



Trinity College Dublin

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

The University of Dublin

SCHOOL OF POLITICAL

**ENTITLEMENT METHODS –
AN EXAMPLE OF THE GREAT FAMINE
IN IRELAND, 1845 – 1851**

Chenxi Li

23330541

AUGUST 1, 2024

School of Social Sciences and Philosophy, TCD


SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
M.Sc. APPLIED SOCIAL DATA SCIENCES

Declaration

I hereby declare that this Dissertation is entirely my own work and that it has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university.

I have read and I understand the plagiarism provisions in the General Regulations of the University Calendar for the current year, found at
<http://www.tcd.ie/calendar>.

I have also completed the Online Tutorial on avoiding plagiarism 'Ready Steady Write' and located at
<http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/ready-steady-write>.

Signature: 

Date: August 1, 2024

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Contents

Abstract	iii
1 Introduction	1
2 Literature Review	5
2.1 A Brief Famine Outline	5
2.2 Rebut Food Availability Decline (FAD) Theory	8
2.3 Entitlement Approach	12
3 Data	16
3.1 Data Sources	16
3.2 Research Assumptions	18
3.3 Statistical Description	18
4 Methods	19

List of Figures

2.1	County Population 1841 – 1851	7
2.2	Potato Blight Pathway & Death Rates, 1843 – 1845	9
2.3	Grain Agriculture Structure 1820 – 1900	11
3.1	Grain Price 1821 – 1900	18

List of Tables

1.1	Timeline of Great Famine Root-Cause Academic Discussion	3
3.1	Data and Sources	16

Chapter 1 | Introduction

“October playing a symphony on a slack wire paling.

Maguire watches the drills flattened out

And the flints that lit a candle for him on a June altar,

Flameless”.

— *“The Great Hunger”* by Patrick Kavanagh. (Kavanagh and Quinn, 2006)

The Irish Great Famine (1845 – 1851) reshaped the entire history of Ireland. Before the Great Famine, according to the 1841 census, the population of the Ireland had close to 8.5 million ¹. In 1851, when the Irish Great Famine had not yet ended, census noted that about 1 million people had died for hunger, and a similar number had gone into overseas exile ². In 1926, as a result of the Irish independence 5 years earlier, the Central Statistical Office was capable to integrate historical documents since famine and showed the fact that the population was decline of roughly 22% ³ in the 10 years from 1841 to 1851. Using parish baptism data, some scholars have estimated that in the year 1847 alone – which is also known as black’47 in Ireland history – there existed counties with a nearly 70% reduction in baptisms in Munster province in the south of Ireland (Cousens, 1960), especially from southwest Cork and including north and east Clare ⁴, while it was not the worst hit by the famine compared to the province of Connacht in the west ⁵. Apart from these quantitative explorations, the Great Famine is equally pivotal in Irish cultural history and ethnography. From Joseph O’Connor’s fiction “Star of the sea” to W. B. Yeats’s “The Countess Cathleen”, together they expressed that the Great Famine not only pointed to the corpses of the dead, but also to a black hole of identity, naming and meaning (Luchen, 2019).

¹ 1841 Census of Ireland, Last accessed: 13 May, 2024

² 1851 Census of Ireland, Last accessed: 2 May, 2024

³ 1926 Census of Ireland, Chapter II, Last accessed: 9 May, 2024

⁴ RTE, How “a truly modern famine” devastated Ireland, Last accessed: 11 May, 2024

⁵ Wesley Johnston: The Famine: The Summer of Black’47, Last accessed: 13 May, 2024

The effects of the Great Famine were far-reaching, and reflected in the long-term population development, land institution structure and attitude to the UK government directly. It was not until 120 years later, in the 1960s, that Ireland's population began to grow consistently due to large-scale emigration, late marriage and a high incidence of permanent celibacy no longer hold (Grada, 1979), but it was still nowhere near as large as it had been during the Great Famine ⁶. This also makes Ireland one of the few countries in the world to suffer population decline over the past 170 years when the world's population has increased more than 6 fold ⁷. Regarding the land, on the one hand, in the aftermath of the famine, there was a tendency in Ireland to shift from agriculture to livestock husbandry ⁸, and on the other hand, when the late blight back in the 1870s, the Land War, which was directed at the landowners and the government, took place at the same time, with a deep consequences for the land structure of Ireland. And finally, there raised hostility between Irish and UK government, which was described as "a bankruptcy of the British-Irish Union of 1800" (Gray, 2021).

But data on Ireland's food imports and exports show increases in specific commodities, even barley, oats and butter, that violate the characteristics of the Great Famine. In History Ireland magazine, Christine wrote:

Almost 4,000 vessels carried food from Ireland to the ports of Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool and London during 1847, when 400,000 Irish men, women and children died of starvation and related diseases [...] The most shocking export figures concern butter [...] That works out to be 822,681 gallons of butter exported to England from Ireland.⁹

Scholars pondered if potato blight was the root cause of the famine, and they have engaged in many discussions about the origin factor, like Catholic and religious behavior (Miller, 1975), anti-Irish racism (Waters, 1995), the poor law and colonial bio-politics (Nally, 2008) and, typically, the potato blight (Bartoletti, 2001), etc.

⁶ 2022 Census of Ireland – Summary Results, Last accessed: 8 May, 2024

⁷ Blog by Ambassador Mulhall on Black'47: Ireland's Great Famine and its after-effects, Last accessed: 9 May, 2024

⁸ CSO: Farming Since the Famine, 1847 - 1996, Last accessed: 12 May, 2024

⁹ Ireland's Great Hunger Museum: Learn About the Great Hunger, Last accessed: 13 May, 2024

Although to this day, we can be certain that the root causes of the Irish Great Famine were multiple regardless of the perspective used, historically, the academic discussion of the root causes of the famine changed (Henderson, 2005):

Table 1.1: Timeline of Great Famine Root-Cause Academic Discussion

Timeline	Root Cause Summary	Reference
1845 – 1852: famine	Few food importation and opposition in poor law	1850/01/05 The Illustrated London News ^a
1852 – 1920: neglected	— ^b	(Kinealy, 2017)
1920 – 1960: nationalist	Key grouping, like land-lord class or the UK government	(Smith, 2005)
1960 – 1980: revisionism	Focus on history and event itself, ignore outside force	(Daly, 2006)
1980s: post-revisionist	Emotional description also blame UK government	(Hamera, 2011)
1980s: diverse	Malthus population theory	(O’Flynn, 2009) & (McGregor, 1989) & (Weir, 1991)
	Anti-Malthus theory	(Ó Gráda, 1983) & (Mokyr, 1980) & (Guinnane, 1994)
	Blight biological analysis	(Donnelly, 2011)
	Foucault’s bio-politics and colonial perspective	(Nally, 2008) & (Kennedy, 2020) & (Madden, 2016)

^a The original newspaper mentioned: *Free importation of corn into this union is essentially necessary – [...] any attempt to re-impose a duty on the importation of food can only [...] tend to the starving of the people. Poor law [...] relieves the struggling farmer of a heavy burden he had hitherto.* (McNamara, 1850)

^b The famine literature few. The quantity and quality of work on the famine sparse: *The two standard books of the Great Famine, [...] the chapters were uneven in quality and lacked coherence (some lacked footnotes, some were lost).* (Kinealy, 2017)

Famine narrative travel along the path of Irish history. When nationalism was high, there was a tendency to external attribution; then when the economy and society stabilized, revisionism was born. As Hu Shih, a Chinese philosopher of the 1900s, put it, *Reality, like a block of marble in our hands, is carved into whatever likeness we choose.*

What these strands of history described is that while food shortages are an objective fact, there are nonetheless other causes that conspire to drive famine – as Amartya Sen’s rights approach asserts.

Based on the theoretical structure described above, this paper would like to reject some of the established theories on the famine (**Chapter 2.1**) and propose an Amartya Sen entitlement approach perspective on the Irish Famine (**Chapter 2.2**). Then this paper will discuss the data used in this paper and its collection process (**Chapter 3**), present the RDD regression methodology employed (**Chapter 4**) and then verify the applicability of the rights approach to this scenario (**Chapter 5**). Finally, a conclusion will be presented (**Chapter 6**).

Chapter 2 | Literature Review

“Hunger roared up in him like a hopeless lust.

He walked the ship as though following a chart. Up. Down. Across. Back. Stem. Port. Stern. Starboard. The churning of the waves.

The ropes clanking on the masts. The blind of salt water. The wind ripping at the sails.”

— *“Star of the Sea” by Joseph O’Connor*

2.1 A Brief Famine Outline

The Irish lumper potato with its excellent ability to grow in poor and wet soils, was the predominant potato variety in pre-famine Ireland. It was introduced to U.K. around 1806 (Tucker, 2016), and rapidly replacing almost all other varieties in the recipes of the poor. Usually, on account of its intolerance of frost, the farmer sows in March or April, and the first early potatoes will be harvested in June, followed by the second early potatoes in July, and the third not later than October. With a 1.32 % growth in lower class per year in Ireland from the centennial before 1841, in 1845 about 32% of the arable land in Ireland was already under potato cultivation (Solar, 2015).

The first record of late blight on potatoes in Ireland is thought to be Dr Lindley’s letter in September 16, 1845, with his concern words, he wrote: “The potato murrain has unequivocally declared itself in Ireland, where will Ireland be in the event of a universal potato rot”? (Kelly, 1995). Things were getting worse in 1846, a government documents collection book recorded that: “the poor Irish lost their potatoes again” (1 September, 1846) so that “Many, full many, must this winter leave their homes, and traverse the country in quest of work” (15 September, 1846). Government employee pointed out a fact, “to maintain Ireland’s population, her agriculture must be greatly improved” (31 October, 1846). Next year, due to a change in the Poor Law, “the poor-

est peasantry were draught to the shore of America" (18 January, 1847), but didn't seem to release the effect of famine. Later, in newspaper's leading article, reporter wrote: "eye-witnesses of scores and hundreds of poor creatures actually dying for want a meal" (8 March, 1847) and all "landlord, tenure and peasant were in a miserable situation" (13 March, 1847). Reflection was raising and people started to realize a serious famine come back since 1741 because "the food that suffered in both years was the same" (14 April, 1847). Till November, the exodus of the population was getting worse and caused the "disorder in Ireland" (November 13, 1847). Finally, because of sharply decrease population, Ireland faced a situation "Labour is the first price" (December 30, 1847) (The Times Office, 1880).

Throughout the history of the famine and pre-famine period, the role of the Poor Law cannot be ignored. The Poor Law was introduced in Ireland in July 1838 with the blueprint of the Poor Law in England and Wales, and provided for the establishment of 130 trade unions throughout Ireland, where the poor were to be relieved and regulated by the guardians of the trade unions (O'Brien, 1985). However, in January 1847, the government pushed for reform of the Poor Law, which exacerbated the ravages of famine in Ireland – particularly in the south and west of Ireland. The most significant consequence of the reforms was the almost complete transfer of responsibility and financial pressure for poverty alleviation to local government finances, which in the context of the famine resulted in the complete collapse of the local poverty alleviation system. It is very difficult to objectively assess the role of poverty law, which on the one hand does provide relief to many poor people (McHugh, 1986), but on the other hand is also characterized by Foucault's theory of power genealogy like "micro-power" and the operation of "bio-politics", as the 1847 letter reads:

It is true we have been careful not to put forward a poor-law as a mean to supply, but have claimed for it only a place among the means of distributing supplies – of promoting employment, and of enforcing upon poverty the care and protection of the labour. Still, if that surplus of unfilled mouths is to be always in front of us, it must be confessed that very little good, after all, will be accomplished. (Spedding, 1847)

After 1847, the rate of depopulation slowed and the most difficult period was over. Some scholars have pointed out that the cause of death of the population during this period was more due to diseases brought about by the famine, including dysentery, diarrhea, tuberculosis, fever, and swelling (Mokyr and Gráda, 2002). The 1851 census showed the population declined by approximately 1.62 million after the famine.

From the census data of 1841 and 1851, we can calculate the change in population of the different provinces after the famine, which showed the result that the west and south suffered far more from famine than the east and north (Figure 2.1). The five counties with the greatest decreases in population are Donegal, Connaught, in the west, 279,601; Cork, Munster, in the south, 209,822; Galway, Connaught, in the west, 125,026; Tipperary, Munster, in the south, 103,986, and Roscommon, Connaught, in the west, 80,155. *The freeman's journal* similarly supports this conclusion in its April 27, 1847 article documenting the damage to parishes including Killedy, Toomavara, Abbey, Lorha and Dorrow, etc (Newell et al., 1847).

Figure 2.1: County Population 1841 – 1851



2.2 Rebut Food Availability Decline (FAD) Theory

As Amartya mentioned and argued against in his book – *“the most common approach to famines is to propose explanations in terms of food availability decline (FAD)”* (Sen, 1982)

– In the Irish famine, where the FAD theory contains two aspects: (1) the potato late blight; (2) the monocultural structure of the Irish diet. For a long time it was believed that these two were at the root of the famine. In historical fact, while the existence of both is undeniable, their impact is not decisive.

Firstly, potato late blight. During the middle 19th century, late blight and famine have the most intuitive visual connection, so farmers, governments, and scholars have attributed famine to the potato blight. Native Irish farmers have a set of folk myths about this, believing that fairies in the sky were fighting over the potatoes, or that Fear Liath, the fog man, which led to the blight and famine (Bartoletti, 2001). Also, references in correspondence with the British government mentioned the relationship between late blight and death in potatoes:

“In 1845, about the month of July or the beginning of August, the potatoes withered and decayed all over the country like what you have seen on the watersides with early frost, [...] poor families were badly off and striving to live on bran”. (McClure, 1848)

“When they came back home, there was not a potato in what they dug but was infected [...], it is the whole cry among the people”. (Blackwell, 1845)

One group of scholars, based on potato production data or biological research, attributes the Famine to late blight, such as Kinealy, who discusses poorhouses, potatoes, and death; (Kinealy, 1990); or Dowley, who focuses on the relationship between climate and blight fungus (Dowley, 1997); also Ristaino, who analysis the DNA structure of the fungus in the famine period (Ristaino, 2006); as well as scholars working to biologically analyze the uniqueness of the Irish Late Blight strain worldwide and how it led to the famine (Goss et al., 2014); and the rampant late blight attributed to faulty planting practices (Lidwell-Durnin, 2020).

However, as many scholars opposed to this view have asked, why did Ireland alone suffer such a significantly famine when the late nineteenth-century epidemics swept across the globe (Gray, 2006, Kelly and Gráda, 2015, Mokyr, 2013, Oleksy, n.d., Solar, 2015)? Scholars have ample biological and historical evidence to prove that late blight did not originate in Ireland, and that it has suffered much less elsewhere than in Ireland (Zadoks, 2008). A Nature article (Bourke, 1964) on the traceability of potato late blight stated that in the 19th century it was first detected in 1843 in port cities on the east coast of the United States, and then spread to the western part of the Americas. In Europe, the first case of late blight was detected in Belgium in June 1845, before spreading to France, the United Kingdom and Ireland (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Potato Blight Pathway & Death Rates, 1843 – 1845



There is thus sufficient evidence against the first argument. Since the late potato blight did not strike Ireland first, and since all the other countries afflicted by the blight did not suffer such a great loss of population, the famine directly caused by the late potato blight can not be justified.

Secondly, the monocultural structure of the Irish diet. A strict distinction must be made between the concepts of dietary structure and cropping structure, since the former relates to daily nutritional intake, while the latter relates to the country's agricultural economy at the macro level. When we say "the potato has become almost the only staple food for the poor", we are actually referring to the former. Ireland in the 19th century was not a country where the potato was almost the only crop, and also there were more than one variety of potato, the lumpers. In 1834, when William Cobbett visited the country, he recorded:

"When men or women are employed, at six-pence a day and their board, to dig Minions or Apple-potatoes, they are not suffered to taste them, but are sent to another field to dig Lumpers to eat".(Gráda et al., 1995)

For scholars who argue that a monolithic diet led to the famine, they have in fact recognized that Ireland has a diverse cropping structure, it is just that the impoverished poor do not have access to a diverse diet (Braa, 1997, De Nie, 1998, Kinealy, 2006, Nally, 2008), which coincides with the entitlement approach that we will address later. And from biological analysis of human proteins (Beaumont, 2014, Beaumont et al., 2013), as well as historically documented import and export data (Fairlie, 1965), it is actually clear that the famine victims were given a certain amount of corn as a supplement to potatoes after the famine.

For scholars who argue that a monolithic planting structure led to the famine (Bartolletti, 2001, Turner, 2002), they are ignoring the real historical data, which shows that Ireland was not actually a monoculture potato country at the time. As Popkin rebutted Scott, Irish farmers appear statistically to have been more like rational peasants, and in fact they cut back on potatoes in response to the blight in 1847, shifting to more wheat and oats (O'Neill, 1952), which led to a change in the country's overall cropping structure (Clarkson and Crawford, 2001). Data on Irish cropping structure shows that the country was not as dependent on potatoes as people image, and potato plants proportion at the end of 19th century was more than before famine (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Grain Agriculture Structure 1820 – 1900



In addition to this, there are a number of explanations that are not directly related to FAD theory but still do not point to the core of the famine, including the problem of poverty in Ireland (Gilleard, 2016, Gray, 2010), the bad quality of the land (Whelan, 2012) or the cyclical cycle of the famine, but they have corresponding counter arguments respectively, such as studies of Irish immigrants' bank deposits proving that they weren't as poor as they could have been (Wegge et al., 2017), the study of the relationship between land quality and Malthusian metrics (Donnelly Jr, 2002), as well as the British government's ability to cope with famine (Kelly and Gráda, 2015), etc.

From this we can make the inferences: (1) since potato blight did not originate in Ireland, but was imported via North America, Belgium, and Britain, and since famine losses in other countries were significantly smaller, potato blight was not a central cause of famine; and (2) since the structure of Irish agriculture was not actually entirely monoculture potato, planting structure was not a central cause of famine.

The FAD theory is refuted. Sen's entitlement approach will be discussed next.

2.3 Entitlement Approach

The most widely publicized statement about Amartya Sen's entitlement approach is people are hungry not because they do not have food, but because they are unable to obtain it. There are many other scholars who hold similar views, including Susan George, who discusses emotional indifference, equalization of resources, and unequal systems that led to the famines of the 1980s (George, 1990); Also Michael Watts interpret famine from a social justice angle (Watts, 2013); and Amrita Rangasami, continue with Sen's entitlement approach, discussed famine in a social welfare, transactions within a community unit like village or family (Rangasami, 1985), etc. Ultimately, Amartya's theory was chosen in this paper, not only because of its widely disseminated, but also for its operationalization level.

Amartya defines the entitlement approach in these four aspects: (1) *Trade-based entitlement*, (2) *Production-based entitlement*, (3) *Own-labour entitlement*, (4) *Inheritance and transfer entitlement* (Sen, 1982). In fact past studies of the Irish famine have addressed this four aspects, but often lacked a coherent system of entitlement approach.

Firstly, trade-based entitlement. This essentially involves the exchange of a set of ownership pools and market pools, with failure situations consisting of either a deficiency in the ownership pools or a deficiency in the market pools. For food, the former is the sum of the grains within a dietary system, specifically oats, wheat, potatoes and barley in 19th century Ireland, while the latter refers to a market price level. Studies of prices during the famine are common, for example Daniel (Daniel Cassidy, 2021) and Vamplew (Vamplew, 1980) focused on oat price, Kennedy and Dowling (Kennedy and Dowling, 1997) researched on potato prices, as well as Clark (Clark, 2004) in barley price field and Turner's (Turner, 1987) paper on a general price index during 19th century. All these papers pointed to price volatility during the famine, which – or, using the concepts of entitlement approach, the impairment of trade-based entitlement – led to a sharp decline in the market available for Irish, and finally the famine.

Secondly, production-based entitlement. The place of land as an important means of production in the 19th century in the process of granting entitlement to peasants cannot be ignored. Scholars agreed Ireland's 19th century situation as colonial politics (Cairns and Richards, 1988, Duffy, 2017, Nally, 2008) precisely because of the widespread rise of absentee landlords, which created a sharply delineated hierarchy between Ireland and Scotland or England, i.e., the pattern of peasant – attendance landlord – absence landlord (Braa, 1997). The fact that the relationship between peasants and landowners is obscure and ambiguous probably relates to the wider topic of rural sociology, which, in terms of specific literature, has both an idyllic aspect, such as the peaceful coexistence documented by Brown (Brown, 1953), as well as a rhapsodic-like conflict and revolt, such as the land wars of the second half of 19th century.

The uncertainty of the peasant-landlord relationship makes it necessary for this paper to turn its attention to other indicators-namely, taxes and land rents to quantify production-based entitlement. Much of the research on taxation has focused on the tithe, which was enacted from 1823, adjusted in 1838 and finally abolished in 1869. For the first stage (1823 – 1838), scholars have focused on the widespread oppression it inflicted on peasants (Shaw, 2015, 2018), including its also taxed non-Catholic peasants, which led them angry. For the second phase (1838 – 1869), although the government transferred the peasants' tithes to the landowners, evidence suggests that the landowners actually passed them back to the peasants (Brynn, 1970), and that the peasants' situation was not substantially improved. Regarding the land rents research, in addition, focused on Irish economic history (Guinnane and Miller, 1996, M Solar and Hens, 2013), and this paper will use this data to support the production-based entitlement argument as well in the latter chapters.

Thirdly, own-labour entitlement. Depending on which sector they worked in, people received different forms of income, and while farmers made up a large proportion of those affected by the famine, it is also important to consider the forms of income received by people in industries other than farming. In this case, the most intuitive indicator is wages.

Using economic models, researchers have explored the relationship between wage cuts and deaths during famines (O'Rourke, 1994), some scholars hold opposing views, for example, Geary and Stark (Geary and Stark, 2004) believe that famine is the time when the ratio of wages to prices is most reasonable. In addition, some scholars (Guinnane, 1994) have tried to infer wage data throughout the 19th century from the perspective of historical documents and price levels.

Lastly, Inheritance and transfer entitlement. Since we cannot directly obtain data such as inheritance and gifts, this paper choose to use national import and export data to describe transfers in this section. This data during famines have always been a focus of debate among different schools, because differences in views will directly lead to the division between nationalism and revisionism — to put it more bluntly, it determines whether scholars will target 19th century's British government.

"During all the famine year, Ireland actually producing sufficient food, and wool and flax to feed and clothe not nine, but eighteen millions of people". (Mitchel, 1905)

"At least, historians of Ireland, even the native-born ones, taking them as a group, were not as revisionist in their perspective".(Donnelly Jr, 1996)

Also, the Poor Law is noticed in studies of the famine. The Poor Law and its reform have been mentioned in the previous section, so I will not repeat it here.

Most of the research on famine that without the FAD theory generally only takes into account one aspect of the rights method, and regarding to those research with entitlement approach, they propose various indicators and methods to measure the failure of rights during the 19th century famine in Ireland. Fraser (Fraser, 2003), following Amartya Sen's framework, analyzed the failure of entitlement before the famine due to the squeeze on handicrafts, rent increases and tensions in tenancy relations, agricultural transformation, and debt. Similar to Fraser, Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, 1995) is more concerned with the comparison of entitlements between different classes, such as small shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, and farmers, etc., and tried to point out why the famine has a more serious impact on some classes than others.

In fact, there is a consensus in academia on the applicability of the rights approach to the Irish famine, including Flaherty's verification of the direct and indirect entitlement of people during the famine from the perspective of public resources (Flaherty, 2021), Kennedy and MacRaild used potatoes and class conflict to demonstrate the applicability of the entitlement approach (Kennedy and MacRaild, 2022), while McGregor and Cantley uses probability density and chi-square tests based on famine data through statistical and mathematical reasoning (McGregor and Cantley, 1992). Scholars even used the entitlement approach to analyze an earlier famine, the Great Irish Famine of 1741, which developed the FVAM model to better illustrate how the failure of rights is independent of environmental and climatic factors (Engler et al., 2013).

However, the rights approach also has its flaws. As Amartya himself admits (Sen, 1982), the inevitable flaws include the plunder of entitlement beyond the legal framework, such as the transfer of entitlements caused by infringement and robbery, and the actual food set and cultural conflicts; while the avoidable flaw lies in the definition of the content of entitlement. Currently, papers that use the entitlement approach to analyze the Irish famine are prone to two wrong situations. One is to use pure economic terms and methods, such as the concepts of rights and exchange, market set and individual set, and combine the supply and demand curve analysis to demonstrate the applicability of the entitlement approach; the other is to focus on a social culture level, but abandon quantitative methods and use historical or archaeological methods instead. In these two wrong situations, the former one excessive obsession with statistical models will lead to unclear definitions of the content of rights, while the latter will make the research lose its universality. Therefore, this paper combines the two methods, hoping to focus on the various factors at the social levels on the one hand, and use quantitative methods on the other hand, so as to avoid falling into these two erroneous situations and more effectively demonstrate the applicability of the Amartya rights approach theory to the Irish famine.

Chapter 3 | Data

“Malone: Me father died of starvation in Ireland in the Black 47. Maybe you’ve heard of it.

Violet: The Famine?

Malone: No, the starvation. When a country is full of food, and exporting it, there can be no famine. Me father was starved dead; and I was starved out to America in me mother’s arms”.

— *“Man and Superman”* by George Bernard Shaw

3.1 Data Sources

The data come from several primary sources, including (1) census data, (2) economic history research papers, and (3) original archival material from the National Library Ireland. Many materials only covered a few years, so this paper filled in the data by combining various materials. For example, regarding the price of oats, the data from 1821 to 1828 were obtained from Daniel’s 2021 research, the data from 1829 to 1859 were obtained from Vamplew’s 1980 research, and the data from 1850 to 1900 were obtained from Tuner’s 1987 research. Below are all the variables and their sources.

Table 3.1: Data and Sources

Data	Details	Time	Sources
Population	Population	1821, 1831, ... Remain years	Irish Census ^a Estimated population ^b
Wage	Craft man wage General wage	1821 – 1900 1821 – 1900	(Kennedy and Dowling, 1997) (D’Arcy, 1989) & (Bishop, 1915)
Ground Rent	Ground Rent	1821 – 1829 1830 – 1849 1850 – 1885 1886 – 1900	(M Solar and Hens, 2013) (Geary and Stark, 2004) (Guinnane and Miller, 1996) NA
Tax	Tithe	1821 – 1900	(Brynn, 1970) & (Shaw, 2015)

Continued on next page

Table 3.1: (Continued)

Data	Details	Time	Sources
Grain Price	Oat	1821 – 1828	(Daniel Cassidy, 2021)
		1829 – 1859	(Vamplew, 1980)
	Potato	1821 – 1845	(Kennedy and Dowling, 1997)
	Wheat	1824 – 1837	Southampton library
	Barley	1821 – 1828	(Clark, 2004)
	O. P. W. B. ^c	1840 – 1900	(Barrington, 1926)
	O. P.	1821 – 1850	(Kennedy and Dowling, 1997)
	Agriculture index	1850 – 1900	(Turner, 1987)
Plant Acre	Potato	1821 – 1846	(Kenny et al., 2023) ^d
	O. W. B.	1821 – 1846	Estimated from Price Index
	O. P. W. B.	1847 – 1900	CSO agriculture report
Import	O. W. B.	1821 – 1838	NA
	O. W. B.	1839 – 1900	(Brunt and Cannon, 2004)
Export	Wheat	1821 – 1828	(Tennent, 1840)
	O. W. B.	1829 – 1838	(Vamplew, 1980)
	O. W. B.	1839 – 1900	(Brunt and Cannon, 2004)
	Butter	1821 – 1900	(Solar, 1990)
	O. B.	1821 – 1828	NA

^a Irish census through history can be found in CSO. In 1851 census, there is a chapter discussing the differences between 1841 and 1851 to show the influence of famine.

^b Base on Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration. This article estimates the population in non-census years based on Irish immigration, mortality, and mid-year population data.

^c O = Oat, P = Potato, W = Wheat, B = Barley, the following abbreviations are the same

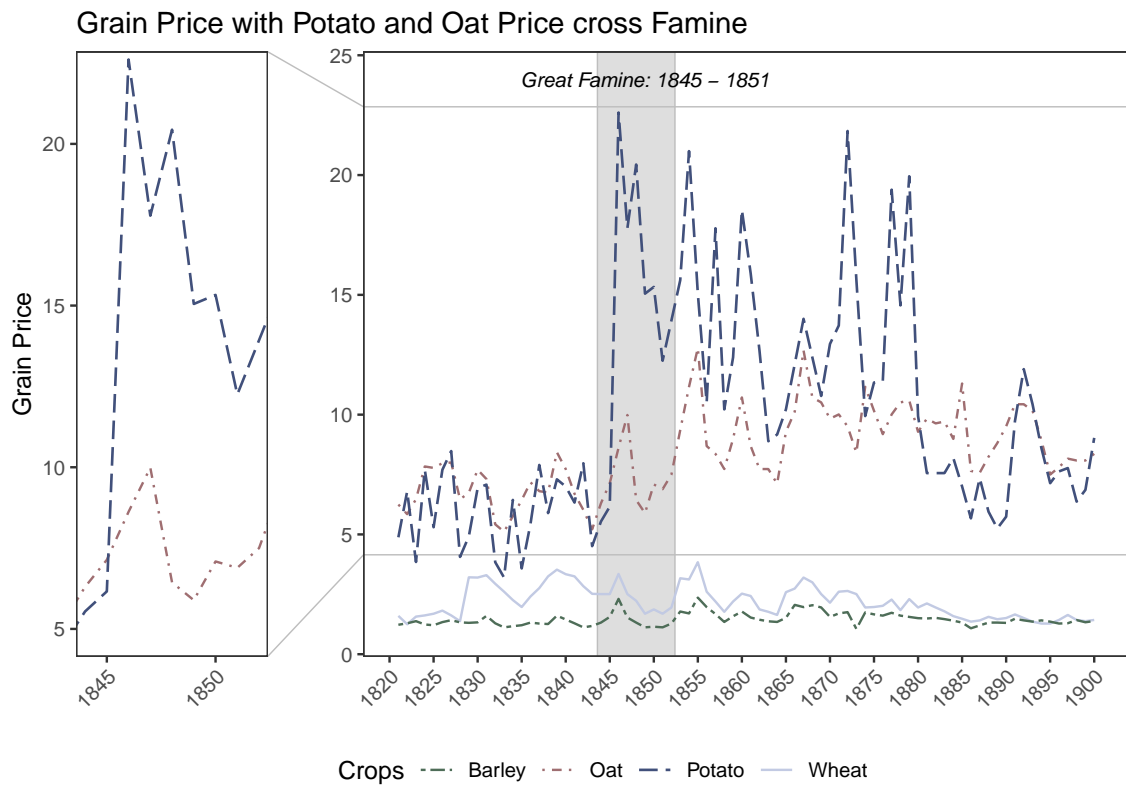
^d The potato data in this section are estimated from the agricultural stock situation during this period. Unfortunately, due to the lack of specific yields and the fact that grain yields per hectare are changing, for example, in 1837, the barley yield could reach 24.9 cwt, but the yield from 1847 to 1851 was only 18cwt.

In addition, there are a number of missing values, including the ground rent from 1886 to 1900, the imports of oats, barley, and wheat from 1821 to 1838, and the exports of barley and oats from 1821 to 1828. Considering that these missing values may be related to other variables, the mice package in R language is used to fill these missing values with multiple imputation. Since the data in this article come directly from previous research and historical archives, there is no need to deal with outliers.

3.2 Research Assumptions

3.3 Statistical Description

Figure 3.1: Grain Price 1821 – 1900



Chapter 4 | Methods

Bibliography

- Barrington, T. (1926), *A review of Irish agricultural prices*, Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland.
- Bartoletti, S. C. (2001), *Black potatoes: The story of the great Irish famine, 1845-1850*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Beaumont, J. (2014), An isotopic and historical study of diet and migration during the great Irish Potato famine (1845-1852). High-resolution carbon and nitrogen isotope profiling of teeth to investigate migration and short-term dietary change at the Union workhouse, Kilkenny and Lukin street, London., PhD thesis, University of Bradford.
- Beaumont, J., Geber, J., Powers, N., Wilson, A., Lee-Thorp, J. and Montgomery, J. (2013), 'Victims and survivors: stable isotopes used to identify migrants from the great Irish famine to 19th century London', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **150**(1), 87–98.
- Bishop, A. L. (1915), 'A history of the commercial and financial relations between England and Ireland from the period of the restoration'.
- Blackwell, M. (1845), 'Letter from Mr. Blackwell regarding the potato crop distemper', Unpublished letter. Detailed in other letters to be auctioned. Describes the infection of the potato crop across the estate.
- Bourke, P. A. (1964), 'Emergence of potato blight, 1843-46.'.
- Braa, D. M. (1997), 'The great potato famine and the transformation of Irish peasant society', *Science & Society* pp. 193–215.
- Brown, T. N. (1953), 'Nationalism and the Irish peasant, 1800–1848', *The Review of Politics* **15**(4), 403–445.

- Brunt, L. and Cannon, E. (2004), 'The Irish grain trade from the famine to the first world war', *The Economic History Review* 57(1), 33–79.
- Brynn, E. (1970), 'Irish tithes in British politics', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39(3), 295–306.
- Cairns, D. and Richards, S. (1988), *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism, and culture*, Manchester University Press.
- Clark, G. (2004), The price history of English agriculture, 1209–1914, in 'Research in Economic History', Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 41–123.
- Clarkson, L. and Crawford, M. (2001), *Feast and famine: food and nutrition in Ireland 1500-1920*, OUP Oxford.
- Cousens, S. H. (1960), 'Regional death rates in Ireland during the great famine, from 1846 to 1851', *Population Studies* 14(1), 55–74.
- Daly, M. (2006), Revisionism and Irish history: The great famine, in 'The Making of Modern Irish History', Routledge, pp. 71–89.
- Daniel Cassidy, B. (2021), Irish exchange rates 1698–1826: credit, market integration, and international trade, PhD thesis, School of Business and Economics, National University of Ireland, Galway.
- D'Arcy, F. A. (1989), 'Wages of labourers in the Dublin building industry, 1667-1918', *Saothar* 14, 17–32.
- De Nie, M. (1998), 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', *Irish Studies Review* 6(1), 27–35.
- Donnelly, J. (2011), 'The Irish famine', *BBC: British History* 17.
- Donnelly Jr, J. S. (1996), 'The construction of the memory of the famine in Ireland and the Irish diaspora, 1850–1900', *Éire-Ireland* 31(1), 26–61.
- Donnelly Jr, J. S. (2002), *The great Irish potato famine*, The History Press.

- Dowley, L. J. (1997), 'The potato and late blight in ireland', *Famine* **150**, 49–65.
- Duffy, P. (2017), Colonial spaces and sites of resistance: Landed estates in 19th century ireland, in '(Dis) Placing Empire', Routledge, pp. 15–40.
- Engler, S., Luterbacher, J., Mauelshagen, F. and Werner, J. (2013), 'The irish famine of 1740-1741: causes and effects.', *Climate of the Past Discussions* **9**(1).
- Fairlie, S. (1965), 'The nineteenth-century corn law reconsidered', *The Economic History Review* **18**(3), 562–575.
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1995), 'Famine, entitlements and seduction: Captain edmond wynne in ireland, 1846-1851', *English Historical Review* pp. 596–619.
- Flaherty, E. (2021), 'Common-pool resource governance and uneven food security: Regional resilience during the great irish famine, 1845–1852', *Journal of Agrarian Change* **21**(2), 285–312.
- Fraser, E. D. (2003), 'Social vulnerability and ecological fragility: building bridges between social and natural sciences using the irish potato famine as a case study', *Conservation Ecology* **7**(2).
- Geary, F. and Stark, T. (2004), 'Trends in real wages during the industrial revolution: a view from across the irish sea', *The Economic History Review* **57**(2), 362–395.
- George, S. (1990), *Ill fares the land: essays on food, hunger, and power*, Penguin Books London.
- Gilleard, C. (2016), 'The other victorians: age, sickness and poverty in 19th-century ireland', *Ageing & Society* **36**(6), 1157–1184.
- Goss, E. M., Tabima, J. F., Cooke, D. E., Restrepo, S., Fry, W. E., Forbes, G. A., Fieland, V. J., Cardenas, M. and Grünwald, N. J. (2014), 'The irish potato famine pathogen phytophthora infestans originated in central mexico rather than the andes', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **111**(24), 8791–8796.

- Grada, C. O. (1979), The population of ireland 1700-1900: a survey, in 'Annales de démographie historique', JSTOR, pp. 281–299.
- Gráda, Ó. et al. (1995), *Ireland: a new economic history 1780–1939*, Oxford University Press.
- Gray, P. (2006), 'Famine and land in ireland and india, 1845–1880: James caird and the political economy of hunger', *The Historical Journal* **49**(1), 193–215.
- Gray, P. (2010), 'Irish social thought and the relief of poverty, 1847–1880', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* **20**, 141–156.
- Gray, P. (2021), 'Was the great irish famine a colonial famine?', *East/West* **8**(1), 159–172.
- Guinnane, T. W. (1994), 'The great irish famine and population: the long view', *The American Economic Review* **84**(2), 303–308.
- Guinnane, T. W. and Miller, R. I. (1996), 'Bonds without bondsmen: Tenant-right in nineteenth-century ireland', *The Journal of Economic History* **56**(1), 113–142.
- Hamera, P. (2011), 'An outline of irish famine historiography', *The Linguistic Academy Journal of Interdisciplinary Language Studies* p. 65.
- Henderson, L. (2005), 'The irish famine: A historiographical review', *Historia* **14**, 133–140.
- Kavanagh, P. and Quinn, A. (2006), *Collected poems*, Penguin Books.
- Kelly, J. (1995), 'This great calamity: The irish famine 1845-52'.
- Kelly, M. and Gráda, C. Ó. (2015), 'Why ireland starved after three decades: The great famine in cross-section reconsidered', *Irish Economic and Social History* **42**(1), 53–61.
- Kennedy, L. and Dowling, M. W. (1997), 'Prices and wages in ireland, 1700-1850', *Irish Economic and Social History* **24**, 62–104.
- Kennedy, L. and MacRaild, D. M. (2022), 'Perspectives on the great irish famine'.

- Kennedy, S. (2020), 'Beckett, evangelicalism and the biopolitics of famine', *Beckett Beyond the Normal* pp. 62–78.
- Kenny, S., Lennard, J. and O'Rourke, K. H. (2023), 'An annual index of irish industrial production, 1800–1913', *The Economic History Review* **76**(1), 283–304.
- Kinealy, C. (1990), 'The irish famine 1845-52', *North Irish Roots* **2**(5), 158–161.
- Kinealy, C. (2006), *This great calamity: the great Irish Famine: the Irish Famine 1845-52*, Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Kinealy, C. (2017), *The Great Irish Famine: impact, ideology and rebellion*, Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Lidwell-Durnin, J. (2020), 'Cultivating famine: data, experimentation and food security, 1795–1848', *The British journal for the history of science* **53**(2), 159–181.
- Luchen, W. (2019), 'The naming of identity: The famine narrative in joseph o'connor's star of the sea and the transatlantic diasporic writing', *Foreign Literature Studies* **41**(5), 123.
- M Solar, P. and Hens, L. (2013), 'Land under pressure: The value of irish land in a period of rapid population growth, 1730–1844', *Agricultural History Review* **61**(1), 40–62.
- Madden, E. (2016), 'Aids and the hunger: Fiction, biopolitics and the historical imagination', *The Irish Review* (1986-) (53), 60–73.
- McClure, J. (1848), 'Letter from james mcclure to his daughter margaret mcclure', Unpublished letter. From Ireland to Warrnambool, Victoria, Australia. Margaret McClure married Thomas Usher in 1845.
- McGregor, P. and Cantley, I. (1992), 'A test of sen's entitlement hypothesis', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series D: The Statistician* **41**(3), 335–341.

- McGregor, P. P. (1989), 'Demographic pressure and the Irish famine: Malthus after Mokyr', *Land Economics* pp. 228–238.
- McHugh, N. (1986), 'Famine and distress in Drogheda during 1847', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* **21**(2), 157–178.
- McNamara, P. (1850), 'Condition of Ireland. Illustrations of the new poor-law. Cabin of Pat McNamara, village of Clear', *The Illustrated London News*.
- Miller, D. W. (1975), 'Irish Catholicism and the great famine', *Journal of Social History* **9**(1), 81–98.
- Mitchel, J. (1905), *An Apology for the British Government in Ireland*, AMS Press.
 URL: <https://books.google.ie/books?id=w1AiAQAAIAAJ>
- Mokyr, J. (1980), 'Malthusian models and Irish history', *The Journal of Economic History* **40**(1), 159–166.
- Mokyr, J. (2013), *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800–1850*, Routledge.
- Mokyr, J. and Gráda, C. Ó. (2002), 'What do people die of during famines: the great Irish famine in comparative perspective', *European Review of Economic History* **6**(3), 339–363.
- Nally, D. (2008), '"that coming storm": The Irish poor law, colonial biopolitics, and the great famine', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **98**(3), 714–741.
- Newell, T., Meogher, O'Gorman, Walsh, J., O'Brien, Borrisoleigh and O'Reilly, P. (1847), 'Tally of the number of deaths attributed to potato famine in various Irish parishes', *Freeman's Journal*.
- Ó Gráda, C. (1983), 'Malthus and the pre-famine economy', *Hermathena* (135), 75–95.
- O'Brien, G. (1985), 'The new poor law in pre-famine Ireland: A case history', *Irish Economic and Social History* **12**(1), 33–49.

- O'Flynn, M. (2009), 'Food crises and the ghost of malthus', *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* 3(1), 33–41.
- Oleksy, J. (n.d.), 'Irish potato famine: the irish versus the english', *Bergen Scholarly Journal* 46(3), 50–58.
- O'Neill, T. P. (1952), 'Food problems during the great irish famine', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 82(2), 99–108.
- O'Rourke, K. (1994), 'The economic impact of the famine in the short and long run', *The American economic review* 84(2), 309–313.
- Rangasami, A. (1985), 'failure of exchange entitlements' theory of famine: A response', *Economic and Political Weekly* pp. 1797–1801.
- Ristaino, J. B. (2006), 'Tracking the evolutionary history of the potato late blight pathogen with historical collections', *Outlooks on pest management* 17(5), 228.
- Sen, A. (1982), *Poverty and famines: an essay on entitlement and deprivation*, Oxford university press.
- Shaw, D. J. (2015), 'An economic perspective on the irish tithe war of 1831-1838', *The Journal of European Economic History* 44(3), 91.
- Shaw, D. J. (2018), 'The composition for tithes act of 1823: Its revenue risk impacts across ireland', *The Journal of European Economic History* 47(1), 87–148.
- Smith, M. E. (2005), *Reckoning with the past: Teaching history in Northern Ireland*, Lexington Books.
- Solar, P. M. (1990), 'The irish butter trade in the nineteenth century: new estimates and their implications', *Studia Hibernica* (25), 134–161.
- Solar, P. M. (2015), 'Why ireland starved and the big issues in pre-famine irish economic history', *Irish Economic and Social History* 42(1), 62–75.
- Spedding, T. S. (1847), *Letters on the Poor-Law*, London, UK.

- Tennent, E. (1840), 'Importation of flour—(ireland)', *Hansard Commons* **52**.
- The Times Office, London, U. (1880), *The Great Irish Famine of 1845-1846: a collection of leading articles, letters and parliamentary and other public statements*, The Times Office, London.
- Tucker, R. E. (2016), 'A potato glossary', *Tucker Farms, Inc* .
- Turner, M. (1987), 'Towards an agricultural prices index for ireland 1850-1914', *Economic and Social Review* **18**(2), 123–36.
- Turner, M. (2002), *After the famine: Irish agriculture, 1850-1914*, Cambridge University Press.
- Vamplew, W. (1980), 'A grain of truth: the nineteenth-century corn averages', *The Agricultural History Review* **28**(1), 1–17.
- Waters, H. (1995), 'The great famine and the rise of anti-irish racism', *Race & Class* **37**(1), 95–108.
- Watts, M. J. (2013), *Silent violence: Food, famine, and peasantry in northern Nigeria*, Vol. 15, University of Georgia Press.
- Wegge, S. A., Anbinder, T. and Ó Gráda, C. (2017), 'Immigrants and savers: A rich new database on the irish in 1850s new york', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* **50**(3), 144–155.
- Weir, D. R. (1991), Malthus's theory of population, in 'The World of Economics', Springer, pp. 401–406.
- Whelan, K. (2012), 'Clachans: landscape and life in ireland before and after the famine', *At the anvil: essays in honour of William J. Smyth* pp. 453–75.
- Zadoks, J. (2008), 'The potato murrain on the european continent and the revolutions of 1848', *Potato Research* **51**(1), 5–45.