History by proxy: imaging the great Irish famine

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Publication date
2010

Citation for published version (APA):

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CONCLUSION

Fig. 85 is a map of Ireland, marked with a seemingly chance set of location markers. These indicate the places of Famine remembrance I have visited and the sites illustrators, artists and photographers have depicted or drawn inspiration from to produce images of Famine experience. These locations are all mentioned in the previous seven chapters and each has been represented as a site of Famine memory of one kind or another. The origins of some are far from clear and barely acknowledged in their connection to the Famine; others are layered with previous and subsequent historical events competing for the visitor’s attention; others still are continuously coated with shifting interpretative practices. In producing a map of these sites I want to draw a connection between the ways in which the limits of place - any place - as the site of history are indicative of the problems of visibility in cultural memory. The limiting factors of naming place and the problems of a reliance on visible evidence collide in repeated prioritizations of material culture in deciding, at collective, cultural levels, what histories are better re-membered than others.

Across all the theoretical interests raised by my objects of analysis in this study - the disciplines of post and neo-colonial theory, museum studies and art history and the concepts of authenticity, narrative, hunger and active remembrance - runs a critique of the suitability of dominant codes of positivism in generating the means to remember negative events. I have approached the Famine as an event defined by absence and loss, and fundamentally, as a history of poverty. In this understanding, the event and its (post) memory exemplify the challenges facing positivist strategies in historical accounts mediated through the exhibition of art and artefacts, the production of illustrations, public memorials, heritage and tourist sites and less readily visible or tangible sites of remembrance.

In identifying and linking recurrent themes of representation through chapter topics, I have considered cultural memory as both individually and socially functional. Throughout my chapters themes of ruralism and rebellion in museum exhibits; time and questioning of historiography through exhibition practice; the emaciated body as metaphor; dispossession and emigration; personal witness and heritage sites; collective narratives and touristic trails; and burial, landscape and mourning emerge as shaping factors in how the present-day cultural memory of the Famine is negotiated. These factors were and are made manifest, literally and evocatively, at different sites, which I have marked on Fig. 85. Though each one is differently characterized, all the locations that I address foster a register of awareness of how the interpretation of place can alter perceptions of the past and the present. These occurred as the collapse of nationalist struggles into localisms in microcosmic representations; the link between touring exhibitions, contextual relevance and
relative audience politics; the geo-political positioning of imaging hunger; the site-specific nature of dispossession, followed by the transitory uncertainties of displacement; the location of voice in distilling the focus of heritage; the ways dedicated sites of commemoration are activated by visitation; and finally the locus of active remembrance in absence formulated by an overt practice of proxy. This practice comprises thoughtful action ranging from reading art, an object or a place to walking deliberately down a street or through a field.

In mapping the sites I have discussed in this conventional diagrammatic form, I have generated a series of dots and text that merely indicates a set of geographical locations. While this illustrates mapping as a necessarily failed visualization of any memory, it is a useful way to indicate the ways in which place, and the experience of it, is usually formed as a site of cultural memory. Hooper-Greenhill draws attention to the fact that cartographies are never neutral and mapping is a legitimating practice (17). She presents a correlation between the traditional functions of a map and the modernist museum, arguing that what maps do conceptually, museums do with things (18): “it [the modernist museum] unifies and rationalizes, pictures and presents relationships” (17). On this positivist level, the static nature of this kind of printed image, with recognizable geographical codes, identifiable placenames and widely readable relativities of actual scale, give credence to the viability of what I have chosen to analyze and endorse the kinds of selectivity at play in my choices. Reading the map more critically, however, the concerns raised by my questions in Chapter Two, concerning how to remember and how to look back, emerge in a newer question; where is memory?

Analysis of the visual and material forms of Famine cultural memory highlights the need for serial memory, mobile modes of remembrance and a recognition of the artificial nature of material culture, whether artefact, art or intentional artifice. From the work of Alanna O’Kelly, for example, to various curatorial endeavours, the need for multiple and varied perspectives is iterated. Aside from these observations, the issue of public place remains potent in Famine memory. Notions of relative cultural periphery and vitality were part of the terrible play-off between an increasingly generalized all-encompassing countryside that distinguished and differentiated municipal centres during the Famine era and in its aftermath. In the slew of modernist concerns, these outlooks affected the nature of early imaging of the Famine.

These ideas were later challenged by post-colonial concerns and re-figured in social art histories. In urban spaces, outside of the museums and galleries, on city streets, in parks and on quay sides, both in Ireland and elsewhere, recent Famine memorials demand still reflection and in this instigate a conceptual renegotiation of
the social price paid for the unnatural evolution of what are now towns and cities in Ireland and accrued diasporas in other places. In rural schemes of Ireland, acknowledged and hidden commemorative sites encourage active mental engagement with the flow between time and space, and so also provoke a reconsideration of the weighted modernist accounts of cultural margin and civic hub. How time and experience configure place is, arguably, acknowledged in the recent declaration by the Irish Government of an official National Famine Commemoration Day as an annual event, rotating between the four provinces of Ireland. The event, in its inherent mobility, choice of first location and array of actual and potential elements, indicates the potential further redress of, or at least draws attention to, the divisive imbalance between urban and rural concerns in the commemoration of the Famine.

On the map, I have marked Abbeystrewery Cemetery outside Skibbereen Town in County Cork. This is the site of a mass grave of thousands of unnamed dead, as discussed in Chapter Seven. The location was also the key venue for the first official National Famine Commemoration Day, held on 17 May 2009, which culminated in a walk led by the minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Éamon Ó Cuív, from O’Donovan Rossa Park to Abbeystrewery Cemetery. This final day of ceremonies in Cork came after a week of commemorative activities and was constituted by a trail, beginning in the park and concluding at the cemetery. A tree was planted by the Minister, and a new plaque unveiled to mark the Famine commemoration. There were a series of readings and prayers led by religious leaders, and music by a brass band. At the cemetery, following a guard of honour, there was a laying of wreaths by Minister Ó Cuív, the Mayors of Cork city and Skibbereen town, as well as the Ambassadors of Canada, Kenya, Bulgaria and Nigeria. There was observance of a minute silence as part of the ceremonies also.

The National Famine Commemoration 2009 as an event is difficult to fully contain in conventional documentary forms and impossible to adequately map. A leaflet leaves a trace of the eight days of events: a catalogue of the places, times and facilitators of storytelling, staged plays, group walks and music recitals, and a listing of the components of the final formal commemorative event at the park and at the mass graveside. The events were filmed and clips collated into a 120-minute official film, *Famine Commemoration Week*, which serves as another partial document from the moment the proceedings ended. The commercial DVD, *The Great Famine: Remember Skibbereen*, takes its name from a new 55-minute documentary on the Famine in Skibbereen also on the DVD. The style of the documentary is evolved from a focus

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338 The DVD was supported by the West Cork Development Partnership, as well as by State and European sponsorship.
on personal narratives more than the provision of statistical overviews of the scale of the Famine, though the implications of microhistory are evident throughout.

As a link between an area in Ireland and a national negative history, the events of the National Famine Commemoration 2009 and their filming constitute the creation of a cultural memory. This memory is formulated in a focus on the past through the arts and group activities that re-invent tragedy as a source for creativity and shared experiences in the present day, while promoting the negotiation of the postmemory of a collective trauma through cultural production. Such binary interpretative practice is self-consciously driven by ideas of collective or shared remembrance, activated not only at specific sites, but also at stated times. Skibbereen as the site of the first National Famine Commemoration Day is unsurprising, and indeed the Minister Ó Cuív drew attention to the fact that Skibbereen and Schull “were one of the worst affected areas during the Famine” (Skibbereen Heritage Center, 2009). The implied relativism is not neutral, but with the extensive care given to Famine memory at Skibbereen, its selection as the first site of an annual memorial seems a fitting and reasonable tribute to years of local commitment.

The future of the National Famine Commemoration Day as a mobile focus is promising, but will hopefully not be automatically aligned only to readymade sites of visibility, nor should it replace the recognition of official support for multiple strategies of remembrance. Identifying the problems associated with physically static or fixed material memorials and unchanging stories does not negate their usefulness: rather it is the acknowledgement of how sites, objects and narratives function in cultural memory that will provide the most challenging and useful triggers for active remembrance. Not drawn exclusively from the past, such places and imagings will instead draw us towards the past in order to fully understand our present and shape our futures. While teams of heritage and history experts at and for UNESCO are busily drawing up strategies to inform growing policy emphasis on the preservation, conservation and promotion of intangible heritage, it is worth bearing in mind that if imaging the past is a process of proxy, the quality of all memory is prized open to renegotiation. Defined by constant reconsideration, any example of heritage is, like negative history and irrespective of variant material legacy, by thorough collective engagement ultimately intangible.339

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339 UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) describes intangible heritage as living heritage, or the functions and values of cultural expressions and practices, which provide:

[...] each bearer of such expressions a sense of identity and continuity, insofar as he or she takes ownership of them and constantly recreates them. As a driving force of cultural diversity, living heritage is very fragile. In recent years, it has received international recognition and its safeguarding has
Arbitrary mapping, partial evidence, missing stories, loss of possessions, lack of food: a trail that returns us, its travelers, to a past reality we cannot seem to grasp because the very conditions of these events were, as all poverty is, shockingly and insistently based on the naturalization of systems of disappearance and dematerialization. This recognition is not a license to negate the need for the appearance of suffering, nor is it a cue to strategize a stifling rhetoric of ineffability: on the contrary, the struggle to remember that is highlighted in Famine cultural memory advises that absent voices are never unimaginable.

become one of the priorities of international cooperation thanks to UNESCO’s leading role in the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. (UNESCO 2009)
1. Strokestown, County Roscommon
   Strokestown Famine Museum
   1848 Warhouse

2. Ballingarry, County Tipperary
   National Museum of Ireland: Museum of Country Life
   Cashel Folk Village
   Commission Collection
   Clonlisk, Clonadklin Famine Memorial Arboretum
   Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge: Famine 150 1995 Famine 150 exhibition
   St. Stephen's Green: Wolfe Tone Monument and Famine Fountain
   Dublin Docklands: Famine sculpture
   Dublin Port: Jeanie Johnston ship
   Various Venues: Exhibition of Pictures of Irish Historical Interest 1946 exhibition

3. Turlough Park House, County Mayo
   National Museum of Ireland: Museum of Country Life
   Johnstown Agricultural Museum and Famine Exhibitions
   Cashel Folk Village
   University College Dublin, Bellfield: Irish Folklore

4. Johnstown Castle Estate, County Wexford
   Johnstown Agricultural Museum and Famine Exhibitions
   Cashel Folk Village
   University College Dublin, Bellfield: Irish Folklore

5. Cashel, County Tipperary
   Cashel Folk Village
   University College Dublin, Bellfield: Irish Folklore

6. Dublin City
   Commission Collection
   Clonlisk, Clonadklin Famine Memorial Arboretum
   Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge: Famine 150 1995 Famine 150 exhibition
   St. Stephen's Green: Wolfe Tone Monument and Famine Fountain
   Dublin Docklands: Famine sculpture
   Dublin Port: Jeanie Johnston ship
   Various Venues: Exhibition of Pictures of Irish Historical Interest 1946 exhibition

7. Derry City
   George Moore Society: Famine 1995 exhibition
   University College Cork: Famines Yesterday and Today: The Irish Experience in a Global Context exhibition
   Source for Illustrated London News
   Source for Illustrated London News

8. Claremorris, County Mayo
   The National Famine Memorial
   Kavanagh Famine Cottage
   Famine Village
   Famine Village
   Dunbrody ship

9. Cork City
   Source for Illustrated London News
   Source for Illustrated London News
   The National Famine Memorial
   Kavanagh Famine Cottage
   Famine Village
   Famine Village
   Dunbrody ship
   The Workhouse Heritage Centre
   Workhouse Museum
   Skibbereen Heritage Centre
   Skibbereen Trail
   Abbeystrewery Cemetery

10. Kilrush, County Clare
    Source for Illustrated London News
    Source for Illustrated London News
    The National Famine Memorial
    Kavanagh Famine Cottage
    Famine Village
    Famine Village
    Dunbrody ship

11. Clonakilty, County Cork
    Annual Memorial Walk
    Famine Village, Visitor's Centre
    Molly Gallivan's Cottage and Traditional Farm

12. Attymass, County Mayo
    Famine Wall
    Famine Road

13. Murrisk, County Mayo
    Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
    Soldier's Cemetery
    Famine Graveyard

14. Fahan, Slea Head, County Kerry
    Famine Wall
    Memorial, An Ghorta Mór

15. New Ross Harbour, County Wexford
    Famine Cross Monument
    Burial Site
    Burial Site, Source for Sanctuary/Wasteland

16. Slievemore, Achill, County Mayo
    Famine Cross Monument
    Burial Site
    Burial Site, Source for Sanctuary/Wasteland

17. New Ross Harbour, County Wexford
    Dunbrody ship
    The Workhouse Heritage Centre
    Workhouse Museum
    Skibbereen Heritage Centre
    Skibbereen Trail

18. Galway City
    Abbeystrewery Cemetery
    Annual Memorial Walk

19. Dunfanaghy, County Donegal
    Famine Village, Visitor's Centre
    Molly Gallivan's Cottage and Traditional Farm

20. Donaghmore, County Laois

21. Skibbereen, County Cork

22. Doolough, County Mayo

23. Doagh Inishown Peninsula, County Donegal

24. Bonane, Kenmare, County Kerry

25. Knockmealdown Wall, County Tipperary / County Waterford
    Famine Wall
    Famine Road

26. Béal na Bláth, County Cork
    Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
    Soldier's Cemetery
    Famine Graveyard

27. Cultra, Holywood, County Antrim
    Famine Wall
    Memorial, An Ghorta Mór

28. Fermoy, County Cork

29. Ennistymon, County Clare
    Garden of Remembrance
    Burial Site

30. Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim
    Burial Site
    Burial Site

31. Callan, County Kilkenny
    Famine Cross Monument
    Burial Site
    Burial Site, Source for Sanctuary/Wasteland

32. Carragistira, County Cork

33. Newmarket County Cork

34. Gort naCille, County Galway

35. Thallabawn, County Mayo

36. Lisainskey, Knockcroghery, County Roscommon

37. Maynooth, County Kildare:
    Burial Site
    Crucifix, Presentation Sisters
    The Arrival, Ireland Park

38. Toronto, Canada
    Irish Hunger Memorial, Battery Park
    Irish Famine Memorial Park
    Famine Cross

39. New York City
    Immigrant Cemetery; Memorials
    Australian Monument to the Great Irish Famine (1845-48)
    Hyde Park Barracks

40. Boston City

41. Kingston, Ontario
    Memorial at St. Luke's Church
    Famine Memorial, Clarence Dock

42. Grosse Île, Quebec Canada

43. Sydney, Australia

44. Liverpool, England

**Figure 85:** Key: Map of Ireland, History by Proxy
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