



Title	Famine and Commemoration, 1909–2017: Sites and Dynamics of Memory
Authors(s)	Kelleher, Margaret
Publication date	2017
Publication information	Kelleher, Margaret. "Famine and Commemoration, 1909–2017: Sites and Dynamics of Memory" 40 (2017).
Publisher	Canadian Association for Irish Studies
Item record/more information	http://hdl.handle.net/10197/12570

Downloaded 2024-04-20 16:24:19

The UCD community has made this article openly available. Please share how this access benefits you. Your story matters! (@ucd_oa)



© Some rights reserved. For more information

2017 Marianna O’Gallagher Memorial Lecture

Famine and Commemoration, 1909–2017: Sites and Dynamics of Memory

by Margaret Kelleher

Introductory Note

In September 2006 I began a semester at Concordia University as Peter O’Brien Visiting Scholar, thanks to the warm hospitality of Michael Kenneally and Rhona Richman Kenneally. Soon after my arrival, Michael arranged for me to visit Grosse Île and with a very special tour guide, Marianna O’Gallagher. At the end of my visit she presented me with a copy of her publication *Grosse Île: Gateway to Canada* (1984) inscribed as follows: “souvenir d’une belle journée dans la présence de nos ancêtres.” And with characteristic thoughtfulness, she sent a copy to my mother, the late Jo Kelleher, in Mallow, County Cork, who shared Marianna’s love of history and commitment to the significance of histories of place. When I was invited to give this memorial lecture, I looked again at Marianna’s inscription and decided to respond to its invitation to consider the significance of ancestors, and, as a scholar of the Great Irish Famine since the early 1990s, to reflect in a more explicitly personal register than hitherto on the familial dynamics of Famine commemoration and social memory.

Sites of Memory

As is well known to Canadian Irish scholars, a key moment in the commemorative history of the Great Irish Famine in Canada was the 1897 visit to Grosse Île by a group of the Ancient Order of Hibernians from Quebec, organized to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Famine. The group included Jeremiah Gallagher, Marianna’s grandfather; as she relates in *Grosse Île: Gateway to Canada*, “shamed by the sad neglect of the grave-sites, they realized that they must do something” and after twelve years of work the Celtic Cross monument was unveiled.¹

Marianna's book includes an extract from a letter written by Jeremiah, as County President of the AOH division, no. 1, Quebec, on April 20, 1899, seeking to raise funds for a monument:

the desolate and neglected aspect of the particular portion of the island allotted for the resting place of so many of our blood and our faith seemed to strike us with reproach. After careful consideration of the matter in division meetings we have concluded that it is our duty to see that this hallowed spot where so many thousands of our country people are buried should be reclaimed, be becomingly enclosed and have a befitting monument with suitable inscriptions (in Gaelic, Latin, French and English) not only in memorium (sic) of the unhappy Irish exiles but also as a protest against the misgovernment of which they were the victims.²

The letter is addressed to John T. Keating, National President in Chicago, and in it Jeremiah suggested a collection of ten cents a head from all AOH members. The following year, the national AOH convention in Boston voted a sum of five thousand dollars to aid the building of the monument, a motion unanimously supported in July 1908 at a Chicago convention.³

Montreal's AOH division was formed in 1892, and a year later a division was founded in Quebec. Jeremiah's letter, and the larger commemorative initiative, offers a powerful instance of what Paullia A. Ebron, in her article "Slavery and Transnational Memory: The Making of New Publics," has termed "the making of public memory."⁴ Ebron usefully unpacks her own deployment of the term in the opening page of her article: "I use the term *public memory* to signal the process by which a group of people who were once dismissed and never thought of as part of a 'public' might become visible to themselves and to others—a public—through their use of memory."⁵ To a greater degree than its sibling terms *collective memory* and *social memory*, *public memory* illuminates "the very processes of making communal identity and the formation of emergent subjectivities."⁶ And its mobilization often

occurs through what Ebron calls “projects,” sets of “discourses and practices” that draw “from both official and vernacular sources,” and which “may work simultaneously as discipline and as rebellion.”⁷

An implicit objective within the commemorative project launched by Gallagher and his fellow AOH leaders was the “making of a public,” deploying past experiences of famine and emigration to consolidate shared political aspirations for the future. Its material and financial aspects functioned also as a type of “immigrant reparation” (an inversion of the better-known emigrant remittances) in which donations were provided by many who had personally made, and survived, the transatlantic journey. The design of the monument was largely the work of Jeremiah, whose career included positions as civil engineer and assistant waterworks engineer at City Hall. In family recollections passed on to his daughter Marianna, Jeremiah’s son Dermot recalled his father’s scale drawing hanging on the kitchen wall in the family home on Conroy Street, Quebec City, and discussions among Jeremiah and his AOH colleagues over the contents of the inscriptions.⁸ The final monument, made of grey Stanstead granite, stands forty-six feet high on Telegraph Hill, the highest point on Grosse Île. Contemporary newspapers record the presence of over eight thousand people at the unveiling ceremony on August 15, 1909, an attendance which included Jeremiah, his wife Mary, and their two children Dermot and Mary. In *Grosse Île* Marianna reproduces a number of photographs from the *Montreal Standard* of August 28, 1909, including what she rightly terms the “plaintive” photograph of two elderly men gazing at the Celtic Cross.⁹

Jeremiah was born in April 1837 in the town of Macroom in County Cork, son of John Gallagher, a local stonemason and Mary Meany. He left Ireland in 1858, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, and came to Canada via Philadelphia and Boston. The 1871 census record identifies him as thirty-two years of age and as a “commis,” meaning clerk or assistant; at that time Jeremiah lived with his brother Frank and family in Quebec City and worked with Frank,

who was a schoolteacher at Sillery Academy, while studying to become an engineer.¹⁰ Unlike many of his Irish-Quebec contemporaries who had emigrated before the Famine or as children during the Famine years, Jeremiah left Ireland as an adult and some seven years after the Famine had concluded; his knowledge of what had occurred during the years 1845–1851 and in their aftermath was therefore substantial and influential on his later political allegiances in Canada.¹¹

Historical sources from the area throw some light on what Jeremiah might have known, remembered, and relayed regarding those years of famine. Macroom had experienced significant famine and hardship prior to the mid-nineteenth century, most especially during 1740–41. Surviving burial registers for Catholic internments in the parish graveyard show that burial rates for those years were four times the rate for previous years, with especially high numbers of burials between December 1740 and March 1741.¹² According to an eyewitness account recorded in April 1847 and reproduced in John O'Rourke's history of the Irish Famine, "every avenue leading to the plague-stricken town of Macroom had a fever hospital; persons of all ages were dropping dead in the streets."¹³ The *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* includes an image of a mass burial pit in Carrigastyra graveyard (which lies between Macroom and Clondrohid), the burial place for hundreds of Famine victims in the Macroom area. The site remained in disrepair until the 1990s but is now maintained by the Macroom Historical Society.¹⁴

The inability of Famine members to bury their relatives with dignity, and the particular horror of mass graves, are among the most potent details in contemporary Famine accounts. In the late 1860s—in his words, "some twenty years after the famine-scourge had passed away"—O'Rourke visited Abbeystrewry cemetery outside Skibbereen which is locally reputed to hold the remains of up to ten thousand unidentified victims.¹⁵ His recollection of

the visit, published in his 1874 history, has a compelling power which comes, in part, from the initial matter-of-factness of his description:

A difficulty arose in my mind with regard to the manner of interment in those pits. Great numbers, I knew, were interred in each of them; for which reason they must have been kept open a considerable time. Yet surely, I reflected, something resembling interment must have taken place on the arrival of each corpse, especially as it was coffinless. The contrivance, as I afterwards learned, was simple enough. A little sawdust was sprinkled over each corpse, on being laid in the pit, which was thus kept open until it had received its full complement of tenants.¹⁶

This passage is then succeeded by a strikingly early historiographical reflection on what we might now term, following Pierre Nora, “sites of memory” or “lieux de mémoire”¹⁷ (including what would appear to be a reference to the contemporary American Civil War battlefields):

To trace one’s steps, slowly and respectfully, among the graves of those who have reached the goal of life in the ordinary course, fills one with holy warnings; to stand beside the monument raised on the battle-field to the brave men who fell there, calls up heroic echoes in the heart, but here there is no room for sentiment; here in humiliation and sorrow, not unmixed with indignation, one is driven to exclaim:

O God! That bread should be so dear,
And human flesh so cheap.¹⁸

In 1915, six years after the opening of Grosse Île, the Carrigastyra famine pit near Jeremiah Gallagher’s Irish home was powerfully depicted in tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire’s autobiography *Mo Scéal Féin* (My Own Story). Here the Clondrohid-born author relays a story heard by him as a child, concerning a local family called Buckley who were separated

following their entry into the workhouse. Ó Laoghaire's simply told but searing account is worth reproducing in some length, and in its original Irish:

Bhí an t-athair agus an mháthair ag fiafraí agus ag ceistiúchán chómh minic agus d'fhéadadar é i dtaobh Shíle agus Dhiarmaidín. Ní raibh an bheirt i bhfad tar éis bháis nuair 'airíodar é. Bhí an Ghaelainn ag na daoine bochta go léir. Ní raibh sí ag na huachtaránaibh, nú ní raibh sí acu ach go holc. D'fhéadadh na daoine bochta eólas d'fháil ar a chéile go minic i ganfhios do sna huachtaránaibh. Chómh luath agus 'fuair an t-athair agus an mháthair go raibh an bheirt leanbh tar éis bháis, tháinig a leithéid sin de bhuairt agus d'uaigneas orthu ná féadfaidís fanúint san áit. Bhíodar deighilte óna chéile, ach fuaradar caoi ar fhocal éigin do chur chun a chéile. Shocraíodar ar éaló as an áit. Cáit ab ainm don mhnaoi. Do shleamhnaigh Pádraig amach as an dtigh ar dtúis. Do stad sé thuas i mbarra Bhóthair na Sop ag fanúint le Cáit. I gcionn tamaill do chonaic sé ag teacht í, ach bhí sí ag siúl ana-réidh. Bhí an bhreóiteacht uirthi. Chomáineadar leó suas i dtreó Charraig an Staighre. Thánadar chun na háite 'na raibh an poll mór. Bhí 'fhios acu go raibh an bheirt leanbh thíos sa pholl san i measc na gcéadta corp eile. Do stadadar in aice an phuíll agus ghoileadar a ndóthain.¹⁹

To give a short paraphrase: it is only through secret conversations in Irish, a language unknown or poorly known to the “higher-ups” (“na huachtaránaibh”), that the parents Pádraig and Cáit can ascertain that their children Síle and Diarmaidín are dead and have been buried in the famine pit (“poll mór,” literally “big hole”). The parents then escape the workhouse at night in order to visit the burial site where they lament their children's deaths (“ghoileadar a ndóthain”). The parents' subsequent fate, as recounted by Ó Laoghaire, is in turn the inspiration for two Famine poems, Brendan Kennelly's powerful treatment of ancestral

memory in “My Dark Fathers” and Eavan Boland’s remarkable “Quarantine.” These are the second and third stanzas of Boland’s five stanza poem:

She was sick with famine fever and could not keep up.

He lifted her and put her on his back.

He walked like that west and west and north.

Until at nightfall under freezing stars they arrived.

In the morning they were both found dead.

Of cold. Of hunger. Of the toxins of a whole history.

But her feet were held against his breastbone.

The last heat of his flesh was his last gift to her.²⁰

Jeremiah Gallagher’s place of origin may thus be connected to that of Peadar Ó Laoghaire, and Ó Laoghaire’s text to those of Kennelly and Boland, in a web of Famine associations that links a local burial place, unmarked for decades but made famous through printed memoir, to one of the most famous of Famine monuments, and to what is now, due to the anthologization of “Quarantine” in the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, one of the best-known Irish poems, internationally.

A fragmentary history of the Gallagher family survives at Library and Archives Canada, compiled by Marianna over the years 2003 to 2008 for the information of the next generation of family members. The archive is curiously silent regarding the Great Irish Famine, with the exception of one anecdote:

From the days of the famine, Jeremiah remembered one incident that always made him smile. He remembered waking in the middle of the night, and with his brothers looking from the loft over the kitchen down into that room where his mother and two or three neighbors were excitedly and hurriedly carving up

a deer that they had poached from the landlord's deer park. Ordinarily memories of Ireland did not elicit smiles.²¹

Jeremiah married at the age of fifty and his son Dermot was born in 1891. According to Marianna, when Dermot went to boarding school, his father gave him an Irish dictionary and wrote to him in Irish, though only English-language letters survive. Her grandfather was remembered by his family as emotional, affectionate, and having a fiery temper:

The injustices perpetrated in Ireland, and which Jerry no doubt felt as keenly as if they had been dealt directly at him caused him not only sorrow, but often extreme anger. Once, on Saint Patrick's Day, an overly jocular friend phoned to offer greetings that were just too joyful. To the melancholy Gael, at that moment, nostalgia for the Ireland he had left, and for the Ireland that was still not free, struck Jeremiah in his deepest feelings. He ripped the telephone off the wall. There was no humiliating explanation to be offered to anyone, but simply the request to one of his men at City Hall, "Fix it."²²

It is difficult not to read this passage in relation to Jeremiah's experience of the Famine. Similarly, in his CAIS article on the Fenian world of Jeremiah Gallagher, David Wilson views this display of anger as going "back to the Famine and everything he believed it stood for," though, as Wilson also notes, the anecdote also highlights the economic success secured by the Famine emigrant: "the fact that he had one of the first telephones in Quebec is at least as significant as the fact that he ripped it off the wall."²³

More evidence of the personal effects of the Famine can be construed from other facts known about Jeremiah. For example, following his arrival in the United States he went first to Montreal, in 1859, where he worked as a time keeper on the Victoria Bridge. The construction of the bridge was nearing completion at that time and it was officially opened by the Prince of Wales in 1860. Of her research into the opening ceremony, Marianna observed: "I have

searched the old photos of the inauguration without being able to locate Jeremiah's face among the throng, but to me it is very likely that he was there."²⁴ In the course of the building works, the now well-known "Montreal Black Rock" or "Irish Stone" was unearthed, a thirty ton granite boulder, which seems to have been made available as a Famine monument in a concession to Irish labourers who were concerned about the disturbance of human remains from what had been a mass burial site in the 1840s. On December 1, 1859, the ship fever monument was inaugurated by the Anglican bishop of Montreal (with, as Colin McMahon and Michael Quigley have observed, no recognition of the Irish identity of those buried at the site).²⁵ Jeremiah was most probably present on that occasion and it is likely too that this experience, in particular the occlusion of Irish Famine deaths in a commemorative event made deliberately non-denominational and non-specific, had a formative effect on his determination to erect what its supporters championed as a "proper and lasting national memorial" at Grosse Île.²⁶ As other scholars have remarked, the inscriptions contained on the Grosse Île monument are themselves regrettably exclusionary of Famine victims from other denominations and beliefs, yet the size and prominence of the monument, constructed in 1909, exists in stark contrast to the neglect of most Famine graves in Ireland up to the Great Famine's sesquicentenary and, in some places, beyond.²⁷

Paul Connerton, author of the influential *How Societies Remember*, has argued persuasively that collective memory cannot exist without the "acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible":

For if we are to say that a social group, whose duration exceeds that of the lifespan of any single individual, is able to "remember" in common, it is not sufficient that the various members who compose that group at any given moment should be able to retain the mental representations relating to the past of that group. It is necessary also that the older members of the group should

not neglect to transmit these representations to the younger members of the group.²⁸

Jeremiah Gallagher died in 1914 when his son was about twenty-three years of age; Marianna was born fifteen years later in 1929 and died in 2010. The family stories passed from father to son to daughter, its three generations spanning over 170 years (1837–2010); Marianna was thus only one generation away from knowing a relative who had survived the Great Famine, and only one narrative relay was needed to connect her to Famine testimony.

According to the census of April 1911, my paternal great grandfather, Michael Kelleher (who lived in Dromahane, near Mallow in North Cork, was bilingual, and had the occupation of “general labourer”) was seventy-three and was born between 1837 and 1838, months after Jeremiah Gallagher. He died in 1913 at the age of seventy-six.²⁹ His youngest child, my grandfather Michael, was born in 1895 and died in 1971. I was seven when my grandfather died and I remember him clearly, but have realized only recently that he lived into young adulthood with the opportunity to hear first-hand from his father about the years of the Great Famine. Unlike Marianna, the only personalized details of the Famine’s impact that I can glean come from printed histories, such as those relayed by O’Rourke from the testimony offered by Rev C. B. Gibson, Secretary of Mallow Relief Committee, writing to the Relief Commissioners Dublin Castle to seek their urgent attention:

Mick Sullivan, a specimen of the labouring class, was the owner of a cabin in which Mr. Gibson found two starved and naked children; this man was obliged to pay a rent of £1 15s. a year for that cabin, and £2 5s. for half an English acre of potato garden, or rather for half an acre of mountain bog. He paid for these by his labour at 6d. a day. It took one hundred and sixty days’ clear work to pay for them, and of course his potato garden was no use to him this year. Mr. Gibson valued the furniture in another cabin, John Griffin’s, at 15d. A

week before Mr. Gibson's visit, the parish priest had found in the same district, a mother dividing among three of her children that nourishment which nature only intended for their infancy. And this was the moment at which the Government relief was withdrawn, because the harvest had come in.³⁰

The Mallow area also appears in what William J. Smyth has termed the “saddest map” in the *Atlas*, one which details the percentage decrease in the number of children aged under five years of age in Munster between 1841 and 1851.³¹ Many parishes—including my home town—experienced a devastating decline of two thirds, due to famine deaths and births that did not take place; to invoke Marianna's inscription cited above, this is a map which makes visible the absence of our ancestors, those one did not have.

From Sites of Memory to Dynamics of Memory

The phrase “memorial dynamics” has been used by Astrid Ell and Ann Rigney to denote the recent shift within memory studies from the study of “sites of memory” to an examination of “dynamics of memory.”³² In the 2014 collection *Transnational Memory*, edited by Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney, the editors propose a useful tripartite model of “circulation, articulation, scales” that illuminates how collective memory is mediated and remediated by and for successive generations.³³ “Circulation” in a transnational context refers to the “flow” of globalized memories, but also signals “the importance of frictions and blockages”; as noted earlier, the assertion of a shared memory, made public, by one group can act as a deliberate exclusion of another. Their choice of the word “articulation” carries a suggestive double resonance: not only in the more obvious sense of “giving expression” but also as the action of jointing or interrelating, i.e., acts of remembrance help “to link up (‘articulate’) individuals and groups through their common engagement with those narratives.”³⁴ And many of the essays in the volume bring a critical reexamination of scale and choice of scale, re-

establishing the importance of “the cognitive, the intimate, and the familial,” quieter forms of enquiry often occluded by the louder ranges of the nation, state or transnational.³⁵

It is striking how rarely scholars of the Great Famine, even the authors of some excellent recent studies, engage in any reflection regarding their deployment of an emotional and affective register.³⁶ As I have previously written, nouns such as “shame” and “guilt” are often blithely deployed: either, with approval and in a very general register, by scholars who treat complex concepts such as “trauma” as self-evident and not requiring specificity, or conversely and disapprovingly, as part of a bluntly expressed, even trite suspicion of “emotionalism” and the power of the emotive.³⁷ The affective register of “shame” can be more subtly employed by creative artists, a memorable example for me being the moving contribution by sculptor Rowan Gillespie to Vincent Woods’s *Arts Tonight* programme on “The Famine in Art,” first broadcast on RTÉ Radio 1 on December 26, 2012. Here Gillespie recalled that, following his securing of the commission for the Famine sculpture on Custom House Quay, his father enjoined him to stop: “he thought it was so shameful.”³⁸

Both the “circulation” and “articulation” of transnational memories have the power to forge powerful connective histories, as is made evident by the scholars featured in De Cesari and Rigney’s collection; yet, in the context of Irish Famine studies, there remain, I would suggest, significant fissures and disjunctions. One is between “academic” and “popular” histories, another between aspects of diasporic and “home-grown” scholarship. After the mid-1990s it became almost fashionable to express suspicion of perceived “easy solidarity” with Ireland’s Famine history. While the lines of continuity between past famine and contemporary deprivation or injustice can be, and have been, articulated in overly simplistic terms, their total refutation—and the resulting vacuum—has itself negative consequences, wherein, for example, objections to the famine-as-genocide thesis (crucially made) can be heard as having an apolitical hollowness and proponents of the thesis as having a greater affective power.³⁹ A

critical dimension for ongoing Famine scholarship which is much neglected, even evaded, concerns what I would term “affective knowledge of the Famine,” i.e., how a public readership interested in the Great Irish Famine, some of whom will be encountering the enormity of this historical event for the first time, can imaginatively comprehend its immense impact. Again the continuing engagement by artists and writers with the topic of hunger and famine is noteworthy here: for example, in a personal note accompanying her recently published novel *The Wonder*, Emma Donoghue has explained her choice of Irish setting as being motivated not only because “that’s my homeland, but because ever since the Great Famine of the 1840s, we’ve defined ourselves as a people intimate with hunger.”⁴⁰

To conclude, I return, in reverse order, to “scales,” “articulation,” and “circulation” of Famine memory. With respect to scale, I welcome the recent increased attention within Famine studies to the familial, including gender. Many years ago, following the publication of my monograph *Feminization of Famine* (1997), I was criticized by a historian for a perceived exclusionary focus on women: “men,” he memorably remarked, “suffered too.” Yet the aim of that study was to examine recurring patterns of representation in which the almost exclusive focus on images of women and children was critiqued rather than valorized. Greater and more careful focus on the historical questions of what occurred within and across families during the Famine years and in their aftermath can valuably illuminate both the domestic and the public realms.⁴¹ Attention to gender is not a valorization of the experiences of men or of women but instead an important means towards achieving a scale of enquiry other than those of the national, the regional (now the preferred scale within Famine studies), or the vanishing point of the individual. Recent work by Oonagh Walsh and others on epigenetics is very suggestive in this regard: in the valuable collection *Women and the Great Hunger*, Walsh’s essay points the way to future work in the field of “health history”—combining insights from trauma and memory studies—as a means to analyze more closely the legacy of the Irish

Famine. Drawing from the Dutch Hunger Winter Cohort Study which analyzed the impact of the “hunger winter” of 1944–45 on the subsequent physical and medical health of its survivors, Walsh suggests that the psychological and physiological trauma of the Great Famine fundamentally altered health profiles in Ireland, leaving traces on mental and physical health well into the twentieth century.⁴²

This and other recent studies offer new forms of articulation—acts of interrelationship and jointing, as well as acts of expression—and do not shy away from the affective, cognitive, or more intimate registers involved. On the national scale of commemoration, a key objective is often that of “inclusivity,” of “audience widening” and large-scale participation, goals which are worthy and to be welcomed. Yet such criteria may also result in what Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Chana Teeger perceptively call “cacophonous commemorations,” where a flattening or avoidance of difference occurs and a superficially apparent or putative harmony is in fact “cacophonous.” As a result, “what looks like remembrance, may in fact, be aimed at forgetting.”⁴³

Finally, the issue of circulation remains especially pertinent: in what might seem a post-commemoration period, we need continuing attention to how knowledge of the Famine is passed on, knowledge both of its devastating impact and of the complex, various failures—be they in climate, social structures, or government responsibility—that caused such devastation. Focusing on the word “responsibility,” Marianne Hirsch reminds us that this concept includes “the capacity to respond to the needs of the past in the present.”⁴⁴ The fundraising activities of Jeremiah Gallagher come to mind here, as does the activism of his granddaughter Marianna in forging links with developing world organizations. In a speech delivered at Grosse Île on August 21, 1994, Mary Robinson delivered a ringing call for “responsibility”: “Although we cannot turn the clock back and change the deaths that happened here, at least we do justice to the reality of the people who died here by taking the

meaning of their suffering and connecting it to present day challenges and to our compassion and involvement.”⁴⁵ Rereading that speech in preparation for this talk, I was struck by the absence of such a discourse of connectedness in our own time, with the occasional exception. One such is Piet Chielens, director of the In Flanders Fields museum in Iper, who expressed his consternation at the general failure to link the World War One commemorative activities with the humiliation of refugees fleeing war in the present.⁴⁶ His museum is expressly dedicated to the “quieter” dimensions of history: “It is not about the commanders and the strategists, but about the ordinary people who endured this war. The soldiers, nurses, refugees, the children ... the focus is on their experiences, on their daily life.”⁴⁷ Yet Chielens’s comments had little or no take up in English language media. One image which received considerable attention on social media in September 2015, days after the drowning of the three-year-old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi, involved the superimposition of the figures of three asylum-seekers—a woman from the Middle East and her two children—onto the Gillespie Famine memorial in Customs Quay.⁴⁸ Acts of circulation and articulation are inevitably acts of appropriation; might they also prompt new scales of enquiry and response?

¹ Marianna O’Gallagher, *Grosse Île: Gateway to Canada, 1832–1937* (Quebec: Carrig Books, 1984), 83.

² O’Gallagher, *Grosse Île*, 84.

³ O’Gallagher, *Grosse Île*, 84.

⁴ Paulla A. Ebron, “Slavery and Transnational Memory: The Making of New Publics,” in *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*, edited by Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 147–69.

⁵ Ebron, “Slavery and Transnational Memory,” 147.

⁶ Ebron, “Slavery and Transnational Memory,” 147.

⁷ Ebron, “Slavery and Transnational Memory,” 148.

⁸ These details are drawn from the Ireland Canada Monument webpage:

<http://irelandmonumentvancouver.com/side-3-the-100-names/the-100-names/mari-anna-ogallagher>.

⁹ O’Gallagher, *Grosse Île*, 95.

¹⁰ Marianna O’Gallagher “Jeremiah Gallagher,” *Cap-aux-Diamants* 4, no. 3 (1988): 27–30.

¹¹ David A. Wilson provides valuable information regarding Jeremiah’s political activities and allegiances in “The Fenian World of Jeremiah Gallagher,” *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 39, no. 1 (2015): 20–37.

¹² John Crowley, William J. Smyth, and Mike Murphy, eds., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2012), 26.

¹³ Canon John O’Rourke, *The Great Irish Famine* (1875), abridged ed. (Dublin: Veritas, 1999), 243. For an e-book of the third edition (1902 and unabridged), see <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/14412>. O’Rourke’s work, one of the earliest Famine histories and drawn in large part from contemporary testimonies, remains an underused source, with the significant exception of Vincent Comerford’s insightful analysis in his “Grievance, Scourge, or Shame? The Complexity of Attitudes to Ireland’s Great Famine,” in *Holodomor and Gorta Mór: Histories, Memories and Representations of Famine in the Ukraine and Ireland*, edited by Christian Noack, Lindsay Janssens, and R.V. Comerford (London, New York, and Delhi, 2012), 51–73.

¹⁴ Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*, 213.

¹⁵ O’Rourke, *Great Irish Famine*, 156.

¹⁶ O’Rourke, *Great Irish Famine*, 158.

¹⁷ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

¹⁸ O’Rourke, *Great Irish Famine*, 158.

¹⁹ The text of the Irish original is available online at <https://corkirish.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/msf-full-draft.pdf>.

²⁰ Boland’s poem was first published in her collection *Against Love Poetry* (New York: WW Norton, 2001), and featured on the shortlist for RTE’s A Poem for Ireland. See <https://apoemforireland.rte.ie/shortlist/quarantine/>

²¹ See “92 Marianna O’Gallagher – Historian, Author, Story Teller / Jeremiah O’Gallagher,” *The Ireland Canada Monument* <http://irelandmonumentvancouver.com/side-3-the-100-names/the-100-names/marianna-ogallagher/>

²² “92 Marianna O’Gallagher.”

²³ Wilson, “The Fenian World of Jeremiah Gallagher,” 31.

²⁴ “92 Marianna O’Gallagher.”

²⁵ See Colin McMahan, “Montreal’s Ship Fever Monument: An Irish Famine Memorial in the Making,” *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 33, no. 1(2007): 48–60; Michael Quigley, “Languages of Memory: Jeremiah Gallagher and the Grosse Île Famine Monument,” http://www.academia.edu/27415697/Languages_of_Memory_Jeremiah_Gallagher_and_the_Grosse_%C3%8Ele_Famine_Monument.

²⁶ This phrase comes from the booklet produced for Grosse Île’s opening in 1909, quoted in McMahan, “Montreal’s Ship Fever Monument,” 52.

²⁷ See Rhona Richman Kenneally, “Now You Don’t See it, Now You Do: Situating the Irish in the Material Culture of Grosse Île,” *Éire-Ireland* 38, nos. 3/4 (2003): 33–53.

²⁸ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 38.

²⁹ My thanks to Gemma Kelleher for this information.

³⁰ O'Rourke, *Great Irish Famine*, 99.

³¹ See Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*, 361.

³² Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 3.

³³ De Cesari and Rigney, introduction to *Transnational Memory*, 1–25.

³⁴ De Cesari and Rigney, introduction, 15.

³⁵ An exemplary instance is Michael Rothberg's essay in De Cesari and Rigney's collection, where he examines the public educational initiatives inaugurated by the Neighbourhood Mothers Project, a German immigrant women's group, and the resulting importance of these women as "bearers and transmitters of a historical memory ostensibly not their own." Michael Rothberg, "Multidirectional Memory in Migratory Settings: The Case of Post-Holocaust Germany," in *Transnational Memory*, ed. De Cesari and Rigney, 135. See also "Moving Memory: The Dynamics of the Past in Irish Culture," special issue of *Irish University Review* 47, no. 1 (2017), edited by Emilie Pine, including Graham Dawson's article, "The Meaning of 'Moving On': From Trauma to the History and Memory of Emotions in 'Post-Conflict' Northern Ireland," 82–102.

³⁶ An important exception is the work of David Lloyd. See *Irish Times: Temporalities of Modernity* (Dublin and Notre Dame, Indiana: Field Day, 2008), chap. 2 "Colonial Trauma/Postcolonial Recovery? Mourning the Irish Famine" and chap. 3 "The Indigent Sublime: Spectres of Irish Hunger."

³⁷ I discuss these issues in more detail in "The 'Affective Gap' and Recent Histories of Ireland's Great Famine," in *Global Legacies of the Great Irish Famine: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Margu rite Corporaal, Christopher Cusack, and Lindsay Janssen (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 20–38.

³⁸ Woods's programme was first broadcast December 26, 2013. See podcast February 18, 2013, http://www.rte.ie/radio1/podcast/podcast_artstonight.xml

³⁹ The reception of Tim Pat Coogan's *Famine Plot: England's Role in Ireland's Great Tragedy* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2013) is especially pertinent here; I discuss this in "The 'Affective Gap.'"

⁴⁰ See <https://emmadonoghue.com/books/novels/the-wonder.html>

⁴¹ As Marianne Hirsch shows, gender "can offer a lens through which to read the domestic and the public scenes of memorial acts." See Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 18.

⁴² Oonagh Walsh, "'An invisible but inescapable trauma': Epigenetics and the Great Famine," in *Women and the Great Hunger*, edited by Christine Kinealy, Jason King, and Ciarán Reilly (Quinnipiac, CT: Quinnipiac University Press, 2017), 173–84.

⁴³ Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Chana Teeger, "Unpacking the Unspoken: Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting," *Social Forces* 88, no. 33 (2010): 1117. Warm thanks to Emilie Pine for this reference.

⁴⁴ Marianne Hirsch, "Epi-Memory, Art and Action," lecture at University College Dublin Humanities Institute, October 2016, podcast available at <http://irishmemorystudies.com/index.php/memory-cloud/#hirsch>

⁴⁵ The text of President Robinson's speech is available at <http://www.president.ie/en/media-library/speeches/address-by-the-president-mary-robinson-at-grosse-ile-on-21st-august-1994>

⁴⁶ This reference is drawn from Stef Craps's contribution to the Roundtable on Moving Memory, *Irish University Review* 47, no. 1 (2017): 190.

⁴⁷ Piet Chielens quoted in Rob Ruggenberg, "A Different Look on the Great War," <http://www.greatwar.nl/frames/default-ypmuseum.html>

⁴⁸ This image was reproduced in the *Irish Times*, September 3, 2015,

www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/generation-emigration/comparing-irish-emigration-and-today-s-refugee-crisis-1.2339342.