woman and three children request
	1865		help to emigrate. Permanent wards
			of union. Initially sanctioned by
			Commissioners but changed
			decision as they had been deserted
			by husband.
Ellen Donnell	01 Sep 1865	BG/19	Woman and two children received
			passage. The auditors examination
			of Ellen Donnell and her two
			children's case resulted in a
			judgement of illegal payment under
			26^{th} section of the 12^{th} & 13^{th}
		ļ	Vic.c.104 and "in pursuance of 94 th
			section of 1 st & 2 nd Vic.c.56 "the
			payment charged to named
			guardians who authorised payments
			(BG/19, 17 Feb 1866). The
			guardians responded by stating the
			reason for the payment was not to
			lose the passage for the woman as it
			was an urgent case (BG/19, 24 Feb
			1866). The final resolution is noted
			as the Board resolving that the full
			letter of the law be followed which
			the Commissioners accepted
			(BG/19, 10 Mar 1866).
No name	17 Oct 1868	BG/22	Sum of £5 allowed to assist a
			woman and her child to emigrate
No name	24 Oct 1868	BG/22	A woman with two children
			receives a passage certificate from
			her husband in America. The board
			allowed her and the children clothes
			for the journey.
Ellen Power	09 Sep 1871	BG/27	"Sum of £3 be allowed to assist
			Ellen Power and six children to
			emigrate to America" having
			received a passage certificate for
			them all

Appendix 6. The present condition of the union

Many of the original buildings are still standing and are in a state of good repair. The external façade of the buildings is still true to the original stonework and while the internals of some of the buildings have been extensively renovated as modern office space they still maintain many of the features of the original structures. The remaining buildings give a good insight in to the living and working conditions which were a feature of the workhouses. Despite contacting the National Archives, the National Library of Ireland and the Irish Archetectural Archive it was not possible to get a drawing of the Kilmacthomas workhouse.



Renovated infirmary building



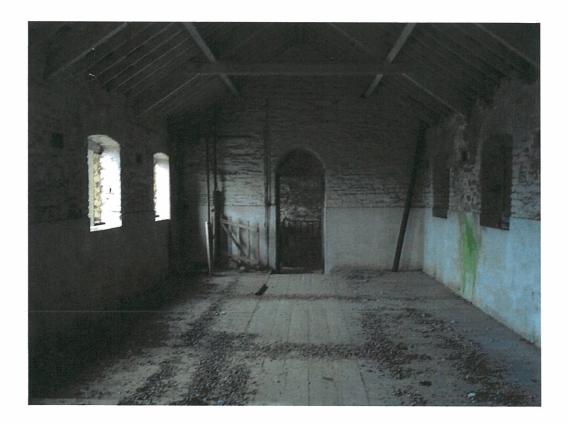
Dining hall located between male and female hospital wards



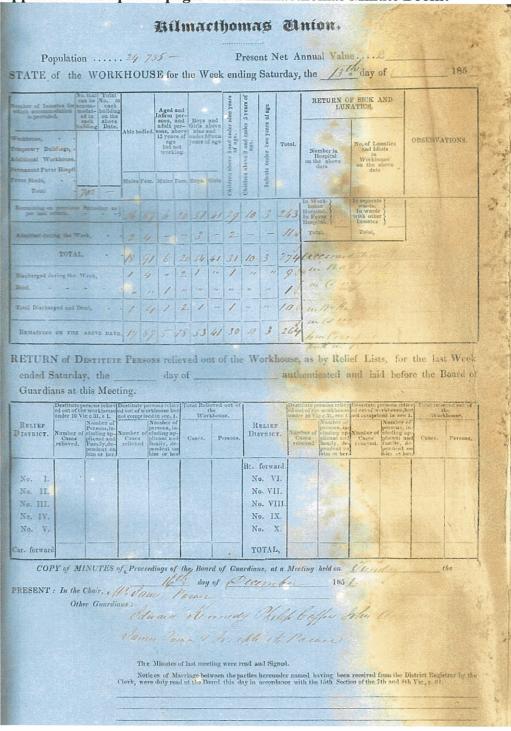
Renovated gate lodge



Internal view of male dormitory. The mullions are clearly visible on the left hand side which held up supports for the floors.



View towards the stairway from the upper female dormitory.



Appendix 7. Samples of pages from Kilmacthomas Minute Books.

First page of weekly report deals with the state of the workhouse for the week ending the previous Saturday. It gives a full account of the numbers of admissions, discharges, deaths in the workhouse along with numbers in the infirmary and fever hospital. These details are useful as they are recorded by category. The weekly meetings were held on Tuesday's throughout the period researched. It also gives details on the guardians who attended and any outdoor relief.

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	Sec. 1							
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	lat the Balance on the account	the Guaedians was	-	£	ac	sich	0	
The B.	ook was signed by the Chaisman.				Re	ceen	\bigcirc	
	eekly Balance Theets of the several (Collectors were laid before the B	Beazd, their ac	œuzacy	having	been fiest as	ices-	
	authenticated by the Clerk. Syments of Rates made before the	observing of the Thuis and	collected in 1	he sever	al Elec	torof Divisi	211.5	
	have been as follows :	interaction of the contrast with						
2 2	Name of each Collector-	Name of Electeral Divisio	on, Collecte	ed and L	odged,	Re	mainlog	
of Rate			£	8.	_d.	3. 	s.	1
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ă		Carrigeastle	//	11	1	18	10	2
te t		Comragh		11	"	104	19	10
al Amount of e odirecter		Fews	11	"	1	87	"	1
Total		Fox's Castle	11	"	1	135	8	1
0		Mountkennedy	#	"	"	165	2	4
Hoter Buck		Stradbally	#	"	"	161	1	8
Rate		Tinnasaggart		"	"	23	12	1
			£ 11	"	11	853	10	3
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of the Tourn	le il					1 . / /		11
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Deals with weekly balance sheet of union and includes lodgements of rate collectors.

3 The Cleck's Account of Petty Disbussements made by him since last Meeting, amounting to £ 4 The Clerk's subcount of Fetty Astronoments and g was produced and passed. The following Books were exhibited by the Clerk, he having first ascertained the accuracy of the entries made therein by the Master of the Workhowse, and authenticated the same by his signature ; 4. The Workhowse, for authenticated the same by his signature ; 9. The Prevision Check Accounts. 9. The Prevision Check Accounts. 9. The Prevision Receipt and Consumption Account. 9. State of the work was B 9.6.6 By which it appeared that the cost of Provisions and Necessaries received during the week was \mathcal{L} \mathcal{P} \mathcal{C} Debit Prevision Account and Credit Invoice Account. The Cost of Provisions and Necessaries consumed was-14.17 3 Debit Maintenance Account, and Credit Provision Account. - 2 .11 - 3.0 - 3.6 Isveraza Cost in Tevez Inspirit Averaza Cost on ICall Diet The Master's estimate of Provisions and Necessaries required for the ensuing work was examined, and Orders were duly made for the several articles specified, namely: 700 " Ment 80 " Ment 280' Sup Maal 96 th, Mattermet 15 Stone by 14 the 200 " Sunt mill 112 li Lact The following Books were also produced by the Clerk, their accuracy having been previously ascertained by him and authenticated by his signature : 4. The several Clothing Accounts. 2. The Medical Officers' Books. 2. The Out-doce Relief Lists and Weekly Receipt and Expenditure Books of the several Relieving Officers were then produced by the Clerk, their accuracy having been proviously ascetained by him, and authenticated by his signature. The Authorized the Out-doce Relief Lists was also produced by the Clerk, having been duly entered up by him for the last week ended Statucday, the day of j whereby it appeared that in that week the Total Expenditure in Out-doar Refief was P In money, In kind, Jotal, Ceedit each Relieving Officer, as per Receipt and Expenditure Book. The requirements of each Relieving Officer for the cusuing week having been duly considered and estimated by the Board, checks on the Ireasurer, and orders on Contractors, were duly signed and delivered to each of them, of the following amounts and value respectively_ By Order on Contra Relief District. By Check on Treasurer. Name of Relieving Officer, Article and quantity. .C 8, d 1 II. No No. III. No. IV. No. v. Total.

Review of general ledgers and other documents provided by the clerk, Master and other officials. Also includes estimate of provisions required for week as submitted by Master.

Chille Report Chill reguts & have to upot the death of Mr. Game luti Pour Later Talleter Ader maide Spice I mutery to athe the day well to make anautements for fu up the Vacance Provisional Relief and Applications for Relief were considered and decided on, as set forth in the Applica-2 Report Books. of Provisional Admissions to the Workhouse confirmed was -Disallowed, of Applicants admitted to the Workhouse was of cases of Provisional Out-door Relief was Ditto. in which Relief was continued by the Guardians, of other Applicants in Refieving Officers' Books, relieved by order of the Guardians, was

Entry reporting the death of Mr. Gamble, Poor Rate Collector

66 The following Orders of the Poor Law Commissioners were laid before the Board, and directions given thereon as follows :--The following Letters from the Pore Law Commissioners and others were read by the Cleek, and directions given were then respectively, to the following effect, (or Orders made on them respectively as follows) : From Portow Commissioners forwarding last of queres to be 1860 may be appauled Marter and Mation 1 160 Thom Vane calling for 60 a return of numbers vaccina during the year ended 30 ch September 1860 Clut to forward the return , From same calling for 1860 a return of Secti xamento 0 admitted to the workhous for the year ende do 29 the for. 1 " Click & forward the returno ,

Entries showing letters from the Poor Law Commissioners

officers and Gofficer Guardians the forwarded the returns to the Pon Law Commissioners -Show same referring 1 the warrants of Call stafford not being as 10.23094 2 29 Ch bet - 1860 get made out alor Bond und being perfected Reply Millaffords warrands were thes day segued and gume to her her Bond is also perfected 1022572 Firom same express 24th Oct 1860 the Sauctore to hayment of the bold Clark for her dela mit ad The cases of Pervisional Relief and Applications for Relief were considered and decided on, as set fath in the Applicatien and Repert Beeks. The Number of Peochsional Admissions to the Workhouse confirmed was -Ditto. Disallowed, -1 The Number of Applicants admitted to the Werkhouse was The Number of cases of Provisional Out-door Rehef was - -Dius. in which Relief was continued by the Guardians, -Ditto. The Number of other Applicants in Believing Officers' Books, reflexed by order of the Guardians, was

Entries showing letters from the Poor Law Commissioners

0 The Bonds and other scentities in force were laid before the Guardians by the Clerk, together with his Report thereon, as follows. (This on the second Meeting after the annual Election in every year.) fred Murney Cline the following present be appointed ad Cath Stated Colle Statice in if the legerde 10 Peterick incolor Sheller James Lower Mach Pr Osborne All Marine Dad Homas Secon 11: the Cases P. In. Plann Villian Mainsey Thema Comed William Pour Amark Augent Munice 19airon Philip Coffee Henced Hasper 1. 60 - Callier ante c'anci aph ho away Lord Madbrook ames & Dan. John Cares hichely source timus Aund Reduced to fly Robert Sources Muits Carey Serie C 1 Horner. Milian Pours Scha Reone Mi Char C Mennedy 4.1. Falleser Weak Mich Halsh Patrick Source The Mich Share 185

An entry outlining the members of the North and South Dispensary districts.

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5th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1852 (NLI, PP, XXIII.155).

6th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1852-53 (NLI, PP, L.159).

7th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1854 (NLI, PP, XXIX.531).

8th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1854-55 (NLI, PP, XXIV.523).

9th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1856 (NLI, PP, XXVIII.415).
10th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1857 Session 2 (NLI, PP, XXII.137).

11th Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners 1857-58 (NLI, PP, XXVIII.249).

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Return of Names of poor Law Unions of Ireland, distinguishing those that have Schools in connection with National Board, 1854. PP 1854 (206), Iv, p1.

Return from Unions in Ireland of Workhouse Farm and Manufacturing Accounts, 1853-54. PP 1855 (345), xIvii, p1-29.

Return of Number of Females with Illegitimate Children in Workhouses in Ireland, January 1854; Number of Children born in Workhouses in Ireland, 1853. PP 1854 (183), Iv, p747.

Return of Numbers of Unmarried Male and Female Inmates of Poor Law Unions in Ireland, between Ages of Fifteen and Twenty Years, 1859 Session 2. PP1854 (189), xix p765.

Return of Name of each Poor Law Union in Ireland; Number of paupers for which Accomodation is made in Workhouse; Number of Patients in Infirmary, Fever Hospitals or Fever Wards; Number of Medical Officers in attendance, to September 1865. PP 1866 (309), Ixii, p93.

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