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THE GREAT IRISH FAMINE

IMPACT, IDEOLOGY AND REBELLION

Christine Kinealy

British History in Perspective

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1847, a Royal Decree was issued in Brussels forbidding the export of bread of every kind until the following 1 October.¹¹⁰

The British determination not to interfere with the food trade was commented on beyond the United Kingdom. The *New York Weekly Herald*, which carried frequent reports from Ireland, commented that although 'the wail of famine rises louder and louder . . . still the ports are closed and still there is no restriction on exporters'. The public works were criticized also because the wages paid were 'hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together'. Russell's response was described as 'trifling and contemptible' when Ireland needed 'that iron will which should command the ports to be opened, and which should prohibit in breweries and distilleries the use of grain, thus preventing the consumption of the people's food in distillation, and permitting the free importation of every species of food necessary for daily sustenance, indiscriminately, from every country'. Unfortunately for the Irish poor, Russell did not possess either the will or energy to impose such measures.¹¹¹

Exports from Ireland

The issue of food exports during the Famine has, perhaps more than any other issue, tended to polarize recent historical scholarship. For example, the historian Peter Grev has claimed: 'Even if exports had been prohibited, Ireland lacked sufficient food resources to stave off famine in 1846-47'.¹¹² It has also been suggested that because of the massive crop failure in Ireland after 1846, the Famine represented a 'classic case of food shortage' and that 'during the famine years, food imports dwarfed food exports'.¹¹³ To substantiate this point, it is generally pointed out that by 1847 grain exports had fallen and were being exceeded, by imports, but, by their own admission, the government's data was flawed, both underestimating exports from Ireland and exaggerating imports.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, most of the debate about food availability has centred on corn, ignoring the fact that large amounts of other foodstuffs were being produced in and exported from Ireland, whilst little food apart from grain was being imported. The economist Amartya Sen's point that famine was often not about total food availability but about food distribution, therefore, has particular resonance in the Irish situation.¹¹⁵ That the mechanisms could be quickly put in place for the distribution of large quantities of food was proven during the successful

Table 4.3. Exports of Cattle and Livestock from Ireland to Great Britain in 1846

	Oxen	Calves	Sheep/Lambs	Swine	Total
Jan.	4 828	68	5 074	43 429	53 399
Feb.	3 235	25	3 245	47 693	54 198
March	6 786	90	2 802	61 709	71 387
April	8 064	60	4 112	54 939	67 175
May	11 490	1 003	15 682	39 815	67 990
June	14 296	860	36 875	30 008	82 039
July	18 197	766	36 804	33 582	89 349
Aug.	20 087	755	43 272	27 821	91 935
Sept.	33 444	1 388	43 296	28 545	106 673
Oct.	23 389	543	26 554	34 626	85 112
Nov.	28 739	654	27 738	46 644	103 795
Dec.	15 918	151	13 783	32 006	59 858
Total	186 473	6 363	259 257	480 817	752 910

Source: William Irving, *An Account of . . . the Number of Cattle, Sheep and Swine Imported into Great Britain from Ireland in 1846*, placed before the House of Commons, 19 January 1847.

operation of the government soup kitchens. The point was frequently made in the columns of the *Nation* that, even without the potatoes, sufficient food was being grown on Irish soil to feed the population.¹¹⁶ Even allowing for a massive shortfall in potatoes and a smaller shortfall in corn production, immense quantities of foodstuffs left Ireland between 1845 and 1850. Yet the fact that such large amounts of provisions were being exported from Ireland was not widely recognized at the time: even the authoritative *Mark Lane Express* pronounced in January 1847: 'With the people starving in many parts of the island shipments of provisions from there to England are, of course, out of the question'.¹¹⁷

Whilst it was generally recognized that Ireland before the Famine was the breadbasket of the United Kingdom, exporting enough corn to feed two million people, the export of other foodstuffs was less recognized. By the 1840s the export of cattle to Britain was considerable (see Table 4.3) and following the appearance of blight in 1845, it did not decrease.

Apart from the trade in corn and cattle, large quantities of other provisions left the country including vegetables and pulses, dairy products (in particular, butter and eggs), fish (especially salmon, oysters and herrings), poultry, and a miscellany of rabbits, honey, tongues and lard, and even occasionally potatoes and Indian corn. For example, 3435 poultry were exported to Liverpool and 2375 to Bristol in the first nine months

Table 4.4 Grain Exports from Kilrush to Glasgow in 1847 (in pounds)

	1847
Oats	2 682 932
Barley	110 628

Table 4.5 Grain and Foodstuffs Exported from Kilrush to Liverpool in 1847 and 1848 (in pounds)

	1847	1848
Wheat	19 320	88 452
Oats	447 384	1 477 980
Oatmeal	224 000	-
Beans	-	90 300

of 1847. In April 1847, 20 tons of potatoes were exported from Portaferry to Liverpool. Another feature of the export trade was that it was not confined to the larger ports, but also took place from small ports in the west of the country which were associated with suffering rather than commerce, towns such as Dingle, Bantry, Killala, Ballina, Tralee and Kilrush. Even Skibbereen, which had achieved such notoriety at the beginning of 1847, was exporting foodstuffs, including 181 496 lb of oats to Liverpool in June 1847.¹¹⁸ The town of Sligo, in addition to exporting large amounts of grain to Liverpool, in 1847 also exported 172 barrels and ten hogsheads of bacon, 28 barrels and 42 hogsheads of ham, 17 barrels and one tierce of beef, 57 barrels of pork, 796 376 lb of butter, 238 boxes of eggs, 78 036 lb of lard and 322 680 lb of peas. Whilst Liverpool, London, Bristol and Glasgow were the main ports of entry from Ireland into Britain, smaller ports such as Dundee, Preston, Perth, Runcorn, Plymouth and Leith, were also importing foodstuffs although accurate records were not maintained.

The Kilrush Union in County Clare experienced some of the greatest and most protracted suffering during the Famine. Its population in 1841 had been 82 353 and in the summer of 1847, 62 per cent of the population were receiving government aid under the Temporary Relief Act.¹¹⁹ In 1848 the Kilrush Union had achieved the same notoriety amongst relief officials as Skibbereen had two years earlier. Whilst other parts of the country were beginning a slow recovery from famine, 25 per cent of the local population were still in receipt of poor relief and an

estimated 300 people were being evicted daily.¹²⁰ Following the 1849 harvest, the situation in Kilrush did not improve and, at the end of the year, the Poor Law officials had to suspend all relief in the union because the Guardians had no money in hand. At the insistence of Poulett Scrope a select committee was appointed in 1850 to enquire into the local administration of relief. Its conclusions were critical of relief provision and it estimated that the population had fallen in the union by between 25 per cent and 50 per cent.¹²¹ The situation of the poor did not improve and, in 1851, the demand for relief in Kilrush was higher than at any time in the previous six years, with almost 50 per cent of the population still dependent on the Poor Law.¹²² Food was, however, exported through the small port throughout the Famine. The amount of grain exported from Kilrush to Glasgow in 1847 and from Kilrush to Liverpool in 1847 and 1848 is shown in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

The experience of Kilrush was not unique. In the summer of 1847, 79 per cent of the population of Ballina in County Mayo, and 57 per cent of the population of Tralee were dependent on government relief.¹²³ Tables 4.6 and 4.7 show exports over the same period from these two small ports to Liverpool.

Large amounts of grain were also exported from Westport in County Mayo, although more sporadically. In August 1846, 1 135 680 lb of oats were exported to Liverpool. Grain exports from the town remained high even in the wake of the poor harvest. In the three-month period between October and the end of December 1846, 1 680 368 lb of grain left Westport. No exports were recorded between January and March 1847, but grain exports in the following three months, April to June, reached 1 826 552 lb; in July to September, 19 691 481 lb; and October to December, 1 860 945 lb. In total, grain exports from Westport to Liverpool between October 1846 and December 1847 amounted to 25 059 346 lb.¹²⁴ This area was one of the poorest throughout the Famine. In the summer of 1847, 86 per cent of the local population were dependent on government soup.¹²⁵ In August 1847, it was officially designated as a 'distressed' union by the British government and the locally elected Board of Guardians was replaced by paid officials.¹²⁶ Within a few days of taking up office, the new administrators informed the central Commissioners that the poverty of the local ratepayers was so extreme that the union was on the verge of financial collapse.¹²⁷ For some of the poor in the union the only relief available was in a local school, established by Count Strzelecki of the British Relief Association, where the children received rations of soup and bread.¹²⁸

Table 4.6 Grain and Foodstuffs Exported from Ballina to Liverpool in 1847 and 1848 (in pounds)

	1847	1848
Wheat	548 268	
Flour	38 360	
Oats	140 000	562 000
Oatmeal	85 120	208 320
Barley	127 120	112 560
Meal	19 320	
Beans	57 680	
Peas	36 120	
Peameal	5 460	
Butter		280

Table 4.7 Grain and Foodstuffs Exported from Tralee to Liverpool in 1848 (in pounds)

Wheat	28 000
Flour	330 820
Oats	4 375 392
Barley	289 688
Meal	20 580
Wheaten Meal	489 442
Butter	12 656
Beans	31 920
Bread	26 880
Rice	106 680
Biscuits	24 360

How many people could have been fed by the food exported? A pound was the British government's allowance of corn per day to feed an adult. According to official statistics – which the government, at the insistence of Bentinck, admitted were an underestimate – in 1846 and 1847, 430 000 tons of grain were exported, that is 963 200 000 lb. Using the government's ration allowance, this quantity would have fed two million people for 16 months of those two years. Much of the exports were made from areas where the greatest need for food existed, which would have made redistribution relatively simple and immediate, in contrast with the slow and cumbersome system of depending on foreign imports. Taking the single commodity of oats from the port of Limerick to Bristol and Liverpool in the first six months of 1847 and 1848, the

Table 4.8 Oats Exported from Limerick in 1847 and 1848 (in pounds)

1847	Oats in lb	Possible population fed for a month
Jan.	775 992	25 030
Feb.	3 286 920	117 390
March	2 555 568	81 792
April	540 820	18 027
May	1 863 988	60 129
June	784 588	26 153
1848	Oats in lb	Possible population fed for a month
Jan.	6 292 888	202 996
Feb.	7 495 068	267 681
Mar.	4 548 964	146 741
April	4 891 376	163 046
May	4 760 000	153 548
June	1 583 148	52 771

exports, if a mechanism had been deployed to divert them to the starving population, would have fed them for that month.

Butter was a significant item of export, although the government did not keep official records of dairy exports. In the first week of 1847, 249 480 lb were exported from Ireland to Liverpool, and by the following week this had increased to 262 692 lb. Cork was a major exporter of this commodity and, in 1847, the port exported 3 396 736 lb of butter to Liverpool.¹²⁹ The trade in eggs was also massive and remained buoyant throughout the 1840s. By 1850, an estimated 90 million eggs were being imported into Liverpool each year from Ireland.¹³⁰

Alcohol was also a major item of export, mostly in the form of ale, stout, porter and whiskey. Again, the quantities exported were large. In the first nine months of 1847, 874 170 gallons of porter and 183 392 gallons of whiskey were exported to Liverpool alone. During the same nine months, 278 658 gallons of Guinness were imported into Bristol. Much of the whiskey leaving Ireland originated in Cork, yet in January 1847 the local distillers raised the price of whiskey to 7d. a gallon due, they said, to a scarcity in the product.¹³¹ These products were derived from grain or, occasionally, potatoes and therefore represented an averted supply of food. Moreover, stopping the distillation of alcohol had been widely called for both within Ireland and Britain. Clearly, during the course of the Famine Irish markets continued to function well in the commercial sense, and were able to respond to changes in both supply and demand. But because they were transferring foods away

from areas of the greatest poverty, they worked to the disadvantage of the poor in Ireland. As was recognized, government intervention was necessary to transfer food resources to those who most needed them. Instead, the so-called 'free market' diverted food to areas with greater resources, whilst the poor in Ireland starved. Yet the scale of food being produced in, and exported from, Ireland was little understood at the time. Moreover, misinformation and lack of accurate data furnished by the Whig administration ensured that the scale of food exports was not fully appreciated. The Irish poor did not starve because there was an inadequate supply of food within the country, they starved because political, commercial and individual greed was given priority over the saving of lives in one part of the United Kingdom.

Economic recovery from successive years of poor harvests, combined with the changes engendered by the repeal of the Corn Laws, was sluggish. In the summer of 1849, the *Freeman's Journal* reported that, despite prospects of a good harvest, 'there is no disposition to enter into heavy transactions'. Retail trade in Dublin, however, was unexpectedly buttressed by the intended visit of the Queen.¹⁵² By 1849 food prices were falling and there was less dependence on imported corn. The price of imported rice had fallen dramatically due to the prospects of a large crop.¹⁵³ The early crop of new potatoes was of good quality and was selling in the north from 4d. to 9d. per stone, which was cheaper than in the years preceding the disease.¹⁵⁴ The linen trade in Belfast, which had been hit by a poor flax crop in 1846 and industrial recession in the British markets, was recovering. Much of the flax, however, was being imported from the Baltic rather than being home grown.¹⁵⁵ Shopkeepers who survived the Famine did well. Thomas Carlyle described what he believed as a typical one in Scarrif in 1849, saying: 'he had got his house new floored; was prospering, I suppose, by workhouse grocery-and-meal trade, by secret pawn broking - by eating the slain'.¹⁵⁶ Recovery in other areas of day-to-day life took longer, reflecting a massive shock not just to the Irish economy, but also to the psyche of those groups who had suffered most.

5

RIOT, PROTEST AND POPULAR AGITATION

Throughout the Famine, many reports on the condition of the destitute emphasized the passivity and resignation of the poor.¹ Writing at the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalist Michael Davitt condemned such compliance, describing it as 'the wholesale cowardice of the men who saw food leave the country in shiploads, and turned and saw their wives and little ones sicken and die, and who "bravely paid their rent" before dying themselves.'² However, the sustained food shortages between 1845 and 1849 resulted in a period of extraordinary disorder and protest, whilst riot and theft were integral parts of the crisis. The high incidence of agitation was not surprising given the prevalence of rural protest, or 'outrages', in Ireland before 1845 and the longevity of the crisis triggered by the blight. The character of the agitation changed after 1845. Much pre-famine agitation had been local, rather than national, and conservative, in that a primary objective was frequently to resist change or modernization. The pre-famine protests were often associated with Catholic secret societies such as the Whiteboys or Molly Maguires, who were known generically as Ribbon Societies. The growth of Ribbonism and its various offshoots had generally been in response to local grievances, although they increasingly aspired to an independent Ireland. In the north of the country, secret societies tended to be more overtly political and sectarian.³

The failure of the potato crop in 1845 exacerbated many of the existing grievances of the rural poor, particularly as it was followed by a cycle of high food prices and widespread evictions. At the same time, the successive

was most severe, they blamed the absence of a suitable local network for distributing food to the people. This deficiency they, in turn, attributed to an absentee or indifferent gentry class and the inappropriate administrative machinery provided by the government. Joseph Bewley, a leading Dublin Quaker, pointed out that the consequence of the government's policies was that the heaviest financial burden fell on the poorest areas. Moreover, the relief measures were a waste of resources in that they were bringing no long-term benefits to the country.³³ James Tuke, who visited Donegal in December 1846, repeatedly described the inadequacy of the government's system of relief to support the poor. He reserved his praise for the people who displayed 'good feeling, patience and cheerfulness under privation'.³⁴ In the autumn of 1847, when the Poor Law became responsible for relief, the Quakers decided to stop their relief work and instead to concentrate on measures which could help in the longer-term economic development of the country. Within a few months, however, the government asked them if they would consider providing relief as they had done 12 months earlier, but they declined to do so. They also refused an offer made by Trevelyan in 1848 of a subvention of £100 if they provided direct relief on the grounds that due to the severity of the crisis the level of intervention necessary was 'far beyond the reach of private exertion, the government alone could raise the funds and carry out the measures necessary in many districts to save the lives of the people'.³⁵

Proselytism

Despite the co-operation of clergymen from various denominations on the relief committees, the theological differences between the three main denominations remained rigid, especially in regard to their views of salvation. Protestant evangelicals, in particular, believed that salvation could only be achieved through suffering and redemption. Each church also accepted that missionary activity was an integral part of their teaching. By 1845, for example, the Presbyterian Church in Fisherwick Place in Belfast supported collections for a Jewish Mission, a Foreign Mission, a Colonial Mission, a Mission to Old Calabar and, most importantly, a Home Mission, which distributed tracts amongst the local poor of all denominations within Belfast.³⁶ Nor was proselytism confined to Protestant Churches. In England Catholic proselytizing was particularly

associated with Nicholas Wiseman, the vicar-general of the London district. In a number of sermons he and his followers declared their objective was 'the conversion of England to the Catholic faith'.³⁷ Even before 1845, therefore, proselytism – and the antagonisms which attended it – were present in Ireland and in other parts of the United Kingdom. However, what made proselytism particularly abhorrent during the Famine was that widespread hunger was used as a lever for persuading the poor to convert to Protestantism. Proselytism in Ireland was mainly associated with the two Protestant Churches, especially the evangelical wings. In the 1820s, a missionary campaign to convert Catholics, which was referred to as 'The Second Reformation', had been reactivated. Its prominence was largely due to the zeal of William Magee, the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin. The most common way of winning converts was through the distribution of religious tracts and Bibles and providing schooling.³⁸ The granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 added a new urgency to the desire to spread the Protestant religion. In 1830 the Protestant Colonization Society was founded, which signalled the onset of a new evangelical crusade. However, a consequence of the proselytizing campaign was that 'a religious war of words and missionary endeavour broke out between Catholics and Protestants'.³⁹

Even before the appearance of blight, religious tension existed, especially between the more conservative or evangelical members of the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Since the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 a number of Protestants had felt increasingly threatened by the growing political power of middle-class Catholics. In 1838 they complained that Catholics were being given preferential treatment by Dublin Castle, especially in appointments to the Irish Bench, and stated it was due to 'Popish artifice'.⁴⁰ Liberal Protestants and government ministers were also blamed for allowing this to happen. There was a number of calls for the Grand Orange Lodge, which had voluntarily dissolved itself in 1836, to be revived and reorganized.⁴¹ Increasingly, Belfast, where the Presbyterian and the Anglican Churches were particularly strong, became the centre of proselytizing with the local Protestant press, notably the *Belfast Protestant Journal*, the *Warder* and the *Ulster Times*, declaring their major aim to be to weaken the hold of 'Romanism' in the country.⁴² Although the west of the country was regarded as the main target for proselytizers, they were anxious that the evangelicals were not winning sufficient fresh recruits amongst the workers in the newly industrializing towns of the north. Even the poor in Belfast, who were predominantly Protestant, were described as manifesting 'spiritual

destitution'.⁴³ In 1847 a number of Presbyterian churches in Belfast, largely influenced by the Rev. Edgar, intensified their local proselytizing activities in both Protestant and Catholic districts. They believed that an extra effort was necessary as a thanksgiving to God 'for the mercies of the last eventful year'.⁴⁴

There was a belief that further proselytizing missionaries were needed throughout Ireland and that the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches should work together jointly to promote Protestantism.⁴⁵ The success of both Protestant Churches in the west of the country was attributed to the use of Scripture teachers who could speak the Irish language, which was spoken by about three million people in the country. Copies of the Scriptures had also been translated into Irish. One Presbyterian minister attributed the love of the poor people for the Irish language to the fact that they believe that it was the language used by Adam and Eve in Paradise, and that it is the language spoken by the saints in heaven'.⁴⁶

The role of individual landlords in promoting proselytizing activities could be crucial; for example, Lord Farnham in County Cavan and the Earl of Roden in County Down were renowned for their work as evangelical lay preachers. Farnham, who was founder of the Association for Promoting the Second Reformation, combined spiritual persuasion with more practical inducements by evicting large numbers of Catholics from his estates and replaced them with Protestant tenants.⁴⁷ Lord Clancarty, a large proprietor in County Roscommon, combined introducing some of the most advanced farming techniques to his tenantry with proselytism. A journalist, Alexander Somerville, who visited the estate in 1847 noted that 'He mixes the produce of the farm-yard and the Thiryn-nine articles together, the stall feeding of cattle and attendance at the Protestant church, the instruction on thorough drainage and the instruction on the church catechism ... The use of a bull of improved breed is associated with a renunciation of the bulls of Rome'.⁴⁸ The west of Ireland, however, which was overwhelmingly Catholic, was usually the target of proselytizers. In 1836 a group of landlords, together with local Anglican ministers, established the Connemara Christian Committee to promote Protestantism, with the expectation of eventually establishing a colony.

One of the most successful attempts to establish a Protestant mission took place on Achill Island off County Mayo. In 1831 Edward Nangle, a Dublin-born Anglican minister, decided to found a Protestant colony on the island. His arrival coincided with a subsistence crisis that had followed a poor harvest in the west of the country. Nangle, with his family and a small group of like-minded evangelicals, established a church,

a number of schools and a printing press on the island. The latter was particularly important as it allowed the missions to disseminate their propaganda to a wider audience through the publication of a monthly paper. The mission also provided employment and medical support for the local population. The missionaries also learnt Irish to facilitate communication with the people. Within a few years the colony was firmly established in the community, but had made few conversions. Relationships between the mission and the Achill islanders deteriorated following a visit by Archbishop MacHale in 1837, when he spoke out forcefully against the missionaries and appointed a new parish priest whose task was to counter their work. In a sermon to the islanders he told them to:

Have nothing to do with these heretics – curse them, hoot at them, spit in their faces – cut the sign of the cross in the air when you meet them, as you would against devils – throw stones at them – pitch them, when you have the opportunity, into the bog holes – nay more than that, do injury to yourselves in order to injure them – don't work for them though they pay in ready money – nay, don't take any medicine from their heretic doctor, rather die first.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, when the potato blight appeared in the country, a Protestant crusade was well established. Although its success rate was low, some members of the Catholic hierarchy were engaged in a counter crusade that served to increase the divide between the main Churches.

The Protestant crusade gained momentum during the Famine throughout Ireland, both in existing missions and in the establishment of new ones. Evangelical Protestants viewed the Famine in providentialist terms and believed that it provided a God-given opportunity to convert Catholics. Consequently, proselytism became more widespread as starving Catholics were tempted with food, medicine, clothing or bedding in an effort to convert them. The offering of food, often soup, in exchange for conversion resulted in the nickname 'souperism', whilst those who converted were sometimes referred to as 'jumpers'. A number of different societies were involved, including the Exeter Society, the Orphan Association and the Belfast Society for the Relief of Distress in Connaught. Each of these societies received funding from the Society of Friends, although the Quakers themselves were renowned for their own aversion to proselytism.⁵⁰ England was also a major source of funding. The Reverend Alexander Dallas, an English clergyman (and supporter

of pre-millenarianism) who had established the Society for Irish Church Missions even before the blight, used £3000 he received from English supporters to distribute 90 000 tracts in Connemara, entitled *A Voice from Heaven to Ireland*, in January 1846. Other tracts followed.⁵¹ The primacy of proselytism over benevolence was clear in the way in which funds were used by this and other groups.

A number of Anglican and Presbyterian churches and landlords also mounted their own proselytizing campaigns. In January 1847 the Duke of Manchester, a landlord in County Armagh, and a number of other wealthy Ulster Protestants published a letter in the *Northern Whig*, stating that the purpose of 'the present favourable crisis' was to allow them an opportunity 'for conveying the light of the Gospels to the darkened mind of the Roman Catholic peasantry'. The mission society set up by Manchester, the Irish Relief Association, also received considerable funds from England and, significantly, Alexander Dallas was an honorary secretary.⁵² One evangelical group, in a personal appeal to Lord John Russell, likened Irish Catholics to the people of Israel who underwent a famine because 'They lacked the knowledge of God – they were superstitious and idolatrous: they were in consequence wicked, and in consequence of all this God held a controversy with them... the ignorance of God, the superstition and idolatry, and consequent wickedness of Ireland, are the cause of its misfortunes.' They told Russell not to give any form of relief which would support the existence of Popery as to do so would make the people 'more degraded, miserable and vicious'. Instead, they suggested that he must 'endeavour to bring the word of God to every cabin in Ireland'.⁵³ What made conversion particularly objectionable during the Famine were the methods employed to win converts – food, clothing, bedding being used to attract people who were bereft of any of these basic commodities. Children were also particularly targeted, as schools were opened in which the study of the Scriptures was the main activity. In contrast to the destitution of the people, the missionaries appeared to have limitless financial resources.

On Achill Island Nangle, like many other evangelical Protestants, believed that the potato blight was a judgement partly caused by 'idolatry in the professing people of God, especially when sanctioned by the rulers of the country'. In particular, he believed that the British government had precipitated the Famine through its grant to Maynooth College in 1845, pointing out that 'It is done, and in that very year, that very month, the land is smitten, the earth is blighted, famine begins, and is followed by plague, pestilence and blood'.⁵⁴ The total failure of the

potato crop on the island in 1846 caused an upsurge in demand for the services of the mission and by spring of 1847 it was employing over 2000 labourers and feeding 600 schoolchildren each day. In this capacity it provided an invaluable supplement to official relief, but Nangle believed that the main purpose of providing such relief was to convert the population to Protestantism. But, as the distress intensified and the resources of the people disappeared, the mission distributed aid to all who were deemed to need it in return for employment.⁵⁵ By 1848, the number of schoolchildren attending the mission school had increased to over 2000 and 3000 adults were employed carrying out relief works, out of a total population of 7000. In the absence of other provision, the mission was the main agency for providing relief on the island. But hopes that the success of the mission during the Famine years would result in Ireland becoming Protestant disappeared after 1850. As conditions on the island slowly began to improve, the souls of the islanders were bitterly fought over by the mission on one side and John MacHale and his supporters on the other. The Catholic Church, which was reinvigorated in the post-Famine decades won, as by 1880 the mission was virtually defunct.⁵⁶ Some Catholic priests were aware that only biting poverty made the poor appear to be receptive to the teachings of the missionaries. One parish priest in Mayo maintaining that 'it cannot be wondered at if a starving people be perverted in shoals, especially as they go from cabin to cabin, and when they find the inmates naked and starved to death, they proffer food, money and raiment, on the express condition of becoming members of their conventicle'.⁵⁷ The battle for the souls of the people left a legacy of bitterness and mistrust between the main religions, which outlasted the failure of the potato crop. The activities of the proselytizers also cast a shadow on the work done by relief committees, on which all denominations had worked peaceably together. Consequently, in folk memory all private philanthropy – with the exception of the Quakers – became tinged with accusations of sectarianism.⁵⁸ Yet, in attempting to 'save' the Catholic poor, the proselytizers undoubtedly saved lives, if not souls, during the Famine.

The spread of proselytism intensified in 1847 with the stoppage of government relief and the tightening up of provisions governing entitlement. In September 1847 the nationalist *Freeman's Journal* warned that 'the stoppage of all government relief was the signal for a general attack on the consciences of the poor'. It also reported that some of the mission societies were being financed by the Society of Friends, 'but it is hoped without the consent of the Society'. It appealed for public funds in order

to save other orphans or destitute people from falling into the hands of the proselytizers. The *Freeman's Journal* condemned the practice, describing it as 'nefarious un-Christian wickedness'.⁵⁹ A letter published in the *Cork Examiner* described the extensive practice of proselytizing through the establishment of Bible schools as 'a new accompaniment to famine'. In these schools food was only distributed after five or six hours of lecturing by a 'Bible master or mistress'. The writer also pointed out that money used to purchase Bibles and to pay the salaries of the teachers meant that less money was available to relieve the poor. He blamed much of the suffering on the role played by both proselytizers and corn merchants and asked, 'what will be done with these two traffickers? ... Their very names should be set forth on the wings of the press as individuals base and degraded, to an extent unmatched in any other country calling itself civilized.'⁶⁰

The proselytizing groups regarded the power of the Catholic Church over the peasantry as potent. In 1847 the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly warned that 'These people are the blinded and bigoted children of a fallen church. They hold their errors and cleave to their superstitions with tenacity almost remarkable.' The fact that large numbers of Catholics were emigrating was also viewed as potentially dangerous for the reason that 'Wherever they go, they carry their principles and habits with them. They are filled with the spirit of Proselytism. In Ulster, Scotland, England and America they are the same as in Munster and Connaught. Whoever may change, Irish Roman Catholics never change, and wherever they have the power, they exercise it.'⁶¹ Theological objections to Roman Catholicism also became merged with political concerns. A number of Protestant groups suggested that the aim of the Catholic Church was to purge Ireland of all Protestants. The zealous *Belfast Protestant Journal*, in an article on 'Popish Bloodthirstiness', explained that 'We have often expressed it as our decided conviction that Popery possesses at the present moment an equal desire for extermination and persecution ... All the hypocritical cunning of the Agitator [Daniel O'Connell] and the Jesuitical policy of the priesthood, will not restrain the sons of Belial from the perpetration of their frightful and nocturnal orgies.'⁶²

Similar fears were expressed by the National Club, which had been formed in 1840 and attempted to unite the Protestant people throughout the Empire. In their address in 1846 they warned that Protestantism was in danger in Ireland, where 'No people in Europe are so governed by their priests', whose power was based on 'popular superstition,

popular ignorance – this is the power of the Church of Rome'.⁶³ On the eve of the General Election in 1847, the paper cautioned that the main enemy was Popery, 'whereby all that is left to us of our once Protestant constitution is threatened with immediate extinction' and being replaced 'upon the ruins of that Protestant state with an empire based on Popery'.⁶⁴ The Dublin Protestant Association and Reformation Society warned John Russell in 1847 against establishing diplomatic relations with the Pope, saying that they regarded him as 'the very Antichrist foretold in Scripture'.⁶⁵ But, even within the Established Church, there was some separation between Protestants in England and in Ireland. An incident which received much attention occurred in 1847 when the Bishop of London refused to appoint an Irishman from the Established Church as minister of the Belgrave Chapel. The matter was raised in parliament by Lord Monteaule, who argued that the decision not to appoint him was not 'on account of insufficient doctrine, morals, or learning, but his disqualification was because he was an Irish clergyman'. Moreover, Monteaule believed, this action was contrary to the principles of the Act of Union.⁶⁶

Many of the proselytizing organizations had bases in Belfast, which was a predominantly Protestant town. An Evangelical Alliance was active in the town and it was supported by ministers from the two main Protestant Churches. The Earl of Roden who was a prominent Orangeman and Member of Parliament was also an active member.⁶⁷ Many Belfast evangelicals viewed the food shortages as an opportunity to extend their work. One of the main bodies, the Ladies' Relief Association for Connaught, had been founded by John Edgar, Professor of Divinity in the Royal College of Belfast. By 1849 it had collected £15,000 which was used to set up industrial schools in Connaught, which Edgar referred to as 'wild Connaught'. The funds which they raised were largely matched by donations from the Society of Friends. Thirty young women were sent to open the schools and they, in turn, were supervised by 'ladies of high rank and influence there'. As the girls worked, the Bible was read to them and each day there was some religious teaching or devotional exercises. At the beginning of 1849 Edgar made an appeal through the *Banner of Ulster* for additional funds. He explained that whilst his schools were proof that Irish people could be improved if well directed, they had encountered many difficulties with the people of Connaught: 'utter ignorance of order, punctuality, manufacture or manufacturing implements, ... lying, thievish habits, dark houses unfit for work, irregularity of means of conveyance, ignorance of the English language – but over

and above all, the opposition, with a few exceptions, of the Romish priests, of which I could tell strange tales'.⁶⁸ Another Belfast association in which women played a principal role was the Irish Society. It had been founded in 1847 for the purpose of communicating through the medium of the Irish language the saving truths of the Gospel to the Irish-speaking population of the country'. It also held educational meetings in Belfast for its supporters, their main objective being to explain 'the blasphemous and anti-scriptural doctrines of the Church of Rome'.⁶⁹

Women and children were regarded as fertile targets for proselytizers especially through the establishment of Bible schools. One of the main successes of the Presbyterian missionaries was the conversion of Michael Brannigan, a Catholic who was also an Irish speaker. In 1847 he established 12 schools in counties Mayo and Sligo, and by the end of the following year this had grown to 28, despite 'priestly opposition'. He claimed that the people were no longer afraid of 'priestly denunciation', but that the attendance numbers in each school had fallen because 'the famine, alas, has driven many of the scholars of our schools into the workhouse, where they are deprived of a Scriptural education'. The drop in attendance was due to the fact the British Relief Association had been supporting the schools by providing each child with a half-pound of meal every day, but they had closed their operations on 15 August 1848 as their funds were exhausted. Brannigan, in a letter to the *Banner of Ulster* appealing for financial support, disclosed that 'Many were so uncharitable as to conclude that it was the food, and not the Bible, that the children loved, and that so soon as they were deprived of the one, they would reject the other', but he rebutted such claims, saying that the children forced into the workhouses 'are not happy in that place of confinement - they have no Bibles there - no catechism except the one belonging to the Church of Rome'. He concluded by claiming that one cwt of corn weekly would be sufficient to keep 32 children in attendance at a school and thus prevent them from going into a workhouse, where 'They will then be registered as children of Roman Catholics - be entirely deprived of all Scriptural education, be trained up in degrading subjugation to the priest, and habituated to the soul-destroying service of the mass'.⁷⁰

Even a number of Protestant philanthropic organizations which claimed to distribute funds to all denominations appeared to favour Protestants in the distribution of their charity, although this may have reflected a reluctance by Catholics to be associated with charities of another denomination. One example was the Dublin Parochial Association, which was

founded by clergymen from the Established Church in March 1847 with the aim of giving relief equally throughout the city. However, less than 25 per cent was expended on the relief of 'Romanists', despite the fact that Catholics formed approximately 80 per cent of the city's population.⁷¹ Occasionally, the bias of charitable donors was more obvious, as was evinced by a clergyman in Exeter in England who announced that he intended to preach on behalf of 'the Protestant portion of the starving Irish'.⁷² In Belfast, also, in the impoverished but largely Protestant district of Ballymacarrett, the unemployed weavers were described as preferring 'a cheap loaf, only if it came to them through a Protestant channel'.⁷³ Nevertheless, some leading Protestants disliked accusations of proselytism. The Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop Whately, denounced the existence of proselytism but believed that few of his ministers were involved.⁷⁴

The government also appeared not to give support to any overtly sectarian organizations. This attitude was most evident when Queen Victoria visited Ireland in 1849. The Providence Home in Dublin asked the Queen for a gift to mark her visit, but this was refused on the grounds that she would not support any charitable institution which was exclusively Protestant.⁷⁵ Asenath Nicholson, an eccentric but warm-hearted American evangelical Protestant, arrived in Ireland in 1844 with the object of bringing the Bible to the Irish poor. She returned again and in January 1847 established a one-woman relief operation in Dublin. Nicholson disapproved of religious groups which used the hunger of the Irish poor as an instrument for conversion. She believed that such conversions would not be permanent, but would terminate when good potato crops returned.⁷⁶ Some of Nicholson's sharpest criticisms were reserved for Nangle's mission on Achill Island, which she had visited before the Famine. When she returned at the end of 1847, she also criticized the efficacy of the relief provided by the mission, noting that 'the scanty allowance given to children once a day, and much of this bad food, kept them in lingering want, and many died at last'. She felt that the men employed by Nangle fared little better, as their average wages were only three or three-and-a-half pence per day. Moreover, these men had families to support, yet 'must work till Saturday, then go nine miles into the colony to procure the Indian meal for the five days' work'.⁷⁷ Yet, in spite of her criticism of various proselytizing activities during the Famine, Nicholson made a clear distinction between the proselytizers and the many Protestant clergy who worked tirelessly to help the poor without any attempt to win converts.⁷⁸

The threat of proselytism was taken seriously by the Catholic Church, especially in the targeted areas. At the beginning of July 1847 an address was read in each of the Catholic chapels in the city of Limerick, warning the poor against 'an extreme section of fanatics', who were attempting 'by largesse of old clothes, to convert the benighted people, as they term those who do not come under the sphere of their enlightenment'.⁷⁹ In September 1847 a meeting was held in Ballina in County Mayo, convened by clergy in the surrounding diocese to protest against the intensive system of proselytism in the district.⁸⁰ The parish priest in Rooskey in County Roscommon castigated 'Exeter Hall Christianity' for making 'famine and fever the agents of proselytism'. He also suggested that much of the money raised in England for the relief of destitution had been given to Irish parsons, and thus had been 'perverted by vile fanatics into a powerful engine to convert to Protestant the Catholics of this country'.⁸¹

Fellow Catholics occasionally imposed their own form of justice by ostracizing converts or those who 'took the soup'. In a number of cases, the military was deployed to protect the converts as they attended Protestant religious services.⁸² In Newmarket in County Cork, a number of the Catholic inhabitants set fire to a tar barrel and then proceeded to a cross where they burnt Protestant Bibles and threw them at some of the houses in the town.⁸³ Bitter disputes took place also in County Kerry, where the Anglican Church had established a Protestant mission in the small town of Dingle. The mission proved particularly successful in winning converts within the workhouse where, during 1848, 50 Catholics converted. But when they left the workhouse, they were ostracized by the local community and sometimes physically attacked, apparently at the instigation of the local parish priest. The *Banner of Ulster*, which reported this story, described the incident as painting 'as repulsive a picture of Popish cruelty as ever yet revolted and disgraced the instincts of human nature'. In a separate article, the paper described the activities of 'the skull-cracking practices of the Irish priests' who, it was contended, used whips or skull crackers in order to keep their flock faithful.⁸⁴ Attempts to proselytize in Kenmare, at the other side of County Kerry, also resulted in bitter divisions within the community and an acrimonious correspondence between the local Catholic priests, Father Sullivan and Father Ahern, and the Rev. James Rogers of the Established Church. The altercation resulted in a public meeting which was attended by over 1500 people, most of whom were Catholic. The mood of the meeting was fractious; Sullivan describing it as a *park a churme* (battlefield). Rogers,

who was accused of trying to convert a man on his death-bed who had already received the last rights from the Catholic priest, left the meeting on the grounds that the discussion would be 'all one side'.⁸⁵

The Catholic bishops were also concerned about the spread of proselytism among a defenceless people. When the bishops presented a memorial to Clarendon in 1847, they protested about 'the unchristian abuse of public and private charities evinced by the wicked attempts at Proselytism'. Clarendon, however, refused to comment on the issue.⁸⁶ Even the Pope felt sufficiently worried to urge, on a number of occasions, the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland to resist the works of the proselytizers. On one occasion he reprimanded the bishops for not protecting their flocks sufficiently.⁸⁷ As the Famine progressed, the attempts at proselytism intensified and became more organized. In 1848, the bishops made a further protest against proselytism, but again the government took no action. At the Synod of Thurles in 1850, proselytizers were condemned, although a distinction was drawn between Protestants who supported the missionaries and those who objected to them.⁸⁸ But a number of Catholic bishops, including Daniel Murray in Dublin and Cornelius Denvir in Belfast, were criticized for not having opposed proselytism more strenuously.⁸⁹ During the national synod of the Catholic Church in 1850 one of the main topics was the preservation of the Catholic faith. Inevitably, in view of the experiences of the previous few years, Protestant proselytizers were depicted as the main enemy of the Catholic Church and the synod encouraged Jesuits and Vincentian fathers to establish their own Catholic missions.⁹⁰

Even after good harvests returned to Ireland, the work of the proselytizers continued. At the beginning of 1849 the Presbyterian Church in Belfast began to advertise for people who possessed a 'missionary spirit' and 'popular and acceptable talents as a preacher'. Those who agreed to work in a mission for one year would receive £50, but those who agreed to stay for three years would be paid £100 per annum.⁹¹ One of the most active societies was the Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics, founded by the Reverend Alexander Dallas, which operated throughout the whole of the United Kingdom but had targeted Connaught in the west of Ireland even before the Famine. By 1854 the Society had established 125 mission stations in Ireland. Its base was in Exeter Hall in London and most of its funding came from England. The Society provided proselytizers with a network and organizational structure based in England. Their missionaries not only targeted the west of the country, but also made a concerted effort to win converts in Dublin.⁹²

A number of proselytizers also believed that one of the effects of the Famine had been to extend the influence of Catholicism outside Ireland. In 1853, when speaking to the Sixth Annual Conference of the British Organization, which had been founded in 1847, John Edgar of Belfast delivered a paper entitled 'Ireland's Mission Field', in which he warned that the 'great New World of the West, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and the other towns of Scotland are oppressed and defiled by increasing swarms of illiterate, profligate, Irish Romanists'. He stated that crime had increased in the major cities of Britain as a result of their arrival and in London the City Mission had formed a special organization

to bring reforming influences to bear on the increased masses of Roman heathens... We have no serpents in our land but our Romish population, like fiery flying serpents, are spreading over the face of our lands. Here are the headquarters of infection from which goes forth disease more fatal than cholera or plague. Here the reckless spirits are trained who destroy the peace of England, Scotland and America; our Maynooth produces more priests than Ireland needs and thus the public funds of Britain are employed in training agents for ill, ringleaders in rebellion and riot in lands across the sea.⁹³

By 1851 the main proselytizing groups claimed that they had won 35 000 converts and they were anxious to secure even more. Shortly afterwards, 100 additional preachers were sent to Ireland by the Protestant Alliance.⁹⁴ This claim of the proselytizers, made after six years of shortages which had decimated the Catholic peasantry, inevitably angered the Catholic hierarchy. The continuation of the Protestant campaign also made them feel vulnerable, especially as the Protestant churches appeared to be forging an alliance against them. In the post-Famine decades the struggle became even more bitter as various institutions intended to look after the poor, such as workhouses and orphanages, became battlegrounds. One consequence was that religious divisions deepened concurrently with deepening political divides. For members of the Catholic Church hierarchy the struggle against proselytism – real or imagined – became a priority. The fear was also reflected in the attitudes of bishops in regard to issues such as education. The 1861 census demonstrated that proselytism had made few inroads, but the mistrust created during the Famine years and immediately after was hard to counteract.

Politics and Religion

The suspicion and antipathy between the churches was also exploited for political reasons. Even before the Famine, Protestants were concerned that Catholics were being given too many rights by a misguided and overly liberal government. In 1838 some Protestants complained that, as a consequence of the Whig/O'Connell alliance, a disproportionate number of Catholics was being appointed to the judiciary, in an attempt to 'fill the Irish bench with Papisis'.⁹⁵ The government was accused of being 'partisan and anti-Protestant' and having performed 'a breach of faith with the Orange party'. In order to defend the interests of Protestants within Ireland, it was suggested that Orange lodges should reorganize. The Orange Order needed to organize openly because 'In secret movements, Protestants are no match for Roman Catholic priests.'⁹⁶

In 1845 the Grand Orange Lodge was re-established in Ireland and in the same year Peel's government decided not to renew legislation which had banned political parades in 1824. The Lodge believed it was necessary to reform because:

the present disorganised and deplorable state of Ireland can only be attributed to the base policy of statesmen who have treacherously betrayed the trust confided to them by Protestants, in granting unjustifiable concessions to popery, and that no attempt to remedy existing evils will be successful until the Romish Emancipation Bill, the Maynooth Endowment Bill, and all such measures are entirely repealed, and the constitution restored to its original integrity.⁹⁷

The immediate outcome was a growth in membership of Orange lodges and the revival of marches on the twelfth of July. The parades became occasions for voicing fears against Catholic encroachments and disloyal Protestants. On the eve of the twelfth of July anniversary in 1846, the *Belfast Protestant Journal* cautioned that because not all Protestants supported the march, the twelfth would be 'a day of deep humiliation', adding that 'The Protestants of Ireland have lost much by their own supineness. They have folded their arms in cold indifference whilst the enemy has been invading their vantage ground.'⁹⁸ The Belfast Orange lodges were also warned not only against cunning Catholics, but also against 'liberal' Protestants.⁹⁹ The early years of the Famine, therefore, coincided with a period of increasing religious and political tension between Catholics and Protestants.

156. Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*, p. 87.
157. *Report of British Relief Association*.
158. Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*, pp. 87–8.
159. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 59.
160. The main source for the role of Murray is the Murray Papers, in the Dublin Diocesan Archives.
161. David C. Sheehy, 'Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin and the Response of the Catholic Church to the Great Famine in Ireland', in *Link Up*, (December 1995), p. 41.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
163. *Globe*, 4 January 1847.
164. *Tablet*, 2 January 1847, 9 January 1847.
165. *Boston Pilot*, 6 March 1847.
166. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 49.
167. *Tablet*, 12 May 1849.
168. *Times*, 30 January 1847.
169. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 53.
170. *Times*, 20 May 1847.
171. Pius XI, *Pontificis Maximi Acta* (January 1847), Vatican Archives, Rome.
172. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 53.
173. Report of the British Relief Association.
174. Sheehy, *Catholic Church*, p. 41.
175. *Freeman's*, 17 July 1847.
176. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1849.
177. *Freeman's* 18 July 1849.
178. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1849.
179. For example, Archbishop Crolly in Armagh donated £5, *Armagh Guardian*, 19 March 1849.
180. *Liverpool Mercury*, 7 August 1849.
181. *Times*, 6 March 1849.
182. *Banner of Ulster*, 12 January 1849.
183. *Times*, 12 May 1849.
184. *Freeman's*, 16 July 1849.
185. *Ibid.*, 14 July 1849.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Times*, 6 July 1849.
188. Russell to Clarendon, cited in Peter Mandler, *Aristocratic Government in the age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals 1830–52* (Oxford, 1990), p. 252f.
189. *Boston Pilot*, 14 August 1847.
190. *Ibid.*, 11 December 1847.
191. Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After the Famine*, p. 117.

4 Food Supply and Trade

1. J. Mitchel, *Jail Journal of Five Years in British Prisons* (New York, 1854), Introduction.
2. J. Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Glasgow, 1876), p. 219.

3. Patrick O'Farrell, 'Whose reality? The Irish Famine in History and Literature', in *Historical Studies* (vol. 20, 1982), pp. 1–13.
4. Graham Davis, 'The historiography of the Irish Famine', in O'Sullivan, *Meaning of Famine*, pp. 16–17.
5. Proponents of this viewpoint include diverse writers such as Mary Daly and Peter Gray. For an alternative interpretation, see Christine Kinealy, 'Food Exports from Ireland, 1846–47', in *History Ireland* (vol. 5, no. 1, 1997), pp. 32–6.
6. From the 1830s there was a cluster of extensive government enquiries into the condition of Ireland, the Poor Enquiry led by Archbishop Whately, 1833–6, is particularly valuable; overseas visitors such as de Tocqueville, Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey in Ireland July to August 1835* (translated by Emmet Larkin, Washington, 1995).
7. Trevelyan, for example, estimated that planting took two weeks and digging between seven to ten days, Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*, p. 4; for a contemporary description of the potato economy, see Mr and Mrs Hall, *Ireland, Its Scenery, Character etc.* (vol. 1, first pub. London, 1841).
8. *Ibid.*
9. Peter Solar, 'Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Ireland and Scotland in the early nineteenth century', in T. M. Devine and D. Dickson (eds), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1850* (1983), pp. 76–81.
10. Ó Gráda, *New Economic History*, pp. 24–9.
11. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp. 200–1.
12. Ó Gráda, *Economic History*, p. 120.
13. Roger Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester 1770–1870* (Manchester, 1992), p. 15.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
16. Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Poverty, population and agriculture, 1801–45', in W. J. Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union* (vol. v, Oxford, 1989).
17. Ó Gráda, *Economic History*, pp. 112–24.
18. The idea of a dual economy was most clearly stated by P. Lynch and J. Vaizev, *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759–1876* (Cambridge, 1960).
19. *Hansard*, sc m, 28 June 1847, p. 1014.
20. John Killeen, *The Famine Decade: Contemporary Accounts 1841–51* (Belfast, 1995), p. 2.
21. Christine Kinealy, 'Peel, rotten potatoes and providence: The repeal of the Corn Laws and the Irish Famine', in Andrew Morrison, *Free Trade and its Reception* (Routledge, 1998), pp. 50–62.
22. Poulet Scrope to Russell, Russell Papers, PROL 30:22.5A, 23 June 1846.
23. *Belfast News-Letter*, 27 January 1847.
24. *Ibid.*, 23 January 1846.
25. Richard Cobden to Russell, Russell Papers, PROL 30:22.5B, 4 July 1846.
26. *Belfast News-Letter*, 27 January 1846.
27. *Ibid.*, 6 January 1846, 16 January 1846.
28. *Hansard*, lxxxv, 17 April 1847, p. 707.
29. Also see Chapter 5 for more details.
30. For more on riots in Dungarvon, see William Fraher, 'The Dungarvon Disturbances of 1846 and Sequels', in Des Cowman and Donald Brady (eds), *The Famine in Waterford* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 137–9.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 144–5.

32. Sir James Graham to Peel, 22 October 1845, *Peel*, p. 226.
33. Lord Hextesbury to Peel, Lord Mahon and Right Hon. Edward Cardwell (eds), *Memories by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel* (London, 1857) 17 October 1845, p. 125; *ibid.*, Sir James Graham to Peel 19 October 1845, pp. 126–7.
34. *Belfast Vindicator*, 1 November 1845.
35. *Ibid.*, 15 October 1845.
36. Cited in Canon John O'Rourke, *The Great Irish Famine* (first pub. 1874, reprinted Dublin, 1989), pp. 41–42.
37. *Northern Whig*, 25 November 1845.
38. Lord Hextesbury to Peel, Mahon, *Memories by Peel*, 27 October 1845, p. 138.
39. *Belfast Vindicator*, 15 October 1845.
40. *Belfast News-Letter*, 4 November 1845.
41. *Banner of Ulster*, 21 April 1846.
42. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 2 January 1847.
43. *Northern Whig*, 26 December 1846.
44. *Vindicator*, 2 January 1847.
45. *Northern Whig*, 26 December 1846.
46. *Report of the House of Lords, to consider extending the functions of the Constabulary to suppressing illicit Distilling*, PP 1854, x, pp. 458–9.
47. *Ibid.*, *An Account Showing the Number of gallons of Proof Spirits . . . and materials from which made*, pp. 448–9.
48. *Vindicator*, 13 January 1847.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
51. *Mark Lane Express*, 1 January 1847.
52. *Nation*, 12 June 1847.
53. *Hansard*, xci, 22 March 1847, pp. 312–3.
54. Bessborough to Russell, Russell Papers, PROL 30.22.66, 12 April 1847.
55. *Roscommon and Leitrim*, 27 March 1847.
56. *Banner*, 17 November 1846.
57. *News-Letter*, 18 December 1846.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Petition of Richardson Bros., Belfast Merchants, and response, 26 August 1846, *Famine Papers* (Irish University Press, 1846–7), vol. v, pp. 155–6.
60. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 2 January 1847.
61. *Freeman's*, 13 March 1847.
62. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 27 March 1847.
63. *Times*, 22 January 1847.
64. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 27 March 1847.
65. *New York Herald* thereafter *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
66. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 2 January 1847.
67. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1847.
68. *Galaxy Vindicator*, published in *Freeman's Journal*, 2 July 1847.
69. *Times*, 4 January 1847.
70. *Northern Star*, 3 July 1847.
71. Russell to Bessborough, Russell Papers, PROL 30.22.16.A, 30 January 1847; Roger Price, 'Poor Relief and Social Crisis in mid-Nineteenth Century France', in *European Studies Review* (October 1983), pp. 440–5.

72. Clarendon to Charles Wood, Clarendon Papers, 12 July 1847.
73. Bessborough to Russell, Russell Papers, PROL 30.22.16.A, 23 January 1847.
74. *Hansard*, xcii, 11 May 1847.
75. *Ibid.*, xcii, 17 May 1847.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*.
78. Sir James Graham cited in *Coleraine Chronicle*, 2 May 1846.
79. *Belfast News-Letter*, 13 January 1846.
80. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
81. David Sheehy, 'Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin and the Response of the Catholic Church to the Great Famine in Ireland', in *Link-Up* (December 1995), p. 40.
82. Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis* (Edinburgh Review, 1848).
83. Isaac Butt, *A Voice for Ireland: The Famine in the Land* (Dublin, 1847); Butt, from being a defender of the Union, went on to become a founder of the Home Rule movement.
84. *Nation*, 12 June 1847.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis*.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
88. *The Globe and Traveller*, 2 January 1847.
89. This view that reduction in exports was due to higher consumption in the home market, propagated by the Whig government at the time, has widely been accepted by contemporary historians, for example Graham Davis, 'The Historiography of the Irish Famine', in O'Sullivan, *The Meaning of the Famine*, p. 31.
90. See Chapter 2.
91. *Hansard*, xciii, 30 June 1847, pp. 1057–9.
92. *Times*, 22 January 1847.
93. *Ibid.*, 18 March 1847.
94. Cited in *Times*, 18 March 1847.
95. *Times*, 27 February 1847.
96. *Northern Star*, 3 July 1847.
97. *Mercury*, 13 April 1847.
98. *Times*, 6 February 1847.
99. *Ibid.*, 8 March 1847.
100. *Ibid.*, 18 March 1847.
101. *Hansard*, xci, 22 March 1847, p. 306.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
104. Bessborough to Clarendon, Russell Papers, PROL 30.22.16.A, 23 January 1847.
105. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library, 12 July 1847.
106. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Russell, 15 July 1847.
107. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Charles Wood, 12 July 1847.
108. *Globe*, 7 January 1847.
109. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1847.
110. *Ibid.*, 11 February 1847.
111. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
112. Gray, *The Irish Famine*, p. 46.

113. Ó Gráda, *Black '47*, p. 124.
114. Bourke, *Visitation*, p. 168.
115. Sen, *Entitlements*.
116. *Nation*, 12 June 1847.
117. *Mark Lane Express*, 18 January 1847.
118. All the data provided is extracted from the Bills of Entry.
119. *Supplementary Appendix to Seventh Report of Relief Commissioners*, PP 1847–8, xxix, p. 58.
120. Captain Kennedy to P. L. Commissioners, 13 April 1847, *Copies of the correspondence between the Poor Law Commissioners of Ireland and their Inspector, relative to the statements contained in an extract from a book entitled, 'Gleanings in the west of Ireland', 1851*, xlix, p. 6.
121. *Report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the Administration of the Poor Law in the Kilrush Union since 19 September 1848*, PP 1850, xi.
122. *Fourth Annual Report of P. L. Commissioners*, 1851, pp. 4–8; *Fifth Annual Report of P. L. Commissioners*, 1852.
123. *Seventh Report of Relief Commissioners*, p. 19.
124. Bills of Entry.
125. *Seventh Report of Relief Commissioners*, p. 21.
126. Kinealy, *Great Calamity*, pp. 175–80.
127. Minutes of Westport Union, (NLI) 25 August 1847, 8 September 1847.
128. Kinealy, *Great Calamity*, pp. 207–8.
129. Bills of Entry.
130. B. Poole, *Statistics of British Commerce* (London, 1852), p. 148.
131. *Mark Lane Express*, 18 January 1847.
132. *Freeman's*, 16 July 1849.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Banner of Ulster*, cited in *Freeman's*, 18 July 1849.
135. *Ibid.*
136. Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849* (London, 1882), p. 182.

5 Riot, Protest and Popular Agitation

1. See, for example, Nicholson, *Annals of the Famine*, pp. 77–8; *Cork Examiner*, 1 January 1847.
2. Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* (London, 1904), p. 48.
3. Tom Garvin, 'Defenders, Ribbonmen and Others: underground political networks in pre-Famine Ireland', in *Past and Present*, 96 (1982), pp. 133–55.
4. Earl Grey in House of Lords, *Hansard*, 23 March 1846.
5. Nicholson, *Annals*, p. 28.
6. Curtis, *Cause of Ireland*, pp. 32–3.
7. John Saville, *1848: The British State and the Chartist Movement* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 35–6.
8. James McKnight, *The Ulster Tenants' Claim of Right, or, Land Ownership a State Trust* (Dublin, 1848).
9. *Hansard*, xxx, 26 August 1835.

10. Peel to Wellington, Parker, *Peel*, ii, p. 120.
11. *Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Relation to the Occupation of Land in Ireland* (Devon Commission), PP 1845 xix, pp. 37–8.
12. Memorandum of Sir Robert Peel, 12 January 1829.
13. Sir James Graham, quoted by Earl Grey, *Hansard*, House of Commons, 23 March 1846.
14. Sean Connolly (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Irish History* (Oxford, 1998), p. 101.
15. *Hansard*, xxiv, 802–4, 23 June 1834.
16. *Ibid.*, xlvii, 18 April 1839.
17. Cited in Grey, *Famine and Land*, p. 32.
18. Duke of Wellington to Peel, 25 January 1845. Charles Stuart Parker, *Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers* (2nd edn., London, 1899, vol. iii), p. 178.
19. Devon Commission, pp. 37–8.
20. Sir James Graham to Peel, 3 October 1845. Parker, *Robert Peel*, p. 190.
21. *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. xxvii, December 1843.
22. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, lxx, May 1846.
23. *Hansard*, lxxxv, 30 March 1846, pp. 338–9.
24. *Ibid.*, lxxxiii, 23 February 1846.
25. *Ibid.*, 23 February 1847, pp. 137–8.
26. Mr Arbuthnot to Peel, 8 June 1848. Parker, *Robert Peel*, p. 351.
27. *Ibid.*, 7 June, p. 351.
28. *Morning Chronicle*, 21 January 1846.
29. Russell to Clarendon, marked Confidential, Russell Papers, PROL 30 22 3A, 29 June 1846.
30. *Freeman's*, 4 August 1846.
31. *Hansard*, xcii, 11 May 1847, 15 May 1847.
32. The best insight into the workings of the moral economy continues to be E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', in *Past and Present*, 50 (1971).
33. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 2 January 1847.
34. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1847.
35. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
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37. *Ibid.*
38. Andrés Eiríksson, 'Food Supply and Food Riots', in Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine 150* (Dublin, 1997), p. 75.
39. John Coghlan PP to Bernard Owen JP, Relief Commission Papers, NAD, Z.5748, 18 March 1846.
40. *Illustrated London News*, 18 April 1846.
41. Abstract of Constabulary Reports, PROL, HO45 1080, March and April 1846.
42. Grey, *Famine and Land*, p. 121.
43. Dobree to Trevelyan, 24 April 1846, *Correspondence Explanatory of Relief Measures* . . . Commissariat Series, PP 1846, [735] xxxvii, pp. 174–5.
44. Dobree to Trevelyan, 24 April 1846, *Correspondence Explanatory*, Commissariat Series, PP 1846, [735] xxxvii, pp. 174–5.
45. Daniel O'Connell to Russell, Russell Papers, PROL 30.22.3B, 12 August 1846.
46. *Times*, 4 January 1847, 7 January 1847.

129. Captain Hellard, P.L.I. to P. L. Commissioners, 19 December 1847, *Papers Relating to the Proceedings for Relief of Distress, and the state of Unions and Workhouses in Ireland*, 5th series, 1848, III, p. 455.
130. *Cork Examiner*, 22 October 1847.
131. *Vindicator*, 13 January 1847.
132. For more on folk memories of theft, see 'No Sin and You Starving', in Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, pp. 68–84.
133. *Criminal Tables*, p. 131.
134. *Cork Examiner*, 10 May 1847.
135. Tables of Deaths, Census for 1851, quoted in Killen, *Famine Decade*, p. 247.
136. See Gerard Mac Atasney, *This Dreadful Visitation: The Famine in Lurgan, Partstown* (Belfast, 1997), p. 44.
137. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 22 May 1847.
138. Outrage Papers for County Mayo, NAD, 12 May 1847.
139. *Ibid.* Petition of 34 Petitioners to Lord Lieutenant, 29 May 1847.
140. *Cork Examiner*, 31 March 1847.
141. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers Bodleian, 8 August 1847.
142. *Times*, 4 January 1847.
143. *Ibid.*, 22 January 1847.
144. *Ibid.*, 24 March 1847.
145. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 15 May 1847.
146. *Times*, 15 October 1847.
147. *Vindicator*, 13 January 1847.
148. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
149. *Mercury*, 13 April 1847.
150. Memorial from Magistrates in Nenagh to Lord Lieutenant, PROL. 11045 1793, 15 November 1847.
151. *Hansard*, xcii, 6 May 1847.
152. *Morning Chronicle*, quoted in *Cork Examiner*, 15 November 1847.
153. *Times*, 6 October 1847, 22 April 1850.
154. The clause regarding rating had been introduced in 1843: Lucius O'Brien, *Hansard*, xciii, 4 July 1848.
155. James Connolly Jr., 'Mass Evictions and the Great Famine', in Póirtéir, *Irish Famine*, pp. 155–73.
156. *Hansard*, lxxxv, 185, 2 April 1846.
157. *Illustrated London News*, 4 April 1846.
158. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
159. Russell to Clarendon, Clarendon Papers, 8 November 1847.
160. *Times*, 22 April 1850.
161. *Illustrated London News*, 30 October 1847.
162. *Times*, 12 July 1849.
163. *Freeman's*, quoted in *Cork Examiner*, 5 November 1847.
164. *Times*, 17 November 1847.
165. Palmerston to Clarendon, Clarendon Papers, 13 November 1847.
166. Grey, *Famine and Land*, p. 183.
167. Russell to Clarendon, Clarendon Papers, 10 November 1847.
168. *Hansard*, xcvi, 3225–8, 29 November 1847.
169. Proclamation under the Act for the Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Ireland.

170. Clarendon to Peel, 24 Oct. 1849, Parker, *Peel*, iii, p. 517.
171. Russell to Clarendon, Clarendon Papers, 5 February 1849.
172. Theodore K. Hoppen, *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland*, p. 414.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
174. Russell to Clarendon, Russell Papers, PROL. 30 22 5A, 23 June 1847; Russell to Clarendon, 15 November 1847, H. E. Maxwell, *The Life and Letters of the Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (2 vols. London, 1913), p. 282.
175. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 201.
176. *Banner of Ulster*, 27 February 1849.
177. J. S. Kennedy, *Standing Rules and Regulations for the Government and Guidance of the Constabulary Force in Ireland* (Dublin, 1837).
178. Appendix P. . *The Consequences of Extending the Functions of the Constabulary in Ireland to the Suppression or Distillation of Illegal Distillation*, PP, 1854, x.
179. Trevelyan to the Earl of Auckland, 1 October 1846, *Commissariat Correspondence*, p. 127.
180. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library, 5 July 1847.
181. Lady Wilde (Speranza), *The Famine Year*, reprinted in Christopher Morash (ed.), *The Hungry Voice: The Poetry of the Irish Famine* (Irish Academic Press, 1989), p. 221. Jane Elgee married William Wilde in 1851 and was the mother of Oscar Wilde.
182. Quoted in Woodham-Smith, *Great Hunger*, p. 132.
183. *Times*, 6 October 1847.
184. Palmer Kirkwood, rate collector, Killala to Poor Law Commission, 26 May 1847, quoted in Swords, *In Their Own Words*, p. 186.
185. *NY Herald*, 21 November 1846.
186. For more on conflict between Routh and Trevelyan, see Kinealy, *Great Calamity*, pp. 43–51.
187. *Globe and Traveller*, 12 January 1847.
188. W. J. Lowe, 'Policing Famine Ireland', in *Ire-Ireland* (1994), pp. 47–67.
189. *Cork Examiner*, 4 November 1846.
190. Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis* (London, 1848), p. 84.
191. *Royal Irish Art Union Monthly Journal*, 1 May 1847.
192. *Freeman's*, 2 July 1847.
193. Recollection of Philip Ó Connail, national teacher, Navan, County Meath, in Cathal Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, p. 71.

6 Religion and the Churches

1. A small publication which provides a valuable insight into the work of the Catholic Church is Donal Kerr, *The Catholic Church and the Famine* (Dublin, 1996).
2. *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847* (Dublin, 1852).
3. Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, particularly Chapter 11, 'Soupers, Jumpers and Cat Breacs' – all of which were pejorative terms for those who 'took the soup'.
4. Irene Whelan, 'The Stigma of Souperism', in Cathal Póirtéir (ed.), *The Great Irish Famine* (Cork, 1995), p. 135.

5. E. Larkin, *The Consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1860-70* (Chapel Hill, 1987).
6. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, pp. 14-15.
7. *Freeman's*, 11 January 1847.
8. *Freeman's*, 11 November 1846.
9. *Northern Star*, 3 July 1847.
10. For example, on 3 July 1847 the *Freeman's Journal* when reporting the death of Dr Cummins, the parish priest of Killenaule, who although 'in the prime of his life' died from 'malignant fever in administering to the spiritual and temporal wants and necessities of the poor of his parish'. It also recorded the death of the eighth Roman Catholic clergyman in Liverpool from 'famine fever'.
11. *Globe*, 12 January 1847.
12. *Banner of Ulster*, 30 March 1849.
13. Routh to Trevelyan, *Correspondence relating to the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series)* PP 1847, li, 15 December 1846; *ibid.*, Trevelyan to Routh, 18 December 1846.
14. *Times*, 24 December 1846, 7 January 1847.
15. For example, Lord Dufferin and the Hon. Boyle, two Oxford students, travelled to Skibbereen to judge if descriptions of the suffering had been exaggerated. They found the opposite to be true and published *Narrative of the Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen during the Year of the Irish Famine by Lord Dufferin and the Honourable G. F. Boyle* (Oxford, 1847).
16. Patrick Hickey, 'The Famine in the Skibbereen Union', in Póirtéir, *Great Irish Famine*, pp. 197-8.
17. *Freeman's*, 16 July 1849.
18. *Times*, 22 January 1847.
19. *Hansard*, xci, 23 March 1847, pp. 335-7.
20. Minutes of Fisherwick Presbyterian Church, Belfast, Presbyterian Church House, Mic/HP/92, 24 March 1847.
21. Charles Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*, p. 86.
22. *Times*, 19 October 1847.
23. *Wexford Independent*, 1 January 1848.
24. *Freeman's*, 12 July 1849.
25. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, pp. 49-50.
26. *Freeman's*, 11 July 1849.
27. *Ibid.*, 5 August 1846.
28. *Ibid.*, 22 August 1846.
29. *Times*, 6 March 1847, 27 March 1847.
30. *Northern Whig*, 11 March 1847.
31. *Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette*, 2 January 1847, 24 April 1847.
32. *Banner of Ulster*, 15 January 1847.
33. Evidence of Joseph Bewley, *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law (Ireland) 1849*, xv, 2nd part, pp. 952, 964.
34. James H. Tuke, 'Report of the Society of Friends on Distress in Ireland', NLI, Ms. Ir.9410859.
35. Trevelyan to Lord Lieutenant, PROL, T.64.369 B 1, 14 December 1847; *ibid.*, Trevelyan to Jonathan Pim, Society of Friends, T.64.367 B 2, 24 August 1848; Pim to Trevelyan, 5 June 1849, *Transactions of the Society of Friends* (Dublin, 1852), pp. 452-4.

36. Minutes of Fisherwick Place, 24 March 1847.
37. *Freeman's*, 5 November 1846. In 1850 Wiseman was at the centre of a controversy when the Pope decided to restore ecclesiastical titles to the Catholic hierarchy in England, thus making Wiseman the Archbishop of Westminster.
38. Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870* (Dublin, 1978).
39. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 206.
40. *Ulster Times*, 21 July 1838.
41. *Ibid.*, 20 November 1838.
42. For example, *Ulster Times*, 20 November 1838; *Belfast Protestant Journal*, 4 July 1846; and in Dublin, *Protestant Watchman*.
43. *Ibid.*, 27 November 1838.
44. Presbyterian Registers of Fitzroy Congregation, (Alfred Street) PRONI, IP/14/1, 11 October 1846, 11 July 1847, 10 November 1847.
45. *Protestant Watchman* (Dublin), 13 December 1838.
46. *Ibid.*, 20 December 1838.
47. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast, 1997), pp. 252-3.
48. Alexander Somerville, *Letters from Ireland during the Famine of 1847* ed. D. K. M. Snell (Dublin, 1994), pp. 76-7.
49. *History Ireland*, pp. 35-6.
50. *Freeman's Journal*, 25 September 1847.
51. William Murrable, *The Rise and Progress of the Irish Church Missions* (Dublin, 1850).
52. Cited in Flan Campbell, *Protestant Dissenting Tradition*, p. 206.
53. *Protestant Watchman* (Dublin), 12 May 1848.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
55. Niall R. Branch, 'Edward Nangle and the Achill Island Mission', in *History Ireland*, 8.3 (Autumn 2000), p. 38.
56. *Ibid.*
57. William Flannelly, PP to Archbishop Murray, 6 April 1848, quoted in Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 208.
58. Póirtéir, *Famine Echoes*, pp. 166-81. This publication is based on a survey undertaken by the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1830s, which is now housed in University College, Dublin.
59. *Freeman's*, 25 September 1847.
60. *Cork Examiner*, 25 October 1847.
61. *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 July 1847.
62. *Belfast Protestant Journal*, 18 July 1846.
63. *Ibid.*, 7 November 1846.
64. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1847.
65. *Times*, 6 October 1847.
66. *Hansard*, xcii, 11 March 1847.
67. *Ibid.*, 20 November 1847.
68. *Banner of Ulster*, 9 January 1849.
69. *Ibid.*, 20 February 1849.
70. Michael Brannigan, Missionary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Banner of Ulster*, 12 January 1849.
71. Ó Gráda, *Black '47*, p. 185.
72. *Western Times*, cited in *Freeman's*, 13 January 1847.
73. *Banner of Ulster*, 8 January 1847.

74. R. Whately, *The Right use of National Afflictions being a charge delivered on 19 and 22 September 1848* (Dublin, 1848).
75. *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 August 1849.
76. Nicholson, *Annals*, pp. 181–2.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
79. *Freeman's*, 2 July 1847.
80. *Ibid.*, 25 September 1847.
81. *Mercury*, 20 April 1847.
82. Nicholson, *Annals*, p. 182.
83. Abstract of Constabulary Reports, PROL, HO45 2416, 31 March 1848.
84. *Banner of Ulster*, 23 January 1849.
85. *Times*, 17 August 1849.
86. *Freeman's*, 26 August 1847.
87. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, pp. 209–10.
88. Kerr, *Catholic Church*, p. 88.
89. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, p. 212.
90. P. C. Barry, 'The Legislation of the Synod of Thurles, 1850', in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 26 (1959), pp. 131–66.
91. *Banner of Ulster*, 16 February 1849.
92. A. Dallas, *The Story of the Irish Church Missions, continued to 1869* (London, 1875).
93. John Edgar DD, *Ireland's Field Mission. A Paper read at the Sixth Annual Conference of the British Organization, 1852*.
94. T. P. O'Neill, 'Sidelights on Souperism', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 71 (5th ser., 1949), pp. 50–64.
95. *Ulster Times*, 21 July 1838.
96. *Ulster Times*, 20 November 1838.
97. *Belfast Protestant Journal*, 18 March 1848.
98. *Ibid.*, 11 July 1846.
99. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1847, 18 July 1846.
100. *Wexford Independent*, 19 July 1848.
101. *Belfast Protestant Journal*, 7 November 1846.
102. Russell to Monteagle, Monteagle Papers, NLI, 12 November 1848.
103. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, 12 July 1847.
104. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Hon. Blake, 26 July 1847.
105. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Russell, 16 July 1847.
106. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Hon. Blake, 26 July 1847.
107. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Russell, 31 July 1847.
108. *Ibid.*, Clarendon to Russell, 26 October 1847.
109. *St James's Chronicle*, 26 October 1847.
110. Clarendon to Marquis of Lansdowne, Clarendon Papers, 26 October 1847.
111. *St James's Chronicle*, 26 October 1847.
112. *St James's Chronicle*, 26 October 1847.
113. E. E. Y. Hayes, *Pio Nonno: A Study in European Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1954), pp. 17–81.
114. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, 23 October 1847.
115. *Nation*, 13 May 1848.
116. *Wexford Independent*, 12 July 1848.

117. *Hansard*, c. 21 July 1848, p. 639.
118. Abstract of Constabulary Reports, PROL, HO45 2416, 16 March 1848.
119. *Hansard*, c. 21 July 1848, p. 632.
120. *Ibid.*, c. 24 July 1848, pp. 755–6.
121. *Illustrated London News*, 5 August 1848.
122. Clarendon to Monteagle, Monteagle Papers, NLI, 20 February 1849.
123. *Freeman's*, 14 July 1849.
124. There were only three archbishops at the time because the vacancy in Armagh had not been filled.
125. Kerr, *Nation of Beggars*, pp. 203–4.
126. *Banner of Ulster*, 14 August 1849.
127. *Times*, 30 July 1849.
128. *Banner of Ulster*, 3 August 1849.
129. *Belfast News-Letter*, 11 August 1849.
130. Mr Anson, Secretary to Queen to Providence Home, cited in *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 August 1849.
131. *Times*, 30 August 1849.
132. *Banner of Ulster*, 10 August 1849.
133. *Ibid.*, 14 August 1849.
134. *Ibid.*, 17 August 1849.
135. *Liverpool Mercury*, 7 August 1849.
136. Lee, *The Modernization of Irish Society* (Dublin, 1973), p. 47.
137. *Banner of Ulster*, 3 March 1849.
138. *Ibid.*, 9 March 1849.
139. Kinealy and Mac Atasney, *Hidden Famine*, Chapter 1.
140. Ó Grada, *Black '47*, p. 86, based on his study of Anglican parish registers in Cork and Dublin; Kinealy and Parkhill, *Famine in Ulster*.
141. *Times*, 27 October 1850.
142. *Ibid.*, 6 November 1850.
143. *Times*, cited in *Wexford Independent*, 4 January 1851.
144. *Nation*, 22 February 1851.
145. *Ibid.*, 1 March 1851.
146. *Wexford Independent*, 1 January 1851.
147. *Nation*, 1 March 1851.
148. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, 28 March 1851; *ibid.*, Clarendon to George Grey, 1 April 1851.
149. *Hansard*, cxiv, 7 February 1851.
150. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, 13 October 1847; *St James's Chronicle*, 26 October 1847.
151. 'Lord Clarendon's Policy in Ireland', in *Dublin University Magazine*, 37 (1851), pp. 136–58.
152. *Nation*, 22 February 1851.
153. *Hansard*, cxv, 20 March 1851.
154. *Wexford Independent*, 15 January 1851, 25 January 1851.
155. *Times*, 9 December 1850.
156. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, 23 February 1851.
157. R. K. Webb, *Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (2nd edn, Routledge, 1994), p. 306.