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# *The Famine in South Tipperary – Part Three\**

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By Denis G. Marnane

1849

## Introduction

In the early months of 1849, the *Limerick Chronicle* carried a number of reports about the very large number of paupers who “infested” the city and who, in the writer’s opinion, swarmed into the city from surrounding districts. The situation was seen in military terms; “troops” of vagrants, many of whom carried children on their backs and with more at their heels, “invaded” the city. Many were so ill clad that they might as well have been naked and some were already “in the jaws of death”.

These reports did not express much sympathy for these people, being more concerned with the impact on “decent people” who could not walk the streets without being bothered by beggars. The ultimate horror of the situation was the way in which it interfered with business, customers having to get through “flocks” of vagrants at shop doorways.<sup>81</sup>

In 1849 a perusal of local and national press gives an impression of tremendous flux, the most obvious evidence being the large numbers of people either rootless or in transit. Apart from the rootless dispossessed such as those in Limerick mentioned above, there were the more fortunate dispossessed in search of new roots in America and elsewhere.

In late April some 50 men and women passed through Clonmel on their way to take ship for the United States. They came from Bishopswood, a townland near Dundrum held by Robert Clarke from the Normanton estate, a townland which lost nearly 47% of its population between 1841 and 1851.<sup>82</sup> (An aspect of this volume of emigration by people from a farming background was the financial loss to the local community. As one newspaper noted: “many of the emigrants, no doubt carrying the rent, poor rate and county cess in their pockets”.<sup>83</sup>)

Regarding the Bishopswood part of the Clarke estate, evidence from September indicates that Clarke was in conflict with many of his tenants. Some 70 men gathered around midday, some of whom were armed and set about harvesting a large field of wheat, but were prevented from removing the crop by the arrival of both police and bailiffs. Such actions were common as tenants sought to prevent their crops being taken in lieu of unpaid rent and poor rate.<sup>84</sup> Pressure to pay rent was an old theme, but the cry raised with increasing frequency by both landlords and tenants was the intolerable burden of paying for what one commentator called “a monster poor law establishment”.<sup>85</sup>

The clearing of tenants from estates which was such a feature of life in Tipperary in 1849 will be discussed more fully in the last article of this series (*T.H.J.* 1999), but the actions of two landlords illustrate the extremes of proprietorial response to the dilemma of tenants unable to pay rent, for many of whom landlords had to pay poor rates. In late May 78 persons from the

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estate of Lord Stanley at Ballykisteen near Limerick Junction arrived by rail in Limerick, where they boarded a ship bound for Quebec.

Stanley's agent saw them on board ship, their passage having been paid, together with an outfit and £1 for each emigrant. The point was emphasised that these people were sub-tenants, the implication being that Stanley had no obligation towards them.<sup>86</sup> Stanley was the eldest son of the 13th earl of Derby (died 1851) and became Prime Minister (of the United Kingdom) on three occasions during the 1850s and '60s. The Ballykisteen estate was particularly well managed through a series of professional agents. (The movement of people out of Tipperary was such that anything seemed possible; for example, a story was carried by the *Cork Examiner* that a number of "respectable" Tipperary families had "clubbed" their money with a view to founding "a colony in some Transatlantic region".)<sup>87</sup>

The clearance that aroused the most negative comment in the county had the added element that the landlord in question was an absentee protestant clergyman, described by one contemporary critic as "fat with the flesh-pots of a living in England, where he constantly resides".<sup>88</sup> The Rev. John Massy-Dawson (1804-50), rector of Abinger in Surrey, had an estate of some 19,000 acres centred on Ballynacourty in the Glen of Aherlow. The overall valuation of the estate was low and there was a growing disparity between income and debt.

Around 1840, for example, Massy-Dawson's debts amounted to about nine years' annual income; of course, because of the Famine this situation would not have improved. Apart from the core of the estate at Aherlow, there was land in other baronies, including around 300 acres in Toomyvara in North Tipperary. In April there were wholesale evictions from that village. Hundreds were turned out on the roads and their hovels levelled.<sup>89</sup>

That same month, in contrast to the evictions in Toomyvara, carried out according to one (non-eyewitness) account "in the midst of a dreadful storm of wind and rain", not to mention widespread clearances elsewhere in the county, Tipperary Races were held with a large crowd in attendance, many of whom arrived by special trains. The incongruity of such a display of festive gaiety in the midst of misery, destitution and dislocation, was such that one commentator referred to it, though not disapprovingly, in so far as such an occasion might be taken as a promise that normal life would return eventually.<sup>90</sup>

Another reminder that contemporary reaction to the Famine was, as often as not, adjustment and even exploitation, rather than what we assume our reaction would have been, namely charity and anger, was the career of Michael Tobin. He was a "letter carrier" (postman) in Tipperary town, responsible for delivering mail from the town to Galbally – which he did on foot for seven shillings a week. When his house was searched, around £150 in notes and bills were found, which he had stolen from emigrants' remittances to their families in Ireland. A lifestyle incompatible with seven shillings a week had drawn police attention on him; following his arrest, many people came forward whose expected money from America had been "delayed".<sup>91</sup>

The degree to which 1849 was a period of shifting sands is illustrated by a thoughtful letter to a Dublin newspaper from a Tipperary protestant clergyman who signed himself as "Presbyter Hibernicus".<sup>92</sup> The letter very much reflects the conviction that the familiar signposts were fast falling. "We are in the middle of a revolution", he wrote, and continued, "or rather we are in the fourth year of social change". The writer touches on several topics, not surprisingly beginning with the extraordinary mortality which the cholera outbreak at his time of writing was making worse.

Added to this melancholy reality was the unprecedented level of evictions, which the writer viewed as another symptom of a world gone mad. "The con-acre men have gone with the first year of the Famine. The ten-acre men have struggled for a year or two after, but they are gone

now. The twenty-acre tenants and those who held fifty are engaged in a struggle of fraud and violence with their landlords." This apocalyptic vision tells us more about the writer's state of mind than it does about economic reality; and it appeared to him that the tensions between landlord and tenant would damage both.

The scale of emigration was another indicator that the writer was living through a "revolution", and he goes on to emphasise that every interest in the community was suffering because of the Famine. Apart from shopkeepers, the decline of whose businesses was obvious, clergy (both catholic and protestant, including the writer personally) suffered a decline in income. In the case of the writer, he declared that he was obliged to dismiss his curate because the income from his parish could not be collected and he was reluctant (or afraid, perhaps) to go to law.

Even though he had a good glebe, he could not sell his cattle or oats because prices were too low. The situation, he thought, was even worse for catholic priests, whose dues had severely declined because of the fall-off in marriages and the general lawlessness of the county.<sup>93</sup> Part of this "revolution", the impact of which, the writer could only guess, was the opening of the Incumbered Estates Court which was expected to transform the ownership of Irish land.

From the point of view of the government in 1849, Hibernia was like a difficult daughter whose refusal to behave or at least stop drawing attention to her difficulties, caused the father to make clear that while she would continue to be a member of the family, no further help could be expected. On 25 May, a reform-minded English M.P. stood up in the House of Commons and asked, with regard to the administration of the poor law:

"Who was responsible for this frightful destruction of life, such as no country in the world professing to be civilized, ever before exhibited, much less a country possessing the vast capital and wealth of this empire?"

This M.P. certainly went to the heart of the matter, and the reply by the Prime Minister Lord John Russell made clear the government's attitude. After detailing the money most recently spent by the government, Russell declared that "Her Majesty's government had done all that it was in their power to do". He concluded by saying that in light of the very strong objections to what had already been done, he could not ask the House for an additional advance of £100,000.<sup>94</sup>

Russell's reference to money recently granted for relief was a sum of £50,000, passed by parliament with difficulty. After this, it was made clear that future money, especially for the most severely affected parts of Ireland, would have to be raised in Ireland by means of a "Rate-in-Aid", which meant an additional rate of 6p in the £ to be levied on all PLUs, to be used by those PLUs (especially in the West) which had exhausted their own funds.

Not surprisingly, this caused great resentment in Ireland. It was bad enough having to pay for local poverty without now paying for destitution in another province. Francis Scully, M.P. for Tipperary county (a grandson of James Scully of Kilfeacle) attacked the new scheme, declaring in the Commons that a tax levied on property alone was unfair and that in Tipperary, for example, it would amount to over £21,000 p.a. To make the point about local needs, Scully read into the record of the House extracts from local newspapers detailing distress and destitution in Tipperary.<sup>95</sup>

An indication of the economic position of Tipperary relative to other counties in 1849 was the revenue raised from postage. Dublin, of course, came first with £50,767, then Cork and Antrim, with Tipperary fourth with £6,220. Within Munster the relative positions were: Cork (£4,299), Tipperary, Limerick (£4,983), Waterford (£3,412), Kerry (£2,549) and Clare (£1,860).<sup>96</sup> Scully's perspective therefore was essentially – and indeed understandably – selfish.

## Poor Law Unions

On Monday 23 July 1849 Thomas Carlyle, writer and historian, while travelling by train from Cork to Limerick, described how in the vicinity of Limerick Junction (where he changed trains and was delayed), seeing a “white chateau” through the trees, he inquired about its owner and was told that while it “was” somebody’s, it “is” now a workhouse.<sup>97</sup> The reference here was to the proliferation in towns and countryside of auxiliary workhouses, temporary receptacles of misery which in some cases were formerly used as grain stores.

More ironically, some auxiliary houses, such as the one mentioned by Carlyle, had been landlord residences. Well might one newspaper remark: “The accounts we receive from every quarter represent the condition of the Irish gentry as most humiliating”.<sup>98</sup> There was not much public sympathy for such landlords as Henry White, whose residence Goldenhills housed the destitute of Golden, or for the many landlords in the region whose estates were in the process of being sold through the Incumbered Estates Court.

Before looking in some detail at the PLUs of South Tipperary, a stark indicator of the scale of institutionalised misery in mid-1849 is the number of children in the various workhouses and auxiliaries.

TABLE 1  
The number of persons under eighteen years of age in South Tipperary  
workhouses on week ending 5 May 1849.<sup>99</sup>

PLU	Male	Female	Total
Carrick	343	398	741
Cashel	622	1,029	1,651
Clogheen	468	442	910
Clonmel	525	554	1,079
Tipperary	787	769	1,556
			<u>5,937</u>

The Clogheen figure, for example, meant that on the date in question, 59% of the inmates were under 18, which suggests that many children were orphaned or abandoned.

At the end of 1848 and in the early weeks of 1849 Captain Haymes, the Poor Law Inspector in Tipperary PLU, was more exasperated than usual. At their meeting on 12 December 1848 there was an extraordinarily high turn-out of guardians, the matter under discussion being the striking of a new rate. After a very long discussion the rate that was struck by a very large majority was, in the words of the proposer, what the Union could afford because of its impoverished state, and (very much to the displeasure of the Poor Law Commissioners) there could not be any repayments of government money.

“This done”, reported Haymes, “they left the board room, and the important consideration of life and death to the people was deferred until next Tuesday.” Destitution in the Union was increasing. For the previous three weeks, “thousands” had maintained a miserable existence by stealing what turnips were still to be found in the fields.<sup>100</sup>

Subsequent meetings confirmed the guardians’ determination, causing Haymes to fulminate about “shameful neglect of duty”. As numbers on outdoor relief rose, a crisis was on hand.<sup>101</sup> Over 2,000 were added to the list in the opening days of 1849 and collection of poor rate becoming increasingly difficult; £71 were collected that week, and the fact that three men

employed to guard a corn crop being taken in lieu of unpaid poor rate in Rossadrehid had been murdered in October was something of a disincentive to enthusiastic tax gathering.

The highest rate the guardians were willing to strike was just under two shillings and eightpence in the £ for the electoral division of Toem, and a rate as low as 10½d in the £ for Rathlynin; Shronell was zero-rated. This would produce £11,150, of which £800 was to repay the government. In the view of the Commissioners, this was adequate; so, on 9 January 1849, the board was dissolved.<sup>102</sup>

The chairman of the board H.W. Massy supported the government and afterwards blamed the *ex-officio* guardians (generally landlords) for both poor attendance at meetings and giving bad example to the elected members, whose attitude was very much influenced by “their natural leaders”. He regretted the board being taken over by paid officials, but with a debt of around £7,000 and a weekly shortfall between income and expenditure, Massy understood the Commissioners’ decision.<sup>103</sup>

Henry Massy (1816-95) was a member of a family with wide connections through Tipperary and Limerick. He was a member of the board since its inception and chairman from 1844. Some six months after being dismissed, he gave evidence to a parliamentary select committee on the Irish poor law in which he claimed that landlords on the board refused to toe the government line because of their fear that more poor rate would mean less rent being paid.

It was with some satisfaction that Massy reported the difficulty faced by the recently appointed paid officials (two in number) in holding down numbers in receipt of relief. On 9 January there were 15,500 on outdoor relief. Two weeks later this had increased to 16,411 and by late June, the figure was 17,967, with 3,266 on indoor relief. This was a total of over 21,000, or more than a quarter of the population of the Union.

Massy’s explanation was a defence of local knowledge: guardians knew the people in their electoral districts, but the paid officials had to depend on the relieving officers who were subject to intimidation. This was a piece of special pleading on Massy’s part, as the sheer pressure of numbers on the system made the normal investigation of applicants all but impossible. Lack of local knowledge also meant, according to Massy, that the renting of auxiliary accommodation was at an exorbitant cost.

He was obviously annoyed with the way in which the action of his colleagues on the dismissed board forced the hand of the Commissioners, and opined that the property qualification for elected guardians (payment of at least ten shillings county cess or at least £10 rental income) was far too low and thus allowed the election of busy-bodies. The *ex-officio* guardians should have given a lead, but with few exceptions such as Bolton, the Stanley agent in Ballykisteen, they took little interest. What Massy did not spell out was that the really large landowners in the Union were absentees.

On the matter of occupiers of land rated at less than £4, in which case the landlord had to pay the poor rate, Massy made no bones about it being sensible for their landlords to eject them. He explained that many proprietors in the Union adopted this approach and that especially in the previous six months (Jan-June 1849) there had been large-scale clearances. Massy was a small landowner, but he had cleared an unspecified number of tenants, sending them to America or providing for them at home, again unspecified which suggests perhaps an economy with the truth.

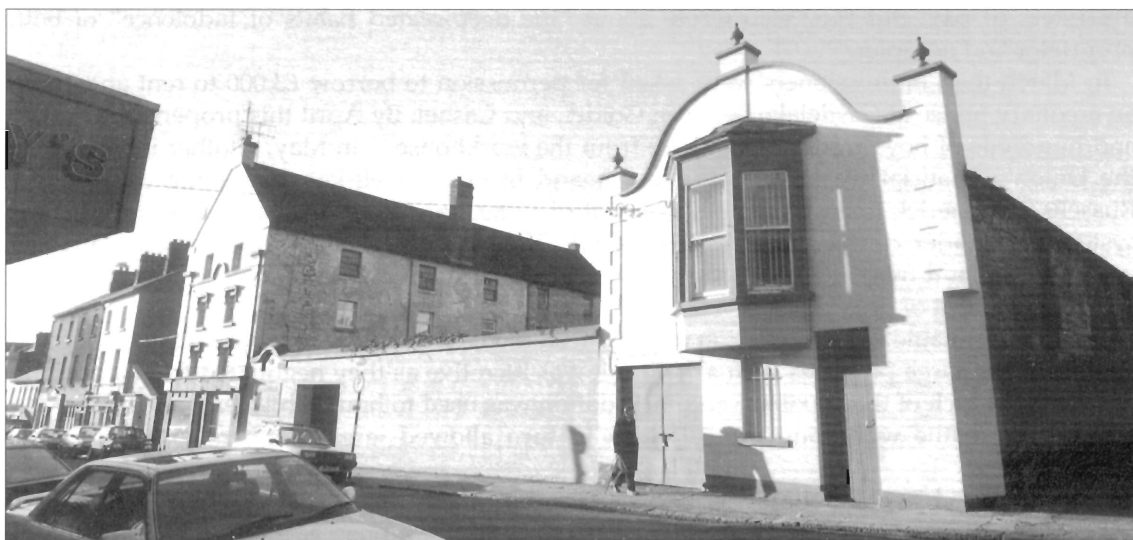
He was also in favour of the Gregory Clause or, as he boldly called it, “the starving-out clause”. Massy’s property included interests in two townlands, Grantstown and Donaskeagh, and so any changes in population cannot be attributed solely to him. But Clonmaine, a townland of around 178 acres, was also in his hands and by 1851 the population of 136 souls in 19 houses had all been removed.<sup>104</sup>

As mentioned above, Rathlynin (which contained Clonmaine) was among the lowest rated divisions in the Union. This was not an accident, and Massy was quite proud that this could be “attributed partly to my own personal exertions” in that he and neighbouring landlords gave a good deal of employment. There was a kind of Catch 22 situation at work: the electoral divisions with the greatest weight of destitution had the heaviest rates, but such divisions were likely to be the least able to pay them.

The dismissed guardians were prepared to strike a rate which would raise £11,150. The new management almost doubled this, of which in excess of £3,000 were to be repaid to the government. For example, instead of the 10½d. in the £ put on Rathlynin, the new rate was three shillings in the £, an example perhaps of not having friends in high places – or so the ratepayers of that division may have thought. Striking a new rate was one thing, collecting it another; so the collectors were warned that action would be taken against them if their performance did not improve.

As mentioned above, Massy took some pleasure in the inability of the paid officials to hold down numbers on relief. The initial response of these two gentlemen was to express horror at the profligacy of the guardians’ administration of outdoor relief. Applicants, for example, were not made to appear in person before the guardians; this stood Massy’s argument about the importance of local knowledge on its head. One of their ideas was to make more room in the workhouse, both by getting rid of some of the inmates and expanding the auxiliaries, and thus offer places to some of the able-bodied young men and girls who were daily applying for outdoor relief. The great advantage of this was that many of these would refuse the cold embrace of the workhouse.<sup>105</sup>

In a report to the commissioners in late January, Captain Haymes, the poor law inspector, emphasised that proprietors and occupiers of the Union were “well able to pay the rates” as the rich land produced a “vast” quantity of butter from May to September. Destitution in the region was, he claimed, accounted for by the large amount of grassland which required less labour; four of the electoral divisions were in upland areas with too many people in proportion



*The building on the right in Davis St., Tipperary, was used as a temporary dysentery hospital in 1850, while that adjacent, on the left, was used for children suffering from ophthalmia. (Photo: copyright Frank Burgess).*

to the natural resources. Finally, destitution was the result of the failure of the potato crop, "which was more complete in this Union than in most others". What potatoes appeared at market since the beginning of the year were purchased by the better-off for seed, paying 6d.-7½d. a stone.<sup>106</sup> On this same topic, the officials in charge of the Union reported that the previous spring "most extraordinary exertions" were made, especially by small farmers and tradesmen, to procure seed potatoes.

In some cases, people disposed of their furniture and even their cow; but in spite of every effort to produce as large a crop as possible in the Tipperary region, the crop suffered from blight more severely than in most other places.<sup>107</sup> The very poor were forced to try to survive on a kind of pottage of turnips parboiled with a very small portion of Indian meal. The conclusion therefore of the officials, doing their best to limit outdoor relief, was that "the quantities of food which the great majority of the peasants are able to procure are barely sufficient to sustain nature".<sup>108</sup>

The situation in Cashel Union, also under the control of paid officials in early 1849, was similar to Tipperary. However, while around a quarter of the population of Tipperary Union depended on relief, the figure for Cashel was about a fifth. Both PLUs had financial problems. From the £16,000 poor rate on the Cashel Union, some £6,000 were outstanding in late January. Looking ahead several months, even if another rate was struck, there would continue to be financial problems. The seizure of stock from defaulting occupiers was not a solution because of the very low prices obtained (not to mention the practical difficulties).

Proprietors were somewhat better off but were in a "very reduced state". As the Union was "more a grazing than a tillage district", there was scant demand for labour. Potatoes were "not to be had in this Union at present", and the main food was Indian meal and turnips. It was estimated that the average expenditure per month would be about £2,500, implying a critical excess of costs over income.

In their report to the Commissioners the paid officials gave very contradictory signals, reflecting their own confusion between humanity and economy. On the one hand they admitted the failure of the potato crop, the lack of employment and the inability of poor rate defaulters to pay. But they also wrote about "the deep-seated habits of indolence" of both proprietor and occupier.<sup>109</sup>

In March the Commissioners were asked for permission to borrow £3,000 to rent and equip an auxiliary house at Castlake between Golden and Cashel. By April this property was ready and hundreds of boys were moved there from the workhouse.<sup>110</sup> In May, another indication of the Union's financial weakness was the demand from the well-known milling company of Russells in Limerick that an outstanding debt of £1,800 be paid.<sup>111</sup> By the end of the year the system was under continuous pressure. In late November nearly 600 applications for relief were rejected and two offers of further auxiliary accommodation in the town were accepted at an aggregate rent of £100 p.a.<sup>112</sup>

Procuring suitable accommodation in provincial towns was a problem, but on the other hand for those with large premises such as stores it was lucrative as they negotiated from a position of strength. Much of this auxiliary accommodation was used to house children, thereby making more room in the workhouse itself, which in turn allowed large numbers to be taken off outdoor relief.

A demoralised population, physically weakened by three years of disease and deprivation, faced a further blow during the first half of 1849. In December 1848 cholera appeared in Ireland, having spread from Britain, being first noticed in the east coast ports. The disease was spread by contaminated water, though this was not understood at the time. According to the





1851 census, there were over 30,000 deaths from the disease in Ireland in 1849, though doubt had been expressed about cholera being the sole cause of all these fatalities.<sup>113</sup>

Given the financial situation of the South Tipperary PLUs, spending money to help the afflicted was not top of the agenda. In Cashel, apart from the workhouse infirmary and fever hospital, there were temporary fever hospitals in Cashel, Fethard and Killenale. In Clogheen PLU there was a workhouse infirmary and temporary fever hospital. Tipperary had a county fever hospital as well as the usual workhouse infirmary and fever hospital. There was also a temporary fever hospital in Cappawhite, which was closed in June 1849.<sup>114</sup>

As will be seen from specific examples discussed below, many of these “temporary” fever hospitals were such that livestock would not be kept in them today. The Cappawhite facility, for example, had 40 beds, and of the patients admitted just over 10% died. The comparable figure in Fethard was just under 6% and in Cashel, nearly 12%. In a climate where the measure of everything was financial, the average weekly cost of a patient in Cappawhite was about 21p.<sup>115</sup>

The mortality rate in Clogheen workhouse in 1849 reflected the impact of this cholera epidemic. Between February and June (inclusive) of that year, the number of deaths was 296, and during the same period in 1848 it was 224. Children under 15 were especially affected. Between February and December 1849, 235 children died as against 144 adults. The worst period was two weeks in late February, when 57 children died (as against four adults).

One incidental statistic published in a local newspaper was that between the opening of the workhouse at the beginning of July 1842 and 17 November 1849, the number of deaths was 1,117. One graphic way of looking at this is to think of all the inmates of a crowded workhouse being found dead and that such an enormous calamity happened twice. By early February the medical officer was making urgent representations to the guardians who, unlike those in Tipperary and Cashel, were still in place, in order to arrange more accommodation. Three small properties, including the court house, were rented on a very temporary basis.<sup>116</sup>

At the start of 1849, the accommodation in Clogheen PLU was a workhouse built to hold 500 and an auxiliary at Tincurry with a similar capacity, together with temporary sleeping accommodation and fever sheds. By the close of January there were nearly 1,100 paupers crowded into Clogheen itself, and Tincurry was full. Throughout the year Tincurry held between 429 (in late May) and 574 (in late October).

Numbers in Clogheen workhouse fluctuated a great deal more, reaching 1,100 in late May and falling to 369 in mid-October, but rising again to over 600 by the end of the year. Up to August the numbers depending on outdoor relief were very large, going from 8,000-plus in May to 9,000-plus in June and mid July. After this numbers fell very rapidly, so that such relief was ended by the close of August.<sup>117</sup>

All of this had to be paid for by local taxation (and as explained previously) Clogheen PLU was not wealthy. For example, its PLV was less than half that of Cashel PLU, while its size was about 80% and its population about 67% that of the larger and richer Union. In late January it was estimated that, to support Newcastle Electoral Division until the end of September, some £650 would be required and to raise this, on top of uncollected rates, a massive rate of ten shillings in the £ was suggested.<sup>118</sup> This kind of rate was not in fact struck.

In November Ballyporeen was loaded with the highest burden of poor rate, six shillings and eightpence in the £. The rate for Cahir for example was two shillings and elevenpence, and for Clogheen three shillings and ninepence in the £.<sup>119</sup> As electoral divisions were rated on the basis of their population’s patronage of the workhouse, figures for this same period of the place of origin of inmates are of interest and not usually available in official returns.



TABLE 2

Return of paupers in Clogheen workhouse and auxiliaries from each electoral division on week ending 17 November 1849.<sup>120</sup>

E.D.	Paupers	E.D.	Paupers
Cahir	201	Tullaghorton	30
Derrygrath	4	Tubbrid	77
Ardfinnan	12	Whitechurch	52
Tullaghmelan	11	Clogheen	211
Newcastle	20	Ballyporeen	174
Ballybacon	20	Kilbeheny (Co. Limerick)	57
Union at large	60		

This slice of time is just that, a very thin slice; consequently it would be wrong to draw conclusions about the relative poverty of the various electoral divisions.

In June 1849, after the Clonmel guardians very narrowly struck a new rate, an anonymous writer in the local press expressed outrage, declaring that if it was enforced, it "must amount to the confiscation of a very considerable proportion of the property within the Union".<sup>121</sup> In fact the average rate in the £ over the ten electoral divisions (six in Tipperary and four in Waterford) was about four shillings, the same as Clogheen PLU, a poorer Union. (The figure for Cashel PLU was about two shillings and tenpence.)

There seems to have been widespread discussion around Clonmel about the chances of collecting such a heavy imposition. One idea was that it was aimed at those intending to emigrate and that, so to speak, their pockets would be picked before they left at harvest time.<sup>122</sup> In January of that year the Poor Law Inspector had been pessimistic about prospects for the coming year. The main problem was the lack of demand for labour, a situation made worse by farmers discharging their labourers, whom formerly they would have kept on during the

TABLE 3

Number of paupers from each electoral division relieved in and out of the workhouse during the half-year to 29 Sept 1849.<sup>125</sup>

E.D.	P.R.	Relief	Indoor	Outdoor
Cahir	62 1/2		1,550	1,898
Kilsheelan	40 1/2		77	390
Templetney	44		72	274
Lisronagh	40		57	195
New Chapel	40		120	398
Inishlounaght	45		244	447
Kilronan*	60		697	767
St Mary's*	80		365	616
Killaloe*	50		31	86
Rathgormack*	32		66	300
Union at large			1,453	849

\* = Co. Waterford

P.R. = Poor Rate expressed in old pence – 240 to the £.



winter. From the farmers' perspective a bad wheat crop and scarce potatoes, together with the never-ending demand for poor rates, gave them no choice.<sup>123</sup>

The rate struck in June 1849 for Clonmel PLU was on a PLV of around £91,000, which according to some complaints was fixed at a time when property was worth more. This rate, if collected in full, would have realized just under £20,000. The actual expenditure of the Union for the year ending 29 September 1849, was £16,717.<sup>124</sup> However, the expenses for the second half of that year were £9,046, indicating at the very least a situation where Union finances were on a narrow margin. However, compared with Unions like Tipperary and Cashel, the guardians as financial managers appeared more competent.

One difficulty about the numbers who received relief was that any individual periodically on the union's books was counted anew each time.

## 1850 and 1851

Archibald Stark was one of that breed who toured Ireland to confirm their prejudices. In his favour it may be said that he eschewed the antiquarian romanticism of some visitors more interested in ruined buildings than ruined people. In Cashel, for example, he deliberately ignored the ruined Rock in favour of describing the ruined town. He was "painfully struck" with the number of deserted shops, "nine out of ten" being closed. The only trade that seemed to be thriving was that of the nailers, whose wares were exposed for sale upon "hundreds" of tables, presided over by women, presumably wives and daughters.

On the roads leading from the town were mud cabins regarding which Stark remarked that a wealthier community would be effectually kept down by the load of pauperism thus tied to it. This "load of pauperism" was a theme of Stark's account and affronted him at every turn. On his journey from Cashel to Tipperary the condition of Thomastown shocked him, many of the once prosperous inhabitants being, according to the writer, in America, the Tipperary workhouse or the grave. (The census returns of the period do not confirm this scene of destruction.)

Stark stayed in Tipperary, using it as a base to explore the surrounding countryside, the fertility of which he emphasised. In his exploration of this countryside he was struck by the extent of the depopulation, describing for example, passing through "immense tracts of land in the direction of Dundrum, the property of Viscount Hawarden, without meeting a solitary cabin". (The loss of population on this estate was 43% and the reduction in housing stock 40%).

That portion of the population not in America or the grave was part of what the writer called "a monster poor law establishment, embracing one large workhouse and its auxiliaries". One of his informants was a local doctor, who undoubtedly reflected an element of local opinion in his castigation of what he called "degraded, good-for-nothing vagabonds collected together" in the workhouse.

Leaving Tipperary for Waterford, Stark passed through other villages and towns, allowing his readers a glimpse of these places as one traveller saw them in 1850. As it was very early in the morning when he came to Bانشa, the place was very quiet except for the police and military, each of which were stationed there, such was the reputation of the district. The writer did not care much for Lord Glengall, "the bankrupt and bilious owner" of Cahir, but he found the town quite impressive in spite of the numerous roofless houses on the way into the town being testimony to Glengall's proprietorship (which at the time was in acute danger of ending because of financial difficulties).



"The drive from Cahir to Clonmel is through a rich, well-cultivated country; and, as the latter place is 'neared', the rows of venerable trees that flank the road, and the constant succession of porter's lodges, impart to the mind of the traveller an idea of general comfort". The centre of Clonmel was alive "with a much more busy and 'responsible-looking' population" than he had seen since he had left Dublin. Stark changed from the private vehicle that had brought him from Tipperary to the midday public coach leaving for Waterford. He was intrigued by the fact that Bianconi himself transferred his luggage, deciding that it was a display of false modesty on the part of the transport magnate.

The journey from Clonmel to Carrick was known by Stark to be "one of the most pleasing that the tourist can meet with in Ireland", and it did not disappoint. The impressive demesnes of Power of Gurteen and Wall of Coolnamuck allowed the writer to note the contrast between such an attractive landscape and the enforced absence of both landlords from their estates – in the case of the former because of gambling debts, and the latter due to withholding of rent because of the Famine. Both estates were to be sold in the Incumbered Estates Court.

It was market day in Carrick-on-Suir, so the town was crowded and according to the picture painted by Stark there was no shortage of food. He describes some of the boys and girls waiting to be hired, satisfying their hunger at tables "which groaned under the weight of steaming fish and pig's cheeks". Thirst was slaked by some in the public-houses and by others by buying milk from the many women standing along the footpaths.

New passengers were taken up in place of most of those who had travelled from Clonmel. Without exception, all of the newcomers were bound for America: "farmers chiefly, with their wives and children". The account continued: "the rage for emigration seems to be on the increase. From ten to fifteen hundred leave Waterford every week". This "mania" according to Stark was encouraged by the competition between shipping companies, leading to ever cheaper fares.<sup>126</sup>

This impression that farmers were leaving in large numbers appears to have been widespread. For example, an anonymous "land merchant" writing to a Dublin newspaper in March 1850 (from the Kildare St Club) complained that the country's respectable class of farmers were emigrating to America and unfortunately leaving the surviving mass of the poor behind them.<sup>127</sup> Most of the emigrants Stark met in Carrick had come from around Cashel. The following year when the 1851 census was available the extent of that area's misery was commented on, and blamed in large measure on the degree to which landlords there had cleared their estates.

Echoing what Stark said about the town, its failure to show signs of improvement was noted together with the view that the coming of the railway had not benefited the town.<sup>128</sup> Given the severity of the trauma of the Famine, it was not surprising that in its immediate aftermath there was a massive sense of dislocation. In September 1851, an unnamed P.P. from near Clonmel was moved to write: "What will become of us?" Two-thirds of his flock, he wrote, had either departed to the workhouse or to America. Only four marriages had been celebrated in the previous six months, and just 13 baptisms.<sup>129</sup>

In Cashel parish, for example, there were 240 baptisms in 1851, whereas in the early 1840s there were between 400 and 500 each year.<sup>130</sup> Not surprisingly, in 1853 Archbishop Slattery was complaining to a colleague that he had too many clerical students, in the context of the changed needs of the population.<sup>131</sup>

This profound sense of dislocation was noted by Richard Griffith, who around this time was completing the valuation of land and property which bears his name. "Landed property in Ireland", he wrote, "is at present in a transitional state, consequent on the failure of the potato



crop, the reduction of the prices of agricultural produce and the pressure of unusual assessments for poor rate and county rates".<sup>132</sup> Not mentioned by Griffith were the clearances which were being carried out, according to one source "as if the impulses of humanity and the restraints of religion had lost all influence in the land".<sup>133</sup>

As if all this was not enough, in the summer of 1850 it seemed as if potato blight was again going to appear. In March 1850 a Dublin newspaper had noted with disapproval and, comparing Ireland to a sow, sniffed that it had gone back to the potato trough.<sup>134</sup> In the three PLUs of Cashel, Clogheen and Tipperary, just over 22,000 acres of potatoes had been sown in 1850.<sup>135</sup>

Because of changes to PLU boundaries in 1850, comparisons with earlier years are difficult. (Agricultural returns began in 1847.)

However, taking into account the fact that the areas of the three PLUs of Cashel, Clogheen and Tipperary were reduced in area by 0.85%, 6.5% and 2.00% respectively, it is clear that there was a considerable expansion in the acreage under potatoes from the worst days of the Famine. The potato acreage of the three PLUs in 1847 was 8,649; as explained, 1848 figures are not available; 1849 saw 20,123 acres and the 1850 figure was 22,051 acres.<sup>136</sup>

A report from Tipperary town in late July 1850 declared that, while the potato crop was the most extensive since 1845, there were frightening indications of blight, made worse by heavy rains.<sup>137</sup> Elsewhere in the county there were similar reports. One such drew comfort from the thought that the spread of blight would not be as serious as formerly because, with the reduction in population due to the blight, fewer people would be dependent on the potato crop.<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, another report described an excellent crop along the Tipperary/Waterford border.<sup>139</sup> In reality, the nightmare of the blight was over (its appearance was patchy) but not its consequences, which continued to be seen at their most painful in the poor law system.



*Former grain store in Davis St., Tipperary, used in 1850 to house workhouse children suffering from contagious eye disease as a result of famine. (Photo: copyright Frank Burgess).*

TABLE 4  
Expenditure and number relieved South Tipperary PLUs, years ending  
29 Sept 1850 and 29 Sept 1851.<sup>140</sup>

PLU	Expenditure (£)		Indoor Relief		Outdoor Relief	
	1850	1851	1850	1851	1850	1851
Carrick	8,386	8,078	4,305	5,458	1,622	520
Cashel	28,895	18,528	12,728	11,621	11,891	—
Clogheen	9,480	7,623	6,578	7,563	—	—
Clonmel	12,923	14,853	7,446	8,964	—	—
Tipperary	30,393	16,925	12,992	12,113	10,167	—

(The first column of figures refers to expenditure for year ending 29 Sept 1850, and the second column to year ending 29 Sept 1851. The third and fourth columns refer to numbers relieved in the workhouses for the same periods, and the last two columns refer to numbers on outdoor relief, again for the same periods.)

From the above figures Tipperary PLU had the greatest success in cutting back on expenditure, which was done by eliminating outdoor relief, together with a marginal reduction in workhouse occupancy. Clogheen PLU managed the seemingly impossible task of reducing expenditure while catering for an increased number of paupers in its workhouse and auxiliaries. Of its reduction in expenditure, a saving of £865 was made in its maintenance budget, while the remainder came from cutting other costs.

The significant saving in Cashel PLU, as in Tipperary PLU, came mainly from eliminating outdoor relief. If 1848-49 is compared with 1850-51, Tipperary PLU's reduction of expenditure was 53%; Clogheen PLU and Cashel PLU reduced their expenditure by 42% and 41% respectively.

An indication of the cost of relief on local communities during the late 1840s and early '50s is the change over that period in the rate in the £ in the electoral divisions with the highest poor rate. In Cashel PLU in 1845 the highest rate was 11d (240 to the £) in the £. This rose inexorably; 1846 – 20d, 1847 – 33¼d, 1848 – 76¼d, and in 1849 the highest rate was achieved at 99d in the £. By 1853 the highest rate in that Union was down to 55d in the £, which was still a great distance from the happy days in 1842 for example, when the highest rate was 5d in the £.<sup>141</sup>

In Clogheen PLU the highest rate was also in 1849, struck for Ballyporeen – 90d in the £. The progression towards that figure from 1845 was: 1845 – 15¼d, 1846 – 8d, 1847 – 27d, 1848 – 76¼d. By 1853 the highest rate, which was for Clogheen electoral district, was 34¼d. The pattern for Tipperary PLU was similar. The highest rate was in 1849, an extremely onerous poundage of 122¼d or just over ten shillings in the £, which rate was struck for Toem. By 1853 the situation was more normal, with the highest rate of 32¼d in the £.<sup>142</sup>

Securing additional accommodation for paupers continued to be a pressing problem in Tipperary PLU. In January there were negotiations with Thomas Dwyer for his property at Mount Bruis and with Anthony Sadleir for Scalaheen House, which he inherited on the death of his father in 1845. In each case terms could not be agreed; instead a large house on Main St. was rented in the short term for £60 p.a. This property (now the Irish House) was considered to have a capacity of 350 adults.

At the beginning of that year (1850) there were 4,296 in the workhouse and auxiliaries and 5,233 on outdoor relief. Until early August the number of paupers receiving outdoor relief varied between a high 3,000 plus and a low 4,000 plus, and it was not until the week ending 10 August that it dipped to 2,806. However, in mid-November it again rose to 3,000 plus; but

outdoor relief was ended from the week ending 7 September, an event which did not send the workhouse occupancy level shooting upwards.

Demonstrating the impact of several years of malnourishment and exposure to a variety of diseases, in the context of over-crowded conditions, was the high mortality through most of 1850. During the first half of the year, 331 adults and 531 children under 15 died in the workhouse. During the second half of the year, 164 adults and 210 children died. (All of these victims were buried in St John's graveyard in Tipperary Hills.) One factor contributing to the improvement of this situation was the obvious one of less paupers in the system. In contrast, during a 41-week period in 1848 (8 Jan-24 Oct), 191 paupers died, of whom 66 were children.<sup>144</sup>

TABLE 5  
Mortality in the Tipperary Workhouse, 1850.<sup>145</sup>

Period	Adults	Children under 15
Jan - March	142	315
Apr - June	189	216
July - Sept	92	166
Oct - Dec	<u>72</u>	<u>44</u>
Totals	495	741 (Total 1,236)

"We had cholera, dysentery, fever and smallpox, as well as several cases of gangrene and dropsy", declared Dr William Reardon, the physician in charge of patients in Tipperary workhouse afflicted with yet another scourge, an infectious eye disease (ophthalmia) which made its first appearance in 1849. This disease, which resulted from an inadequate diet (chiefly vitamin A deficiency) together with unsanitary living conditions, mainly affected children.

Initially they were treated in the workhouse infirmary which, because of over-crowding, caused the children to be moved in October 1849 to premises in Gaol Lane (now Gas House Lane). Some 1,500 cases (more boys than girls) were received into the damp discomfort of this building (which still stands) before Reardon had them moved in July 1850. The 300 patients were transferred to a grain store in Meeting St. (now Davis St.) which still exists unchanged at the rear of McInerney's pub.

This situation in Tipperary was so bad that the Poor Law Commissioners sent a specialist to the town in August to investigate. He was Dr William Wilde (father of Oscar), and his detailed report was voluble in its condemnation of the conditions under which the afflicted children were housed.<sup>146</sup> Having visited the Gaol Lane premises "at some personal risk", Wilde considered the Meeting St alternative only marginally better and no great credit to the solicitude of the Union for its charges.

This latter accommodation was divided into four areas or "lofts", each of which was used as a ward. Ventilation, either too much or too little, was a great problem and the 350 or so patients, many of whom "really appeared stunted in growth" were looked after by a supervisor and a handful of female paupers brought from the workhouse.

A particular problem was that the small yard that lay between this building and the building was used as a dysentery hospital (now occupied by the C.J. Kickham Band). At one corner of this yard was the sole privy and in Wilde's words: "although I am long accustomed to bad smells, I must say the stench from it was almost intolerable". Human waste was emptied into a cart which was removed about twice a week.



Of the children examined by Wilde, 16 were totally blind, two were on the point of blindness, 32 were blind in one eye, 33 had one eye damaged and six children had both eyes damaged. In all, about a quarter of the children were permanently affected by ophthalmia. It is a characteristic of the official records of the Famine that its victims are denied identification, most obviously a name on a grave-stone which is at least a statement that the individual existed.

In November 1850 the minutes of the guardians recorded a list of names and ages of those in the workhouse who were totally blind. Among the names, not statistics but blighted lives, were Johanna Heffernan aged 14, Edmond Roach aged 10, Thomas Gleeson aged 12 and James Walsh aged 6.<sup>147</sup> It says a great deal about the mentality of the Union officials that Wilde had been warned that some of the boys in the Meeting St premises, were 'malingerers', claiming eye damage in order to avoid school and get more food. Wilde found absolutely no evidence of this.

As the disease first appeared in Tipperary among the children segregated in temporarily rented accommodation being used as schools, Wilde visited the workhouse school for boys in Nelson St (now St. Michael St, located beside the Community Service Centre). This had as many as 370 inmates (which is what they were), 110 of whom had been admitted to the hospital for ophthalmia patients between mid-May and mid-August.

The conditions were terrible: little exercise or fresh air, dreadful sanitary conditions and most revealing, one towel being used by over 60 boys. The girl's school in Bank Place was marginally better. Following Wilde's visit, all the ophthalmia patients were moved to Castleloyd, a large house rented in county Limerick. By late September, the medical officer was complaining that about half of the children at Castleloyd had no shoes or stockings.<sup>148</sup>

The dysentery hospital mentioned above was paid an official visit by William Baker of Lismacue, a board member, in late July 1850. Given that the day was very hot, Baker was nearly overwhelmed by the stink from the children's hospital privy (also mentioned above), which was located beside the dysentery hospital and its open windows. There he found dreadful conditions: the straw which was used for bedding was wet and rotten, patients were looked after by other paupers, "a very young girl being the principal among them".

Most appalling of all was the evidence of the total devaluation of conventional values. In a small room off one of the wards, found in a very dirty state, there were "two dead bodies thrown on the floor". This he discovered was not unusual, and also in some cases bodies were left like that for as long as a week. Baker felt strongly that the place should be abandoned as a hospital, which was hardly the point if similar conditions were allowed in any alternative premises.<sup>149</sup>

The condition of the Union in 1850 was such that there is every reason to assume that similar conditions would obtain. In March the desperate need for employment for the labouring classes was again being spoken of in the context of the old hope, railway works. Due to the "lamentable state of embarrassment under which all classes in this Union are at present struggling, there is little hope of private employment being given to any considerable extent".

Even when employment was given, wages of around three shillings a week for a labourer to support himself and his family were totally inadequate. In some cases this resulted in labourers deserting their families who were then added to the burden supported by the ratepayers, who in the previous year had been expected to pay around £54,000 in poor rates.<sup>150</sup>

In mid-May a newly elected board of guardians held their first meeting under the chairmanship of James Scully of Athassel.<sup>151</sup> Given that the affairs of the Union had for some time past been under the management of paid officials, there may have been some bleak satisfaction on the part of the elected guardians in pointing out that "the utmost confusion and irregularity have prevailed in every department of the affairs of this Union". An accountant and three assistants were occupied in trying to sort out the mess.



Because the Union had been administered by officials appointed by the Poor Law Commissioners, in July two of the *ex-officio* guardians, local landlords Robert Bolton Massy of Ballywire and Captain Massy Dawson of Ballynacourty (whose property was in one of the most highly rated divisions of the Union), called on the Commissioners for financial support on the basis that the Union was in debt.<sup>152</sup> For example, in order to keep the lumbering machinery of poor relief moving – the workhouse, its eleven auxiliaries and the 5,000 or so on outdoor relief – a loan of £2,000 at 5% on the security of the rates had to be negotiated from the National Bank.<sup>153</sup>

By the beginning of September outdoor relief was terminated and numbers in the workhouse and auxiliaries were at a more manageable level. However, at the same time the medical officer was speaking about a debilitated population, “the daily increasing poverty of the country” and a poor potato crop. The tension was ever between need and cost, with cost winning. For the guardians, the vital need was to get money from the government to pay off their debts.<sup>154</sup>

In May 1850 the government passed legislation to cope with PLU debt, but the situation was not resolved until 1853 when debt collecting from PLUs was abandoned in favour of a universal income tax. In December 1850, still trying to assert the primacy of fiscal rectitude, a second Rate-in-Aid was introduced by which twopence in the £ was imposed on rateable property in order to aid the very poorest PLUs in the country.<sup>155</sup> This imposed an assessment of £1,142 on Tipperary PLU, £893 on Cashel PLU and £466 on Clogheen PLU.<sup>156</sup> Collecting this money was another matter.

By the close of 1850 there were nine auxiliaries in Tipperary PLU and the intention was to close as many as possible and consolidate the institutionalisation of poverty. By the time of the 1851 census, taken on 30 March, the situation was as follows:

TABLE 6  
Workhouse and Auxiliaries, 30 March 1851, Tipperary PLU.<sup>157</sup>

Location	Male	Female	Total
Tipperary Town	182	1,044	1,226
Cappawhite	82	81	163
Templenoë	5	469	474
Thomastown	384	26	410
Oola	597	29	626

As in Tipperary PLU, the officials in charge of Cashel PLU had difficulties in paying their way. On 25 March 1850, shortly before handing the Union back to elected guardians, a group of tradesmen forced their way into these officials’ office in a “menacing, turbulent and violent” manner. They declared that they would not leave unless they were paid, declaring that “they would have either money or blood”.

The office was occupied for three hours, and the police when called had to force their way in with a sledge. The officials retaliated by ordering their clerk of works to suspend building operations and dismiss the men. These tradesmen appear to have been chiefly employed making renovations to the auxiliary workhouse at Castlelake, between Golden and Cashel.<sup>158</sup>

The year began with clear symptoms that much was amiss in the running of the workhouse. For example, there was confusion about the exact number in the house; on another occasion much more bread was being consumed than the specified diet indicated.<sup>159</sup> Above all, there was



an ongoing financial difficulty. In February, from outstanding arrears of poor rates of over £7,500, in excess of £1,800 was declared irrecoverable.

This was for a variety of reasons, including embezzlement and the fact that a large number of houses were being demolished in the clearances. The amount embezzled, £731 spread across eleven electoral divisions, was high and said little for the diligence of those charged with running the Union.<sup>160</sup>

Whereas in Tipperary PLU in 1850 the mortality level was an average of just under 24 persons per week, the comparable figure in Cashel PLU was just under 18. Outdoor relief, which had been of benefit to 3,000 to 4,000 persons up to the end of July, was severely cut back in the five weeks that followed, so that by the end of August it was gone completely. At the same time, numbers in the workhouse and auxiliaries were also reduced. For example, during the first week in May, there were 3,692 on indoor relief and 3,946 benefiting from outdoor relief. By the first week in October, these figures had been reduced to 2,576 and zero respectively.<sup>161</sup>

By late April 1850 suppliers of goods and services to Cashel PLU were pressing for payment of debts amounting to some £15,000. At the same time, in a resolution sent to the Commissioners, they complained bitterly that £3,269 had been collected “from this impoverished Union”, being their contribution to the first Rate-in-Aid, intended to help the poorest Unions. Opinions differed between the Commissioners and the Cashel guardians whether Cashel PLU fitted this description.

When at the end of the year they were assessed for £893, their contribution to the second Rate-in-Aid, they of course protested, but to no avail. In their case to the Commissioners it was pointed out that while the PLV of the Union was £117,562, the three rates struck since November 1848, amounted to £70,976. The Commissioners were never impressed by excuses about the difficulty in collecting this money from an impoverished and depleted population.<sup>162</sup>

Like Tipperary PLU, there had been a certain amount of consolidation by the time of the census in 1851.

TABLE 7

Workhouse and Auxiliaries, 30 March 1851, Cashel PLU.<sup>162</sup>

Location	Male	Female	Total
Cashel Auxiliary	38	317	355
Cashel	1,020	2,074	3,094
Castlelake	670	7	677

Quite often the incidental detail can be more instructive than the big picture. This is not to say that such detail does not raise other questions. On 2 January 1850 Patrick McCarthy was found dead on a street in Clogheen. He had left the workhouse on the previous 2 October, and in the ensuing three months had made no application for relief. The PLU took responsibility for his burial, at a cost of three shillings and one penny.<sup>164</sup>

It is not known how or where McCarthy lived during the final three months of his life and his personal history – his hopes and fears, what made him laugh and who he loved – is swallowed up into that great shadowy mass of pain and potential called Famine victims. Between July 1849 and April 1851, 24 individuals were described by inquest verdicts as having died from “want” between the PLUs of Cashel, Clogheen and Tipperary.<sup>165</sup>



One thing that had not improved in the Clogheen workhouse system was the mortality rate. Comparing 1850 with the previous year, about one-third more people died, the 1850 figure being 504, of whom nearly 300 were under 15 years of age. From the beginning of 1850 until the week ending 3 August, the auxiliary workhouse at Tincurry continued to hold between 500 and 600 children. Then this figure fell to 400-plus until December, when it again rose to 500-plus.

In Clogheen itself local poverty was such that it proved impossible to keep numbers down. In the week ending 13 October 1849 there were 369 inmates, the lowest for a long time. But by the first week in 1850 this had risen to 684. Four months later the figure was 1,280 and by 1 June the system was crowded with 1,650 paupers.

Thereafter the situation eased and by early October the workhouse held just over 500. This cycle continued into 1851. For example, by the end of May there were 1,407 in the Clogheen workhouse and its various temporary shelters.<sup>166</sup> In that same week there were 531 children at Tincurry. For many people and certainly for the guardians, their chief concern was to get this weight of poverty off their backs.

TABLE 8

Workhouse and Auxiliaries, 30 March 1851, Clogheen PLU.<sup>167</sup>

Location	Male	Female	Total
Clogheen	495	829	1,324
Tincurry	239	306	545

At their meeting on 14 December 1850 the Clogheen guardians noted with reference to the electoral division of Clogheen that in March 1849 a poor rate of two shillings and elevenpence had been levied. Then at the beginning of 1850 there was a rate of three shillings and ninepence; now, they declared, it was proposed to strike a rate of four shillings and twopence in the £, all this at a time when the wheat crop had not produced more than an average of three barrels to the Irish acre.<sup>168</sup>

The perspective of the ordinary people in the region may be gleaned from a letter written by a mother to her son in Boston. This letter, penned in November 1852, makes clear both the continuing misery of life in Ireland and the extent to which America was (and would continue to be) refuge and escape.<sup>169</sup> After mentioning the state of "poor Ireland", the potatoes for example being as bad "this year as when you left home", the letter goes on to express the hope that money will arrive in the spring to allow her other son emigrate. "He is a slave for one shilling per week in mud and cold. Breaking his heart for one shilling and nothing be it but poverty".

For those who survived the Famine and who stayed in Ireland, life became better as the 1850s advanced. The fact that this improvement was based on Famine mortality and continuing emigration was something which perhaps Irish people have still not come to terms with.<sup>170</sup> Within the workhouse the 1850s was also a period of adjustment as the extraordinary high numbers of pauper inmates were reduced. In Cashel PLU, for example, the highest rate of workhouse occupancy was not during the Famine as such, but came in mid-1851. It was not until early 1858 that the number of inmates fell to pre-Famine levels.<sup>171</sup>

The final article in this study of the Famine in South Tipperary will discuss topics not covered so far, such as crime and landlord-tenant relations, but will concentrate on the key issues of population change.



## FOOTNOTES

81. L.C., 3 Feb, 7 March, 28 April 1849. (Footnote 80 – BG 54/A/8; BG 64/A/5; BG 152/A/8. – was inadvertently omitted by the editor from p. 150 of the *Tipperary Historical* 1997; it relates to Table 10 on p. 148 of that issue.)
82. T.F.P., 25 April 1849.
83. L.C., 17 Oct 1849.
84. D.F.M., 21 Sept 1849; L.C., 15 Sept 1849.
85. A.G. Stark, *The South of Ireland in 1850, being the journal of a tour in Leinster and Munster* (Dublin, 1850), p. 36.
86. L.C., 2 June 1849; *Hansard*, cv, 8 June 1849.
87. C.F., 12 Feb 1849.
88. Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
89. T.F.P., 14 April 1849; T.V., 7 April, 23 May 1849; C.F., 31 May 1849; *Hansard*, cv, 1 June 1849, 8 June 1849.
90. L.C., 11 April 1849. The races appear to have been held at Roesborough.
91. L.C., 18 July 1849.
92. *Dublin Evening Post*, 2 Nov 1849.
93. See D.A. Kerr; *A Nation of Beggars?* (Oxford, 1994), p. 169, reviewed in *THJ* 1997.
94. *Hansard*, cv, 25 May 1849. The M.P. was Poulett Scrope.
95. *Ibid.*, ciii, 5 March 1849; Kinealy, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-64.
96. *Accounts for the year 1849 of the net produce of the revenue of Ireland, 1850* (600), li.
97. T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849* (London, 1882), p. 165.
98. T.F.P., 31 Oct 1849.
99. *Return of the number of persons under eighteen years of age in workhouses in Ireland on week ending 5 May 1849, 1849* (609), xlvi.
100. *Relief of distress, 8th series*, report of 13 Dec 1848.
101. *Ibid.*, reports of 19, 23 Dec 1848, 2 Jan 1849.
102. *Ibid.*, reports of 2, 8 Jan 1849; T.V., 13 Jan 1849.
103. *Ibid.*, report of 9 Jan 1849.
104. *Fourteenth report from the select committee on the Irish poor law, 1849* (572), xv, part 2, pp. 116-28.
105. Report on distress, 8th series, report of 18 Jan 1849.
106. *Ibid.*, report of 23 Jan 1849.
107. Kinealy, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-8.
108. Report on distress, 8th series, report of 21 Jan 1849.
109. *Ibid.*, reports of 20, 22 Jan 1849.
110. BG 54/A/9, 9 March, 28 April 1849.
111. *Ibid.*, 4 May 1849.
112. *Ibid.*, 30 Nov 1849.
113. Edwards & Williams (eds.), *Great Famine*, pp. 306-7; Kinealy, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-3; BG/A/9, 27 Jan 1849.
114. *Returns ... medical charities etc.*, 1850 (758), li.
115. *Returns ... temporary fever hospitals etc.*, 1850 (442), li.
116. BG 64/A/6 generally and 10 Feb 1849.
117. BG 64/A/6 generally.
118. *Ibid.*, 27 Jan 1849.
119. *Ibid.*, 10 Nov 1849.
120. T.F.P., 24 Nov 1849.
121. T.F.P., 4 July 1849.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Report on distress, 8th series*, report of 23 Jan 1849.
124. *Third annual report ... Irish poor law commissioners, 1850* (1243), xxvii, appendix B.
125. T.F.P., 14 Dec 1849.
126. Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-53; D.E.M., 11 Aug 1851.



127. *D.E.M.*, 6 March 1850.
128. *D.E.P.*, 20 May 1851.
129. *D.E.P.*, 30 Sept 1851.
130. Cashel and Emly parish records (Tipperary Heritage Unit). An analysis of the impact of the Famine on baptisms and marriages in these parishes will appear in the final article of this series.
131. Kerry, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
132. R. Griffith to Lord Lieutenant, 23 Dec 1850, 1851 (4), 1.
133. *D.E.P.*, 20 July 1850.
134. *D.E.M.*, 27 March 1850.
135. *Returns of agricultural produce ... 1850*, 1851 (1404), 1.
136. *Returns of agricultural produce ... 1847*, pt. i, crops, 1847-8 (923), lviii; *Returns of agricultural produce ... 1849*, 1850 (1245), li; *Returns of agricultural produce ... 1850*, 1851 (1404), 1.
137. *D.E.P.*, 23 July 1850.
138. *T.V.*, 23 July 1850.
139. *C.E.*, 28 July 1850.
140. *Third report ... Irish poor law commissioners, appendix B, i; Fifth report ... 1852* (1530), xxiii, appendix B, i.
141. See *T.H.J.* (1995), p. 33.
142. *Return from each PLU of name of the E.D. in which the expenditure ... highest ... lowest etc.*, 1857 (288) xlii.
143. BG 152/A/11, 12 Jan, 2 Feb 1850.
144. BG 152/A/8 generally.
145. BG 152/A/11 & 12.
146. *Fourth annual report ... Irish poor law commissioners*, 1851 (1381), xxvi, appendix A, no. ix, pp. 135-51.
147. BG 152/A/12, 9 Nov 1850.
148. BG 152/A/12, 28 Sept 1850.
149. BG 152/A/11, 27 July 1850.
150. BG 152/A/11, 9 March 1850.
151. *D.E.P.*, 16 May 1850; BG 152/A/11, 14 May 1850.
152. BG 152/A/11, 13 July 1850 (Massy-Dawson's diary of the 1860s was the basis of an article in *T.H.J.* (1991)).
153. BG 152/A/11, 27 April 1850.
154. BG 152/A/12, 31 Aug, 7 Sept 1850.
155. Kinealy, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-8.
156. *Fourth report I.P.L.C.*, appendix A, no. vii.
157. *Pobal Ailbe*. Figures obviously include staff.
158. BG 54/A/10, 25 March 1850.
159. BG 54/A/10, 3 Jan 1850.
160. BG 54/A/10, 8 Feb 1850.
161. BG 54/A/10 generally.
162. BG 54/A/11, 27 April, 25 May 1850.
163. *Pobal Ailbe*.
164. BG 64/A/7, 5 Jan 1850.
165. *Third report I.P.L.C.*, appendix B, no. xiv; *Fourth report*, appendix B, no. iv.
166. BG 64/A/7, 8, 9 generally.
167. O'Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
168. BG 64/A/9, 14 Dec 1850.
169. O'Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
170. Ó Gráda, Ireland, *New Economic History*, p. 236.
171. H.A. Carew, *Cashel Workhouse in Famine Times: a study from 1845 to 1855* (unpublished M.Phil thesis, N.U.I., 1995), p. 32.

