

THE ORIGINS OF CLONAKILTY POOR LAW UNION AND WORKHOUSE, 1850–52

Marian O'Leary



Introduction

The Irish Poor Relief Act came into effect in 1838. Prior to this, many travellers to Ireland had spoken of the terrible state of destitution, Gustave de Beaumont stating in 1835 that ‘Misery, naked and famishing ... sometimes under the form of the diseased displaying his sores, sometimes under the form of the pauper scarcely covered by his rags; it follows you everywhere, and besieges you incessantly’.¹ Parliamentary pressure was in evidence by then; the Whig government set up an inquiry in 1833 under Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin.² The Whately Commission, after spending three years surveying the state of the poor, concluded that the English Poor Law system was unsuitable for Ireland and recommended state-assisted emigration and public works for the able-bodied poor, with the sick, elderly and ‘impotent’ poor being relieved in state-assisted voluntary hospitals, infirmaries and dispensaries, supported where necessary by a local rate on property.³ This report was promptly rejected by the government who sent George Nicholls, an English Poor Law commissioner, to Ireland to carry out a short tour of inquiry on the feasibility of setting up the English Poor Law system in Ireland

and after his hasty investigation, an Irish Poor Law bill was drafted by early 1837, which with minor amendments was signed into law in July 1838.⁴

As a result, Ireland was divided into 130 Poor Law Unions. The day-to-day business of each union was run by a board of guardians, a quarter of whom were ex officio magistrates with the remainder being elected by the ratepayers of the union, i.e. by tenants and property owners.⁵ The boards were answerable to the Poor Law Commissioners (based in Dublin from 1847) and had to submit minutes of their weekly meetings to the commissioners for inspection. A workhouse was built in each union with all 130 designed by George Wilkinson, an English architect who was responsible for overseeing their construction.⁶ Under the supervision of Nicholls and four English assistant commissioners, the running of these workhouses followed more closely to the harsh English New Poor Law of 1834 than England itself did.⁷ The Irish Poor Law bill had at its core that the workhouse was a strict test of absolute destitution and under this system no relief was to be provided outside of the workhouse. This was thought to deter the able-bodied from seeking assistance, which made some sense in England where employment was available but as the Whately report stated, 'The difficulty in Ireland is not to make the able-bodied seek employment, but to find it profitably for the many who seek it'.⁸ Consequently, until the height of the Famine in 1847, there was no outdoor relief; this deterred all but the 'truly desperate' from seeking help as it would have forced them to reside in the despised workhouse.⁹

Co. Cork Workhouses

Initially eleven Poor Law Unions were set up in Co. Cork to cater for the city and county: Bandon, Bantry, Cork City, Dunmanway, Fermoy, Kanturk, Kinsale, Macroom, Mallow, Middleton and Skibbereen. Of the Cork unions, Fermoy workhouse was the first to open in July 1841 and Bantry the last in April 1845.¹⁰ While initially the uptake at the workhouses was slow, due to the natural aversion of entering those dreaded institutions and the strict criteria laid down governing entry, by 1847 they were bursting at the seams, with all catering for many more than their workhouses were originally intended.¹¹ Sadly, the workhouse numbers were to soar much further, with the weekly average number of 'inmates' nationwide in 1851 standing in excess of 217,000 – two and a half times the average weekly figure for 1847.¹²

Between 1848 and 1850, six new Poor Law Unions were established in the county comprising areas formerly in other unions. These new unions were Castletownbere, Clonakilty, Millstreet, Mitchelstown, Skull (Schull) and Youghal. Workhouses built in these unions were also designed by Wilkinson using a slightly different design to his earlier model. They all opened their doors for admission in the early 1850s.¹³

Since Clonakilty Poor Law Union was made up of places previously contained within Bandon, Dunmanway and Skibbereen Unions, a brief examination of these and their workhouses is needed in order to better understand the conditions prevailing upon both 'paupers'¹⁴ and ratepayers in the Clonakilty area up to the formation of its own union in 1849. Bandon workhouse opened on 17 November 1841. An extensive set of records pertaining to this union have survived including six volumes of minutes relating to the period of interest.¹⁵ Dunmanway workhouse opened on 2 October 1841 and their records contain seven volumes of minutes covering this period.¹⁶ No official records for Skibbereen Poor Law Union survive.

During this period, it is likely that elected and ex officio guardians from the Clonakilty area travelled to these towns to attend meetings on a regular basis, which was probably considered a tedious journey on their part, as is evident from a report in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1842, which stated that a vacancy existed in the Bandon Board of Guardians 'by the death of Mr Hungerford, of Clonakilty, who fell a victim of the fatigue of attending their meetings'.¹⁷ Later in 1842, Stewart R. Tresilian, clerk to the Bandon Board, gave notice that a rate of 10d in the pound for the relief of the poor had been struck on property in Clonakilty, Kilbrogan and Ballymodan.¹⁸ Other electoral divisions (hereafter EDs) were rated at 5d in the pound, including Kilmaloda, Desert, Kilnagross, Templequinlan, Templemalus, Timoleague, Abbeymahon and Lisle, which were to become part of Clonakilty Union in 1849.¹⁹

In November 1842, there was significant resistance to the payment of rates in Skibbereen Union, particularly by tenants near Baltimore of Lord Carbery. These disturbances, which resulted in fatalities, and the court case that ensued were extensively reported by provincial, national and British newspapers.²⁰ Arthur Percy Aylmer²¹ of Castlefreke (agent and nephew of Carbery), gave evidence at the inquest that he was knocked to the ground by a blow to the head at which point the police were given orders to fire.

The killing of Michael McDonnell was deemed by the jury to be 'justifiable homicide', whereas the killing of John Brien by a flanking party resulted in a verdict of manslaughter.²² The *Cork Examiner* laid blame on the 'cunning landlords' whose 'evil advice' was 'poured into the ear of the credulous and simple minded peasantry', and proclaimed that 'the blood of these victims lies at the door of the scoundrels ... who seduced the most quiet and peaceable peasantry ... into a momentary violation of the laws'.²³ Reports in the *Freeman's Journal* emphasised the oppression inflicted on the poor by the Poor Law rates and argued that the landlords who disagreed with the rates should have 'declared that opposition openly and not by covertly endeavouring to excite the people against the payment of the rate'.²⁴ In the immediate aftermath, a strong military and police presence was visible in Skibbereen which put an unbearable strain on the inhabitants who had to billet them in their own houses or pay for alternative lodgings as no barracks was available.²⁵ By the end of 1842, Mr Kelly, a magistrate who had been specially appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to supervise the collection of rates in the area, advised that the collection was proceeding satisfactorily and it was proposed that the extra police and military could be withdrawn.²⁶ No real effort was made to establish the identity of those who had encouraged the resistance and instead it was decided to 'let the past sink into oblivion'.²⁷

During the Famine, severe overcrowding occurred in all the workhouses in Ireland. Bandon workhouse, designed for 900 inmates, contained 1,205 in January 1847, with 187 in hospital, fifty of whom had fever including five of the officers.²⁸ By May of that year, in order to accommodate the surplus inmates they had 'idiot wards raised and erected sheds', and had requested plans for additional buildings and a loan of £3,000.²⁹ Likewise, Dunmanway workhouse, which was catering for 120 more than the 400 intended, had a 'house hired and stable sheds appropriated', while Skibbereen had 'stables fitted up to afford additional accommodation'.³⁰ Skibbereen was by far the worst of the three, with one quarter of the inmates suffering from either fever or dysentery by the end of 1846 in a workhouse that was already 'full to suffocation'.³¹ In January 1847, 140 had died in the workhouse in one month and a local solicitor, Mr McCarthy Downing (later MP), stated that 'they came into the [work] house merely and solely for the purpose of getting a coffin'.³² Built for 800, by November 1847 it was holding 1,340 and had shut its doors 'to the besieging

paupers'.³³ At the same time, there were reports of evictions and distraint in the area, with the roads leading to the town presenting 'an uninterrupted stream of corn laden carts and cattle under the strong escort of bailiffs'.³⁴ By December 1848 the situation had deteriorated further. With only three extra timber houses built on the premises, there were now 2,780 permanently lodged in the workhouse in appalling conditions. A *Cork Examiner* correspondent accused the guardians of protecting their own pockets as ratepayers, while risking lives in their care, stating that they were legally obliged to administer outdoor relief when workhouse accommodation was insufficient.³⁵

Statistics appeared in the *Cork Constitution* in February 1852 which listed the census populations for 1841 and 1851 of all the EDs which made up the new Clonakilty Union. The total population of the region in 1841 was given as 52,178 while a decade later it had reduced to 31,417, showing a staggering drop of almost 40%, much larger than the average decrease generally in Co. Cork

Electoral Divisions.	A.	R.	P.	Census of 1841.	Census of 1851.		
Abbeymahon	4480	212	3261	1917
Ardfield	4285	3 1	3251	1922
Argideen	4019	1 23	2998	1051
Butlerstown	4271	1 4	2765	1816
Caherroe	4786	1 26	2995	1052
Castleventry	3225	1 23	1947	650
Clonakilty	7115	0 30	8157	3447
Coolraheen	4171	0 2	1965	1137
Courtmacsherry	2276	1 27	2022	1097
Kilkerranmore	3534	0 27	1874	1191
Kilmalooda East	3162	1 25	1493	689
Kilmalooda West	2895	2 5	1177	558
Kilmoylerane	3472	1 25	1518	860
Kilnagrosa	3945	2 13	1946	1107
Knocks	3167	2 32	1392	546
Rathbarry	4058	2 27	2572	2143
Rosecarbery	6722	3 9	5898	3538
Rosmore	3341	3 28	1451	925
Templemahon	4348	0 6	3709	2202
Timoleague	2872	3 31	1677	996
Total	80,454	2 27	52,178	31,417

Fig. 1: 1841 and 1851 census statistics for Clonakilty Poor Law Union (*Cork Constitution*, 12 Feb. 1852).

of 24%.³⁶ Faring particularly badly were the EDs of Argideen, Cahermore, Castleventry, Kilmaloda East and Knocks, all with a reduction of 50% or more.³⁷ Donnelly asserts that in general in Co. Cork, emigration accounted for only around 11% of the decrease in population between the two censuses.³⁸ If this was the case for Clonakilty Union, the above figures reveal a deplorable and horrific tale of death and displacement.

The minutes of a Clonakilty Board of Guardians meeting in May 1852 also contain shocking statistics of the legacy of the Famine. Listing the Poor Law rates struck off due to unoccupancy, it reveals that in Clonakilty town alone 156 houses were vacant while the numbers for Timoleague, Rosscarbery and Courtmacsherry were nineteen, fourteen and eight respectively. The rural ED of Templeomalus also showed a high degree of unoccupancy with eighteen houses vacant.³⁹

The Establishment of Clonakilty Poor Law Union

While there was obviously severe overcrowding in the Skibbereen workhouse, and to a somewhat lesser extent in the Bandon and Dunmanway workhouses, in the aftermath of the Famine, it took until 3 October 1849 for Clonakilty Poor Law Union to come into effect.⁴⁰ The attitude to the setting up of the new union by the Bandon Board of Guardians is made clear from the minutes of a special meeting held the previous year where they indicate that they would not object to some EDs around Clonakilty being separated.⁴¹ Later, they decided to advertise for 'a store or other building in Clonakilty, being the most desirable situation to establish an auxiliary workhouse in this Union' to accommodate up to 600, although they were prepared to accept tenders 'from any other District within the Union where the required Buildings can be obtained'.⁴² By then serious overcrowding was obvious in the district, with their clerk reporting that on a visit to the auxiliary workhouse at Overton, on the western side of Bandon, he observed between 200 and 300 children in one small, intensely heated room, a large number of whom were 'affected with Fits'.⁴³ For the next few weeks, much correspondence with the commissioners ensued on the provision of additional space. The commissioners' preference was a site in Bandon rather than in Clonakilty, and even though tenders for four houses in Clonakilty were received, which would have accommodated

up to 1,000 persons, it was eventually decided to use a second mill at Overton, which would accommodate the same number. However, Bandon Board passed a resolution stating that it was their wish that a new union be formed for the Clonakilty district and urging the commissioners to do so without delay.⁴⁴

Dunmanway Board of Guardians was not so pleasantly disposed to a new workhouse in Clonakilty. They protested in December 1848 'against the immediate erection of any additional workhouses', noting that no new house could be completed within two years, by which time 'existing pressures' would have subsided. They expected that their workhouse and auxiliary houses would meet the year's requirements 'so reduced in number is the population by death and emigration'.⁴⁵

Although Clonakilty Poor Law Union was set up in the autumn of 1849, the minutes of the meetings of the guardians in the earlier months do not survive. The first extant book of minutes commences on 10 May 1850. However, four letters in the *Cork Examiner*, in the interim, anonymously signed 'A Ratepayer', throw some light on their proceedings prior to this. In the first, the writer states the reason for the establishment of Clonakilty Poor Law Union:

This measure it appears has been the result of the wishes of a great body of the Ratepayers who considered themselves unnecessarily and unequally over-taxed under the circumstances in which their electoral divisions were placed and who consider that they are the best and most competent persons to manage their own poor law matters.⁴⁶

He went on to say that ten or eleven of the fifteen ex officio guardians had been summoned to a meeting with the District Poor Law Inspector on the previous day at Clonakilty courthouse. Mr Hungerford of Cahermore was elected chairman without opposition and was deemed by the writer to be eminently suitable for such a position, being of 'sound judgement, unvarying courtesy and inflexible partiality'.⁴⁷

Two candidates for the post of clerk emerged, 'one a gentleman' and a former guardian possessing 'all those useful qualifications ... necessary for making him a very efficient officer' and the other 'a painter and glazier in the town' deemed to be 'a smart young man'. Surprisingly, the 'smart young man',

John C. Spiller, was elected *pro tem.* by the guardians by a majority of one.⁴⁸ Considered by the writer to be 'a stumble at the first step of their official duties', and to 'augur discouragingly for ... future management', he questioned why such an important post should be appointed by a small number of ex officio guardians rather than by a majority of the full board. He finished the first letter by bemoaning the lack of 'sound legislative principles and lack of knowledge' in all matters relating to the Poor Law, by those in power.⁴⁹

In the second letter, the same ratepayer referred to a recent meeting of the ex officio guardians who were now admitting paupers, but as Clonakilty still had no workhouse, they had to be sent to the neighbouring workhouses. The ratepayer hoped that a temporary workhouse would soon be sourced as the inspector had been recently looking at some storehouses which 'from their commodiousness and being unoccupied, it is hoped they will be taken at once'. But he considered that the commissioners would not be likely to do anything 'at variance with the interests of the heavily-taxed ratepayers for the mere accommodation of the paupers'.⁵⁰

In the third letter, he expounded on the 'ridiculous measure' taken by the commissioners to direct the Clonakilty Guardians to continue to send its poor to the workhouses of Bandon, Skibbereen and Dunmanway, despite Clonakilty having 'excellent temporary houses in its very centre'. 'Can the records of official incompetency furnish a parallel to this example of stupid mismanagement', he asks.⁵¹ We also learn from this letter that the elections for the Board of Guardians had taken place and the results indicated a mixture of gentry and farmers, and presumably some shopkeepers as 'a few ambitious spirits felt anxious to vary the monotony of a seat behind a counter by an occasional one at the Board of Guardians'. With the votes having to be cast in writing, it appears that the Catholic clergy influenced Catholic ratepayers which is not surprising given that 'three-fourths of the rate-payers qualified to vote can neither read nor write!' Nonetheless, the correspondent acknowledged that those nominated by the clergy were 'well qualified to make efficient guardians'.⁵²

A letter, presumably, from the same ratepayer, reporting on the first meeting of the newly elected Board of Guardians of the new Clonakilty Union, appeared in the *Cork Examiner* on 7 January 1850. The union was divided into

twenty EDs, each having one elected guardian except for Clonakilty ED, which had two. The elected guardians were: William Leslie, Robert Travers, William Starkie, G. Beamish, M.D., Samuel Beamish, D. F. Barry, Henry Gallwey, Denis Gallwey, Dr Patrick Hayes, J. Donovan, John Bennett, James Deasy, J. Sullivan, Laurence White, Thomas Kingston, B. Donovan, J. Barry, C. McCarthy, T. Sullivan, B. Deneen and L. Deneen.⁵³ Thomas Hungerford of Cahermore was elected as chairman, Arthur Percy Aylmer of Castlefreke (discussed above) as vice-chairman and Dr Lucas of Richfordstown as deputy vice-chairman. Two candidates emerged for the important position of valuator and revisor, at a salary of £20 per annum: John Woulfe of Coolcraheen and Charles Gallwey of Kilkieran, the former regarded by the writer as a 'gentleman of much practical experience in agriculture and the value of lands' and the latter 'who turning his sword into a sickle' was also considered 'well skilled in rural affairs and the condition of the country'. Gallwey was appointed, by a majority of one.⁵⁴ The clerk was elected without a competitor. The writer hoped that the board would exercise 'good management and watchfulness over the interests of the union', and urged them to resist 'the unconstitutional and unnecessary innovations of the three Poor Law dictators that have inflicted such mischief in other unions'.⁵⁵

He also noted that although paupers were 'not yet multiplying rapidly', it appeared the commissioners were getting sense as an official was examining the storehouses of Clonakilty, with a view to setting up a temporary workhouse, realising 'the absurdity of sending Clonakilty paupers to be housed, fed and clothed in other unions'.⁵⁶ However, this temporary house was never set up as is evident from the reservation orders dated 5 December 1849 by the Poor Law Commissioners; these reserved accommodation for paupers of Clonakilty Union in the three neighbouring workhouses and remained in place until the opening of the workhouse in Clonakilty in 1851.⁵⁷ Although minutes for the earlier months of the union do not exist, statistics from the minutes of 1851 indicate that at its formation in early October 1849, 818 paupers were housed by the union in the three neighbouring workhouses. This rose to 887 by December and the maximum number of Clonakilty paupers housed by the other workhouses prior to the opening of its own workhouse was 1,116 on 18 May 1850.⁵⁸ Under the reservation orders, Clonakilty Poor Law Union took

responsibility for striking and collecting the Poor Law rates of its own districts which had previously been the burden of the adjoining unions, but had to pay the costs for the maintenance of its paupers to these unions.

The new Clonakilty Union consisted of twenty EDs later divided into three rate collecting districts, District No. 1: Ardfield, Cahermore, Castleventry, Coolcraheen, Rathbarry, Rosscarbery; District No. 2: Argideen, Clonakilty, Kilkerranmore, Kilmoylerane, Kilnagross, Knocks, Rossmore; District No. 3: Abbeymahon, Butlerstown, Courtmacsherry, Kilmaloda East, Kilmaloda West, Templemalus, Timoleague. At a meeting of the Board of Guardians in August 1850, with Chairman Hungerford and twenty-four other guardians in attendance, a resolution was put forward by Aylmer and William Bence Jones of Lisselane, striking a rate for each of the twenty EDs of the union. These ranged from 6d in the pound for Castleventry to 1s 8d for Courtmacsherry, with Clonakilty at 1s ½d and Rosscarbery at 1s 6d.⁵⁹ Rate collectors were appointed to each of these districts, namely, Richard Barrett who had already been rate collecting in District No. 1, Daniel Donovan to District No. 2 and John Wolfe to District No. 3.⁶⁰ There appears to be no records of appointing relieving officers, who had the onerous task of recommending candidates for relief, but already four were employed: Robert Newenham, George R. Stowards, John E. Heard and William Hegarty. Upon Hegarty's death, a resolution was put forward by Bence Jones and William Starkie, to reduce the number of relieving officers to three, coinciding with the three rate collecting districts.⁶¹

Clonakilty Board of Guardians Meetings

Clonakilty Board of Guardians met every Friday and minutes were kept by the clerk, Spiller. Despite twenty-one guardians having been elected and a further fifteen ex officios, their attendance at meetings in 1850 averaged only fifteen, with a minimum of six and a maximum of thirty-three.⁶² They dealt with committee reports and correspondence, mainly from the Poor Law Commissioners, and put forward and adopted resolutions for the running of the union, much of their time being taken up with finances and with attempts to cut costs. In the first surviving set of minutes, we learn that the finance committee recommended that accommodation for fever patients be provided

in the town of Clonakilty and that paupers from this district be transferred from Dunmanway and Skibbereen Unions to temporary houses in Clonakilty while the new workhouse was being built; however, a resolution was adopted to defer this action.⁶³ It was again deferred at the following week's meeting with the statement that it did not appear to the board 'that any extraordinary fever or sickness prevails at present and that we have ample room for our own destitute poor in the Bandon, Skibbereen and Dunmanway Workhouses where all necessary hospital assistance is provided for them'.⁶⁴



Fig. 2: List of those present at meeting of Clonakilty Board of Guardians on 12 December 1851 (Source: CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, 12 Dec. 1851, accessed 9 Nov. 2017. Photo: courtesy of Cork City and County Archives).

In the meetings of late 1850 and 1851 there appears to be a certain amount of dispute regarding what was owed to the three neighbouring unions. Both Bence Jones and Aylmer were prolific resolution proposers, particularly in the area of finances. In August 1850, they resolved that the three unions 'furnish us with the detailed items of the Establishment charges to be paid by us to those Unions as we think items have been charged to us by which we are not strictly liable'.⁶⁵ Skibbereen Union in particular seems to have been singled out. Arguments between the Clonakilty guardians and this neighbouring union ensued, with the Skibbereen collectors accused by the same pair of failing to collect 25% of the rates, loftily boasting that they themselves 'on a rate of £692-12-6 struck by us on the same district in March last £690-10-1

has actually been collected'.⁶⁶ Eventually it was agreed at the closing meeting of 1850 to pay £300 to Skibbereen Union 'for maintenance of Clonakilty Union Paupers and part of Establishment under Reservation Order' having already paid the sum of £200 the previous July.⁶⁷ A further £100 was paid on the direction of the commissioners in February 1851 with a more conciliatory tone adopted by Bence Jones and H. B. Beamish agreeing to pay 'whatever is fairly due' but still stipulating that 'It is surprising to us that Arrears of such long standing as those of the collection of Mr N Beamish three years ago should still be left unsettled and we think that we ought not to be injured by such a course'.⁶⁸ At a meeting in June 1851, Captain Huband, Poor Law Inspector, recommended a further payment of £250, in response to which Dr Pat O'Hea and Cal McCarthy resolved that a payment of £200 be made. This appears to be the last payment made to Skibbereen.⁶⁹

In relation to the part of Clonakilty Union formerly in Bandon Union, it was pointed out that a higher valuation scale existed here in comparison to parts previously in Skibbereen and Dunmanway Unions. It was resolved that a new uniform scale should be used to fix the costs payable to the three unions otherwise 'a great injustice will be done to the Bandon part of the Union which will be charged a much higher proportion of those Expenses than the rest of the Union'.⁷⁰

The Building of the Workhouse

The advertisement below requesting tenders for the erection of the workhouse in Clonakilty first appeared in the *Cork Examiner* on 18 February 1850 and for a number of subsequent weeks (Fig. 3).

Initially, the clerk of works was a Mr Deane but on leaving the district in September 1850, he handed over the job to Mr Cosgreave.⁷¹ The contract for building the workhouse was given to Edward Butler who also tendered successfully at later times for additions to the workhouse, including the building of a bakehouse and shed in the women's yard.⁷² The workhouse, which was built in the townland of Scartagh on a 7 acre site to accommodate 700 inmates, cost £6,900 to build with fittings costing an extra £1,400.⁷³ The intention to use Courtmacsherry slate for the roof caused some disagreement among the guardians, with Bence Jones and Starkie questioning its quality.⁷⁴ Doubts were

TO BUILDERS.
CLONAKILTY UNION WORKHOUSE

BUILDERS and others are invited to deliver Tenders for the execution of the several works required to be performed in the **ERECTION OF A WORKHOUSE**, proposed to be built at Clonakilty, County of Cork.

The Plans and Specifications may be seen on application to the Clerk of the Union, at Clonakilty, on and after Thursday, the 28th Inst.

Scaled Tenders are to be forwarded, under cover, directed to the
"Poor Law Commissioners, Dublin,"
and Endorsed
"Tenders for Clonakilty Workhouse,"
and must be received on or before the 14th March next.

The Tenders must be made agreeable to the printed particulars lodged with the plans and specifications, to which parties are referred for all further information relating to the proposed contract.

The lowest Tender will not be necessarily accepted.
16th February, 1850.

Fig. 3: Invitation for tenders for the erection of the workhouse in Clonakilty (*Cork Examiner*, 18 February 1850).

also expressed by Dr Gillman and Thomas Kingston who considered that the slate had not been tested sufficiently but stated their preference for its use if the architect could verify its quality. Finally, Dr O'Hea declared his intention to move that the Courtmacsherry slate be used but later withdrew his motion.⁷⁵ Another practical aspect of the building project, instigated by Bence Jones and Aylmer, was the raising of the whole building to a uniform height of three stories so that the raised wings would allow for the accommodation of thirty extra paupers (see Fig. 4).⁷⁶ The workhouse approached completion at the end of the summer of 1851. At this time, the guardians requested the Poor Law

Commissioners to inform them of the terms in which the workhouse grounds were acquired 'whether by Lease or by Assignment' so that Richard Griffith (of Griffith's Valuation) might be informed of the nature of the tenure and so that there would be no delay in taking possession of the house.⁷⁷ Another resolution in October of that year requested the commissioners to insist that the contractor have all works completed by 1 November so that paupers could be admitted on that day.⁷⁸ Needless to say, the contractor did not finish by this deadline. It took until mid-November to dispense with the services of Cosgreave, the clerk of works, whereupon Spiller was directed to install a trustworthy person to caretake the workhouse.⁷⁹

By 6 December, sixty-three paupers were inmates of the new workhouse, with the remaining 411 from the district still in Bandon and Skibbereen



Fig. 4: Clonakilty workhouse. Image extracted from the background of a photograph taken from Inchydoney House with a view of Clonakilty Bay. (Lawrence Collection, L_CAB_06694, reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, <https://www.nli.ie>).

workhouses under reservation orders (Fig. 5).⁸⁰ Quite an amount of furniture, bedding and clothing was purchased from Bandon Union while tenders for additional supplies, food and medicines had been advertised and suppliers appointed.⁸¹

691

Clonakilty UNION.

Population in 1841, . . . 5271 Present Net Annual Value, £ 46-4/9

STATE of the WORKHOUSE for the Week ending Saturday, the 6th day of December 1851.

Number of inmates for each accommodation in greatest	No. of inmates in the workhouse on the 6 th Dec 1851	Total	Age and Sex						Total	STATUS OF RICK AND LEMATIC.		OBSERVATIONS.		
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Boys	Girls		Number in Hospital as the above date.	No. of Lematics and Sick in Workhouse on the above date.			
Remaining on previous Saturday, as per last Return.	62	113	10	11	72	78	17	14	5	47	1	1	Under Reservation Order to Bandon Workhouse 259 Skibbereen 161 to Bandon Workhouse 415 Total 474	
Admitted during the Week.	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-		
Totals			65	113	11	11	72	78	17	14	5	47	1	1
Discharged during the Week.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Dead.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total Discharged and Dead.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
REMAINDER ON THE ABOVE DATE.	64	113	11	11	72	78	17	14	5	47	1	1	-	

Fig. 5: State of Clonakilty workhouse for week ending 6 December 1851 (Source: CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of Board of Guardians meeting 12 Dec. 1851, accessed 9 Nov. 2017. Photo: courtesy of Cork City and County Archives).

Appointment of Officers to Clonakilty Workhouse

While awaiting the opening of the workhouse in Clonakilty, Denis Dwyer was appointed as porter and assigned to caretake the workhouse. However, on visiting Clonakilty fever hospital (on Inchydoney Road) with Spiller to inspect furniture and bedding, Dwyer became frightened and tendered his resignation. A temporary porter, James Daunt, was then appointed and he later was given the contract.⁸² The following officers were appointed to the workhouse and their salaries approved by Clonakilty Board of Guardians: John C. Spiller, clerk (£65), John Brennan, master of workhouse (£45 p.a.),

Julia Duffy, matron (£25 p.a.), Charles Bateman, schoolmaster (£20 p.a.), Eliza Driscoll, schoolmistress (£15 p.a.), Rev. John Quarry, Church of Ireland chaplain (£20 p.a.), Rev. Morgan Madden, Roman Catholic chaplain (£50 p.a.), James Daunt, porter (£10 p.a.), Dr Sanders Ffolliott, medical officer (£60 p.a.), Jane Hegarty, chief nurse (£15 p.a.), Ellen McCarthy, assistant nurse (3s per week), and a shoemaker (5s 6d per week).⁸³

With regards to the appointment of chaplains, the commissioners questioned if there were any Protestant inmates in the workhouse.⁸⁴ In June of 1852, there were five Protestants there. At this time, Bence Jones and Dr Gillman requested that these five be allowed to attend church on Sundays, asserting that 'In the fixing of the Salaries of the Chaplains by the Finance Committee it was distinctly stipulated on the part of the chaplain that they should so attend at Church and his Salary was fixed at a lower sum in consequence' and also 'The Paupers can attend under charge of One of the Officers of the House viz the Schoolmaster or Head Nurse who are Protestants'. The commissioners were not happy with this and replied that, 'Service should be performed in the Workhouse on Sundays and Holydays'.⁸⁵ However, the board's request was eventually conceded when it was made clear to the commissioners that the chaplain had 'three full services on Sundays in his Parish and on one Sunday in the month a fourth early service and having no Curate ... it is equivalent to compelling the resignation of our present Chaplain'.⁸⁶ The appointment of Rev. Morgan Madden as Roman Catholic chaplain was also not without issue. Initially, he declined the salary of £40, 'on the grounds that he should employ an additional Curate and that on consideration of the circumstances they [the commissioners] appointed him at a Salary of £50 p annum'.⁸⁷

The reappointment of the relieving officers for Clonakilty workhouse – one for each of the three districts – was complicated by the fact that two were reported for intoxication. It had been put to the Poor Law Commissioners that 'Mr [Robert] Newenham Relieving Officer of Rosscarbery District is often in a state of intoxication and was committed to prison for drunkenness on 23rd ult [January 1852] – and that he is inattentive to his duties and receives drink for giving Tickets to the Workhouse'. While Clonakilty Board of Guardians acknowledged that his conduct was 'extremely reprehensible' and that he should be admonished for it, they asserted that 'the charge preferred against

him as to receiving drink in lieu of tickets is in their opinion unfounded'. They wished to know 'the names of the party preferring the Charge and the Report so that same may be investigated'.⁸⁸ Huband, who investigated the case, reported that as Newenham's former conduct was good, they would 'pass over this charge but if they are aware of such a fact occurring again that they will suspend him by a Sealed Order'.⁸⁹ While Newenham was reappointed as relieving officer at a salary of £30 per annum, his colleague George Stowards did not get off so lightly. He too was charged with drunkenness and 'absenting himself from duty', and on the direction of Huband he was called on to resign or face dismissal. Dan Donovan was appointed as acting relieving officer in his place at the lower salary of £20 p.a. commencing on 21 May 1852.⁹⁰ However, the appointment of Donovan was short lived. He had been a rate collector for District No. 2 from at least September 1850 but had resigned this post on 21 May 1852 'in case he shall be approved of as Relieving Officer', which he duly was on the same day. However, subsequent correspondence from commissioners indicated that they could not sanction his appointment 'as he is Collector for 2 Unions and holds other situations'. Donovan, was therefore forced to resign his new position as relieving officer, within a week of being appointed;⁹¹ it appears he retained his previous post as rate collector. The third relieving officer, John E. Heard, although reported as being 'very ill and confined to bed' in mid-May 1852, had returned to work before an acting officer could be appointed in his place.⁹²

All three of the original rate collectors, Richard Barrett, Dan Donovan and John Wolfe Jnr remained on as rate collectors after the opening of the workhouse, being paid poundage of 3d in the pound. Richard Barrett had earlier become embroiled in disputes with ratepayers. In August 1850, a complaint was lodged by James Wolfe, Derryduff, accusing Barrett of cutting and seizing his hay for rates. Clonakilty Board of Guardians backed Barrett although he was later fined for this act in the quarter sessions, which resulted in him interceding with the board for compensation. Despite an eloquent plea on his behalf by Bence Jones and Starkie, the commissioners stated clearly that the board could not reimburse Barrett for an illegal act.⁹³ During the following year, Barrett was complained by Mr Belinaye for driving away his cattle for rates, and by Mr Heas of Tralong for seizing a horse and overcharging him

costs, despite having told him that he would allow him an extra week to pay the rates. The guardians declared it was their opinion that Barrett had not acted 'contrary to his duty as Collector' in the seizure of the horse.⁹⁴ However, the attitude of the guardians towards Barrett had changed somewhat by 1852 with their finance committee reporting 'that they are not satisfied with the state of Barrett's collection', and with the board resolving 'that no part of his Poundage will be paid till the items in regard to which the Committee are dissatisfied are collected, and if more diligence is not used that he will not be continued in his Office'.⁹⁵

The Paupers

In contrast to the ubiquitous *ex officio* guardians, the paupers' voice was seldom heard. No register of inmates appears to have survived for Clonakilty Union either before or after the building of the workhouse. The graph below shows that the number of inmates from Clonakilty Union exceeded 1,000 in the earlier part of 1850, began to decrease in the second half of the year and apart from seasonal fluctuations continued decreasing for the period under review (Fig. 6). While pauper statistics abound in the minutes of the meetings, few are referred to by name and when they are it is often because of the board's refusal to accept them as inmates. For example, the Clonakilty Guardians strongly admonished Bandon Union for admitting Peggy Flynn in 1850 to Bandon workhouse and assigning her to Kilmoylerane in Clonakilty Union, particularly as she had been charged previously to the adjoining ED of Bandon Union; this meant that in 1850 Clonakilty Union would have to pay for her upkeep.⁹⁶ Furthermore, in 1850, they stated that 'they knew nothing of' two young brothers John and James Feen, aged sixteen and fourteen respectively, of Lackenagobidane, who were admitted to the Bandon workhouse. A third teenager, Daniel Hart, who was also admitted to the Bandon workhouse by the Bandon master, was ordered to be discharged by Clonakilty Guardians on the grounds that he 'has a father at work in Clonakilty for Mr Dugan'.⁹⁷ The guardians again brought the situation of these teenagers and that of four other youths, all aged between nine and twenty, to the attention of the commissioners in early 1851; the guardians pointed out that as a result of the admission of these youths to Bandon workhouse, a total of 864 days had

been charged wrongly to them for which they 'could get no redress from the Bandon Union'.⁹⁸ The case of Jane Sealy of Desert, again admitted by the master of the Bandon workhouse and charged to Clonakilty, was castigated by the Clonakilty Guardians. They were of the opinion that she was 'not a fit object for the Workhouse, having Wealthy Relatives' and they requested the intercession of the commissioners 'to correct this and similar encroachments on our duties which have occurred from time to time'.⁹⁹

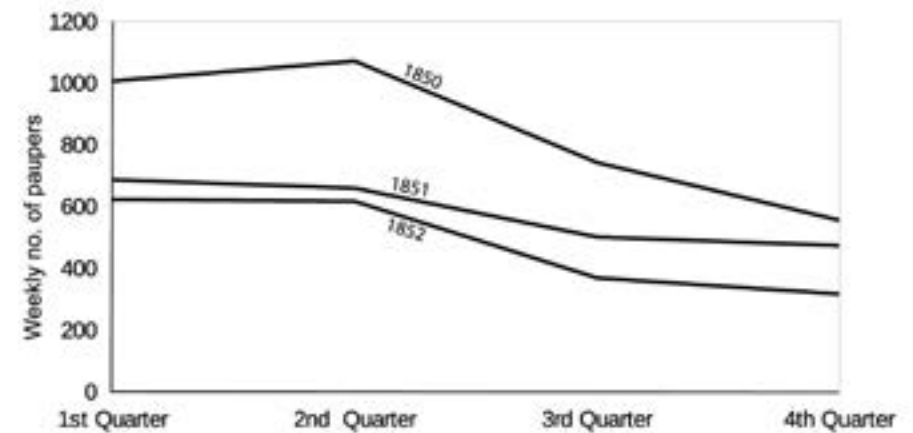


Fig. 6: Graph showing average weekly numbers of paupers of Clonakilty Poor Law Union who were inmates of Bandon, Skibbereen and Dunmanway workhouses in 1850 and 1851 and of Clonakilty workhouse in 1852 (Graph: author).¹⁰⁰

There were also cases of charging inmates to the wrong ED. Notice was given that John Connor and Ellen Donovan would be transferred from Cahermore ED, the former to Rosscarbery and the latter 'to whatever division she properly belongs',¹⁰¹ while Mary Leary 'who was improperly charged to Castleventry [was to] be transferred to the Division to which she belongs'.¹⁰² In September 1851, before the new workhouse was ready, the guardians sought to avoid paying further charges to Dunmanway by transferring to Bandon workhouse the six remaining Clonakilty Union inmates in Dunmanway workhouse. Five of these, all children between the ages of four and ten, were

transported by the relieving officer, Stowards (see above), no doubt causing further hardship to their young lives. They are named as John and Paddy Hickey, Biddy Donovan, Cath McCarthy and Norry Donovan. A sixth child, Julia Delea was 'discharged by the wish of her mother'.¹⁰³

A shocking account on the attitude of the Clonakilty Board of Guardians towards the poor appeared in the *Cork Examiner* in February 1851. The correspondent reported that crowds attended at Clonakilty courthouse every Friday seeking admission tickets to one of the three neighbouring workhouses. Travelling up to 8 miles from Rosscarbery, Courtmacsherry and other parts of Clonakilty Union, they then had to undergo 'an ordeal of examination by the new patrons of the poor'. One ex officio guardian proclaimed that the 'union will be beggared if all these idle vagabonds be admitted'. According to the correspondent the same scene reoccurred every Friday with the same people presenting themselves, only to be refused time and time again. Those who eventually succeeded in obtaining admission tickets had to travel double their earlier journey to one of the neighbouring workhouses, as no temporary house had been established in Clonakilty, despite overcrowding in some of the others. Outside the courthouse, among the rejected applicants, 'there are wailings, and cryings, and moanings, and heartrending appeals to individual guardians'. While it was conceded that some elected guardians tried to intercede on the part of some applicants, they would have to be almost at starvation point in order to be admitted. The correspondent went on to describe a by-law recently passed which excluded any person from appearing before the Board of Guardians seeking a workhouse ticket, unless they had given a week's notice to the relieving officer of their district, as the correspondent saw it 'the pauper may live or die in the interim as he pleases'.¹⁰⁴

Things did not improve to any great extent with the opening of the new workhouse particularly for the sick as is evidenced from the medical officer's report of 23 January 1852:

Gentlemen – I beg leave to call your attention to the want of sufficient Hospital accommodation – in the first place there are no Fever Wards there being at present 7 fever cases in Hospital – There is no means of supplying Hot Water for Hospital use and a very inadequate supply of Cold Water – The Tea as at present made is unfit for the Patients it is

made in an open Tub in the House and thus brought to the Hospital – A great number of the Boys are without the Union clothing still wearing their own filthy rags, without any covering for their feet which are swollen and ulcerated from cold.

The supply of milk is irregular and inadequate, the house Bread is not of a good quality – The soup for dinner is made without Vegetables of any kind (see Fig. 7).¹⁰⁵



Fig. 7: Medical report from Dr Sanders Ffolliott, 23 January 1852
(Source: CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, accessed 9 Nov. 2017.
Photo: courtesy of Cork City and County Archives).

By April 1852, Dr Ffolliott was still dissatisfied with the conditions of the workhouse stating that there were eighty-four patients in the crowded infirmary wards which could accommodate only sixty-four.¹⁰⁶ There is also evidence of more humane attitudes among some guardians at this time. Paupers discharged from the workhouse in March 1851 were promised employment by the guardian of Knocks ED.¹⁰⁷ Later that year, John Brien of Knocks ED was given employment for two months on leaving the workhouse by Mr White.¹⁰⁸ After the opening of Clonakilty workhouse further employment was given by a number of guardians including Mr White, Mr Donovan and 'the guardian at

Cahermore'.¹⁰⁹ 'Cast shoes' were requested from the master of the workhouse for Michael Regan Ballinglana in order that he get employment from Mr Beamish.¹¹⁰ Likewise shoes were requested for Catherine Toohig 'as she has got employment but could not work without shoes'.¹¹¹ However, the master's report of 4 June 1852, stating that 'Mary Carthy, a Pauper, will be employed by Dr O'Shea of Clonakilty if allowed to take the Union Clothes' and 'Fanny Cole another Pauper ... has had a promise of having her expenses to America defrayed and requests to be allowed take the Union Clothes' was met with a stark refusal by the board.¹¹² Within the first six months of the opening of Clonakilty workhouse at least eight men had absconded with union clothing and faced prosecution, one of whom was arrested in Bandon for attempting to sell them.¹¹³ Another man had absconded leaving his wife and children in the workhouse and he too faced prosecution, while five others had been ejected for insubordination.¹¹⁴

A very basic diet of two meals a day was given to adult inmates with children under fifteen getting a third meal of 4oz of bread for supper. For example, a dietary sheet dated 5 February 1852 shows able-bodied males getting 8oz of porridge for breakfast made up of equal quantities of oatmeal, Indian meal and rice with half a pint of milk, and for lunch 14oz of bread with 2 pints of soup which included 3oz of oatmeal. Reduced quantities of the same basic foods were given to able-bodied females, the old and infirm, and children over two, while infants were given 1½ pints of milk and 8oz of bread daily (Fig. 8).¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Since Clonakilty Poor Law Union was one of a small number in the country to be formed more than a decade after the setting up of the majority of the unions, one would expect that Clonakilty Board of Guardians would have had time to assess and avoid the pitfalls of the earlier institutions. However, it appears that, in general, the guardians being themselves ratepayers were more committed, at least in the early years of the union, to cutting costs rather than to relieving the suffering of the most vulnerable in their community. Clonakilty workhouse offered much employment, firstly in its construction and afterwards for those who supplied provisions to the house and for the small number of employees who were responsible for running it. While it offered

Copy of Dietary used in the Hall of Clonakilty Union Workhouse, as required by Letter to the Board Feb 5th 1852 to be inserted in the Minutes

Class	Description	Breakfast					Dinner			Supper
		Oatmeal	Indian Meal	Rice	Salt	Spiced Milk	Bread	Soup	Other	Meas
		oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	
1	Able-bodied Working Males	2 3/4	2 3/4	2 3/4	8	1/2	14	2	3	.
2	" " Females	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	7	1/2	12	1 1/2	2 1/2	.
3	Age & Infirmer above 15 not working	2	2	2	6	1/2	10	1 1/2	2 1/2	.
4	Children above 2 & under 15	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	5	1/2	8	1	1 1/2	1 1/2
5	" " 5 " " 9	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	4	1/2	6	1	1 1/2	1 1/2
6	" " 2 " 5	1	1	1	3	1/2	5	1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2
7	Infants under 2	1/2	8	.	.	.

Fig. 8: Dietary of paupers in Clonakilty workhouse on 5 Feb. 1852 (Source: CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of Clonakilty Board of Guardians meeting 6 Feb. 1852, accessed 9 Nov. 2017. Photo: courtesy of Cork City and County Archives).

food and shelter to the destitute poor, it was a feared institution with harsh prison-like rules and regulations which included the segregation of males and females; it gave little solace to those who were forced through poverty and desperation to seek entry. Clonakilty workhouse relieved overcrowding in the neighbouring workhouses in the aftermath of the Famine but it is evident from the medical officer's reports that standards of care were low from the outset.

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(Endnotes)

- 1 Gray, P. 2009. *The Making of the Irish Poor Law, 1815-1843*. Manchester and New York, p. 1.
- 2 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 95-6.
- 3 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 118-20; Crossman, V. 2006. *Politics, Pauperism and Power in Late Nineteenth-century Ireland*. Manchester, p. 8; Smyth, W. J. 2012. 'The creation of the workhouse system'. In J. Crowley, W. J. Smyth and M. Murphy (eds) *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine 1845-52*. Cork, pp. 120-27, at p. 120.
- 4 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 130-77; O'Connor, J. 1995. *The Workhouses of Ireland: The fate of Ireland's poor*. Dublin, p. 54; Smyth, 'The creation of the workhouse system', p. 120.
- 5 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 293, 315. In 1843, the Poor Law Amended Act removed tenants, whose holdings were valued at £4 or under per annum, from direct ratepaying.
- 6 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 297-301; for more on Wilkinson, see Dictionary of Irish Architects online database at <http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/4918/Wilkinson-George> [accessed 5 Dec. 2017].
- 7 Gray, *Making of the Irish Poor Law*, pp. 284-5. The English commissioners were assisted by a number of 'Irish' assistant commissioners, see Smyth, 'The creation of the workhouse system', p. 121.
- 8 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, p. 54.
- 9 Crossman, *Politics, Pauperism and Power*, p. 11; Smyth, 'The creation of the workhouse system'.
- 10 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, pp. 259-61; O'Mahony, C. 2005. *Cork's Poor Law Palace: Workhouse Life 1838-1890*. Cork. The Cork Poor Law Union had opened an interim workhouse in the Cork Foundling Hospital as early as March 1840, although its new workhouse did not open until 23 December 1841.
- 11 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, pp. 233-8.
- 12 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, p. 177. The average weekly figure in 1847 was 83,283. It began to decrease from 1851 onwards but it was 1855 before the figures were less than that of 1847.
- 13 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, pp. 177-8.
- 14 For the purpose of this paper, the term 'pauper' is used for a recipient of Poor Law relief. This is the term which was in use by those engaged in Poor Law

affairs during this period. Paupers were known as 'inmates' when resident in a workhouse.

- 15 Cork City and County Archives (hereafter CCCA), Bandon Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/42, Descriptive List, pp. 1-18.
- 16 CCCA, Dunmanway Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/83, Descriptive List, pp. 1-19.
- 17 *Freemans Journal*, 9 Sep. 1842.
- 18 This means that if, for example, a farmer occupied a holding with a valuation of £5 he would have to pay rates of 10d by 5, i.e. 50d (or 4s 2d).
- 19 *Cork Examiner*, 5 Dec. 1842.
- 20 *Cork Examiner*, 23, 28 and 30 Nov. 1842, 12, 21 and 28 Dec. 1842; *Dublin Evening Post*, 24 Nov. 1842; *Freeman's Journal*, 11, 21, 23 and 26 Nov. 1842, 9 and 19 Dec. 1842; *Illustrated London News*, 26 Nov. 1842; *Kerry Evening Post*, 19, 23 and 26 Nov. 1842, 7 Dec. 1842; *Kerry Examiner*, 22 and 25 Nov. 1842; *Leeds Times*, 26 Nov. 1842; *Leinster Express*, 26 Nov. 1842; *London Evening Standard*, 24 and 26 Nov. 1842; *Nation*, 26 Nov. 1842, 10 and 31 Dec. 1842; *Neuagh Guardian*, 26 Nov. 1842.
- 21 Aylmer was later to become a prominent member and vice-chairman of Clonakilty Board of Guardians, sometimes chairing meetings.
- 22 *Kerry Evening Post*, 26 Nov. 1842; *London Evening Standard*, 26 Nov. 1842.
- 23 *Cork Examiner*, 21 Dec. 1842.
- 24 *Freeman's Journal*, 21 and 27 Nov. 1842.
- 25 *Nation*, 10 Dec. 1842; *Cork Examiner*, 21 Dec. 1842.
- 26 *Freeman's Journal*, 27 Dec. 1842; *Nation*, 31 Dec. 1842.
- 27 *Freeman's Journal*, 27 Nov. 1842.
- 28 *Cork Examiner*, 29 Jan. 1847.
- 29 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, p. 234.
- 30 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, pp. 235, 238.
- 31 Ó Gráda, C. 1999. *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy and Memory*. New Jersey, p. 39.
- 32 *Illustrated London News*, 16 Jan. 1847.
- 33 *Cork Examiner*, 1 Nov. 1847.
- 34 *Cork Examiner*, 1 Nov. 1847.
- 35 *Cork Examiner*, 8 Dec. 1848. Outdoor relief was at last allowed from June 1847. See O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, p. 139.
- 36 *Cork Constitution*, 12 Feb. and 14 Oct. 1852.
- 37 *Cork Constitution*, 12 Feb. 1842. Knocks at 58% had the highest reduction.
- 38 Donnelly, J. S. Jr. 1975. *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork*. London and Boston, pp. 124-5.
- 39 CCCA, Clonakilty Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/65/2, Minutes of meeting 28 May 1852.

- 40 CCCA, Clonakilty Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/65, Descriptive List, p. 2.
- 41 CCCA, Bandon Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/42, Descriptive List, p. 17; CCCA/BG/42/6, Minutes of meeting 25 Oct. 1848. However, the Bandon Board 'most strongly protest against being sacrificed to the desire of forming a union for Skull', considered too poor to support a workhouse. The Schull Poor Law Union, formed from the western part of Skibbereen Union, came into effect on the same day as Clonakilty's Poor Law Union.
- 42 CCCA, Bandon Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/42, Descriptive List, p. 17; CCCA/BG/42/6, Minutes of meeting 25 Oct. 1848.
- 43 CCCA, Bandon Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/42/6, Minutes of meeting 1 Nov. 1848.
- 44 CCCA, Bandon Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/42/6, Minutes of meetings 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29 Nov. 1848, 6, 13 and 20 Dec. 1848. The resolution urging the formation of the new union at Clonakilty passed on 15 Nov. 1848.
- 45 CCCA, Dunmanway Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/83, Descriptive List, p. 16. As the minutes of the meetings of Skibbereen Board of Guardians do not survive, it is not known what their attitude was to the setting up of Clonakilty Union.
- 46 *Cork Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1849.
- 47 *Cork Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1849.
- 48 *Cork Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1849; see also *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 6 Dec. 1849. Spiller was later appointed in a permanent capacity without a competitor, see *Cork Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1850.
- 49 *Cork Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1849.
- 50 *Cork Examiner*, 5 Nov. 1849.
- 51 *Cork Examiner*, 14 Dec. 1849. He also explains that the other new 'miserable Unions' of Schull and Castletownbere, 'not having any suitable buildings for a temporary poor-house' were still directed to advertise for such accommodation.
- 52 *Cork Examiner*, 14 Dec. 1849.
- 53 *Cork Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1850. The newspaper report generally only provides initials for Christian names but full names have been inserted where known (from the minutes of the meetings of Clonakilty Board of Guardians). The ex officio guardians are not listed.
- 54 *Cork Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1850. However CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, 7 June 1850, states that John Wolfe as revisor was paid £1 10s for 'Expenses in transcribing Valuation'.
- 55 *Cork Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1850.
- 56 *Cork Examiner*, 7 Jan. 1850.
- 57 CCCA, Clonakilty Board of Guardians, CCCA/BG/65, Descriptive List, p. 2.
- 58 CCCA, Clonakilty Board of Guardians Minute Books, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 10 Oct., 19 Dec. and 23 May 1851. See also Fig. 6.

- 59 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 23 Aug. 1850. It was also stated 'that 6^d in the Pound extra for Rate in Aid be placed on the townlands of Ardfield and Kilkerranmore which had not already paid it and also on the divisions of Castleventry and Rathbarry'.
- 60 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 6 Sep. 1850.
- 61 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 7 June and 23 Aug. 1850.
- 62 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 1850 (average figure derived from records of attendance of meetings in 1850, where minutes exist).
- 63 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 10 May 1850.
- 64 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 17 May 1850.
- 65 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 2 and 9 Aug. 1850. The Poor Law Commissioners forwarded a copy of this resolution to the three unions in question.
- 66 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 27 Dec. 1850.
- 67 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 12 July and 27 Dec. 1850.
- 68 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 7 Feb. 1851.
- 69 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 6 June 1851.
- 70 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 9 Aug. 1850. Resolution by Bence Jones and Cal McCarthy.
- 71 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 20 Sep. 1850. Resolution of satisfaction of work carried out by Deane proposed by Bence Jones and Hungerford.
- 72 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 30 Aug. and 11 Oct. 1850; BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting, 7 Feb. 1851; BG65/A/2, 14 May 1852. Records of three payments to Butler exist: two instalments of £600 and one of £500, the latter stated as a fourth instalment, so it is likely that another similar payment was made to Butler. His tender for the bakehouse and shed was accepted at £253 16s.
- 73 O'Connor, *Workhouses of Ireland*, p. 260. It is now the site of Clonakilty Community Hospital.
- 74 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 28 June 1850.
- 75 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meetings 12 July, 16 Aug. and 30 Aug. 1850.
- 76 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 22 Nov. 1850.
- 77 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 2 Aug. 1851. Resolution was put forward by Thomas R. Wright and Starkie.
- 78 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 3 Oct. 1851.

- 79 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 14 Nov. 1851.
- 80 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 12 Dec. 1851.
- 81 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 24 and 31 Oct. 1851, 7, 14 and 28 Nov. 1851, 5, 12, 19 and 26 Dec. 1851. The purchase of 400 pairs of blankets, 400 ticks, 200 rugs, 400 pairs of sheets, 40 tables, 40 bedsteads, 80 forms and 500 suits of clothing from Bandon Board of Guardians was sanctioned by Clonakilty Board of Guardians, subject to conditions. Resolution by Bence Jones and Wright.
- 82 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 21 Nov. and 12 Dec 1851.
- 83 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 10 Oct. and 12 Dec. 1851; BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 2 July 1852. The officers also received rations (excepting the medical officer and the chaplains), with the porter also getting a suit of clothes. Richard Kingston was appointed shoemaker on 6 Feb. 1852.
- 84 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 17 Oct. and 12 Dec. 1851.
- 85 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 4 and 11 June 1852.
- 86 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 11 June and 2 July 1852.
- 87 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 9 Jan. 1852.
- 88 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 6 Feb. 1852.
- 89 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 8 Apr. 1852.
- 90 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 14, 21 and 28 May 1852, 2 July 1852.
- 91 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 21 and 28 May 1852.
- 92 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 8 Apr. 1852, 14, 21 and 28 May 1852, 2 July 1852.
- 93 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 2 Aug. 1850; BG65/A/1 3 Jan. 1851, 14 and 21 Feb. 1851.
- 94 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 10 Oct. 1851, 7, 14 and 21 Nov. 1851. John Heas complained that Barrett sold his horse for £2 10s and charged him costs of 15s 6d.
- 95 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 21 May 1852. Resolution by Bence Jones and Dr Gillman.
- 96 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 27 Sep. 1850. Resolution by David Donovan and Bence Jones.
- 97 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 16 Aug. 1850. Resolution by Bence Jones and Dr Gillman.

- 98 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 3 Jan. 1851. Resolution by Bence Jones and Starkie.
- 99 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 28 Mar. 1851. Resolution by Aylmer and Bence Jones.
- 100 Graph compiled from weekly 'State of the Workhouse' statistics for the year 1852, with backdated figures for 1850 and 1851 (figures averaged over four thirteen-week periods for each year). See CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/2. The highest figure was 1,116 inmates for the week ending 18 May 1850 and the lowest was 288 for the week ending 18 September 1852.
- 101 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 8 Nov. 1850. Notice by Guardian Patrick Sullivan.
- 102 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Books, BG65/A/1a, Minutes of meeting 29 Nov. 1850. Notice by Thomas Hungerford, Island.
- 103 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meetings 12 and 19 Sep. 1851.
- 104 *Cork Examiner*, 25 Feb. 1851.
- 105 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 23 Jan. 1852.
- 106 Letter from medical officer Sanders Ffolliott to Clonakilty Board of Guardians dated 22 Apr. 1852, taken from CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 23 Apr. 1852.
- 107 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 21 Mar. 1851.
- 108 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/1, Minutes of meeting 29 Aug. 1851. White is possibly Laurence White, of Clonakilty Board of Guardians.
- 109 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 23 Jan. 1852, 21 and 28 May 1852, 18 June 1852.
- 110 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 12 Feb. 1852. Resolution by D. M. C. Gallwey and Starkie.
- 111 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 4 June 1852. Resolution by D. M. C. Gallwey and John Bennett.
- 112 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 4 June 1852.
- 113 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 16 and 30 Jan. 1852, 13 Feb. 1852, 28 May 1852.
- 114 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meetings 30 Jan. 1852, 13 Feb. 1852.
- 115 CCCA, Clonakilty Minute Book, BG65/A/2, Minutes of meeting 6 Feb. 1852.