Sheffield Hallam University

The famished soul: resonance and relevance of the Irish famine to Irish men's accounts of hunger following immigration to England during the 1950s and 1960s

MAYE-BANBURY, Angela <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7710-5041>

Citation:

Copyright and re-use policy

The famished soul: resonance and relevance of the Irish Famine to Irish men's accounts of hunger following immigration to England during the 1950s and 1960s

Introduction

For centuries, oral history has played an important role in enabling people to recount past events in their own words. By foregrounding the ontology of personal experiences, eyewitness accounts remind us of the power of storytelling in awarding voices to people whose experiences have become marginalised from history. Immigrants are one such group.[1] Moreover, immigrants' oral histories are more important than ever in providing much needed counter narratives to hyperbolic representatives of the 'other' in today's post truth society.[2] Yet analyses of first person accounts seldom explore how sociocultural identity is represented over time. By exploring the interconnectivity between two sets of Irish people's secular oral reconstructions of acute hunger over the course of a century, this paper bridges that gap in existing scholarship. Using a hermeneutically and phenomenologically informed analysis, I explore the dialectical relationship between oral accounts spanning a *saeculum* the period understood to encompass a century or more thus spanning a generation. I propose that a 'corporeal and spiritual' medium of memory generates new insights regarding how the phenomenally-experienced individual physical and spiritual self may be construed over space, place and time. In exemplifying a corporeal and spiritual medium of memory, the paper shows how oral reconstructions of starvation during the Great Famine (an Gorta Mór - the Great Hunger) contained in the Irish Folklore Commission records of 1930s and 1940s resonate with Irish emigrant men's accounts of hunger during

their formative years in Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester in England during the 1950s and 1960s.

Clearly, there is a fundamental difference between largescale famine and the acute food shortages experienced by many in England (notably the working classes) in the immediate post World War Two era. This paper, therefore, is not intended to suggest in any way, shape or form, that harrowing and unprecedented events of the Famine era are in any way on a par with the interviewees' reports of food shortages in Leicester, Manchester and Sheffield during the immediate World War Two period. Food rationing was, of course, commonplace across Europe's cities during that period. Rather, this paper is intended to be read at the metaphysical and hermeneutic level. More specifically, the paper highlights the extent to which the accounts of those interviewed regarding their emigration to England in the 1950s and 1960s evoke prevailing discourses associated with the Famine years - and vice versa. In both eras, the majority of Irish emigrants were defined as Catholic.[3] In doing so, I explore the importance of intracultural diglossia contained in two sets of oral accounts related to food deprivation and with it, the interface between individual, collective and folk memory.

It is striking that, although culturally mediated, many oral accounts of famine have unsurprisingly revealed a sharp increase in the levels of surveillance, power and control exercised by those empowered to dictate quality and quantity of available food. Moreover, theories which seek to explain and indeed justify famine also have a striking similarity, not least the extent to which acute hunger is deemed essential in realising ideological goals. Of particular significance in this respect is

the extent to which when food is tightly controlled, cultural activities tend to diminish. Furthermore, cultures of surveillance become more prevalent as those with power preside over those who lack socioeconomic resources.[4] Accounts of food deprivation in both famine and the post-World War Two era across Europe depict a sense of bewilderment, ethical dilemmas and acts of resistance.[5] Food shortages, therefore, do appear have a certain universalism which unites communities over space, place and time on multiple levels.[6] Moreover, the striking continuity in published oral accounts of how famine impacts at the corporeal and spiritual level is highly instructive. This is evidenced by eye witness accounts of China's famine during Great Leap Forward years of 1958-1962 the Ethiopian famine between 1984-1985 and the less documented Bengal famine. Keneally's salutary comparative account of three famine stricken countries (one of which was Ireland) also exposes the impact of famine at the spiritual and bodily level.[7] A further consideration of severe food deprivation is the extent to which acute hunger causes the moral compass to recalibrate as the need to eat becomes all consuming. Edible items are hidden, stolen or extorted by those confronted with impoverishment in the extreme.

Here, Ireland is used as an instrumental case study to reveal the enduring relevance and resonance of hunger and starvation at a hermeneutic level. The nature of the two sets of oral sources used here to explore this hermeneutic interface requires qualification, not least in respect of the social and cultural context in which both sets were documented. As Póirtéir has noted [8], very few records written by people who actually experienced an Gorta Mór were preserved at the time. In an attempt to both bridge this gap and mark the centenary of the Famine, the Irish

Folklore Commission (IFC) recruited researchers during the 1930s and 1940s to document accounts of the Great Hunger passed own from grandparents, parents, relatives, neighbours and friends. Each interviewee's story was either transcribed verbatim by a researcher during the interview itself or subsequently sent later to the IFC in as a written submission. Quinan[9] highlights how respondents answered a series of set questions following the invitation to recount their inherited memories of the Great Hunger era. Only a few recordings have survived but thousands of interview transcripts do exist providing unique insights into Irish peoples' reconstructions and 're-presentations' of the harrowing events of the 1840s. When viewed as a collective, this collection of mediated memories are difficult to categorise. Ó Ciosáin [10] proposes a tripartite taxonomy of 'global', 'popular' and 'local' when reviewing the IFC records as whole which recognises how memory may be exemplified and distorted over time. For Ó Gráda [11], oral accounts depicting the Famine (such as the IFC records) are shaped by both folklore and historical material and politicians' propensity to pursue ideological goals by foregrounding the traumatic nature of the Great Hunger. As has been noted by Quinlan, Ó Cíosáin and Póirtéir, the IFC accounts are therefore inherited memories of the Great Hunger distilled over time. The second set of accounts referred to in this paper comprises Irish men's verbatim oral testimonies of their emigration experiences from Ireland to England's urban centres during the 1950s and 1960s and who have subsequently settled in Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester. These oral history interviews were conducted between 2012 - 2015 using the oral history method.[12] Unlike the IFC records, the men were asked to recount their housing histories and with this, their individual memories of immigration. On the other hand, the extracts from the oral histories of Irish men who emigrated from Ireland

to England during the 1950s and 1960s are first hand events. Notwithstanding these caveats, the contents of the IFC records provide a vivid and instructive insights into Famine years as recounted by the children, grandchildren, relatives, friends and neighbours of those who bore witness to the harrowing events of the 1840s as they unfolded. As Thompson has asserted, oral testimony's importance "often lies not in its adherence to facts, but rather in its divergence from them where imagination, symbolism, desire break in." [13]

Here, I propose that a 'corporeal-spiritual continuum of memory' stimulates a new mnenomic force which helps explore the interface between individual, collective and folk memory. A corporeal- spiritual continuum of memory is defined as 'a medium of memory through which new insights regarding the phenomenally-experienced individual physical and spiritual self may be construed over space, place and time.' The resultant more fluid, burnished and textured medium of corporeal-spiritual memory proposed here helps create an alternative *lieu de mémoire* [14] which exemplifies the resonance and relevance of hermeneutic interplay between individual and collective reconstructions of hunger. This more multi-layered concept of memory creates what Assmann[15] has described as 'intracultural diglossia', a complex blend of language and traditions which unite individual and collective memory. When viewed as such, memories become untethered and heightened, assuming an internal mnemonic dynamic in their own right.

The research which informed this paper posed two key questions. Firstly, how might a review of the hermeneutic interplay between oral accounts of starvation during the Famine recorded by the Irish Folk Commission in 1930s and

Irish men's reports of acute hunger in England during the 1950s and 1960s reveal a new medium of memory, specifically as a compressed chronology, which unites discourses over space, place and time? Secondly, when considered in parallel, how might these two different sets of oral accounts featuring hunger complement or challenge existing representations of Irish sociocultural identity over space, place and time?

This paper is divided into five sections. Section One begins by considering how the consumption, production and distribution of food reflects a broader moral social and cultural order. The extent to which spiritual and corporeal dimensions of food related memories act as a locus of sociocultural identity is explored. In section two, the philosophical and theological dimensions of food and more specifically, food's relevance to the corporeal and spiritual dimensions of memory is critically examined. Drawing on selected writings of Aristotle, Heidegger and Foucault amongst others, the prevailing narratives surrounding the morality of food, and its consumption, distribution and means of control are reviewed. Some implications for representations of Irish sociocultural identity are considered. Section three provides a review of the research methodology used in the study. Informed by Gadamer's writings on oral history and hermeneutics, the interface between two sets of oral accounts based on events a century apart which make multiple references to acute hunger is considered. Section four contains the hermeneutically informed analysis of the two separate and distinctive accounts of food deprivation. The analysis reveals how accounts of the Great Hunger mediated over time resonate strongly with interviewees' multiple and unsolicited references to acute hunger during their early residential years in England during the 1950s and 1960s.

Significantly, the analysis highlights several common themes from both eras. The extent to which the need to eat compelled Irish workers to engage in the manual labour deemed necessary to progress England's modernisation agenda is highlighted. The way in which discourses of hunger found in both sets of accounts prompted people to source alternative foods in an attempt to assuage their acute hunger also rises to the fore. Ethical dilemmas and acts of resistance encountered when negotiating food deprivation to different degrees in both eras are examined. The way in which 1950s/60s English boarding houses and Famine workhouses represent common sites of discipline, power and control, epitomised by a shared common culinary order, is also considered. Section five contains some concluding reflections including the relevance of an intergenerational memory which foregrounds body and soul for the present and future.

The Hungry Body and The Famished Soul

'The undernourished brain suffers from a specific hunger of its own. ... [I]t was the unconscious preparation for "later", for an improbable survival, in which every shred of experience would become a tessera in a vast mosaic.'[16] Levi later reported how prisoners' accounts of their dreams spoke of freedom, eating and an innate desire to recount their stories.[17]

Primo Levi's supposition that a famished mind may somehow be predisposed to a more faithful account of events which otherwise may have been consigned to the margins of history proved prophetic. Significantly, research undertaken since the publication of Levi's Auschwitz memoires has confirmed the power of food to evoke the latent memories and with it, an intrinsic desire to

communicate one's experiences of acute deprivation to others. [18] Oral expressions of food deprivation and, in the extreme, starvation, become what Arnold describes as 'intensifiers' of lived experiences. [19] whereby life junctures become accentuated in one's mind to be replayed, reconstructed or re-performed at a later date. This analysis here contends that when framed with Irish people's both first and inherited accounts of hunger over the course of a century, these intensifiers coalesce at the metaphysical level within body, spirit and soul over space, place and time. In a similar vein, Kinealy postulates that 'a famine repressed breeds an incipient hunger of its own, a hunger to know, a hunger to grieve, to hold accountable, to resolve and to honor.'[20] Póirtéir [21] adopts a more measured stance by suggesting our knowledge of the Famine is evolving to the extent that we are increasingly distanced from the 'ideological straight jackets' which have limited our understanding of the complex factors which gave rise to the harrowing events in Ireland during the 1840s. Reiterating this theme, Jackson postulates that a compulsion to relay one's story is driven by a need to 'do justice to lived experience by eschewing literary artifice, wishful thinking and romantic stereotypes that has, as much as anything, undermined the authority of traditional narrative.'[22] I Indeed, the extent to which people have been typecast as tragic figures in the IFC interviews has been noted by Ó Ciosáin and others. [23] This paper argues that that just as peoples' oral representations of acute food shortages and hunger risk being diminished without prior memories to anchor them, representations of sociocultural identity become further fortified when contextualised within the wider socioeconomic contexts which challenge and/or sustain these representations. Oral accounts of acute food deprivation therefore, may be construed as a two sided reality, a pivotal yet

nebulous point of contact which mediates the very perceptions and actions which shape our intrinsic engagement with the world.

Critically, the case here for a corporeal and spiritual medium of memory builds on Halbwachs' seminal thesis that memory may only be understood from within the social and cultural milieux in which it is constructed. [24] Memories of hunger, therefore, may also be construed as fluid, evolving and elusive. They may be harboured or rendered indecipherable as they assume the veil of sub-conscious or half forgotten forms, only venturing to the fore when stimulated by the recollections of others. Furthermore, the writings of Kansteiner remind us how memory is inextricably linked to the social context we inhabit in that 'the very language and narrative patterns that we use to express memories, even autobiographical memories, are inseparable from the social standards of plausibility and authenticity that they embody.'[25]

A Holy Trinity? Discourses of Food, Body and Spirit

Food is both the medium and the message of a more widely prevailing social, cultural and moral order. A cursory glance at our everyday language suggests that, on multiple levels, physical and spiritual appetites have the ability to coalesce when certain sets of circumstances collide. Phrases enshrined in common parlance such as 'food for thought,' 'having a hunger for knowledge', 'not being able to stomach an idea,' and 'having a gut feeling about something' all give credence to the proposition that, in certain circumstances, these innate physical and spiritual desires have the capacity to coalesce. Indeed, the personal narratives of

African American 'soul food' are grounded in discourses of temperance and dignity exemplifies this connectivity between body and spirit.[26]

Moreover, as Peck contends, an examination of the metaphysical interplay between different accounts of hunger allow us to explore 'the relationship between bread, body and spirit - the food we eat, how we eat it and who we invite to our tables to share it can become the framework for the study of what we deem sacred.'[27] When the freedom to eat becomes severely constrained, an all-encompassing physical and spiritual void ensues.[28] Conversely, the restoration of an adequate food supply brings with it a renewed sense of liberty, hope and resilience. In the words of Mintz: 'the taste of freedom sounds so empyrean, noble (or ennobling); the taste of food, so ordinary, so material... but these 'tastes' are not really so remote from each other.'[29]

To say that an acute shortage of food leads to fundamental corporeal changes seems axiomatic. Yet surprisingly little research explores the profound impact of long term hunger on the body, even in countries where famine has existed. Perhaps as Ó Gráda the realities of a famine-stricken body defies description and with it, our innate ability to articulate meaning even in today's more enlightened times.[30] We do know that when the body is starved of food sources, a rapid and excruciating physical deterioration swiftly ensues. One source, describing the anguish of Famine induced starvation in west Cork referred to 'the agonising shrieks of the starving…an unconscious form in the agonies of death.'[31] Moreover, when deprived of food over a prolonged period, the body becomes more vulnerable to diseases such as typhoid, tuberculous and pneumonia which prey on a damaged

immune system.[32] Kineally's graphic description of how the body deteriorates during the final stages of starvation leaves few in doubt as regards the profound impact at the corporeal level: 'The body begins to look for protein in its own muscles and in their cells. Over time, the muscles waste pitifully and the cells themselves, plundered of fatty acid, erode death entering their very nucleus.'[33] As the lack of food becomes more protracted, therefore, energy is conserved for survival**,** rendering the most perfunctory of tasks insurmountable.

Moreover, the very act of immigration breaches the nature of established eating rituals in response to environmental changes. More specifically, acute hunger impacts profoundly on established cultural practices. Delaney and McCarthy's study of Irish eating patterns emphasises how 'eating in the past in Ireland was presented as a shared communal activity with established rituals and norms reflecting appreciation of food when available while respecting Catholic religious obligations regarding eating.'[34] Family and social ties become eroded as people, out of necessity, congregate in places where food may be present, notably outside the home. When food supply is restricted, commensal eating rituals, previously characterised by conviviality, reciprocity and mutual support, become replaced with more individualised acts food consumption in a bid to safeguard survival. As these rituals are often informed by spiritual beliefs which impact at the corporeal level, it is this theme to which the paper now turns.

Feeding the Soul: Food and Spiritualism

Perhaps inevitably, the literature on the interface between food, body and spirit draws largely on theology and more specifically notions of 'spiritualism.' It

should be noted that the use of 'spirituality' here is intended in the pluralist sense, thereby opening up the possibility of considering environmental, inter/intra personal and transcendental interpretations. Broadly speaking, spirituality is the fundamental aspect of personal consciousness which strives to find answers to fundamental questions, notably the meaning of life in respect of the universe and everything.[35] Spirituality, therefore, may be expressed through the formation and sustaining of human relationships fostered by actions and reflexive behaviours mediated through a transcendent being.[36] A belief in the spiritual dimensions of existence presupposes a conviction that creative forces may be mobilised to galvanise the human spirit in times of distress.[37]

The genesis of food's sanctity and more specifically, its innate ability to shape physical and spiritual representations of self has its origins in Greek philosophy. Both Plato and Aristotle spoke of the importance of disciplining the body as a means of nourishing the soul and mind.[38] For Descartes, an appreciation of the interconnectivity between body and soul was a prerequisite to the very creation of knowledge itself. Whilst a Spinozian informed interpretation foregrounds how the body changes over time, the Lacanian metaphor of the Mobius strip sought to elucidate the importance of physical and spiritual connectivity and more specifically, the relevance of the metaphysical in shaping notions of self.[39] The writings of Heidegger foreground the more holistic concept of *sorge* whereby responsibility and anxiety are inextricably linked through body, mind and soul.[40]

Significantly, across interdisciplinary writings which traverse many centuries, one's relationship with food served as a litmus test of personal morality

and more specifically, pleasure, pain, guilt and discipline. The premise that physical appetites were linked to the sins associated with carnal pleasures featured extensively in medieval writings on Christianity. Later Christian doctrines sought to codify food consumption through the body spiritually and corporeally, so rendering the body 'a pervasive allegory of the hierarchies of society: church, family and then state.'[41] Another source has noted how the eschatological basis of Christianity foregrounds discourses which unite body, soul and spirit[42] in such a way that eating becomes a means of absorbing 'the divine' into the very body itself. Indeed, certain foods are seen to carry specific spiritual connotations. For example, Belk et al's consideration of theodicy highlights the symbolic potency of food, notably the sanctity of bread, cheese and wine. These food may denote the sacred or, if misappropriated, the profane. [43] Diner's study, for example, revealed that Irish immigrants in New York in the mid to late nineteenth century prepared frugal repasts as an homage to family and friends who remained in Ireland during the Great Hunger.[44]

Understanding of the importance of food and hunger through a corporeal-spiritual continuum, therefore, helps invigorate knowledge regarding Irish sociocultural identity by allowing us to engage in a culturally mediated analysis which merges individual and collective memory. When viewed as a collective, pluralist oral sources have the capacity to reveal new hermeneutically informed insights regarding representations of Irish sociocultural identity.[45] They become what Gadamer et al characterise as hermeneutic conversations whereby interpretation is mediated through sub-textual analysis and subsequent

interpretation.[46] Therefore it is just as much the prevailing messages which 'sit' behind the words which merits our attention as much as the actual spoken words.

Furthermore, memories become more accentuated when viewed across time. They release what Warburg has described as a 'mnenomic energy.'[47] Just as the Large Hadron Collider seeks to reconstruct sequentially critical events from the past, a corporeal-spiritual continuum of memory is applied here to frame Irish people's accounts of starvation and hunger over the course of a century. New fragments of knowledge, therefore, become oscillating clusters which coalesce to reveal previously undisclosed representations of actual lived experiences at the corporeal and spiritual level. Furthermore, the corporeal and spiritual dimensions of behaviour remain an enduring theme for Foucauldian inspired thinking regarding the body politic. The 'soul' is preordained by an 'idéal speculatif' (imaginary ideal) which primes the body to either engage or disengage with sites of power, discipline and control. It is 'the effect and instrument of a political anatomy: the soul is the prison of the body.'[48] Later, Foucault foregrounded the importance of 'technologies of self' which enabled people to 'effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality.[49] These deliberations, Foucault contended, informed one's 'rapports à soi' (self-relations) or more broadly, a culturally, socially and historically centric ethos to which the individual defers when negotiating his/her relationship with the reflexive self.

Research Methodology

The analysis which follows uses extracts from inherited memories of the Great Hunger as recounted to the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1930s and men who emigrated from Ireland during the 1950s/60s to urban centres in England. The hermeneutically informed analysis which follows is intended to reveal the importance of interrelated themes of famine, hunger and food framed by a corporeal-spiritual continuum of memory which spans the course of a *saeculeum*, the time equivalent to around a century and therefore the passing of one generation. The analysis which now follows moves from the descriptive to the metaphysical and is informed by hermeneutics. Advocates of the oral history approach emphasise its importance in awarding a voice to people whose accounts of the past would otherwise be hidden from history.[50] As a research method, oral history traverses both culture and discipline.[51] It allows the interviewee to recount his/her personal story without prescription or interviewer interruption.

Oral reconstructions of past events are neither linear nor objective. Indeed, it is precisely their temporal and subjective nature which enables them to unite discourses of past and present over space, place and time. As Gadamer et al assert: 'Time...is not a yawning abyss, but is filled with the continuity of custom and tradition, in the light of which all that is handed down presents itself to us.'[52]

The nature of the oral sources used to inform this paper requires qualification. It is generally accepted that amongst existing records of the Famine, victims' first-hand accounts were conspicuous by their absence relative to those documented by historians and others commissioned principally by British

government to depict the turbulent events which took place in 1840s Ireland. [53] [54] However, there are some surviving records of eyewitness accounts of the Great Hunger's impact on the general population. For example, Doctor Daniel Donovan's descriptions of the people he treated in Skibbereen, West Cork provide unique insights into the traumatic years of the 1840s.[55] As previously stated, the first of set of records used in this paper are memories of the Famine years are not eye witness records per se. Rather, they are memories documented by the IFC recounted by children, grandchildren and others and thus distilled throughout the years. Given that the IFC questions were pre-set, any claim that it is oral history in the conventional sense is open to legitimate criticism given that reconstructions and subsequent interpretations of the personal accounts of past are influenced by context and positionality. Yet to dismiss the IFC records as merely folklore is misguided. Rather, the IFC records speak 'from within a collective tradition which passes on detailed descriptions of events preceding their birth but which remain remarkably compact from one source to another.[56] As Ó Gráda states in his defence of the IFC accounts: 'the folklore record at its best is vivid, harrowing, telling and, sometimes, intriguing and puzzling. Rejecting what it has to offer would be going a step too far.' [57]

Extracts from the second set of records used here comprise Irish men's oral histories of emigration from Ireland to Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester during the 1950s and 1960s. Significantly, food *per se* was not the original focus of the study. Rather, in keeping with the oral history method, interviewees were invited to recount their stories of emigration with minimal interviewer interruption. It was striking how the majority of those interviewed made multiple unsolicited references

to acute hunger and food shortages. This suggested an urgency if not an innate desire to relay this aspect of the Irish immigration experience. Extracts from thirty of these detailed interviews are included in the analysis which follows.

The principles of anonymity and confidentiality were observed when interviewing the Irish respondents who moved to England during the 1950s and 1960s. The act of recalling memories of the past may have a detrimental emotional impact and breach privacy protocols. Although the IFC archival records contained interviewees' real names, only the respondent's initials are cited in the reference list which accompanies this paper. The full interviews may be accessed via a secure web server or read in situ at UCD.

Both data sets were mined using the principles of abductive reasoning, a method of analysis attributed to American philosopher Charles Pierce. Abductive reasoning is neither inductive nor deductive. Rather, it is intended to highlight new theoretical paradigms or reveal previously undisclosed phenomena by foregrounding the more visual, cohesive and logical dimensions of the subject matter. Drawing on the writings of Aristotle, Pierce's thesis gives the researcher the mandate to consider if and how facts may evolve into beliefs. [58] In the context of this paper, therefore, the application of abductive reasoning allows for an exploration of how a corporeal-spiritual continuum of memory reveals new insights regarding the interface between Irish sociocultural identity and oral accounts of food shortages spanning a century and more.

An Apparatus of Production?

During both the 1840s Famine era and 1950s/60s England, many Irish people seeking food and shelter became itinerant workers travelling long distances to undertake manual labouring jobs essential for survival. The physically strong were rewarded for their efforts. The weak were left to largely fend for themselves. In Foucauldian terms, the labour of the destitute thousands may be viewed as 'an apparatus of production' which, by default, exploits the impoverished. 'When viewed in this way, the poor are used to reduce the burden they put on society. 'How could the "able" poor be put to work; how could they be transformed into a useful workforce?'[59]

In the 1840s, under the auspices of the Irish Board of Works, the impoverished were assigned manual labouring jobs ostensibly to improve the country's infrastructure in anticipation of economic modernisation. Road building alongside field and bog draining schemes were introduced in rural Ireland by the UK government. Hundreds of secondary roads were constructed during this period, many of which were later deemed superfluous. The daily working regime was relentless. Food, normally in the form of yellow meal or soup, was served in the workhouses and soup kitchens formed during this period to spur productivity. [60] Accommodation 'on the road' was minimalist, insecure and only made available in exchange for labour. People travelled far and wide with negligible personal possessions in search of work, shelter and sustenance. Recounting memories of the Great Hunger communicated to him, one Galway man recalled how everyday objects which imbued spiritual and cultural connotations were deemed essential possessions to be carried from place to place: 'They put their few clothes into a canvas bag and carried with them a cooked ham, oat cake, a sod of turf, holy water

and were most particular to wear on their person a brown scapula of Our Lady.'[61] Although pork curing practices in Ireland gathered pace from around the mid eighteenth century, [62] those recounting their memories as part of the IFC study used the more contemporary reference of 'cooked' ham.

The UK government's support for these 'relief' initiatives escalated in the mid 1840s to the extent that around 750,000 people aged 15-65 were recorded as working on these schemes administered by the Board of Works.[63] The daily working regime was relentless. In lieu of financial remuneration, workers were given a bed for the night and breakfast creating a cycle of interdependency between work and actual survival. As one Donegal respondent suggested: 'Homeless individuals wandered through the district receiving a bite here and there and always shelter at night.'[64] One IFC Westmeath respondent recounted his inherited memory f the transient workforce of the time: 'The travelling poor usually got a good night's lodging and breakfast in the workhouse but if they were strong enough, they would be kept part of the day to put to work for what they had already got. ' [65] In reality, daily life bore a close resemblance to labour camp regimes. As one Cork respondent stated: 'The men were hard working and worked from dark to dark summer and winter.'[66] Another respondent reported: 'Wages on these schemes were low - four shillings for an eleven or twelve hour day,' [67] a figure confirmed by Ó.Gráda [68]. Similarly, Lees[69] describes how the 'exiles of Erin' bolstered England's industrial revolution by providing unskilled labour in cities such as Leicester, Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds and of course London. Irish men's oral histories of everyday life in Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester in the 1950s and 1960s revealed how they too formed part of the

travelling poor when servicing Britain's post World War Two boom period a century later. Like those who had emigrated from Ireland a century before them, the accounts of those interviewed about emigration to England during the 1950s and 1960s carried minimalist belongings as though in flight. Sivanandan, perhaps provocatively, characterises the recruiting of immigrant groups to service modernisation agendas as a form of 'free market racism.'[70] Lack of specific skills severely limited employment opportunities for those interviewed regarding their emigration experiences, consigning the majority to a lifetime of manual labour. Eamonn recalled how on arrival in England, his possessions comprised: 'Just a bag. I only had the shoes I had on my feet. Maybe a shirt and trousers. Maybe a pair of socks. Nothing - nothing else.'

Strongly evoking accounts of the Famine era, those interviewed about their emigration experiences on arrival in England during the 1950s and 1960s equally led a nomadic existence, moving from place to place in search of work. In some cases, work had been secured before arrival in England. These jobs included working in the coal mines of the Midlands or the factories of Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester. Many Irish labourers also helped build England's railways and road networks. The men were not discerning about the work they would undertake: 'I'd take whatever work I could get.' (Liam). Paid cash in hand with no holiday pay on temporary contracts, the men were forced to engage in a relentless cycle of labour with negligible reprieve, working up to fourteen hours a day. They too recounted how they travelled from city to city in England in search of work to maintain minimalist levels of shelter and sustenance. The majority stayed in the euphemistically named 'boarding houses.' These minimalist properties closely

resembled the American flop house model of the 1930s. They were occupied mainly by migrant and transient workforce engaged in manual labour. Eamonn reported having stayed in thirty boarding houses in different English cities in search of work over the course of 18 months. Séamus stayed in over twenty boarding houses as he too scoured the country for work. As Johnston and McIvor's study of manual labourers in Tyneside between 1930 and 1970s suggests, protracted periods of heavy manual labour and a transient lifestyle are ultimate tests of physical and emotional endurance. [71]

Furthermore, in different ways and to different degrees, working regimes during both the Famine era and in 1950s/60s England decimated fundamental social structures long established in Irish culture. The severity of the Famine years forced entire Irish families to uproot in search of a better life. During both eras, established family and community networks became ruptured as people emigrated in search of food, shelter and work, most commonly to England, the USA or Canada. The vast majority were never to return. For those who succeeded in other countries, the celebration of collective acts of achievement (a long established practice in Irish culture) became replaced by individual acts of accomplishment, further undermining the celebrations of common endeavour. In both cases, family relationships became shattered and neighbourhood attachment eroded. Significantly, these new patterns of socialisation repeated themselves across the century which spans events between 1840s and 1950/60 as the Irish diaspora widened in search of a better life.

Shared Discourses of Hunger

Before the Famine era, each Irish person man consumed, on average, around fourteen pounds of potatoes a day.[72] Crucially, there were troubling signs before the onslaught of the potato blight that a sustained supply of this essential food was in jeopardy. Verbatim interviews with Irish men and women documented by the French social theorist Alexis de Tocqveuille who visited Ireland in the 1830s noted early signs of famished bodies whilst people waited in anticipation of the summer potato crop: 'Most of them have not eaten since yesterday...last year's crop of potatoes being poor, a dearth has been felt since March. They never eat their fill.'[73] When the Famine gripped a decade later, perpetual hunger became a daily reality so much so that food consumption did little to assuage a sensation of starvation. Recalling memories of the Great Hunger recounted to him, one Dublin IFC interviewee stated: 'It was said that a man sitting to eat a meal could eat four loaves and get up hungry after it.' [74]

The analysis of both the inherited memories of children, grandchildren and relatives who had lived through the Great Hunger and the oral histories of post World War Two Irish immigrants reveals the extent of food shortage, albeit to very different degrees. Similarly, on arrival in England, those interviewed regarding their emigration experiences in the 1950s and 1960s scoured the country in search of work. Evocative of the IFC interviewees' reconstructions of the Famine years, the men who emigrated in the 1950s and 1960s reported how their appetites were seldom satiated. This was most acutely felt during their time in the minimalist boarding houses. The men's repeated polite petitions to their landlords/ladies for more sustenance fell on deaf ears. Séamus suggested that the

paucity of food provided in his lodgings was enshrined in his family script: 'Like my brother says, you wouldn't put on a lot of weight. You'd more likely to be a grey hound than a fat pig…. I had to make do with what I got.' He continued by describing how 'food was in short supply...I could have eaten double what I used to get.' This perception was reiterated by Dónal 'There was a lack of food...there wasn't much going around... there was nothing to eat. It was hard to get food. You just couldn't get enough.' Nondescript and unappetising gravy based dishes featured heavily on boarding house menus. Brendan reported: 'Well, there was a little bit of a dinner. There was more gravy than anything else. It was rotten.'

Sourcing of Alternative Foods to Assuage Hunger

This hermeneutically informed analysis also reveals the diverse survival strategies deployed during both eras which involved, out of necessity, eating foods not intended for human consumption. At the time of the Great Hunger, boiled dandelions, holly berries, nettles, turnips, sorrel and even stones were all added to water to create a flavoured hot beverage. People scoured the countryside for edible plants to alleviate their hunger. One Tipperary man reported: 'The people ate anything edible and some ate things properly inedible...The people walked about seeking food or edible herbs until they fell by exhaustion and were picked up like "casualties" in a battlefield'.[75] (IFCg).

In a similar vein, on arrival in England after the Second World War, those who recounted their experiences of emigration post war Britain showed similar resourcefulness when seeking to assuage hunger pangs. Charlie recalled how, in his own case on arrival in England, fizzy drinks acted as a meal replacement:

'I worked in a cordial place where they did minerals. I was with a truck driver and he'd take me all around London. He had loads of lemonade and pop and all that. I had plenty of pop to drink, things like that. But there was a lack of food up there.'

During both eras, animals not normally used for human consumption became part of everyday diets. Remembering stories of the Great Hunger recounted to him, one Laois man reported how 'some people ate swede turnip and dead rats.'[76] On arrival in England in the 1950s and 1960s, the dearth of food heightened broader anxieties around insecurity of housing tenure and employment. Those interviewed regarding their immigration to Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester reported their dismay at being offered foods considered alien**,** such as horsemeat. For Dónal, the unfamiliar food he was served stood in sharp contrast to his meals in Ireland: 'You were still eating horsemeat then. The meat wasn't same as it was at home...(where you) had your potatoes, cabbage and veg. And you had your bacon.' Dónal believed that one boarding house served him cat meat:

'One time, she gave us a bit of chicken...but it wasn't - it was a cat. There were an awful lots of cats missing. And they were saying that some people were killing the cats and that this was what was being put into the soup. Like the horsemeat - Jasis- - horse meat. We use to say "The cat's gone next door." '

Ethical Dilemmas: Starve Or Steal?

Significantly, both sets of oral accounts reveal ethical dilemmas which arose as hungers caused established moral norms to shift. All those interviewed regarding emigration from Ireland to England in the post war period were born into the Catholic faith. They reported acts of food theft as the men sought to negotiate the

lack of palatable food in the minimalist boarding houses. In one instance, the lingering aroma of a cooked chicken left unattended in one Manchester boarding house kitchen proved too much for Colm. He devoured almost the entire chicken leaving only the bones as incriminating evidence. Gerard recalls: "One night, I came in and I had a chicken I cooked for myself and (there were) bones... I didn't swear. He said 'I'm sorry, I was hungry' I says 'I was bloody hungry too.' We'd say 'Can you remember when Colm ate nearly all your chicken?' Memories of such deviance were clearly not readily forgotten by those who were equally destitute.

Critically, those who stole food during the Famine era experienced much less clemency than those interviewed regarding their immigration experiences in Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester. Reports in the IFC Great Hunger archive passed down over the course of the century report how inhumane mantraps apprehend poachers and those seen stealing turnips or potatoes. Those who were trapped were so desperate to escape that they often died of exhaustion whilst trying to break free. According to one Monaghan IFC respondent, 'Crops and cattle were often taken by those who were in want. Those found at this were usually punished severely and mantraps set to catch any who poached.'[77] Analysis of the Famine archival material reveals disturbing accounts of how guns were also used to kill or wound those seen stealing food. A Tipperary respondent recalled: 'There lived in this district a widow who had three children. One morning, she had nothing to give them to eat. So she sent her only son into a farmer's field which was near fora turnip to eat. The farmer was out with his gun…looking at his crop. When he saw the boy, he pointed his gun towards him and shot him.'[78] The contemporary record

confirms that petty crime increased during the Great Hunger to the extent that many farmers employed watchmen to guard crops and the coastline.[79]

Dearth of Meat

The writings of Bourdieu[80] show how food is a social construct which may be differentiated by type, namely bourgeois, working class or popular taste. Moreover, distinct food behaviours, such as sharing and serving, are often linked to the maternal world. Bourdieu contends these patterns may become ruptured by abrupt environmental changes.[81] Emigration represents one such radical change.

Significantly, both the oral accounts of the Famine and interviewees' recollections of their formative immigration experiences in England post Second World War show a dearth of meat in everyday diets, albeit to differing degrees. The scarcity of meat proved to have a profound impact at the corporeal and spiritual levels during both eras. As the writings of Adams and Rothgerber suggest, meat consumption carries multiple hermeneutic connotations of virility and masculinity at the universal level.[82] It is noteworthy that in medieval Ireland and indeed up until the mid-eighteenth century, beef consumption was normally preserved for feasting.[83] Conversely, when in short supply, attempts to participate in social displays such as meat eating to validate masculinity associated with heavy manual labour become undermined. In respect of Irish sociocultural identity, a lack of meat denotes low levels of financial, social and cultural capital. [84]

Crucially, the hermeneutically informed analysis here suggests that those who depended principally on the potato for sustenance, notably the cottiers and

others at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, were forced to seek alternate food sources. Daily sustenance comprised mainly a vegetarian diet of high carbohydrate foods such as potatoes, homemade bread, very thin soups and porridge (or Indian meal in the case of the Famine era). Lack of nutrition along with heavy manual work takes an immense toll on the body. Drawing on memories handed down to him by relatives and neighbours, one Leitrim respondent reported that in the mid 1840s: 'The people existed on vegetables but were not fit for much bodily excursion of work as a result.'[85] Another Monaghan man's reconstruction of inherited memories of the Famine era, reflected in the contemporary record,[86] was that 'the strongest men were reduced to mere skeletons and they could be met daily with clothes hanging off them like ghosts.[87] Interviewees' accounts of emigration from Ireland to England's urban centres in the 1950s and 1960s echo this paucity of food. This was most acutely felt in the boarding houses where meat supplies were always tightly controlled by the landlords/ladies. Polite petitions for meat proved invariably to be ineffectual. Dónal recalls asking one landlady: 'You'd pass a few remarks, you know 'Is there any meat?' something like that; nothing, no response. You'd never get nothing. All she'd feed you was cheese. There wasn't much going around.'

Spiritual Connotations Enshrined in Fish and Bread

Fish has endured as one of the most important symbols in Christianity.[88] Although a diminishing practice, many Catholics still abstain from meat and eat only fish every Friday to commemorate the day Jesus was crucified. Fasting on a Friday as a means of disciplining the body was a common practice amongst Irish Catholic immigrants in England. [89] The prevalence of fish during the Great Hunger

years featured in the recounted memories of one IFC Dublin respondent: 'Fish was plentiful at the time and a great feast for all...the rivers abounded with fish.'[90] Another source suggested that fish was affordable in the Donegal area: 'Fish was particularly plentiful during those years, especially white fish and was exceptionally cheap.'[91] Significantly, the contemporary record points to wide regional variation regarding the prevalence and affordability of fish during the Famine years. O' Gráda's critical account of the contemporary record confirms these claims.[92] Few cottiers possessed fishing skills, leaving people in coastal areas with no means to support themselves.[93]

Interestingly, a defence of fish rose to the fore in both the IFC archival material and those interviewed regarding their immigration to England in post war Britain. Significantly, those interviewed about emigration from Ireland during the 1950s and 1960s rejected fish outright when it was served to them in such a way that may be construed as violating cultural expectations. Séamus, for example, recalled how he disposed of his packed lunch on the days fish paste was foisted upon him: 'And then it was fish paste and I didn't like fish paste and that went in the bin.' Tomás recalled how he would invariably throw the fish paste sandwiches into a nearby river for the swans as he got off the bus. For Liam, the traditional method of serving fish and chips was incongruous with his view of how fish should be served: 'It was the first time I'd had fish and chips put of a newspaper. Bad as we were at home, we had a plate and this was a newspaper with fried spuds as far as I was concerned they were called chips – and a bit of fish. I was thinking "oh " mammy" (laughs).'

Workhouse and Boarding House Food - A Common Culinary Order

In both the Famine work houses and boarding houses occupied by those who immigrated in the 1950s and 1960s, the food served was both unfamiliar and unappetising**,** ensuring that only the famished would partake. In the Famine era, daily diets comprised a gruel, colloquially referred to as 'stirabout'. [94] [95]The meal needed to be ground finely to make it palatable. But as Ireland did not have the steel mills necessary to process it adequately, the grain was milled by millstones instead causing bowel disorders amongst many of those who ate it. [96]

Furthermore, in both the case of the years of the Great Hunger and the post Second World War period, soup normally perceived as a sub-class of food symbolised pauperism and dependency, was commonplace. In particular, vegetable based soups featured extensively in the workhouses. When meat based soups were available, the IFC record suggests they were often served on a Friday to preclude Catholics from eating it, suggesting a retrospective anti-Protestant positionality no the part of one Belfast respondent, 'Great care was taken that soup was made from meat and vegetables and distributed on Fridays so that the Catholic population could not partake.[97]' Other sources adopt a more tempered stance and suggest that the provision of soup as a relief measure pre dated the Famine and was by no means designed to manipulate behaviour.[98] Similarly, a hierarchal categorisation of food existed in the boarding houses with soup at the bottom and meat at the top. Thin soups, acceptable as staple fare for the Irish population in the post World War Two boom period, were shunned by the more affluent classes as minimalist soups denoted pauperism and welfare dependency.[99]'You used to get mostly soup',

recalled Dónal. Charles' recollection resonates with Dónal's: 'She'd (the landlady) serve us boiled water with some vegetables in it – sure there was nothing to it'. Soup, normally of the vegetable variety, is deemed a subclass of a food division and carries connotations of pauperism. Moreover, the soup served in the boarding houses was substantially less nutritious than traditional Irish soups with which many of the men would have been familiar. [100]

Concluding Reflections

This paper has shown that whilst the need for nutrition is clearly universal, reconstructions of hunger are culturally mediated. Neither the body nor spirit are passive bearers of culture. Rather, accounts of the past may be decoded along a corporeal and spiritual continuum within both body and spirit. Yet although culturally mediated, these themes have a universality capable of traversing time and place in cultures which have experienced this distinctive form of hardship. Consequently, oral accounts of hunger and starvation become further consolidated in historical consciousness.

The moment a memory is recounted, it becomes immediately consigned to the past. When viewed in this way, trans-subjective knowledge as enshrined in oral testimony assumes a dynamic of its own**,** capable of existence outside the subject**,** rendering, in effect, the present redundant. This suggests that reconstructions of hunger derived for diverse oral sources may somehow be driven by contingent turns in history - in effect, a shift from memory to history and a move towards a more developed collective consciousness. The net result is compelling medium of memory which is both visible and invisible, a fluid representation of time which

looks to the past to inform the future. The analysis here suggests that memory and history-making form part of the same continuum. Shared accounts of hunger and starvation mediated by memory become a translucent gateway through which Irish sociocultural identity may be further understood. In this way, subjugated oral accounts of hardship and pain become representations of the phenomenally-experienced individual body-self. With this in mind, might further research regarding a 'hunger centred memory' serve to reveal accounts of 'life intensifiers' coalesce at the metaphysical level? The analysis here of Irish people's oral accounts of acute hunger spanning the course of a century has revealed previously neglected corporeal and spiritual dimensions of Irish sociocultural identity, including an exemplified sense of morality as revealed by different forms of storytelling.

Furthermore, the analysis here reveals not merely the interconnectivity between the Irish Folkore Commission records and the testimonies of those interviewed regarding their immigration experiences during the 1950s and 1960s. an *interchangeability* of accounts: the profound impact sustained hunger has on the physical form; the way in which the poor houses and soup kitchens of the Famine era resonated with a daily life of destitution in the 'Irish boarding houses' in Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester evoking a culinary order which traverses a century and more. The analysis has highlighted how the serving of certain foods which carry explicit spiritual connotations (namely fish, bread and the potato) violated cultural expectations. Significantly, oral accounts of these foods during the Famine era evoked a similar reverence. To what extent might these connotations endure in the memories of more recent Irish immigrants in England today?

The analysis has also highlighted how over the course of a century, little changed in respect of the perceived value of Irish immigrant labour to the economic modernisation agenda. Acute deprivation of food (albeit to very different degrees) was unchartered territory for all, compelling people to do things they would not otherwise countenance. Moreover, despite being mediated in different ways, both sets of oral accounts analysed here challenge the common stereotype of the drunken and morally bankrupt Irish labourer. This negative stereotype is reliant on the Irish being problematised as immigrants thereby legitimising attempts to discipline and control, notably to service modernisation agendas separated by a century. Significantly, the interviewees' reconstructions of early residential years in England in the 1950s and 1960s portray frugal and solitary lifestyle in which alcohol was openly rejected. Acts of racism may never be defended, not least if prevailing cultural characteristics suggest, as evidence presented here suggests, high levels of morality as evidenced by modest lifestyles or the rejection of excessive alcohol consumption.

The hermeneutic exploration of both sets of oral accounts presented here also reveals how the lack of food was indicative of the erosion of social and cultural capital which, in most cases, took many decades to restore. Many Irish arrived to England during the 1950s and 1960s with negligible assets and an itinerant lifestyle driven by the need to find work, food and sustenance. These accounts strongly evoked the recurring theme in the Famine archive data which made multiple references to the travelling poor and the need to pursue work opportunities, no matter how speculative, at a moment's notice. In both cases, radical environmental shifts led to the rupture of intimate family and social relationships which further

undermined efforts to secure social or cultural capital gains. At the same time, in both eras, these challenges were negotiated, suggesting that the human spirit may become more fortified when rising above adversity. In the case of those interviewed regarding their immigration to Leicester, Sheffield and Manchester, the vast majority did accumulate considerable financial, social and cultural capital following immigration to England. However, access to diverse capital occurred in much later life. It does indeed seem, therefore that time may well be, in certain circumstances, a great corporeal, physical and cultural healer.

Furthermore, those with an interest in Irish history will be all too familiar with the enduring potency of the Famine fields in Ireland. The monuments erected to mark the Famine both in Ireland and elsewhere are a case in point. Many of these memories remain unmarked. In the same way, the roads built, the coal mines dug and the factories constructed by Irish workers during the 1950s and 1960s may equally be viewed as fluid sites of memory, a representation of shared knowledge of the past on which a group's sense of identity is founded.

But if we accept, if only in part, that Irish peoples' secular narratives of hunger featured here may interface with space, place and time, to what extent do they impact on current generations? On a macro level, it seems unlikely that this will be in evidence in the near future, not least as Ireland's economy continues to be heavily subsidised by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund. More poignantly, thousands of people participate in Famine 'pilgrimages', such as the Doolough Famine Walk where they retrace the steps of the starving who travelled several miles on foot in search of sustenance. During the harrowing

Famine years, many died on the roadside, rendering these localities sacred spaces which enshrine enduring memories of starvation, destitution and resilience. Reiterating Pierre Nora's claims that the human memory is fallible,[101] writers such as Mark-Fitzgerald [102]highlight the importance of memorials erected as part of the 150 year Great Hunger commemoration events remind us that the human memory is fallible. What is clear is that when given the freedom to coalesce over time, oral accounts of past events give rise to a more enduring and reflexive sense of self and historically centric ethos, generating new insights on the past and which helps inform the future. Because if we cease to defer to the past to inform our future activities, then we all risk become that little bit more impoverished both now and in future generations.

Acknowledgements

Word count 10,874 including references, acknowledgements and endnotes.

---

[1] Thomson, "Moving Stories", Grele "Envelopes of Sound."

[2] Speed and Mannion, "The Rise of Post-Truth Populism" and Anderson-Nathe, and Gharabaghi, "Trending rightward."

[3] Abbotts et al. "Morbidity and Irish Catholic descent in Britain."

[4] Watts and Bohle, 'The space of vulnerability'.

[5] Hart, *A History of the Second World War*.

[6] Dikötter, *Mao's Famine*. Also Rahmato, *Famine and Survival Strategies,* Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* and others.

[7] Keneally, *Three Famines*.

[8] Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, 3.

[9] Quinlan, "A punishment from God," 68-86.

[10] Ó Ciosáin, "Approaching a folklore archive," 222-232.

[11] Ó Gráda, "Famine, Trauma and Memory", 121-143.

[12] Perks and Thompson, *The Oral History Reader; also* Maye-Banbury and Casey, "The Sensuous Secrets of Shelter."

[13] Thompson, The Voice of the Past", 139.

[14] Nora, "Between Memory and History", 7-24.

[15] Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory", 116.

[16] Levi, *The Reawakening*.

[17] Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, 73 - 74.

[18] Köster, "Does olfactory memory depend on remembering odors?" i236-i237; also Miewald and Ostry. "A Warm Meal", 709-729.

[19] Arnold, *Social Crisis and Historical Change*.

[20] Kinealy, *The Great Irish Famine,*6.

[21] Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, 2.

[22] Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling,* 20.

[23] Ó Ciosáin, "Approaching a folklore archive," 222-232; Ó Gráda, "Famine, Trauma and Memory", 121-143; Quinlan, "A punishment from God': 68-86; Póirtéir, "*Famine Echoes.*"

[24] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory.*

[25] Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", 185.

[26] Airhihenbuwa et al, "Cultural Aspects of African American Eating Patterns", 245-260. also Opie, *Hog and Hominy.*

[27] Peck, *Bread, Body, Spirit.*

[28] Chilton and Booth,"Hunger of the Body and Hunger of the Mind", 116-125.

[29] Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom.*

[30] O' Gráda, "Famine, Trauma and Memory." 121-143.

[31] Dare, *Food, Power and Community,* 183.

[32] Mokyr and Ó Gráda. "What Do People Die of During Famines?" 339-363.

[33] Keneally, *Three Famines: Starvation and Politics*.

[34] Delaney and McCarthy, "Saints, Sinners and Non-Believers", 108.

[35] Shaw et al, "Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth", 1-11.

[36] Koenig et al, *Handbook of Religion and Health*.

[37] Dyson et al "The Meaning of Spirituality", 1183 -1188.

[38] Sorabji "Body and Soul in Aristotle", 63-89.

[39] Selinger, "The Navajo, Psychosis, Lacan, and Derrida", 64-100.

[40] Ciocan "The Question of the Living Body", 72-89.

[41] Synnott, *The Body Social*, 11- 12.

[42] Bubacz, "The Reality of the Mind", 148-149.

[43] Belk et al "The Sacred and the Profane," 1- 38.

[44] Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America.*

[45] Hyde "Philosophical Hermeneutics." Also Grele, "History and the Languages of History", 1-18.

[46] Gadamer et al, *Truth and Method*.

[47] Assmann and Czaplicka , "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", 129.

[48] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*: 34.

[49] Foucault et al, *Technologies of the Self*.

[50] , Maye-Banbury and Casey, "The Sensuous Secrets of Shelter", also Perks and Thompson, *The Oral History Reader*.

[51] Yow, *Recording Oral History*.

[52] Gadamer et al, *Truth and Method*, 297.

[53] Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, 3.

[54] Cronin "Oral History, Oral Tradition and the Great Famine."

[55] Donovan.

[56] Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History", 102.

[57] O' Gráda, "Famine, Trauma and Memory", 131.

[58] Aliseda, *Abductive Reasoning*.

[59] Foucault, "The Politics of Health", 115.

[60] Crowford, "The Irish workhouse diet,"

[61] Irish Folklore Commission, response from KT.

[62] Mac Con Iomaire, The Pig in Irish Cuisine.

[63] Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*.

[64] Irish Folklore Commission, response from JC.

[65] Irish Folklore Commission, response from LPC.

[66] Irish Folklore Commission, response from SÓD.

[67] Irish Folklore Commission, response from SMP.

[68] Ó Gráda.

[69] Lees, *Exiles of Erin.*

[70] Sivanandan, "Heresies and Prophecies", 1-11.

[71] Johnston and McIvor, "Dangerous Work."

[72] Keneally, Three Famines: Starvation and Politics.

[73] De Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, 187.

[74] Irish Folklore Commission, response from PÓE.

[75] Irish Folklore Commission, response from PL.

[76] Irish Folklore Commission, response from PÓE.

[77] Irish Folklore Commission, response from PÓE.

[78] Irish Folklore Commission, response from ÁND Bartoletti, *Black Potatoes.*

[79] Ó Gráda, C. Black '47 and Beyond.

[80] Bourdieu, *Distinction.*

[81] Bourdieu ibid.

[82] Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat,* 363.

[83] Clarkson and Crawford. *Feast and Famine,* 126-157.

[84] Maye-Banbury and Casey "The Sensuous Secrets of Shelter," 272-292.

[85] Irish Folklore Commission, response from MNG.

[86] Mahony, Sketches in the West of Ireland; Kissane, The Irish Famine.

[87] Irish Folklore Commission, response from FK.

[88] Steel, "Chocolate and Bread", 321-334.

[89] Taylor, *Occasions of Faith.*

[90] Irish Folklore Commission, response from SÓD.

[91] Irish Folklore Commission, response from JC.

[92] Ó Gráda. *Black '47 and Beyond.*

[93] Anbinder "Lord Palmerston and the Irish famine emigration."

[94] Ó Gráda,. Black '47 and Beyond.

[95] Connell, Kenneth H. "The potato in Ireland." 57-71.

[96] Bartoletti, *Black Potatoes.*

[97] Irish Folklore Commission, response from JC.

[98] Bowen, *Souperism: Myth Or Reality.*

[99] Maye-Banbury and Casey. "The Sensuous Secrets of Shelter", 272-292.

[100] Adelman, "Food in Ireland."

[102] Mark-FitzGerald, *Commemorating the Irish Famine.*