

Limerick Union Workhouse during the Great Famine

The Limerick Union

Compared to some workhouse unions, those of neighbouring County Clare, for example, the Limerick Union escaped relatively lightly during the Great Famine. It would also appear, if one can judge by the number of references in existing documents, that conditions in Limerick were less severe even than those prevailing in the three other unions within the county border.⁽¹⁾

If one talks in absolute rather than relative terms, however, even a brief examination of events in its principal union during the famine quickly dispells any notion that Limerick did not suffer severely. Indeed the depth of the horror of the famine in Ireland as a whole may be judged from the harrowing details of what happened in an area which did not experience the full brunt of the calamity.

Limerick Union Workhouse first opened for inmates in 1841 on a site on the north side of the Shannon, just outside the city proper. It was one of a very few extremely large workhouses in Ireland, serving a hinterland with a population exceeding 132,000, and originally

by Ciarán Ó Murchadha

designed to accommodate 1,600 inmates.⁽²⁾ Like most other Irish workhouses in the period before the famine, numbers in the workhouse never approached capacity figures. This was because of a deliberate government policy to make conditions inside workhouses extremely harsh and inhuman in order to discourage the spread of mendicancy. Loathed as it was by the poor, only the most desperate of the destitute could bring themselves to have recourse to the workhouse. As late as November, 1845, when the failure of the potato was already causing severe hardship in the city, there were still only 1,168 paupers in the Limerick Workhouse.⁽³⁾

Still comparatively empty in mid-December, the onset of winter brought such hardship to the poor of Limerick and the union hinterland, that on 10 February, 1846, there were more applicants for admission to the workhouse than places available.⁽⁴⁾

By late March, when all the potatoes salvaged from the 1845 harvest had been consumed, the Limerick guardians purchased Indian meal for the inmates

instead. Finding this new diet to be unpalatable, the inmates initially refused to eat it, although the medical officers declared it to be healthy and nutritious. By 4 April, however, Indian meal had become the staple diet of all inmates of the workhouse.⁽⁵⁾

On Wednesday 15 April, 1846, an old woman named Mary Sander died in the workhouse in a state of debility, shortly after being admitted. Although it seems to have been an isolated case, and we have few other details, this is perhaps the earliest death which may be attributed to starvation in the Limerick Union during the Great Famine.⁽⁶⁾

A Visit to the Workhouse

The failure of the second potato crop in early summer of 1846 brought an increase in the number of applicants for admission to the workhouse, with a noticeable rise as the winter approached. By the last week of November, there were 1,964 inmates, and the numbers continued to rise with each Board Day, when admissions were considered.⁽⁷⁾

On Monday, 11 January, 1847, a journalist from the *Limerick and Clare Examiner* visited the workhouse to judge conditions for himself. Initially he was very impressed by what he saw. There was an air of discipline, cleanliness and order about the house; there were warm fires in the day rooms; the school was well run, and the sleeping quarters were dry and well ventilated. The chapel was particularly impressive, with a beautiful altar carved out of wood by a pauper named Murray. All redounded very much to the credit of the Master, Mr. Scott.⁽⁸⁾

Any idea the journalist might have had that good cheer prevailed in the workhouse was, however, quickly damped by his first sight of the paupers who inhabited the day rooms, where "human wretchedness, care and misery" were universal among those tottering on enfeebled limbs before the fires. "Melancholy and dissatisfaction", he wrote, "was marked on every countenance - young and old - and in the sunken eye, pallid features and trembling frame might be read the characters of death". Immediately on entering the men's day room, he was assailed by a crowd of the paupers who complained of the insufficiency of the rations, which had been reduced by the cost-conscious



The front of the Limerick Workhouse.

guardians. Whereas before they had been in receipt of 1lb. of bread each morning, and 8 ounces of stirabout for dinner, this had been cut to 8 ounces of bread and 7 ounces of stirabout, not enough to keep body and soul together. In the women's sitting room, where he had a first impression of "useful and gentle labour", on his arrival a general outcry arose from among the inmates whose complaints were similar to those of the men.

Two days after the journalist's visit to the workhouse, the dietary was increased again to 12 ounces of bread for the men at dinner, with corresponding increases for the women and children. This followed a disturbance in the house on the Tuesday, when some women inmates were involved in a vociferous protest against the food, but it is not possible to tell if the riot or the adverse publicity created by the journalist's report, were the motivating factors behind the improvement.⁽⁹⁾

Overcrowding and Fever

On the day of the visit by the journalist from the *Examiner*, there were 2,489 paupers in the workhouse, 900 more than it was designed to house. As the numbers continued to climb, and with 300 applications pending, the guardians were forced to fit up 70 beds under the enclosed workhouse sheds as a temporary measure.⁽¹⁰⁾

By the end of March, the workhouse was seriously overcrowded. Conscious of the dangers to health, safety and hygiene that this situation entailed, the Poor Law Commissioners, under sealed order, directed that the guardians reduce the numbers of paupers in the workhouse to 2,000 and not to admit any further paupers until numbers had fallen below that figure. This was an admirable measure in itself, but the commissioners offered no direction as to what was to be done with those thousands who were henceforth to be excluded indefinitely, crowds of whom now clamoured each day for entry at the workhouse gate.

By now, an epidemic of typhus, relapsing fever and dysentery was raging all over Ireland, with Limerick city being one of the worst affected places in the country.⁽¹¹⁾ The numbers of fever deaths in the Limerick workhouse rose steadily throughout March, with 81 deaths in the last week of the month. In the fever hospital on 31 March, there were 659 patients, with some 354 still in a critical condition.⁽¹²⁾ By early May, the expense of burying the workhouse dead locally had reached a crisis point, so that the guardians were driven to using the grounds of the workhouse until a proper graveyard site could be purchased.⁽¹³⁾ But even though fever deaths would mount over the next few months, the weekly number of fever deaths in the workhouse was much lower than in many other areas. In the main Cork workhouse, for example 757 persons died of fever during March, and at Castlerea, out of 990 inmates present in the workhouse at the end of the month, 830 had fever.⁽¹⁴⁾



The foundation stone of the Limerick Workhouse.

Poor Law Extension Act

All through the first half of 1847, the numbers applying for admission to the Limerick workhouse continued to rise and in May accommodation had to be found for 900 further inmates. This was done by carrying out structural alterations to the existing buildings and by adding sheds inside. A new fever hospital building holding 90 patients, was also added, and even then it was clear that further accommodation would be needed.

Despite this mounting pressure on the workhouse, however, it was only when the Poor Law Extension Act came into effect in the summer of the year that the burden suddenly assumed an almost unupportable weight. Under this Act, all relief was henceforth to be channelled through the Poor Law system. No longer would the state provide either public works or soup kitchens, and from now on, all relief would be paid for by the ratepayers within each union, landlords and tenants, each paying half the rates on each holding above £4 valuation. In the case of tenants whose valuation was £4 or less, all the rates were payable by the landlord. Another clause in the 1847 Act, the notorious 'Gregory Clause', forced tenants with holdings above a quarter acre in size to relinquish them before relief would be afforded them.

The implementation of the new Poor Law Extension Act was bound to lead to an enormous amount of dislocation. The Limerick guardians failed to grasp the full extent of the burden which was about to fall on them, and in late August, contented themselves with appointing a committee to investigate how they would proceed under the provisions of the Act. On 25 August, they had been warned by Captain O'Brien, a government relief inspector in the Limerick Union, that under the new Act, some 26,000 paupers would become dependent entirely on the union for subsistence:

The guardians, merely attending to the usual routine of workhouse business, were surprised by a rumour that the poor

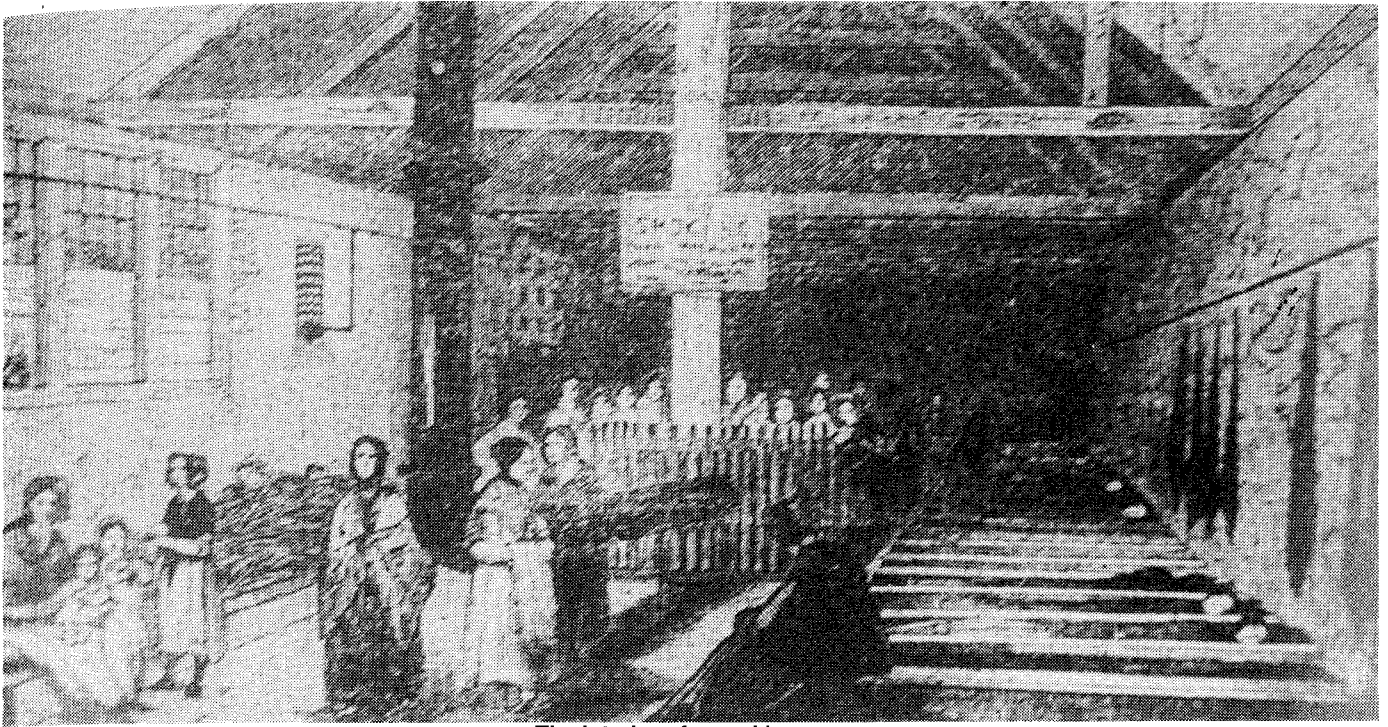
of the rural districts would apply in a body for relief on the 20th of October - The Guardians on that day had in readiness a strong force of military and constabulary to intimidate the starving wretches who were to apply to them for relief. The 26,000 paupers of the Union were deterred from seeking any relief and were left to starve or live by plunder. It is not surprising that the counties in the vicinity were in a disturbed state. September, October, November passed and no more than the usual workhouse relief was given.⁽¹⁵⁾

In these months, the workhouse became grossly overcrowded, and as increasing numbers died of fever, the dead were buried without any inquiry into the cause of death. With the onset of winter, the workhouse gate was mobbed by large numbers of applicants seeking entry, many of them dying on the spot.

On the 6th December, crowds of paupers from the city and rural districts were squatted around the Workhouse gate, having sought in vain the week preceding for admittance. Notwithstanding the storm which blew so violently on that day, as to cause the shops to be shut in town, and though it rained heavily this miserable looking crowd remained there all day, the greater number of them without food, except raw turnips, stolen by those who could climb over the wall of a garden near the Workhouse. Many of them were sitting on the wet ground from fatigue, and several of them fainted from weakness. There was no room for them in the workhouse, and no provision for them; consequently the same scene occurred on Tuesday, the 7th, the day less gloomy, the rain fell more heavily. They were again sent away unrelieved ... On the 8th, the Board Day (Wednesday) the crowd was so dense at the gate that several persons could only obtain access by means of a ladder over the wall.⁽¹⁶⁾

The following day, Thursday the 9th, "in consequence of an attack on the building being anticipated", a force of police was dispatched to the workhouse.⁽¹⁷⁾ On arrival, however, all they found was a group of five hundred "shivering objects", whose state of pitiful debilitation rendering them incapable of even a threatening gesture let alone an attack on the house.

The workhouse officials moved among this crowd, some of whom had come from the furthest extent of the union, and some of whom appeared to be dying. Since the workhouse was already crammed with paupers (there were 2,370 inside), there was no room for any of those at the gate, despite their eligibility. The relieving officer, Mr. Donnelly, when asked if he would give outdoor relief to those who failed to gain admittance, declared that he would relieve all of the applicants if he could, but insisted that the workhouse test prescribed by regulations be first applied. This meant, according to one observer:



The interior of a workhouse.

... that it should be ascertained as proof of real destitution that the applicants for food were satisfied to go into the workhouse. Now, on seeing a strong body of police placed there to keep them out, it appeared to us a rather anomalous policy. The starving poor are informed they must enter the workhouse prior to getting outdoor relief - they rush to it in squalid misery and find it filled to suffocation, strictly guarded on every side lest they should get in. They are then coolly told that outdoor relief must be given to a portion of those within, so as to test the poverty of applicants without. The idea of waiting to ascertain if persons would enter a workhouse, who are constantly pounding at the door for admittance, is really a novel feature in the administration of the Poor Relief Bill, and on witnessing the process, we could have laughed outright at the folly of the experiment, did not the sight of so much misery prevent us from enjoying the farce, or manifesting a semblance of a want of sympathy with so much patient suffering.

Auxiliaries and Outdoor Relief

The authorities were unmoved by any criticism of their actions, and rather than extend outdoor relief, the guardians rented a large grainstore at Mount Kennett and filled it with women and boy paupers.

There was no accommodation in it such as kitchen, tables, forms, privies, several without blankets, their food brought cold from the workhouse, so that it presented the most indescribable scene of filthy wretchedness.⁽¹⁸⁾

Finally, the guardians voted by majority decision to allow outdoor relief, in the

process gaining extra workhouse space by a rigid implementation of the workhouse test, which had not hitherto been done. This entailed clearing the workhouse of the old and the disabled, who were granted allowances and sent to fend for themselves in the city. Most of them were unable to do so:

... a poor woman who spent six years in the workhouse, who on this allowance is in a state of starvation, and nudity, endeavouring to provide food, lodging, fuel and clothes for 1s. 6d. per week. One shilling per week is given to the sick and infirm who were not in the workhouse; six pence for a child!

I have known a sick poor man and his child to die of cold and want on this pittance. Hundreds are dying of starvation who can get no relief.

I have known three persons of one family who died from want of food. Not until the fourth was dying could they obtain any relief.

A middle-aged, active stout man named Cross, and a large family, were all reduced to skeletons from want. I entered their cabin one day; all were in bed from weakness; for 48 hours previously they did not taste a morsel; a coffin for the father was the first out-door relief they got, though several applications were made.⁽¹⁹⁾

Another newspaper reported on the results of this policy:

The number of sick calls attended to in the one parish of St. John's in one week only, by the clergymen of whom we speak, amounted to - how many do you think? - to ninety five, exclusive of calls suddenly given at night. One half the sick thus visited and attended, were removed from the Workhouse to make

room for the able-bodied and, sent to seek their fortunes on eighteen-pence a week, they could not of course procure either 'comfortable' lodgings or suitable sustenance. Garrets and holes, and cellars were the only refuges they were able to obtain and, entering into these, without firing or food, clothing for the night or furniture of any kind:- losing the warmth, however insufficient it may be, diffused through the workhouse; losing the benefit of regularity in meals; deprived of all attendance and depending altogether on eighteen pence a week, the extruded inmates of the Workhouse speedily declined, contracted disease, and, as we have said, out of their numbers one half the melancholy list of the Clergymen was composed. Some becoming enfeebled from sickness and unable to creep out - denied any relief through the hands of a messenger, for the law, as it is enforced recognises no deputy - these helpless beings were in a state perfectly indescribable when the Clergyman saw them, and obviously dying of starvation and neglect. Several have since died; the applications for what are called charity coffins proving too surely their unfortunate end.

The clergyman mentioned in the report gave an account of some of those sent from the workhouse, one of whom he

... found stretched in a garret, a board for his pillow, and the floor for his bed, a man named Thomas Lyons, sixty years of age. The house in which he had found shelter is opposite the Chapel of St. John's, and he lay extended on the floor without coverlet of any kind, half-clothed in rags, and his features exhibiting the colour of saffron. He complained of no disease; he was dying of starvation. He had made application at the workhouse,

but his application was refused and he retired to the garret to die, away from the dogs, and to make sure of receiving the Christian rites of burial.⁽²⁰⁾

'Well, Write to the Commissioners', the Mount Kennett Auxiliary

Overwhelmed by applicants for relief, the guardians eventually had to rent buildings for temporary accommodation to house the newcomers.⁽²¹⁾ These buildings were not at all suitable for the purpose for which they were acquired, and hastily fitted out and inadequately staffed as they were, soon posed serious health problems themselves.

On 7 January, 1848, an extraordinary meeting of the guardians was held to examine the state of the newly opened 'auxiliary' workhouse at Mount Kennett, which catered for children. Alderman Walnutt, who had been to Mount Kennett, expressed himself appalled at what he had witnessed.⁽²²⁾ The children quartered there lived in such foul conditions that he had to pick his way through the filth even before he managed to enter the building, and inside, he had been horrified to see a number of children there, some dying, some dead lying on the beds. According to the written statement of Dr. Brodie, the physician who accompanied Walnutt to Mount Kennett, the state of the place was 'horrible'. The children, he said, dead and dying, were mingled together, and there was scarcely a pane of glass on one side of the house. The chairman of the meeting, one J.T. Devitt, refused to believe either Walnutt or Brodie, referring to their respective reports as 'highly coloured'. Throughout the discussion, he displayed a callousness typical of those elements in society who feared that proper provision for the sick poor would be at a personal cost to them through increases in the poor law rate.

Chairman - Well, if it be so, you ought to apply to the Commissioners. If I were not in the chair, I would move as much, and let them send down a person. But I scarcely think that statement can be substantiated.

Dr. Brodie - Mr. Walnutt, do you think that overdrawn?

Ald. Walnutt - Decidedly not.

Chairman: How many were all the dead you speak of?

Dr. Brodie - Four.

Chairman - That is four out of four hundred. Even that should be prevented if possible, but they might have died under the best medical attendance. But your statement is as strong as a description of the slaughter at Waterloo. It is too highly coloured.

Dr. Griffin - That is too bad, Mr. Chairman; the children were found dead, without medicine and drink, without firing, or any other comfort in the place. It does not get over the matter to say that they would die under medical attendance.

Chairman - Well, write to the Commissioners.

It is clear that Walnutt's conscience was deeply disturbed by the visit to Mount Kennett and that as a guardian, he felt responsible to some extent for the foul conditions in the place. Other guardians felt no such responsibility.

Cutting Costs, Worsening Conditions

In February, there were 2,674 inmates in the three houses. 280 were admitted during the week, with 22 deaths from different causes.⁽²³⁾ Throughout 1848 and into 1849, as conditions outside continued to worsen, the number of pauper inmates continued to climb, as did the numbers of paupers on outdoor relief. The rates spiralled upwards.

By the end of November, there were 4,200 in the workhouses.⁽²⁴⁾ A peak seems to have been reached at the end of January, 1849, when it was reported that there were 5,838 paupers in the workhouse and its auxiliaries, over three hundred more than the previous week.⁽²⁵⁾

In this situation, the minds of the guardians were perpetually exercised in devising ways and means of reducing the enormous costs to the ratepayers. They did this by ruthlessly pruning lists of applicants, reducing an already appallingly inadequate workhouse diet, and by sponsoring emigration out of the country for hundreds of the girls.

The end results of their activities appeared in the local newspapers. In February, 1848, for example, unable to tolerate conditions at Mount Kennett further, Bridget Hayes, Honarah Downey and Bridget Clune absconded, wearing their workhouse apparel. Caught, they were jailed for stealing the property of the Limerick Union Workhouse.⁽²⁶⁾ In April, it was decided to send 150 able-bodied females to Australia, and arrangements were accordingly made.⁽²⁷⁾

In early July, so revolted did the inmates become at the dietary regime that hundreds of them broke out of the Boherbuoy Workhouse and "emaciated and sickly" as they were, marched in protest through the city. At Thomondgate, they encountered the mayor of the city and "showed his Worship a sample of the food of which they complained, and his Worship promised to apply to the Guardians on the subject". They then marched to the main workhouse, where a strong force of policemen were stationed. Rebuked by the clerk, Mr. O'Connor, and Dr. Griffin, they were finally persuaded to return to Boherbuoy.⁽²⁸⁾

On 31 January, 1849, 150 inmates of the Mount Kennett Workhouse were reported to be furious at conditions, especially the food regime. Some of the guardians were for expelling them from the workhouse, thereby condemning them to certain death. One of the physicians, Dr. Geary, on the other hand, "thought it would be well to ascertain if the paupers

got the amount of food ordered by the committee".⁽²⁹⁾

Some individuals preferred to take their chances outside the workhouse than die inside. The writer, Spencer T. Hall encountered one such in mid-1849, in the countryside, a man named Connor McNerney, who in an advanced state of disease had crawled from Limerick Workhouse: "His legs were so much swollen and so inert that at any point of pressure the indenture remained, almost as though it has been made of dead clay; and everything about him betokened a near dissolution". Asked why he had made such an effort, he replied that

... his wife had already died there already and his two children would soon be gone too, and he had so long wished to breathe the fresh air and to die if he must die, near his home and among his people ...⁽³⁰⁾

The Independent Order of Oddfellows

Outside the workhouse, many of those either not considered eligible for outdoor relief or those removed from the lists perished. Some few were fortunate to receive the ministrations of local clergy or charitable societies such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, or the strangely named Independent Order of Oddfellows. In mid-February, 1848, the Limerick 'Loyal City Lodge' of this latter organisation sought to bring the conditions of the ineligible sick poor to the attention of authority in a letter to the *Examiner*:

In one of the wretched rooms we entered into, a child of five years lay dead in a corner, from Friday morning up to three o'clock on Sunday ... Our members left a couple of shillings towards providing a coffin ... In an evening or two after, a person named Ryan, residing in Hunt's Lane, who is also receiving relief from our funds, called in to say a fine boy of his, aged 11 years, was dead from the previous morning and that he had made several applications for a coffin, but in vain.

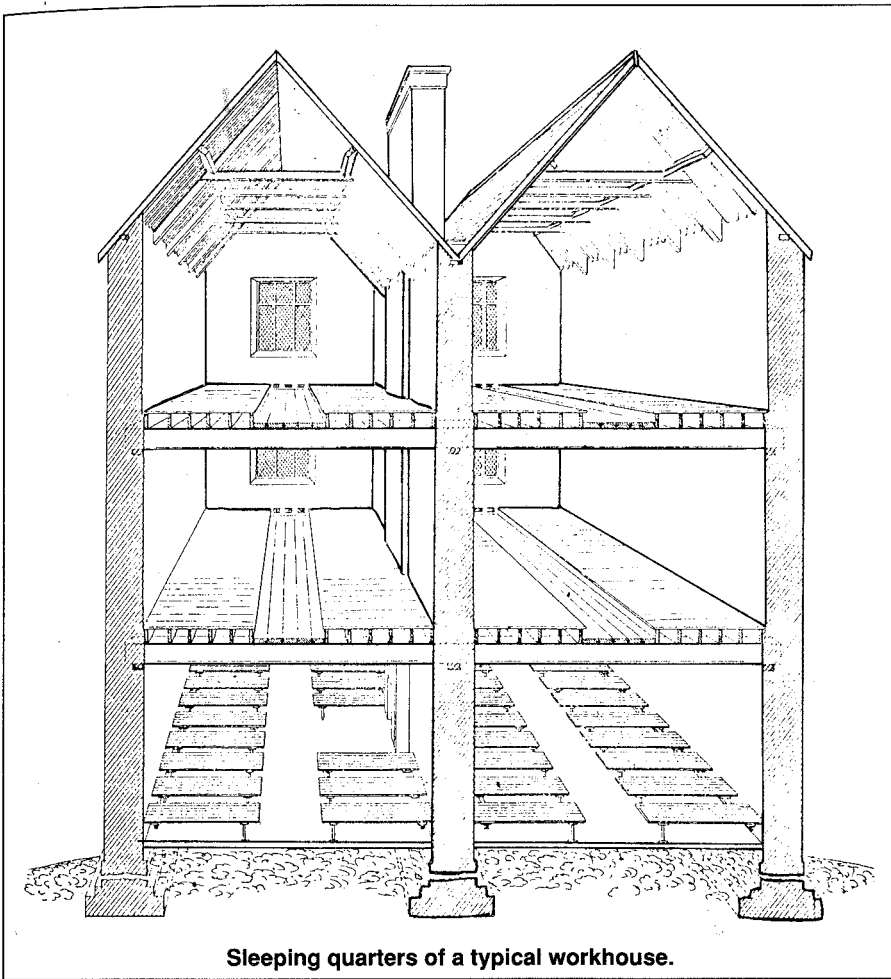
Members of the Order then tried to contact officials whose duty it might be to provide coffins, but failed. Finally they contacted a Town Councillor, Robert McMahon, but

... he could not direct us to any person who would give us a coffin; while at the same time he kindly contributed for that purpose. We added the remainder and purchased a coffin, saw it delivered, and left a small trifle of money with the unfortunate mother.

... there are many cases of a similar nature occurring daily ...⁽³¹⁾

Gradual Decline in Numbers

And so it went on through 1849 and into 1850. The number of inmates in the



Sleeping quarters of a typical workhouse.

workhouses was gradually brought down by factors ranging from mortality to ruthlessness in processing applications and discharges, by sponsored emigration and, increasingly, by relaxing the 'test' in relation to outdoor relief. On 10 February, 1849, there were still 5,500 paupers in all workhouses, and the medical officers recommended in a report that numbers be brought down to 4,700, 800 less "than are now wedged in it". One factor which undoubtedly weighed heavily in the guardians' calculations regarding relaxation of the regulations pertaining to outdoor relief, was Dr. Griffin's reminder that the cost of one person in the workhouse was equal to that of three persons on outdoor relief.⁽³²⁾

Mortality from starvation and fever levelled off very slowly, the destitution outside the workhouse walls hardly at all. In March, cholera made its appearance after an absence of 17 years, carrying off numbers of the sick poor who had survived until then. Applicants for relief still crowded in misery at the workhouse gate each Board Day, presenting "a most melancholy appearance".

By the end of March, there were 4,667 in the workhouse and its auxiliaries and, over the next months, the numbers declined slowly. At the end of August, a temporary workhouse in William Street was no longer needed and, in early September, the Mount Kennett Workhouse closed its doors.⁽³³⁾ There were at that point some 7,000 on the outdoor relief lists, which grew ever

longer.⁽³⁴⁾ On 22 December, there were 3,800 in all the houses, with 200 applications for entry, and 17 deaths during the previous week.

The history of the Limerick Workhouse during the Great Famine needs to be placed in context. There is no doubt that these years were the very worst which that institution would ever undergo. But however degrading, traumatizing and miserable the years after 1846 in Limerick Workhouse were for those inmates who survived them, and however harrowing the events which took place there, they could not compare with the horrors of the four Clare workhouses in the same period. Indeed it may well be that much of the hardship which occurred in the Limerick Workhouse derived from the Clare divisions of the union, an overflow of suffering from a county which was devastated in the Famine. That the Limerick Workhouse survives today in the form of a modern hospital, whereas not a single one of the eight workhouses operating in County Clare at the end of the famine still stands, is probably not a coincidental phenomenon.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Up to the changes of 1850, the three other unions, Rathkeale, Kilmallock and Newcastle, took in parts of other counties. Limerick Union took in Limerick City, the east of the county, and a large portion of south-east Clare.
2. Abstract of the Several Electoral Divisions of Unions in Ireland, in the

supplementary appendix to the *Seventh Report of the Relief Commissioners* (1848), p. 60. The population figures are according to the 1841 census, and may be considerably understated.

3. Return of Paupers &c for the last weeks of November, 1846, 1845 and 1844, *Correspondence Relating to the State of the Workhouses in Ireland* (1846), p. 67.
4. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 14 February, 1846. On 10 February, there were 87 applicants and only 28³ places.
5. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 25 March, 4 April, 1846.
6. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 18 April, 1846.
7. Return of Paupers &c for the last weeks of November, 1846, 1845 and 1844, *Correspondence relating to the State of Union Workhouses in Ireland* (1846), p. 67.
8. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 13 January, 1847.
9. *Ibid.* On that day the average cost of each pauper was 1s. 1d. per week.
10. *L & CE*, 20 January, 1847. Since the previous week the numbers of paupers in the workhouse had risen to 2,800, with 16 deaths during the week.
11. William P. MacArthur, 'Medical History of the Famine', in R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams, *The Great Famine* (Dublin, 1956), pp. 286, 308.
12. *L&CE*, 31 March, 1847.
13. *L&CE*, 12 May, 1847.
14. Cecil Woodham Smith, *The Great Hunger* (London, 1962), p. 202.
15. *Limerick Reporter*, 9 May, 1848.
16. *Limerick Reporter*, 9 May, 1848.
17. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 11 December, 1847.
18. *Limerick Reporter*, 9 May, 1848.
19. *Limerick Reporter*, 9 May, 1848.
20. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 5 January, 1848.
21. For most of the famine period, the two main auxiliaries were at Boherbuoy and Mount Kennett. In January, 1848, the guardians took a large store beside the Boherbuoy Auxiliary. Other buildings in William Street (March, 1849) and Clare Street (December, 1849) were rented out for short periods and soon closed, probably because of their unsuitability.
22. *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 19 January, 1848.
23. *L&CE*, 16 February, 1848.
24. *L&CE*, 29 November, 1849.
25. *L&CE*, 31 January, 1849.
26. *L&CE*, 19 February, 1848.
27. *L&CE*, 26 April, 1848.
28. *L&CE*, 5 July, 1848.
29. *L&CE*, 31 January, 1849.
30. Cited in John O'Connor, *The Workhouses of Ireland* (Dublin, 1995), p. 151.
31. *L&CE*, 16 February, 1848.
32. *L&CE*, 10 February, 1849.
33. *L&CE*, 1 September, 1849. A new workhouse was opened in early December, probably a more compact and suitable building than those which had been closed earlier (*L&CE*, 8 December, 1849).
34. At the board meeting on 27 June when one guardian insisted that the outdoor relief lists be posted on the boardroom wall, another informed him that the lists "would cover the walls of the workhouse from top to bottom" (*L&CE*, 27 June, 1849).