

#### SCHOOL OF POLITICAL

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

Chenxi Li

23330541

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School of Social Sciences and Philosophy, TCD

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## Acknowledgements

### Abstract

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### 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 <sup>1</sup> . 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 <sup>2</sup>. In 1926, as a result of the Irish independence 5 years earlier, the Central Statistical Office was capable to integrate historical documents since famine and showed the fact that the population was decline of roughly 22% <sup>3</sup> 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 <sup>4</sup>, while it was not the worst hit by the famine compared to the province of Connacht in the west <sup>5</sup>. 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).

<sup>1 1841</sup> Census of Ireland, Last accessed: 13 May, 2024

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1851 Census of Ireland, Last accessed: 2 May, 2024

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1926 Census of Ireland, Chapter II, Last accessed: 9 May, 2024

<sup>4</sup> RTE, How "a truly modern famine" devastated Ireland, Last accessed: 11 May, 2024

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>6</sup>. 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 <sup>7</sup>. 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 <sup>8</sup>, 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.

<sup>6 2022</sup> Census of Ireland – Summary Results, Last accessed: 8 May, 2024

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> CSO: Farming Since the Famine, 1847 - 1996, Last accessed: 12 May, 2024

<sup>9</sup> 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 <sup>a</sup>
1852 – 1920: neglected	b	(Kinealy, 2017)
1920 – 1960: nationalist	Key grouping, like land- lord class or the UK gov- ernment	(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)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 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)

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.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 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)

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 was 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 next year, 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). But soon the famine was spiraling out of control, 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). which caused a "immigration in poor Irish people" (November 10, 1847) and "disorder in Ireland" (November 13, 1847) and finally, Ireland faced a situation that "Labour is the first price and is the source of all wealth" (December 30, 1847) (The Times Office, 1880).

From the census data of 1841 and 1851, we can extrapolate the change in population of the different provinces after the famine, which showed a fact the Connacht Province in the west suffered the famine most serious.

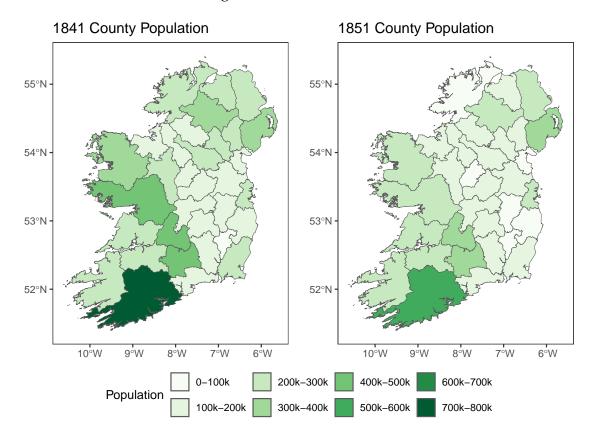


Figure 2.1: Food Structure

#### 2.2 Refuting some hypotheses

This part I will refute some hypothesis of famine origin. Many people regard single factor as the root of the Great Famine.

Grain Percentage Stacked, by Year 100% 1200 75% 800 Percentage 50% 25% 0% **Great Famine** 182h 1823 1891 Crop oat\_acre potato\_acre

Figure 2.2: Food Structure

#### 2.2.1 Potato Blight

In Nature journal,

1845 June Belgium, August France, August South of UK, September Ireland

1. Blame potato blight as the only origin of famine

People believe potato blight was responsible for the Irish Great Famine.

lumper potato

Blight became a semi-permanent fixture until the end of the century, when effective treatments were found (O'Rourke, 1994).

2. Ireland have the bad land quality.

Figure 2.3: Food Structure

### 2.3 Entitlement Approach

I will operationalize entitlement approach into these 4 dimensions according to the book:

Oat -- Potato

- (1) trade-based entitlement: price, grain amount,
- (2) production-based entitlement: tax policy
- (3) own-labour entitlement: wage, land own amount, poor law

Crops -- Barley ·-·

(4) inheritance and transfer entitlement: none, hard to get data

## Chapter 3 | Data

Wage(Bishop, 1915)

# Chapter 4 | Methods

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