

the workhouse was to sustain the populace, the enforcement of harsh punishment was often counterproductive in achieving this objective.

Workhouse punishment books, such as the *Pauper Offence Book* from Beaminster Union Dorset, list various offences done by workhouse patrons, and their penalties.¹⁰² The extremely harsh punishment for breaking a window would be deemed egregious today:

Mary Barlett, breaking window. 21 March 1843, sent to prison for 2 months. John Staple, refusing to work, January 7, 1856, committed to prison for 28 days. Elizabeth Soaper, making use of bad language in bedroom, trying to excite other inmates to insubordination. Refusing to work. January 17, 1863, taken before the magistrate and committed to prison for 14 days hard labour.

Although the rules forbade the master to discipline without the guardians' consent, many guardians did not wish to spend time debating the details of workhouse management.¹⁰³ If the master upheld regulations and maintained finances, guardians were disinclined to interfere.

Historian M. A. Crowther notes:

Workhouse masters who were overworked, uneducated and often unsupervised, were often tempted to abuse their authority...although only 3.1 per cent of masters were actually dismissed, another 9.7 per cent left under pressure, usually after complaints serious enough to be investigated by the central authority.¹⁰⁴

Punishment was not relegated only to adults. Children were often the recipients of cruel reprimands. Within the Poor Law System, punishment was expected to fit the crime, so that the nature of an offence determined the punishment given."¹⁰⁵ Beatings were a common form of punishment, usually reserved for minor damage to workhouse property. This was the case in Droitwich workhouse in 1849, where it was reported that a thirteen-year-old boy burned the stocking he was given to wear. The report does not state if the damage was done accidentally or on purpose or how he got access to inflammatory materials. The boy was ordered to be well flogged, a punishment to be inflicted with a birch rod.¹⁰⁶

Young children, who had been traumatized by separation from their parents, were especially vulnerable. Melanie Reynolds describes a pauper nurse named Catherine Levers who in 1865 kicked youngsters and beat them with a brush in the Tadcaster, North Yorkshire workhouse.¹⁰⁷ Reynolds writes:

Levers had a cruel streak, which went beyond the abuse of infants, and was fond of telling the older children to stick their tongues out before smashing their jaws together, causing them to bite and lacerate their tongues.¹⁰⁸

When an innkeeper, Mr. Joseph Sykes, visited the workhouse one time, Levers told him, “One of the children had dirtied its bed but that she had cured it. When asked how, she said, ‘I took a spoon up and put some of its own dirt [excrement] in its mouth’.”¹⁰⁹

Children were among the primary targets for cruel workhouse personnel. Debra Kelly writes that on May 31, 1894, 54 year old Ella Gillespie, a former nurse and overseer at Hackney Union’s Brentwood schools, stood trial on charges of neglect and abuse of the children in her care. For approximately eight years, Gillespie was in charge of about 500 children.¹¹⁰ As those children came forward to testify against her, the entire country was horrified by the scandal. Punishments and abuses were severe, bordering on bizarre. A common punishment was the basket drill, where children in nightclothes paraded around their rooms for hours while balancing their daytime clothes in baskets on their heads. Some children testified that they were beaten with stinging nettles and had water withheld, forcing them to drink from puddles or toilets inside.¹¹¹ Gillespie was found guilty, receiving five years’ penal servitude as her punishment.

A form of punishment used in the workhouse was an implement called a “scold’s bridle.”¹¹² In British parlance, a “scold” referred to a woman who nagged or grumbled. A form of reprimand and torture, the scold’s bridle included a headstall that held a bit with spikes, which was put in the mouth on the top of the tongue, so the pain made it impossible to talk. If the

woman was shaken about the head, it could cause broken teeth and jaw, blood and vomit. It was meant to humiliate any woman whom the administration found guilty of having a loud voice or bad behavior. An excerpt from a workhouse near Forden, Wales records the usage of a bridle: “Punishments – Ordered that Mary Davies wife of Robert Davies for riotous and other ill behavior be confined with a Bridle for two hours.”¹¹³ Such punishment that does not provide humane treatment, and harms or kills patrons, would not be conducive to achieving the mission statement.

Accidents

Negligent accidents resulting in death did not fulfill the mission statement of the guardians to provide for the safety of their occupants in an orderly environment. In 1868, at Wigan Workhouse, an inquest began into the death of Ruth Bannister, an illegitimate child, aged nine months, who had been scalded to death in a bucket of hot water.¹¹⁴ It was reported that:

The body was said to present a shocking appearance, the lower extremities having been dreadfully burned.... Its feet and legs were so badly scalded that the skin was peeling off and blood was coming from the wounds. Although previously being a healthy child, it had died the same evening.¹¹⁵

The child had been placed in the infant ward in the care of two paupers [most likely untrained nurses], assisted by a girl of seventeen named Catherine Dawber, who was described as an imbecile (i.e., mentally challenged). On the morning of the incident, Dawber brought the child to a nurse named Margaret Gaskell, saying it was dirty, and Gaskell told her to remove her diaper. The child was then placed in eight or nine quarts of scalding water. This happened next:

Mary Finch, another inmate, said she saw Dawber place the child in the water, and it gave a piercing cry. She then took it out and began to wipe it with a coarse towel. Finch saw she was doing this roughly and took the towel, in which she found a piece of skin 3in long. The inquest jury decided the child had died from being negligently and carelessly scalded whilst being nursed by Dawber, a verdict the coroner considered amounted to one of manslaughter. At her subsequent trial, however, Dawber was found not guilty of the charge.¹¹⁶

The reason for the not guilty verdict is unknown.

Accidents occurred in the infirmaries as well. In April 1882, in Holbeach Workhouse, the master, Walter Brydges Waterer, was accused of the manslaughter of a workhouse inmate, 22-year-old Thomas Bingham.¹¹⁷ Bingham had been put in a sulfur-burning cabinet by Waterer, which was being used as a treatment for scabies (Figure 2). The box had a moveable lid, in which the patient could stand with his head out of the top. Sulfur was placed on an iron tray at the bottom of the box, beneath a grating, and was ignited by a piece of hot iron. Workhouse expert Peter Higginbotham explains,

Bingham was then placed naked in the box with his neck through the lid, while the master attended to a matter elsewhere. Bingham's cries at length attracted attention and he was released, but not until he had been so terribly burned that skin and flesh fell from different parts of his body. He died a few hours afterwards.¹¹⁸

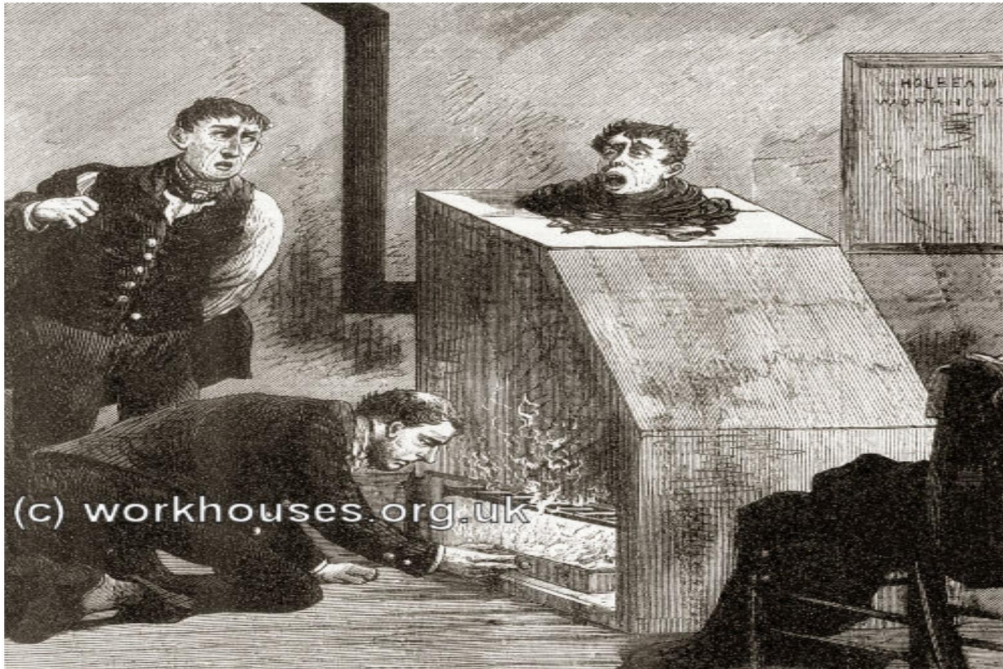


Fig. 2. A Holbeach workhouse inmate named Bingham enclosed in a sulphur fumigation box to treat his skin disease but which led to his death. Higginbotham, Peter. *A Grim Almanac of The Workhouse*. Kindle Edition. Page 70.

It is not surprising that substandard medical care occurred. Workhouse chaplains and doctors were paid less than half of what they could expect anywhere else, and medical officers had to pay for the drugs they prescribed to patients.¹¹⁹ Parliamentary records from July 14, 1869, show a conversation between a Dr. Brewer and a Mr. Goshen, the President of the Poor Law Board, over the question of misappropriation of workhouse funds by the former master of the St. Pancras workhouse:

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, I have heard officially that the master of St. Pancras Workhouse has been suspended from his office for one month. He made himself a party to certain allegations to the effect that some of the patients were improperly discharged from the infirmary before they were cured. He also frustrated the efforts of the guardians by making reports for which there was no foundation, and accordingly he has been suspended without a day's notice.¹²⁰

Accidents that injure or kill residents of a workhouse do not meet the standards of the mission statement of a workhouse to ostensibly maintain the health and safety of its occupants.

Work

Workhouse guardians felt their mission to maintain an orderly environment could be achieved through tedious, often menial, work such as picking oakum. “The devil makes work for idle hands to do.” This phrase sums up how the guardians felt about the unemployed. The first version of this phrase appears in English, albeit Middle English, in Chaucer’s *Melibeus*, circa 1405, “Dooth somme goode dedes, that the deuel, which is oure enemy, ne fynde yow nat vnocupied.” This translates to, “Do some good deeds, so that the Devil, which is our enemy, won’t find you unoccupied.”¹²¹ It could be debated though that picking oakum was indeed the devil’s work, as it caused so much misery to those unfortunate souls who were forced to do it.

Britain was a seafaring nation with a navy filled with wooden ships. In a wooden boat, all seal joints or cracks in the wood were caulked with oakum. Oakum is loose fiber that is obtained

by untwisting old rope. Inmates in prisons and men and women in workhouses were often put to work picking oakum.¹²² At the Braintree Workhouse, each person had to pick half a pound of oakum in return for receiving half a pound of bread in the morning. No bread was given if the person refused to do the work.¹²³ Sometimes, a person would work eight to twelve hours a day just to earn enough to receive dinner in the workhouse. The process of picking oakum was wearisome. First, the rope was smashed with mallets to break it up into smaller pieces. These smaller pieces were then either put on hooks, which were held in place between the picker's knees, or just held in their hands. The idea was to break apart the series of strands that made up the rope so the individual fibers could be harvested. As there were no other tools available, patrons used their broken fingernails to pick it down to the individual fibers. It would be hard enough using fresh rope, but these ropes had been used at sea, and were therefore compacted, frayed, dirty, and covered in rust, salt, grease and tar. Getting them apart caused the finger pads to bleed ceaselessly and untreated cuts became infected from the dirt (e.g. Figure 3).



Fig. 3. Photographer unknown. *Women Picking Oakum In The Workhouse*. British Library. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/women-picking-oakum-in-the-workhouse>.

The salt hurt terribly; tendonitis and bursitis became part of the everyday life of the oakum picker. A letter written by a workhouse patron relates her experience picking oakum:

Three of us were set to pick oakum. So we three sat on a wood bench in a cold room, and three pounds of oakum each was solemnly weighed out to us... After two hours I perhaps had done a quarter of a pound, and my fingers were getting sore, while the pile before me seemed to diminish little.¹²⁴

Picking oakum may have achieved the guardian's mission to establish a degree of order in the workhouse, but the price paid was terrible. Picking oakum today would be considered a repetitive stress injury that would be unlawful and would require physical therapy to correct. Eventually, the introduction of iron ships meant the demand for oakum declined.

Just as oakum picking was a form of menial work meant more to punish than to serve a useful purpose, stonecutting was a task with little reward given to male inmates that was both physically demanding and dangerous. Physical labor was hard and never meant for the old and feeble. But many men including the teenagers and the elderly were required to break stones in order to be fed or get a roof over their head. For some, it was just too much to expect, and they therefore either shunned the workhouse or received a punishment, such as reduced rations, for not doing all the work expected. Men would not be fed or housed if they did not break stones.¹²⁵

Smashing rock with a large hammer could cause chips to break off and imbed in the skin or worse, the eyes. The sound from the clashing metal mallet was earsplitting as it reverberated in the work yard. Broken pieces of rock could then be sold for road mending. For vagrants hoping for a night's lodging and a meal, workhouse tramp wards offered special cells where the men were detained until they had broken the required weight of stone into pieces small enough to fall through a grid to the outside.¹²⁶

In his book, *Grim Almanac of the Workhouse*, Higginbotham shares the conditions of some stonecutters' quarters.

20 FEBRUARY 1857 London's Lord Mayor and other City officers this evening paid a surprise visit to the West London Union casual ward at King's Cross. They discovered that the premises consisted of a large stable, containing fourteen horse-stalls, with a few men being huddled together round a fire. The place was completely devoid of any straw or bedding. The inmates stated that, on admission, they received a small portion of bread, but in the morning were turned out without anything to eat, unless they first broke a certain quantity of stone.¹²⁷

Author Liza Picard describes St. Mary's workhouse in Islington putting its able-bodied male paupers to work in an open shed with no protection from summer heat or winter frost... "hammering lumps of granite into setts [sic] for road-making... paupers weakened by starvation, and convicts in for only a short stretch, who had perhaps never used their hands except for holding a pen, never attained this expertise and hammered away helplessly."¹²⁸

Many men were not used to this type of labor. In this excerpt from one of his papers, James Greenwood, wrote how fellows in the Paddington Workhouse in 1869, would often make a mess of it

He takes hammer in hand, and sets a lump of granite before him with the idea of smashing it into fragments; but this requires "knack," that is to be acquired only by experience. The blows he deals the stone will not crack it, and all that he succeeds in doing for the first hour or two is to chip away the corners of one lump after another, accumulating perhaps a hatful of chips and dust.¹²⁹

Children were put to work as well. Emmeline Pankhurst wrote about her visit to a Manchester workhouse. "The first time I went into the place I was horrified to see little girls seven and eight years on their knees scrubbing the cold stones of the long corridors."¹³⁰ Work that creates permanent negative medical conditions such as asthma, tendonitis and bleeding finger pads does not meet the workhouse mission statement purpose to maintain a healthy populace.

WORKHOUSE MEMORIALIZED IN ART

Illustrations

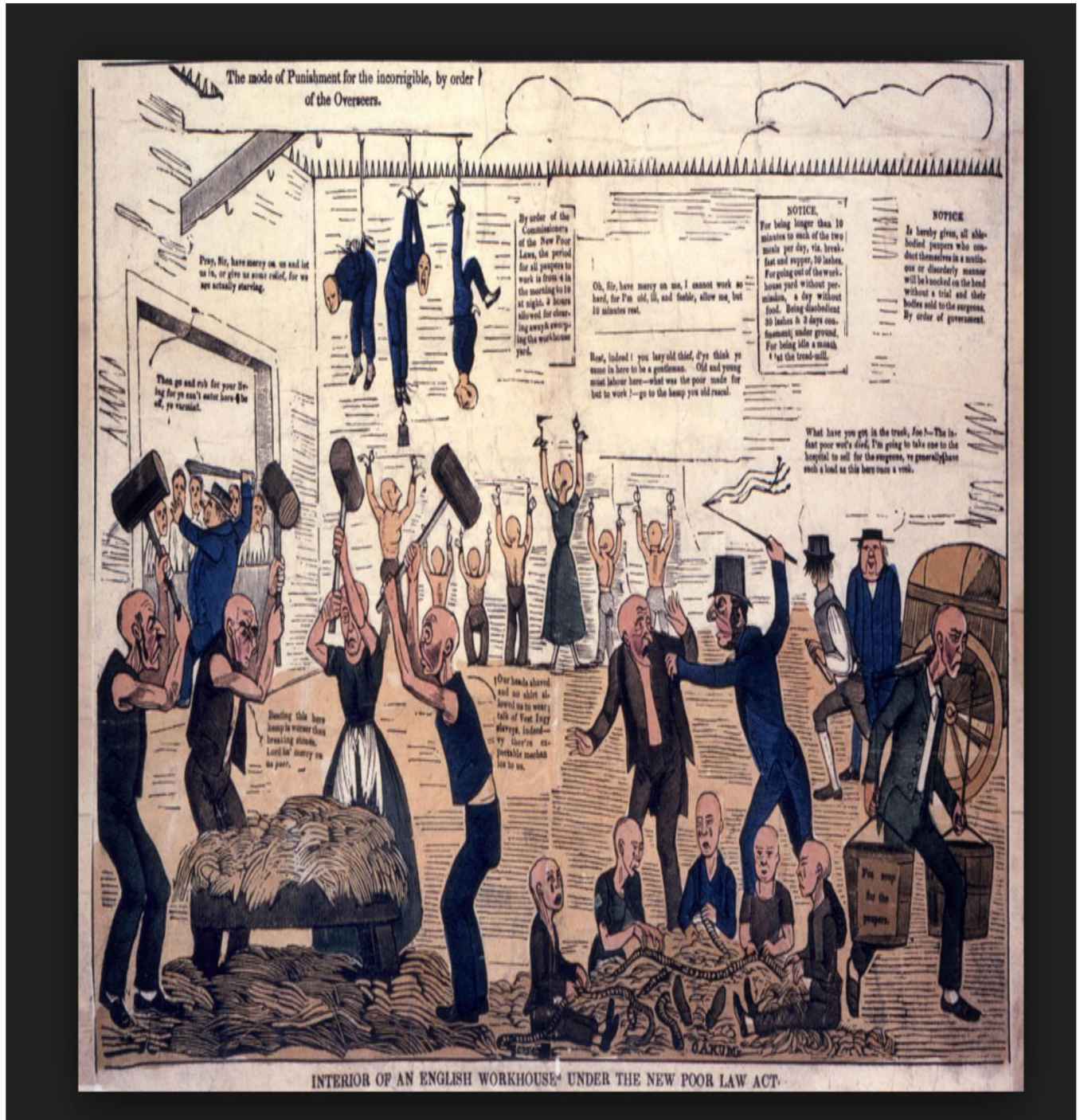


Fig. 4. Interior of an English Workhouse under the New Poor Law Act. Charles Jameson Grant. British Museum. www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1614423&partId=1.

Politicians and scholars were not the only ones noticing the suffering that occurred due to the workhouses. Journalist Philip Kennedy writes, “It is hard to escape the legacy of *Punch Magazine*. From 1841 to 2002, the magazine cast a satirical eye on life in Britain. It charted the interests, concerns and frustrations of the country and today it stands as an invaluable resource for social historians.”¹³¹ The workhouse did not escape its scrutiny. Though the early issues of *Punch* were more about politics than social concerns, the illustrations were meant to be provocative and engage the reader emotionally.

One such illustration, entitled *Interior of an English workhouse under the New Poor Law Act*, shows six vignettes with accompanying captions (Figure 4). The illustrator criticizes the workhouse for its inhumane treatment of its inhabitants, as the captions are both humorous and horrifying.¹³²

In the illustration, a workhouse manager refers to a group of starving poor who beg to be let in as “varmits” and turns them away. He enjoins them to go rob for a living. Cruel overseers glare at emaciated paupers, while adults beat hemp and crying children with shaved heads pick oakum in the foreground. Others in the background are manacled to the wall or hanging from the ceiling, tied up by their feet and hands for some infraction of nonsensical rules. Ludicrous punishments are threatened for disorderly paupers who will be knocked on the head and their bodies sold to the surgeons. A manager with a whip seizes an elderly man and beats him for not working hard enough. As he begs for mercy, the manager replies that he is a lazy, old thief, and sardonically refers to Patrick Colquhoun’s statement that poverty is “therefore a most necessary and indispensable ingredient in society.” He asks him, “What was the poor made for but to work? Go to the hemp you old rascal.”¹³³

Political cartoons like this captured the public's attention and gave credence to the idea that workhouses were not properly sustaining the populace. At the very least, the last one of these vignettes, which shows a man pulling a cart illustrates that the mission of the workhouse to provide adequate medical care was not accomplished. The caption reads, "What have you got in the truck, Joe? The infant poor wot's *died*, I'm going to take one to the hospital to see for the surgeons, Ve [sic] generally have such a load as this here once a veek [sic]." ¹³⁴ For a complete transcript of each vignette, please see Appendix B.

Sketches



Fig 5. *Houseless and Hungry*. Sir Luke Fildes. 1869. Scanned image and text by Philip V. Allingham. *The Graphic*. <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/fildes/1.html>.

In 1869, Luke Fildes joined the staff of *The Graphic*, a newspaper run by William Luson Thomas. Thomas was fully committed to social reform and he hoped that the visual images presented in his newspaper would have a political impact on the reading public.¹³⁵ His biographer, Mark Bills argued that the format of the paper “offered artists an unprecedented opportunity to explore social subjects, and its images of poverty made it a catalyst for the development of social realism in British art. Many of the wood-engravings which it featured were developed into major paintings”¹³⁶

In the first edition of *The Graphic* newspaper published in December 1869, artist Luke Fildes provided an illustration to accompany an article on the Houseless Poor Act. This was a

new measure that allowed unemployed people one-night of shelter in the casual ward of a workhouse. The picture produced by Fildes showed a line of exhausted and cold men, women, and children waiting in line of hopes of receiving a ticket to enter the workhouse. He entitled it, *Houseless and Hungry* (Figure 5). Fildes later recalled that the work was based on first-hand experience: “Some few years before, when I first came to London, I was very fond of wandering about, and never shall I forget seeing somewhere near the Portland Road, one snowy winter's night the applicants for admission to a casual ward.”¹³⁷

The sketch was later used as a basis for a painting by Fildes entitled *Applicants for Admission To A Casual Ward*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1874. Accompanying it in the catalogue was a description by Charles Dickens of a scene outside the Whitechapel Workhouse in 1855: “Dumb, wet, silent horrors! Sphinxes set up against that dead wall, and none likely to be at the pains of solving them until the general overthrow.”¹³⁸ This collaboration between Dickens and Fildes, two prominent artists and social reformers of the nineteenth century, adds extra significance to the subject of the painting – the suffering populace. If this was the condition of the people entering the workhouse, it is not hard to imagine how limited calories and harsh work impacted upon them once they entered. The guardian’s mission to support the populace should have started with allowing them entrance more quickly, and not allowing them to suffer in the elements.

Novels



Fig 6. *Oliver Twist Asking for More Food*. Mahoney, J. Bettmann Archive / Getty Images. <https://www.thoughtco.com/oliver-twist-review-740959>.

Through his novels and other papers, author Charles Dickens eloquently described his perception of Britain as it lurched forward during the Industrial Revolution. As such, he became a renowned and respected chronicler of the Victorian experience. Many of his works detail the misery suffered by the indigent and their attempt to find a better life.

Although Dickens never actually lived in a workhouse, he did understand poverty. When he was 12 his father went to Marshalsea Debtors prison, taking Dickens' mother and his younger siblings with him.¹³⁹ Dickens was left to fend with his sister Fanny and worked at a boot blacking factory. Later, he actually lived a few doors down from the Strand Workhouse on Cleveland Street – the very same place where Dr. Rogers, alluded to in Chapter II, became overwhelmed with his duties, lack of supplies and assistance.¹⁴⁰ Dickens' recollection of bedraggled paupers waiting at the door for admittance to the Strand Workhouse, and the sounds and smells of that place, permeated his consciousness and are reflected in his narratives.¹⁴¹

In a *Walk In The Workhouse*, Charles Dickens compares the conditions faced by patrons of a workhouse to those of felons in prison, with the felons actually receiving better care:

We have come to this absurd, this dangerous, this monstrous pass, that the dishonest felon is, in respect of cleanliness, order, diet, and accommodation, better provided for, and taken care of, than the honest pauper.¹⁴²

A Christmas Carol and *Oliver Twist* are two examples of novels in which his characters live in wretched settings. *Oliver Twist* attests to the miserable treatment many suffered at the hands of uncaring and parsimonious workhouse staff, and reflect that the workhouse mission to care for the poor with wholesome food was unmet.¹⁴³ In the story, malnourished children, dressed in rags are fed watered down gruel. One of them, Oliver, is so hungry he asks for more, and he is removed from the workhouse for this temerity (Figure 6). This story of an orphaned boy living in London so moved the populace that it was one factor leading to *Dickensian* becoming the easiest word to describe an unacceptable level of squalid poverty.¹⁴⁴ In his article, “Charles Dickens, Six things he gave the modern world,” Alex Hudson writes, “In 2009, when president of the Association of Teachers and Lecturers wanted to talk about the deprivation in some areas, it was not described as terrible or horrific but as “life mirroring the times of Dickens.”¹⁴⁵

The coldly scientific and unfeeling philosophy of Thomas Malthus regarding the inevitability of suffering caused by an overpopulated Britain was reflected in the language created for Scrooge in *A Christmas Carol*.¹⁴⁶ On an icy night when charitable men press him to make some “slight provision for the poor and destitute, who suffer greatly at the present time,” Scrooge asks if there are any prisons.¹⁴⁷ One of the men tells him there are plenty of prisons.

The following interchange then occurs:

“And the Union workhouses?” demanded Scrooge. “Are they still in operation?”

“They are. Still,” returned the gentleman, “I wish I could say they were not.”

“The Treadmill and the Poor Law are in full vigour, then?” said Scrooge.

“Both very busy, sir.”

Scrooge then states he does not make himself merry at Christmas and says:

“I can't afford to make idle people merry. I help to support the establishment I have mentioned--they cost enough; and those who are badly off must go there.”

“Many can't go there; and many would rather die.”

“If they would rather die,” said Scrooge, “they had better do it, and decrease the surplus population.”¹⁴⁸

More than any other writer of his time, Charles Dickens' work attests to the fact that the mission of the workhouse to provide the items delineated in its mission statement were not achieved.

CONCLUSION

The workhouse after 1834 failed to meet the mission as put forth by the Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners of 1836 to sustain the majority of the workhouse patrons entrusted to its care. Inmates were often not provided wholesome food or sufficient clothing. Bedding and linens were either infested with lice or non-existent, and wire pillows made sleeping difficult. The air in some workhouses was so foul it made it hard to breathe, and medical care often involved unskilled nurses that did more harm than good. Punishment for breaking the rules did not help establish a degree of order and cleanliness. Accidents and negligence resulted in death of the people the workhouse was meant to sustain. Prior to 1834, the poorhouse was a refuge for local parishioners if they suffered an accident, needed help with rent or food, became ill or elderly with no resources, or were orphaned, widowed or mentally challenged. There was no expectation that they must work in order to receive services. It was encouraged, but not enforced. Money for food and rent was sometimes given to parishioners directly by the church so the poor could sustain themselves on their own. However, after 1834, entering the workhouse (as poorhouses became known), became the only recourse for those unable to care for themselves; no assistance was to be given outside their walls. For those individuals who used to take pride in their work, who enjoyed earning money to raise their families, the idea of “work as punishment” must have been anathema.

The root causes of poverty were not addressed in 1834 when the Act was created, and Parliament did not actively attempt to solve the issues causing destitution. Workhouses were built to sustain the poor but also to demean and shame them for asking for taxpayer assistance and to punish them for being broke. In the twentieth century, the idea of work as penalty for being insolvent became increasingly repellant and inhumane to the British population. Poverty

was no longer seen as a crime, but a condition to be remedied. Rehabilitation and independence became the goal. To that end, trades were taught, such as shoemaking, tailoring, bricklaying, painting, or plumbing for the men, sewing, cooking, and other household tasks for the women. By the 1880s, greater understanding of poverty and its complex links with economic conditions (such as low pay and unemployment) gradually began to change the sentiments of those with power in Parliament on how to care for the poor.¹⁴⁹

The workhouse as an institution closed its doors in 1948 with the passing of the National Assistance Act:

An Act to terminate the existing poor law and to provide in lieu thereof for the assistance of persons in need by the National Assistance Board and by local authorities; to make further provision for the welfare of disabled, sick, aged and other persons and for regulating homes for disabled and aged persons and charities for disabled persons; to amend the law relating to non-contributory old age pensions; to make provision as to the burial or cremation of deceased persons; and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.¹⁵⁰

Many of the old buildings are used as museums today, complete with samples of clothing, cutlery, bowls, bedding, workhouse implements, punishment devices, rule books, etc.

Hopefully governments have learned this lesson from workhouses: any system that destroys self-respect, callously breaks up the family unit, punishes people instead of helping them, and erodes the basic dignity of the person it is supposed to support, should never be used again. It is both unproductive and morally reprehensible.

Notes

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¹⁷ Marjie Bloy, "The 1601 Elizabethan Poor Law," The Victorian Web, last updated November 12, 2002, accessed March 1, 2018, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/poorlaw/elizpl.html>).

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¹⁹ Marjorie Bloy, "Population Growth in the Age of Peel," *A Web of English History: The Peel Web*, accessed November 7, 2018, www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/social/pop.htm.

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APPENDIX A
TOXTETH PARK RULES

TOWNSHIP OF TOXTETH PARK

Extracts from the Order of the POOR LAW BOARD.

PUNISHMENTS

FOR

MISBEHAVIOUR OF THE PAUPERS

IN THE WORKHOUSE

(c) www.workhouses.org.uk

Art. 127. Any Pauper, being an inmate of the Workhouse, who shall neglect to observe such of the regulations in this Order as are applicable to him as such inmate;—

- Or who shall make any noise when silence is ordered to be kept;
 - Or shall use obscene or profane language;
 - Or shall by word or deed insult or revile any person;
 - Or shall threaten to strike or to assault any person;
 - Or shall not duly cleanse his person;
 - Or shall refuse or neglect to work, after having been required to do so;
 - Or shall pretend sickness;
 - Or shall play at cards or other games of chance;
 - Or shall refuse to go into his proper ward or yard, or shall enter or attempt to enter, without permission, the ward or yard appropriate to any class of paupers other than that to which he belongs;
 - Or climb over any fence or boundary wall surrounding any portion of the Workhouse premises, or shall attempt to leave the Workhouse otherwise than through the ordinary entrance;
 - Or shall misbehave in going to, at, or returning from Public Worship out of the Workhouse, or at Divine Service or Prayers in the Workhouse;
 - Or having received temporary leave of absence, and wearing the Workhouse clothes, shall return to the Workhouse, after the appointed time of absence, without reasonable cause for the delay;
 - Or shall wilfully disobey any lawful order of any officer of the Workhouse;
- Shall be deemed DISORDERLY.

Art. 128. Any pauper, being an inmate of the Workhouse, who shall, within seven days, repeat any one, or commit more than one, of the offences specified in Art. 127;—

- Or who shall by word or deed insult or revile the Master or Matron, or any other officer of the Workhouse, or any of the Guardians;
- Or shall wilfully disobey any lawful order of the Master or Matron after such order shall have been repeated;
- Or shall unlawfully strike or otherwise unlawfully assault any person;
- Or shall wilfully or mischievously damage or soil any property whatsoever belonging to the Guardians;

Or shall wilfully waste or spoil any provisions, stocks, tools or materials, or work, belonging to the Guardians;

Or shall be drunk;

Or shall act or write indecently or obscenely;

Or shall wilfully disturb other persons at Public Worship out of the Workhouse, or at Divine Service or Prayer in the Workhouse;

Shall be deemed REFRACTORY.

Art. 129. The Master may, with or without the direction of the Guardians, punish any disorderly pauper for substituting, during at time not greater than forty-eight hours, for his dinner as prescribed by the Dietary, a meal consisting of eight ounces of bread, or one pound of cooked potatoes or boiled rice, and also by withholding from him, during the same period, all butter, cheese, tea, sugar or broth, which such pauper would otherwise receive, at any meal, during the time aforesaid.

Art. 130. The Guardians may, by a special direction to be entered on the minutes, order any refractory pauper to be punished by confinement in a separate room, with or without an alteration of diet, similar in kind and duration to that prescribed in Art. 129 for disorderly paupers; but no pauper shall be so confined for a longer period than twenty-four hours, or, if it be deemed right that such pauper should be carried before a Justice of the Peace, and if such period of twenty-four hours should be insufficient for that purpose, then for such further time as may be necessary for such purpose.

Art. 131. If any offence, whereby a pauper becomes refractory under Art. 128, be accompanied by any of the following circumstances of aggravation, (that is to say,) if such pauper

Persist in using violence against any person;

Or persist in creating a noise or disturbance, so as to annoy other inmates;

Or endeavour to excite other paupers to acts of insubordination;

Or persist in acting indecently or obscenely in the presence of any other inmate;

Or persist in mischievously breaking or damaging any goods or property of the Guardians;

the Master may, without any direction of the Guardians, immediately place such refractory pauper in confinement for any time not exceeding twelve hours; which confinement shall however, be reckoned as part of any punishment afterwards imposed by the Guardians for the same offence

JAMES MOULDING, Clerk to the Guardians