UC Santa Barbara

Journal of Transnational American Studies

Title

Excerpt from Famine Irish and the American Racial State

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0bb4r3ws

Journal

Journal of Transnational American Studies, 8(1)

Author

O'Neill, Peter

Publication Date

2017

DOI

10.5070/T881036657

Copyright Information

Copyright 2017 by the author(s).This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Journal of Transnational American Studies (JTAS) 8.1 (2017)

1 Black and Green Atlantic Crossings in the Famine Era

On a mid-August night in 1841, a thousand persons or so crowded into the Big Shop, a square building on the Massachusetts island of Nantucket, to hear a man, six foot tall with a stern gaze and a thick shock of hair, deliver his first-ever public speech. "It was with the utmost difficulty that I could stand erect, or that I could command and articulate two words without hesitation and stammering," the man, then twenty-three years old, later would recall. "I trembled in every limb." Eventually he would warm to his task so well that his audience—advocates for the abolition of Southern slavery, most of them Northern Protestant intellectuals—"became as much excited as myself."[1] This novice speaker was Frederick Douglass, who not long before had escaped from slavery and who soon would grow into an unequaled orator, writer, and activist. Contributing to his metamorphosis was a voyage from America to Ireland that Douglass undertook in 1845, the same year that Famine refugees began to sail from Ireland to America. Douglass's was a "Black Atlantic" crossing, to use Paul Gilroy's term—"an intercultural and transnational formation" (ix) that emerged out of a sojourn of ideational hybridization and exchange. Venturing eastward, Douglass reclaimed the humanity that had been denied to him and other Americans born into slavery—and to his Africa-born ancestors who, centuries before, had made the very different, Middle Passage journey of enslavement.

Just as traveling on the Black Atlantic transformed Douglass, a "Green Atlantic" journey likewise transformed the Irish Famine emigrant—indeed, as this book illustrates, that westward journey often augured an Irish person's crossing from green to white. In examining the interrelation of these Black and Green Atlantic crossings, it is worthwhile first to compare Douglass's tongue-tied oratorical début—the 1841 speech in Nantucket—to the near-voicelessness of the Irish in flight.

Near Silence of Famine-Ship Sorrows

Appropriating from Antonio Gramsci a term denoting the economically dispossessed and historically muted subject, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's foundational postcolonial studies essay poses a question: "Can the Subaltern

Speak?" With regard to the nearly 2 million Irish who sailed to North America in the Famine years,[2] many of whom were from the subaltern class, the answer is a resounding "no." Only two "eyewitness" accounts of such crossings appear to exist, both of highly questionable origins. Moreover, the supposed authors of both were Irish men far different from the peasants who endured arduous journeys in the steerage sections of what are known to this day as "coffin ships."[3]

Between 1846 and 1851, an estimated 5,000 ships filled with Irish men, women, and children journeyed westward across the Atlantic (Laxton 7). Some Irish sailed directly to America from Ireland; many others left from Liverpool and other ports on the British mainland. This Liverpool leg indicates an intercrossing of the Black and Green Atlantics: Liverpool once was a premier center for slave trafficking. After Britain abolished slavery in its colonies in 1833, shipowners, crews, and agents who had profited from the Middle Passage suffered financially. According to Edward Laxton, Ireland's 1840s misfortune proved the old slavers' stroke of good luck. British ships again made westward journeys with human cargo—this time, Famine Irish in flight—and returned eastward laden with timber from Canada (8).

Of the Irish who fled, Kenny states, 1.5 million went to the United States and another 300,000 elsewhere in North America[4] (*American Irish* 89–90). Months in transit, in squalid quarters, took a heavy toll. The rate of deaths in the Famine's worst year was 20 percent out of 214,000 Irish emigrants; that exceeds the estimated loss rate of 14.5 percent out of 12.4 million enslaved persons transported to America during the Middle Passage (Kenny, 103; K. Miller, 292; Rediker 5). To state this is by no means to diminish the ghastly criminality of the Atlantic slave trade; rather, the comparison is offered to explain how the vessels on which many Irish fled came to be called coffin ships. The Irish casualty rate, coupled with the abject poverty of many of the Irish who were emigrating, also helps to explain the virtual absence of coffin ship memoirs.

One of the two published memoirs—said to be the diary of Gerard Keegan, a County Sligo schoolteacher and 1847 emigrant—has been proven to be a fraud. It first appeared in Quebec in 1895 under the title *Summer of Sorrow*, a work of historical fiction by Scottish-born Canadian Orangeman Robert Sellars. Despite this, a century later in Quebec, James J. Mangan, a teacher and member of the Christian Brothers religious order, published *The Voyage of the Naparima* (1982), claiming it to be an edited version based on a photostatic copy of Keegan's manuscript. Republished in Dublin as *Gerard Keegan's Famine Diary: Journey to the New World* (1991), Mangan's work juxtaposes pages of printed prose with assertedly original journal entries, presenting the latter in cursive script. Whereas some Irish historians, in knee-jerk fashion, have seized upon the publication of the "diary" as proof of the fallacious nature of Irish nationalist received wisdom, without attempting further investigation, Jason King has taken a more academically sound approach. Through meticulous archival research in Quebec, and elsewhere,

King contends that whereas both *Keegan's Famine Diary* and Sellars's *Summer of Sorrow* are indeed works of historical fiction, they are based on actual eyewitness accounts and utilize other factual sources of famine migration ("Genealogy" 47). King's research has revealed, for example, that the two principal eyewitnesses upon which these publications were based were figures who ministered to the sick and dying Famine Irish in the fever sheds of Grosse Île, Quebec, Anglo-Irish landlord, Stephen De Vere, and Fr. Bernard O'Reilly[5] (48). Given King's conclusion that *Famine Diary* "provides a discernable trajectory to contemporary first-person accounts of the famine that are preeminent within a hierarchy of genres" (65), the harrowing entries of the *Diary* aboard the coffin ship, *Naparima* are worthy of our consideration.

One such—an undated entry just above another dated May 1—states:

> While I was coming from the galley this afternoon, with a pan of stirabout for some sick children, a man suddenly sprang upwards from the hatchway, rushed to the bulwark, his white hair streaming in the wind, and without a moment's hesitation leaped into the seething waters. He disappeared beneath them at once. His daughter soon came hurrying up the ladder to look for him. She said he had escaped from his bunk during her momentary absence, that he was mad with the fever. When I told her gently as I could that she would never see him again, she could not believe me, thinking he was hiding. Oh the piercing cry that came from her lips when she leaned where he had gone; the rush to the vessel's side, and the eager look as she scanned the foaming billows.
>
> (79)

Confabulation undercuts the force of this tale of the diseases and cruelties that more than 500 Canada-bound Irish migrants suffered aboard the *Naparima*, "an ancient tub of a vessel" (64). That said, Mangan's effort to keep memories of the Famine alive stands in admirable contrast to those who would prefer to downplay the brutal treatment of the Famine Irish.

Mangan's perseverance, moreover, led to his rediscovery of another somewhat more authentic coffin ship journal. Thus in 1994, Mangan published *Robert Whyte's 1847 Famine Diary: The Journey of an Irish Coffin Ship*, a lightly edited version of *The Ocean Plague: The Diary of a Cabin Passenger* (1848), ostensibly written by one Robert Whyte. Whereas the authenticity of *Ocean Plague* has been called into question also, nevertheless, as Mark McGowan's extensive research has revealed,[6] it contains fragments of eyewitness accounts that appear plausible, thus making it worthy of our consideration here. Little is known of Whyte—quite likely a pen name—except that he was an educated Irishman, possibly a professional writer, who on May 30, 1847, boarded the *Ajax* at a Dublin quay to begin a fateful Atlantic crossing. He and about a hundred other passengers were afloat for more than forty days before catching a glimpse of land. The *Ajax* did not make

port until almost sixty days had lapsed, and even then, the journey was not over. Whyte stayed a week at Grosse Île, a quarantine station in the middle of the St. Lawrence River; ailing passengers who had not perished at sea would stay much longer, and some would die at Grosse Île without ever setting foot in the Port of Quebec.

Debility had been evident even as the passengers mustered on deck at the start of the journey. "[A] more motley crowd I never beheld; of all ages, from the infant to the feeble grandsire and withered crone," Whyte writes (18). "Many of them," he adds, "appeared to me to be quite unfit to undergo the hardship of a long voyage. . . . One old man was so infirm that he seemed to me to be in the last stage of consumption" (18). Not only illness, but also ignorance of what lay ahead, plagued these passengers. "They were chiefly from County Meath, and sent out at the expense of their landlord without any knowledge of the country to which they were going, or means of livelihood except the labour of the father of each family" (21).

Conditions aboard made matters worse. Migrants were supposed to have brought their own food; there was not nearly enough, and the drinking water, stored in contaminated barrels, soon turned toxic. The inevitable results were fever, dysentery—the symptoms of which Whyte describes in graphic detail—and death. About a month into the journey, Whyte writes: "The moaning and raving of the patients kept me awake nearly all the night. . . . It made my heart bleed to listen to the cries for 'Water, for God's sake some water!' " (35). "[T]he effluvium of the hold," he adds, "was shocking" (36). Having witnessed the "convulsive agony" of a child (34–35), and the "unnatural" deformity in a sick woman's "swollen" head (36–37), Whyte learns from priests at Grosse Île that such scenes were not the exception, but rather the norm, on the coffin ships then anchored in the St. Lawrence River. "In the holds of some of them they said they were up to their ankles in filth. The wretched emigrants crowded together like cattle and corpses remaining long unburied—the sailors being ill and the passengers unwilling to touch them" (66). No doubt traumatized by the experience, Whyte crossed the border to the United States, published his diary, then vanished into anonymity.

To date no published, firsthand Irish diaries of the Famine voyage have surfaced besides these two. Yet even they do little to give voice to the sea-bounded experiences of the Famine Irish. Neither the putative author(s) of *Keegan's Famine Diary* nor the pseudonymous author of *Whyte's 1847 Famine Ship Diary* shared much in common with the illiterate, often Gaelic-speaking, spud growers and tenant farmers who suffered between decks (see Figure 1.1)

Although Keegan's *Diary* was based on secondhand sources, Whyte, supposedly a professional writer, traveled not in steerage with the subalterns below deck but was a cabin passenger who enjoyed meals with the captain and the captain's wife. Thus these heart-wrenching sagas came from witnesses at some remove—at far less remove, however, than what may be the best-known account of death on a coffin ship.



EMIGRATION VESSEL.—BETWEEN DECKS.

of the other ports of Limerick, Waterford, Dublin, and even of Belfast, will give us an approach to 5000 weekly leaving the country. Large as this number may appear, it is well known that it is considerably below the mark when the departuresfor Liverpool are included. One agent informed me that he himself had booked 600 emigrants in four days, and yet he is but one of the many agents who are to be met with not alone in the large towns and seaports, but even thickly scattered through each petty town and village throughout the country In England you can have but little conception of the sufferings of the poor Irish emigrant from the time he first announces his intention of leaving home

Figure 1.1 "Emigration Vessel.—Between Decks," *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1851: 387.

Courtesy of the University of Georgia Libraries.

A Coffin Ship Shattered at Cohasset

"The brig *St. John*, from Galway, Ireland, laden with emigrants, was wrecked on Sunday morning."[7] So writes Henry David Thoreau in "The Shipwreck," an essay about his American encounter with the Irish Famine. It takes place in 1849 in Cohasset, eight years after and eighty miles away from Frederick Douglass's début speech. By this time Thoreau was thirty-two years old and a writer of some note. He belonged to a circle of New Englanders, including the celebrated poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, who espoused transcendentalism. Theirs was a "return to nature" movement, as a Thoreau biographer puts it, a movement that prized individualism and sought "to revert, as much as possible, from an artificial to a simple mode of living" (Salt 36). Thoreau had gone so far as to live alone in a hut beside Walden Pond from 1845 to 1847; by 1849, he was residing near Emerson in Concord, outside of Boston, and endeavoring to edit his Walden diary into a book (37–52, 67).[8]

Thoreau begins "The Shipwreck" by explaining that a storm has thwarted his plans to travel via steamship from Boston to Cape Cod. He decides to take a train to see what the tempest has done to a coffin ship and its 145 passengers. On arrival, the essayist accompanies "several hundred" distraught Irish Bostonians to the shore, passing a freshly dug mass grave. He relates:

> I saw many marble feet and matted heads . . . and one, livid, swollen and mangled body of a drowned girl,—who probably had intended to go out to service in some America family,—to which some rags still adhered, with a string, half concealed by the flesh, about its swollen neck; the coiled up wreck of a human hulk, gashed by the rocks or fishes, so that

> the bone and the muscle were exposed, but quite bloodless,—merely red and white,—with wide-open and staring eyes, yet lusterless, deadlights: or like cabin windows of a stranded vessel filled with sand.
>
> (7)

The sight doubtless brought to the minds of the Irish grisly Famine scenes, some of which they had lived through, some still occurring across the Atlantic. Thoreau misses the connection, finding the scene "bloodless."

Cohasset locals, Thoreau reports, go about their business of collecting seaweed: "Drown who might, they did not forget that this weed was a valuable manure. This shipwreck had not produced a visible vibration in the fabric of society" (9). One local speaks of the wreck "as if he had a bet depending on it, but had no humane interest in the matter" (11). Thoreau is with him:

> On the whole, it was not so impressive a scene as I might have expected. If I had found one body cast upon the beach in some lonely place, it would have affected me more. I sympathized rather with the winds and waves, as if to toss and mangle those poor human bodies was the order of the day. If this was the law of Nature, why waste any time in awe and pity? . . . It is the individual and private that demands our sympathy.
>
> (12-13)

Later, he asks: "Why care for these dead bodies?" (14). Seeing so many victims seems to leave Thoreau with what today would be called compassion fatigue, not unlike the "Famine fatigue" that developed in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.[9]

With his admission that only "the individual and private . . . demands our sympathy" (13), and his later reference to himself as "a lonely walker there" (13), Thoreau maintains distance between himself and the Irish victims. His worldview is at odds with any public, communitarian, or corporate worldview—including Catholicism,[10] the religion of those who drowned at Cohasset. The most destitute of these Irish refugees had subsisted on the margins of a British colonial state that afforded them little to no relief when the Famine struck. These Irish arrived in America in bulk and, as Thoreau sees it, "really have no friends but the worms and the fishes" (14).

This premise permits Thoreau to discuss the dead with remarkable detachment. He ticks off bodies on the shore. "Sometimes there were two or more children, or a parent and child, in the same box, and on the lid would perhaps be written with red chalk, 'Bridget such-a-one, and sister's child' " (7). The name he recites is the cultural imaginary's stock label for the Irish woman—"Bridget," partner of "Paddy." Thoreau suggests that given their intended future of domestic "service in some America family" these drowned Bridgets may be better off dead: "No doubt we have reason to thank God that they have not been 'shipwrecked in life again' " (7; 14). The

claim adumbrates the class dimension of this tragedy. The author's American, individualist, middle-class readers deserve to live, perhaps not the subservient, feminized Irish victims.

Feminization is indeed at play.[11] In addition to the "body of a drowned girl . . . to which some rags still adhered" (7), the essay describes a woman's body, "risen in an upright position," a corpse "whose white cap is blown back with the wind" (13). Dwelling on these particular shipwreck victims, Thoreau indulges in what Jack Morgan calls the "female embodiment of catastrophe."[12] Morgan shows how "The Shipwreck," written by an American man, charts a feminizing course similar to Famine journals written by British men. In so doing, Morgan draws on Margaret Kelleher's identification of a transgressive voyeurism: These men's Famine accounts, Kelleher observes, stress the "nakedness or quasi-nakedness" of women victims (*Feminization* 24). "The female figure, as scene of hunger and 'bearer of meaning', receives a detailed physical inspection, never matched in characterizations of male famine victims" (*Feminization* 24).[13] If Thoreau shares this transgressive voyeurism with British male observers of the Famine, he shares it also with someone far closer to home. Deborah McDowell's insightful critique of Douglass's writing comes to mind here. McDowell observes that in the *Narrative*, as well as in his other autobiographies, the repeated accounts of whippings of Black women by white men are clearly sexualized. This repetition, she maintains, "projects him [Douglass] into a voyeuristic relation to the violence against slave women, which he watches, and thus enters into a symbolic complicity with the sexual crime he witnesses" (203). Douglass's frequent association of freedom from bondage with manhood, most famously, in his account of his fight with Covey the slave breaker,[14] his constant emphasis on Black male power often at the expense of the female slave, aligns him with contemporaries such as Thoreau. Both men reproduce a gendered division of power in their writing—in the *Narrative*, it is reproduced through the elision of the female slave, whereas in "The Shipwreck" it is the male Famine victim who is elided.

Indeed, of all the Paddies aboard the *St. John*, Thoreau gives not a mention.[15] And what little Thoreau said of such men in other contexts revealed an anti-Irish bias. One reference, to an Irish neighbor at Walden Pond, employs words evocative of the potato debate that roiled Britain in the early 1800s:[16] "With his horizon all his own, yet he a poor man, born to be poor, with his inherited Irish poverty or poor life, his Adam's grandmother and boggy ways, not to rise in this world, he nor his posterity, till their wading webbed bog-trotting feet get talaria to their heels" (*Walden* 156). Helen Lojek notes that Thoreau's prejudicial "attitude towards the Irish is revealed not in a developed essay nor even in any extended analysis in the pages of his journal; rather it comes in bits and pieces; in casual references, in narratives included in longer works, in incidental descriptions" (280).[17] Like other aspects of his writings, these references situate Thoreau in the mainstream of nineteenth-century Protestant elite thinking. Douglass's anti-Irish bias will be discussed shortly.

Protestant Intellectuals and the Irish Peasant

Thoreau's dispassionate meditation on the *St. John* tragedy is in keeping with the Emersonian tradition that John Carlos Rowe calls "aesthetic dissent"; that is, "the romantic idealist assumption that rigorous reflection on the processes of thought and representation constitutes in itself a critique of social reality and effects a transformation of the naïve realism that confuses truth with social convention" (*Emerson's Tomb* 1). As Rowe shows, American transcendentalists privileged "rigorous reflection" over political engagement.

Thoreau's reflection leads him to view the *St. John* disaster as part of "the law of Nature," not worth one's "wast[ing] any time in awe and pity" (13).[18] He naturalizes the shipwreck—in effect, he removes human agency from the human carnage—and so senses no need to interrogate the human-made social and political events that drove these Irish Famine escapees to the rocks of Cohasset. The feint nicely illustrates how transcendentalism leant itself to the emergence of a US exceptionalist ideology disinterested in the ugliness of primitive accumulation lurking at the state's foundations. The ugliness extended to the annihilation of indigenous Americans, to the subjection of women, and to the mistreatment of persons whose ancestors arrived from continents other than Europe. The ugliness also extended, of course, to slavery. As an emergent sovereign power, the United States included slaves only so that they could be excluded from its legal framework; that is, US laws regarded African American slaves not as people but as property subject to the laws of commerce. Slaves were "two persons in one," Stephen Best maintains (9). "Rights" were attached to the slave's labor but not to the slave's body; moreover, any such rights were held not by the slave but by the "free white person" adjudged the slave's owner. Best points to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which treated the slave both as bare life devoid of legal standing as a human being and also as an article of property that may be bought, sold, or hunted down (9). These gritty complexities escaped the transcendentalists' regard. As Rowe maintains,

> the great emancipatory movements of the American nineteenth century—women's rights and the abolition of slavery—were unquestionably subordinated by this aesthetic ideology to the 'higher laws' of an American Romanticism established firmly by Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman and institutionalized by several generations of professional interpreters. (5)

This Protestant intellectual establishment likewise enabled prejudice more virulent than the casual form that Thoreau practiced. An example may be found in an 1837 sermon in which Emerson offered this assessment of minority groups then called "races":[19]

> I think it cannot be maintained by any candid person that the African race have ever occupied or do promise ever to occupy any very high

> place in the human family. The Irish cannot; the American Indian cannot; the Chinese cannot. Before the energy of the Caucasian race all the other races have quailed and done obeisance.
>
> (Emerson, *Journals* 152)[20]

Emerson would elaborate on these ideas in *English Traits*, his 1856 transatlantic bestseller. From its inception, as evidenced by the Naturalization Act of 1790, the American state classified the Irish as "whites" eligible for citizenship.[21] Yet for decades thereafter, Emerson and his like distinguished the Irish from the Anglo-Saxon[22] and considered the latter the one true American stock. Even as America's dominant culture came to accept the Irish,[23] moreover, it continued to consign the other groups named by Emerson to racial otherness.

Erasure/Excavation of Irish Identities

Curiously, Thoreau's essay "The Shipwreck" eventually contradicts its initial assertion of the Cohasset locals' numbness. "They would watch there for many days and nights for the sea to give up its dead," he writes, "and their imaginations and sympathies would supply the place of mourners far away, who as yet knew not of the wreck" (13). Yet even as he commends these locals' vigilance, Thoreau—again, perhaps, revealing his own classism—insists that they lack his depth. Unlike them, he sees an aesthetic in the sea's coughing up of the upright corpse of a woman, her white cap blowing in the wind: "I saw," he says, "that the beauty of the shore itself was wrecked for many a lonely walker there, until he could perceive at last, how its beauty was enhanced by wrecks like this, and it acquired thus a rarer and sublimer beauty still" (13–14). By this telling the drowned woman is reified, an unnamed figure put on the landscape just so that the "lonely walker" may contemplate her.

Thoreau's erasure of Irish identities contrasts with the unearthing of those same identities in a recent book on this same calamity. Writing in 2009, William Henry, author of *Coffin Ship: The Wreck of the Brig St. John*, has no circa-1849 quotations at his disposal. Nevertheless, by consulting community historians on both sides of the Atlantic, Henry pieces together details about the people doomed to travel on the *St. John*'s final voyage. His book identifies the captain as Martin Oliver, a Galway resident like all his crew. Also reproduced are the names and homelands of passengers—most hailed from Clare or Connemara, and some had walked for days to reach the Galway port. With precision, Henry recounts that 109 passengers and seven crew members drowned at Cohasset; only seventeen passengers and nine of the crew—among them, Captain Oliver—survived.

Henry's prose is not polished. Yet by reviving facts in the lives of these shipwrecked, he succeeds where Thoreau, deadened to all feeling, cannot.



Figure 1.2 "Frederick Douglass." 1845.

Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

Thoreau's "drowned girl" is not a human but rather "the coiled up wreck of a human hulk" (7)—the cast off of a transcendent "Spirit" (15). Perhaps unwittingly, by use of the term "hulk," Thoreau conjures not only a ruin from which the Spirit has fled, a husk without its kernel, but also the "hulks" to which many Famine Irish were condemned for the crime of stealing food. In this respect, "hulk" is both a metaphor for expendable life and a metonym for the Famine victims who began fleeing from Ireland's horrors the same year that Thoreau retreated to Walden's splendors: 1845.

Douglass Flees to an Ireland Itself in Flight

In 1845, four years after his Nantucket speech, Frederick Douglass also put to flight. His first book had just been published, titled *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*; it begins with his life as a slave in Maryland, tells of his escape to the North, and ends with his speech at the abolitionist rally in Nantucket. Today, on account of that book and two other autobiographies, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1893), he is regarded among the most remarkable figures in the history of American letters. "In his writing," William S. McFeely writes, "Douglass outran being a runaway" (115). Even as early as 1845, Douglass was much in demand as a public speaker. But he was a wanted man in another sense, too, his risk of forced return to slavery growing along with his fame. Thus in late August

of that year, Douglass accepted abolitionists' invitation to visit Britain and Ireland.

Douglass's voyage to Liverpool aboard the Cunard liner *Cambria* was a transformative journey second only to his escape from Maryland.[24] It is true that he was forced to travel in steerage, for the reason that, as he writes in *My Bondage, My Freedom*, "American prejudice against color triumphed over British liberality and civilization, and erected a color test and condition for crossing the sea in the cabin of a British vessel" (*Autobiographies* 370). Douglass was not unduly perturbed, however. Soon he began receiving passengers from first class who began calling on him in his second-class quarters. He seemed to enjoy himself for the most part and was quite the center of attraction during the voyage.

Perhaps responding to requests, *Cambria*'s Captain Judkins invited Douglass to lecture on slavery (371). According to McFeely, "Douglass delivered a fiery oration denouncing the merchants who had used ships, like the one he was on, to haul human cargo from Africa" (120). Some inebriated Southern slaveholders in the audience made to throw Douglass overboard. They were subdued by Judkins, who in a wonderfully ironic gesture, threatened "to put the salt water mobocrats in irons" (*Autobiographies* 371). For the first time in Douglass's life, authority had come to his rescue. As Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford write in the introductory chapter to their collection of essays on Douglass's visit to Ireland and Britain, *Liberating Sojourn*, "On the *Cambria*, the racial world is turned upside down in a carnivalesque picture of enchained slaveholders and free-speaking African Americans that only becomes possible away from American mores in the liminal zone of the sea" (3). Douglass often recalled this incident, expressing his gratitude that the slaveholders had unwittingly done him a huge favor. "Men, in their senses," he wrote, "do not take bowie knives to kill mosquitoes, nor pistols to shoot flies; and the American passengers on board the *Cambria* took the most effective method of telling the British public that I had something to say" (381). In no small part due to the publicity surrounding the incident, in Britain and Ireland Douglass's appearances attracted large and enthusiastic crowds. But the incident had a much deeper significance, according to Rice and Crawford:

> What Douglass achieved through the recounting of his triumph aboard the *Cambria* was a refiguring of the Atlantic crossing from a historically enslaving experience into a literally liberating one. The old Atlantic triangular trade had taken slaves to the Americas and brought back cotton and other raw materials that were turned into finished goods to be traded for slaves in Africa. Douglass's trip could be seen symbolically to mirror aspects of this trade. He came to Britain as raw material of a great black figure; he would leave in April 1847 the finished independent man, cut from a whole cloth and able to make his own decisions about the strategies and ideologies of the abolitionist movement.
>
> (3)

Douglass stayed only a few days in England before he sailed back west to Ireland. There he was to spend almost six months before journeying onward to Scotland and England. It was in Ireland, not England, that Douglass first noticed a change within. "I can truly say," he wrote in one of several public letters he sent New England abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison from Ireland, "I have spent some of the happiest moments of my life in this country. I seemed to have undergone a transformation, I live a new life" (*Autobiographies* 373).

Douglass Finds His Voice Ireland

From Belfast on New Year's Day in 1846, Douglass wrote Garrison:

> Instead of the bright blue sky of America, I am covered with the soft grey fog of the Emerald Isle. I breathe and lo! the chattel becomes a man. I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as a slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended. No delicate nose deforms in my presence.
>
> (P. Foner 1:127–28)

In the same letter, Douglass adds, "My opportunities for learning the character and condition of the people of this land have been very great" (1:126). He had traveled all over Ireland, and whereas he undoubtedly learned a lot about the Irish people, he learned perhaps even more about himself. His observations in Ireland stand in marked contrast to some he made about England. Later in his tour, for example, Douglass would comment, "I find I am hardly Black enough for British taste" (qtd in Jenkins 27). "If Victorian Britain found in Douglass an answer to its need for an exotic Other," Lee Jenkins has observed, "Douglass himself seems to have found the full complement of his selfhood—in Victorian Ireland" (27).

Douglass's Irish sojourn began in Dublin, in the home of Quaker Richard Webb, publisher of the Irish edition of *The Narrative*. Webb and Douglass argued over many aspects of publication. One row concerned the inclusion of articles by two Belfast clergymen in the Dublin edition. Webb did not want to include them, but Douglass insisted and, in the end, prevailed. In contrast to many American abolitionists "Webb was, in the main, an honorable foe," according to McFeely. "He was one of the few of Douglass' antislavery antagonists who did not prefer to smile benignly and then do their undercutting offstage. Webb was brave enough to disagree with Douglass to his face" (122). This crucial difference between Webb and the New England abolitionists did not go unnoticed by Douglass.

The Irish edition of *The Narrative* contains a new preface and other emendations. Until fairly recently, scholars for the most part ignored the

changes that Douglass made in Ireland; most considered the first American printing of *The Narrative* to be the authoritative version. But then in 2001, Fionnghuala Sweeney and Patricia Ferreira published separate journal articles, each of which highlighted the personal and literary opportunities of which Douglass had availed himself while in Ireland.[25] Sweeney contended that

> the reprinting of the Narrative in Ireland marks the beginning of a stage in Douglass's career that has profound implications for contemporary reading of his life and work . . . the Irish Narratives mark a transitional phase in Douglass' emergence as a modern subject and in his negotiation of nineteenth-century models of socio-cultural identity.
>
> ("Republic" 47)

Ferreira in turn pointed out that Douglass's use in the Irish edition of specific, discursive methodologies marked a profound change: it "demonstrates his assertion of command over his own destiny" (60). Part of his new preface and the entire appendix are devoted to an exchange between Douglass and a supporter of slavery, A.C.C. Thompson. Originally a set of letters in newspapers, Douglass crafted them into a dialog "that speaks to his desire to seize and manage his own affairs" (Ferreira 60). Douglass's dialogic use of Thompson skillfully subverts nineteenth-century Americans' refusal to deem a slave narrative authentic unless it granted discursive authority to white people of a certain social standing. *The Narrative*'s Dublin version mocks this practice of privileging one writer's words over another on account of social standing and race.

The Dublin edition thus marks a turning point in Douglass's literary and political life, a time when he took self-confident steps to get out from under the suffocating, paternalistic attempts of the New England antislavery establishment to control him. In Ireland, Douglass was becoming his own man. "In literary terms this involved the recreation of Ireland as a space of social mobility that allowed the crystallization of modern subjectivity that Douglass was so painstakingly constructing," Sweeney writes. "Ireland, a liminal and empowering space—like Douglass himself, on the margin of modernity—provided the context of his political and literary evolution" ("Republic" 56).

Ireland's "Liberator"

Besides his literary endeavors in Ireland, Douglass met with people who would inspire him for a lifetime, and no one inspired him more than Daniel O'Connell. Douglass so revered the man, known in Ireland as the Liberator, that he visited Dublin's Kilmainham Jail just to see the cell where his hero once had been held (Rolston 78).

In his *Life and Times*, Douglass writes of the great Irish Nationalist leader and gifted orator O'Connell:

> Until I heard this man I had thought that the story of his oratory was greatly exaggerated. . . . His eloquence came down upon the vast assembly like a summer thunder-shower upon a dusty road. He could at will stir the multitude to a tempest of wrath or reduce it to the silence with which a mother leaves the cradle-side of her sleeping babe. Such tenderness, such pathos, such world-embracing love!—and, on the other hand, such indignation, such fiery and thunderous denunciation, such wit and humor, I never heard surpassed, if equaled at home or abroad. He held Ireland within the grasp of his strong hand, and could lead it whithersoever he would, for Ireland believed in him and loved him as she loved and believed in no leader since.
>
> (*Autobiographies* 682)

O'Connell's renown centers primarily on his political agitation around two main issues: first, repeal of the 1801 Act of Union that purported to join Ireland with Britain, and second, status for Irish Catholics whom British Penal Laws denied even the most basic legal standing (Nowlan 10). The first effort failed. But O'Connell won partial success in the latter in 1829, when Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which accorded Irish Catholics limited voting and property rights.

Notable from Douglass's perspective was O'Connell's stance on slavery. At Westminster, O'Connell gave eloquent speeches advocating the abolition of slavery. O'Connell refused money offered him by Southern slaveholders,[26] moreover, and he enforced an oft-quoted test: "That one should ascertain where an Englishman or Irishman stood on slavery before shaking his hand" (Rolston 78–79). In her excellent biography of the Liberator, Christine Kinealy argues: "His unwavering commitment to the cause of abolition, and to human rights generally, marked him out as one of the truly great statesmen of the nineteenth century" (9). O'Connell's exploits endeared him to Douglass, to Garrison, and to other abolitionists active on both sides of the Atlantic.

Douglass would maintain a national and transnational presence after his return in 1847. The very next year, he was the only African American person to attend and speak at the first women's rights conference in Seneca Falls, New York. Thereafter, he championed feminism as well as the abolition of slavery and the institution of home rule in Ireland. In 1872, he became the first African American to win nomination for vice president of the United States, on an Equal Rights Party ticket headed by the first woman presidential nominee, Victoria Woodhull. Over the decades, he traveled widely, was a frequent guest at the White House, and served as US envoy to the Dominican Republic and, from 1889 to 1891 as US minister resident and consul to Haiti. Moreover, Douglass's publication of successive biographies

secured him a place among the greats of American letters.[27] This pivotal nineteenth-century figure died on February 20, 1895, and was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York.[28]

Douglass Encounters the Famine Irish

Douglass's first transatlantic sojourn coincided with the single most destructive event of nineteenth-century Europe. The Great Irish Famine had begun in 1845 with the partial failing of the year's crop of potatoes, Irish peasants' staple food. Repeated crop failures would hasten the spread of disease and destitution and lead, over the course of the decade, to the deaths of well over a million Irish children, women, and men.

The sorrows surrounding him in Ireland were not lost on Douglass. In an extraordinary letter dated February 26, 1846, he described to Garrison a harrowing tableaux. In Dublin, "the scenes I there witnessed were such to make me 'blush and hang my head to think myself a man' " (P. Foner 1:139). Douglass wrote of his visit to a windowless, mud-walled hut, filthy and scum covered, a place where men, women and children "lie down together, in much the same degradation as the American slaves. I see much here to remind me of my former condition, and I confess I should be ashamed to lift up my voice against American slavery, but that I know the cause of humanity is one the world over" (1:141). Douglass echoes these thoughts in *My Bondage and My Freedom*, published nearly a decade later. Recalling songs that slaves were made to sing on American plantations, he writes: "I have never heard any songs like those anywhere since I left slavery, except when in Ireland. There I heard the same wailing notes, and was much affected by them. It was during the famine of 1845–6" (*Autobiographies* 184). Likewise, during an 1854 lecture,[29] Douglass describes "a large meeting of the common people" he attended nine years before in Dublin: "More than five thousand were assembled; and I say, with no wish to wound the feelings of any Irishman, that these people lacked only a black skin and wooly hair, to complete their likeness to the plantation negro." He explains to his Cleveland audience that the claim applies not to educated and well-to-do Irish but rather to the peasantry that suffered most during the Famine: "[T]he Irishman ignorant and degraded, compares in form and feature, with the Negro" (P. Foner 2: 305). Through comments like these, Douglass repeatedly connects his bare life existence in America—that is, the experiences of himself and others who had been reduced to slavery in the early American Republic—with contemporaneous Irish subaltern poverty and deprivation under British colonial rule. Douglass's perception of the underbellies of two Atlantic racial states distinguishes him from most Famine Irish emigrants, as we soon shall see. It likewise distinguished him from white Protestant elites who professed to draw inspiration from Douglass's example.

Among these latter was Thoreau. Born within months of one another,[30] Thoreau and Douglass appear never to have met in person. Douglass frequently

traveled abroad and absorbed what he learned there; Thoreau never made an Atlantic voyage.[31] And yet the lives of the two men sometimes entwined. Thoreau's *Walden*, published in 1854, following years of editing, has been compared to Douglass's *Narrative*: both works involve the repudiation of and escape from a corrupt society; both record a tale of growing self-reliance and self-confidence. McFeely writes that "Thoreau heard a Wendell Phillips lecture describing Douglass's exodus—and reporting that a written account was on its way—in the spring of 1845 as he was planning his sojourn outside Concord" (115). According to Thoreau biographer Robert Richardson, Jr., it is not "an accident that the earliest stages of Thoreau's move to Walden coincide with . . . the publication of Douglass's narrative of how he gained his freedom. *Walden* is about self-emancipation" (qtd in McFeely 115).

Although they came to the position by profoundly different paths, both Thoreau and Douglass advocated the abolition of Southern slavery. Once, in 1859, when Douglass became unable to fulfill a speaking engagement, Thoreau served as his replacement. "The stand-in did well," writes McFeely, adding that "Henry David Thoreau's 'A Plea for John Brown' was the most powerful address of his life" (202). But intellectuals such as Thoreau did not link slavery in America to bare life existences elsewhere; rather, they expressed outrage at slavery's denial of individual human liberty.

Indeed, the detachment that Thoreau put forward in his "Shipwreck" essay matched that of many of Douglass's sponsors in Ireland, most of whom were middle- to upper-class Protestants. They seemed not particularly concerned by the suffering all around them. McFeely writes, "Douglass did not entirely miss this tragic irony . . ." (126). To the contrary, Douglass's February 1846 letter to Garrison demonstrates his grasp of connections among underclasses in Ireland and America; in McFeely's words, "how real for him was the chain that linked all suffering people" (126). But although Douglass comprehended the irony, "he never brought it up in public addresses," perhaps not wishing to offend his hosts (126). Douglass refrained from offering solutions to the problems that he saw in Ireland. "In lieu of explanation," McFeely concludes, "he resorted to the familiar dodge of blaming drunkenness" (126). It was a dodge—a scapegoat stereotype of which Protestant elites in particular were fond[32]—that Douglass invoked when convenience warranted. As Sweeney shows in her book *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World*, at times during his journey abroad, Douglass posited the starving Irish peasant as a symbol of social difference; in so doing, he enhanced the portrayal of himself as an enlightened expatriate American.

Famine Irish Wash Ashore in America

The ways that Atlantic crossings affected Irish refugees were no less complex. The surge of Irish sojourns had begun out of desperation; as desperation mounted, the number of crossings increased. In all, upwards of 2 million persons were forced to emigrate in less than a decade (Kenny, *American Irish*

89–90). They fled in one-time slave ships and even less seaworthy vessels, enduring conditions that might be called unspeakable had not Keegan's and Whyte's coffin ship memoirs given voice to those conditions. Transatlantic voyages once undertaken only in spring or summer, for safety's sake, continued year-round. Emigrants were thrown to the mercy of the elements. As Thoreau's and Henry's accounts of the *St. John* make clear, not all of them survived.

Exacerbating matters, English and Anglo-Irish landlords eager to shed the burden of Ireland's impoverished surplus population offered their Famine-struck tenants free passage to America. Some landowners endeavored to assure that their tenants' journey would be humane; many did not. In the latter category was John Henry Temple, known as Lord Palmerston—in Trollope's telling, "he was dear old Pam to the normal Englishman" (185).[33] A cabinet member and future British prime minister, "Pam" spent most of his time in London and so never witnessed firsthand the suffering of his Irish tenantry; he did, however, take note of the Famine's drain on his profit margin. In Black '47, the worst year of the disaster, he dispatched 2,000 of his poorest tenants to North America by the cheapest means available. On arrival of the first of the nine Palmerston coffin ships, authorities in Saint John, New Brunswick, were enraged: most persons on board were too old, too young, or too sick to work. Worse was to come. On the next ship, 107 had died of fever, and sixty were seriously ill. Of a third ship, the chief surgeon at the Canadian quarantine station reported: "[M]any are almost in a state of nudity; 99 percent of the passengers on this ship must become a public charge immediately" (qtd in Laxton 77).

The story of the Famine Irish in the United States began much the same way. Their demographic impact was considerable: of all immigrants to the United States in the 1840s nearly half, and in the 1850s more than a third, were Irish.[34] They had left Ireland as a matter of survival rather than choice and so were vastly unprepared for the transition. As Kenny notes, "[T]he immigrants of the famine generation were close to the bottom of the American social scale. There were many individual exceptions, of course, but American Irish in the period 1845 to 1870 were clearly the least successful of all European Americans" (109).

The American Protestant elites were appalled, and as in Britain, simianized images of "Paddy" (sometimes, "Mick," or "Mike") and "Bridget" ("Norah") became commonplace in American cultural production. These derogations were indicative of other discrimination the Irish endured on arrival in America, as will be detailed in succeeding chapters. Of special note in the context of this chapter is how fluctuations in the position of this generation, as it voyaged out of one state and sought to anchor itself in another, affected the generation's attitudes and actions toward others.

The fact is that by the late nineteenth century, the transatlantic Irish had been liberated from their barely human status assigned them by the sovereign power of the British colonial state in Ireland. Undoubtedly, discriminatory practices due to their status as "white-if-not-quite"[35] in the

American cultural imaginary caused considerable hardship for the newly arrived, subaltern Irish. Many families struggled for generations to escape the inequitable, often brutal American class system. Even among the more well-to-do Irish Catholic immigrants, these quotidian struggles piqued Irish American anxiety with respect to race. These Irish were far less enamored than Douglass, for instance, with O'Connell's assertions of common cause between Irish liberation and the liberation of enslaved African Americans.[36] Once in America, Famine refugees and their families deigned not to connect their own barely human status in Ireland with the bare life status of any group that America had relegated to the underclass on grounds of "race." Irish America bristled at American nativist depictions that equated it with other groups. An 1876 cover of *Harper's Weekly*, a "most important" US periodical,[37] exemplified such depictions (see Figure 1.3). Sitting in perfect balance in opposite pans of a scale, two men—a barefoot African American designated "Black" and a simianized, leprechaun-garbed Irish American designated "White"—glare at each other. "The Ignorant Vote—Honors Are

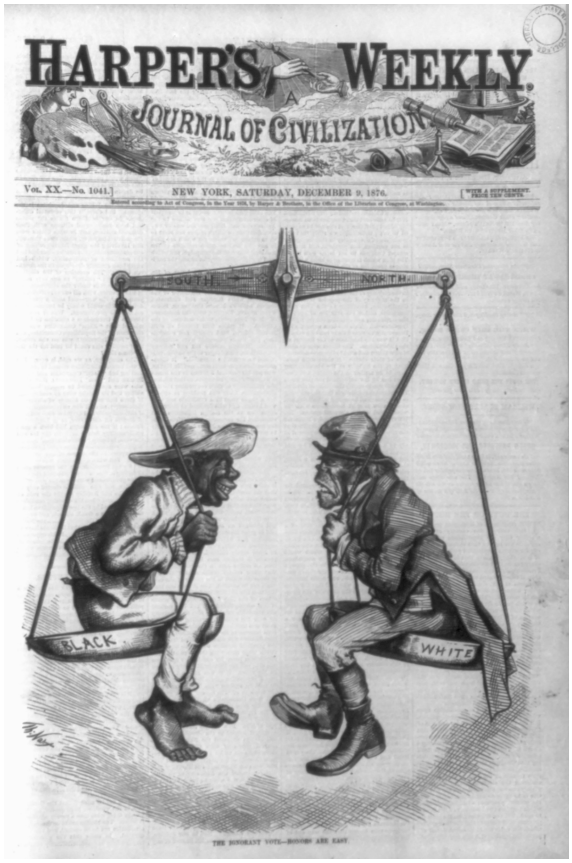


Figure 1.3 "The Ignorant Vote—Honors Are Easy." Cover of *Harper's Weekly*, December 9, 1876.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Easy," reads the caption. As the next chapter details, ordinary Irish shared the anxiety such depictions caused with an ideological apparatus that was central to their new lives, the American Catholic Church.

Irish American anxiety about race surfaced in more sinister ways as well. During the 1863 Draft Riots, Irish mobs burned down New York's Colored Orphan Asylum and murdered and mutilated scores of African Americans (Kenny 124–25). In California in the 1870s and 1880s, the Irish led the often-violent anti-Chinese movement.[38] Examples of inspiring solidarity between the Irish and other ethnicities exist—the San Patricio Battalion is one[39]—but examples like these are the exception rather than the rule. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the American racial state welcomed the Irish as "free white labor," and many Irish responded by enforcing stereotypes that enabled the exclusion, or policing, of groups deemed "non-white."[40] Entering a new calculus of race, they played a key role in defining the American racial state. And one of most importance apparatuses that enabled that role was the Irish-controlled American Roman Catholic Church, to which we turn in the following chapter.

Notes

1. The quoted recollection is from Douglass's memoir titled *My Bondage, My Freedom* (1855), reprinted in *Autobiographies* 364. For an account of the speech, see McFeely 88–90. On Douglass's age and height, see "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html. Accessed 09/13/14. On Douglass's appearance in this period, see Figure 1.2, reproduced later in this chapter.
2. See Kenny, *American Irish* 89–90 (writing that 1.8 million Irish went to North America between 1846 and 1855).
3. Statistics regarding these ships are set forth later in the chapter. See also O'Neill, "Frederick Douglass and the Irish."
4. Because the US racial state is the focus of this book, Famine Irish migration to Canada will not be given a thorough investigation here. Fortunately there is some excellent scholarship on the subject. See King; McGowan.
5. Bernard O'Reilly's writings on the family are analyzed in Chapter 4.
6. See McGowan, "Fame, Facts, and Fabrication."
7. Thoreau, "Shipwreck," 6.
8. Salt reports that immediately after leaving his hut at Walden—located on property owned by Emerson—Thoreau lived at the Emerson's house in Concord, about twenty miles northwest of Boston, while the poet was away in Europe (40, 66). "After Emerson's return to Concord in 1849 Thoreau lived at his father's house in the village, and this continued to be his home for the rest of his life" (*ibid.* 66).
9. For more on "Famine fatigue," see Donnelly.
10. On Catholicism and corporatism, see the introduction.
11. On the gendering of Irish women and Chinese men in the nineteenth-century US cultural imaginary, see Ch. 5.
12. See Jack Morgan's "Thoreau's 'The Shipwreck' (1855): Famine Narratives and the Female Embodiment of Catastrophe."
13. On Kelleher's *The Feminization of the Famine* (1997).
14. For an illuminating examination of the psychoanalytical aspects of Douglass's fight with Covey, see JanMohamed, Ch. 8.

15. The evidence suggests that a total of 98 passengers and 16 crew members were aboard the *St. John* when it sailed from Galway. Roughly ninety people were lost, of whom about one-third were men. Nineteen of victims were classified as children. For further information see *Wreck of the St. John*, http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/passlist_stjohn.htm.
16. See Introduction.
17. For a sympathetic treatment of Thoreau's "The Shipwreck" as it relates to the Irish, see Jack Morgan.
18. Thoreau's philosophy naturalizes the gross destruction of human life, a view entirely consistent with the basic tenets of the Manifest Destiny.
19. Today, they more likely would be referred to as "ethnic groups." See Ch. 1. For an excellent account of Emerson's racism, see Nell Irvin Painter's *History of White People*.
20. I first found this quote in Luke Gibbon's *Transformations of Irish Culture* (176).
21. See Introduction.
22. The term "Anglo-Saxon" became somewhat of a joke by the dawn of the twentieth century. Irish American journalist Peter Finley Dunne lampooned the label in his popular syndicated newspaper column, "Mr. Dooley." Writing at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Mr. Dooley pontificates:

    > Mack is an Anglo-Saxon. His folks come fr'm th' County Armagh, an' their naytional Anglo-Saxon hymn is 'O'Donnell Aboo.' Teddy Rosenfelt is another Anglo-Saxon. An' I'm an Anglo-Saxon. I'm wan iv th' hottest Anglo-Saxons that iver come out iv Anglo-Saxony. Th' name iv Dooley has been th' proudest Anglo-Saxon name in th' County Roscommon f'r many years.

    Mr. Dooley in Peace and War (54–55).
23. As the needs of the US racial state took precedence over WASP cultural objections, the term "Anglo-Saxon" faded from American nationalist rhetoric. By then, its meaning had expanded to incorporate certain ethnic groups, including the Irish, into a larger European framework.
24. The voyage is the subject of a brilliant play, *The Cambria: Frederick Douglass's Voyage to Ireland 1845*, by the Irish actor and playwright Donal O'Kelly.
25. Three excellent and more detailed accounts of Douglass's Irish visit have since been published—Sweeney's *Frederick Douglass* (2007), Tom Chaffin's *Giant's Causeway* (2014), and Lawrence Fenton's *Frederick Douglass in Ireland*.
26. Angela Murphy's scholarship shows that O'Connell refused money from New Orleans-based repealers because of the violent anti-British language of the accompanying letter and not, as has been claimed, because of the group's pro-slavery views. See Murphy's *American Slavery, Irish Freedom*. On O'Connell's relationship with a pivotal Irish American, New York Archbishop John Hughes, see Ch. 2 of this volume.
27. As indicated earlier in this chapter, these were *My Bondage, My Freedom* (1855)—an updated and revised version of *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave. Written by Himself* (1847)—along with *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881, revised 1892). The women's rights movement of the era is further discussed in Ch. 4.
28. For a complete biography of Douglass, see McFeely. See also "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html.
29. Titled "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," the lecture was delivered on July 12, 1854, at Western Reserve College.
30. Thoreau was born July 12, 1817, in Concord, Massachusetts, and died there, at age forty-four, on May 6, 1862 (Salt 2, 98). Douglass's *New York Times*

obituary states that he was born in 1817 on a plantation in Maryland and died in Washington, D.C., on February 20, 1895, in his seventy-eighth year of life. *See* "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html. Other sources place Douglass's birthdate in February 1818.

31. On Douglass, see Sweeney's *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World*. Thoreau's only journey outside the United States was to Quebec; his farthest journey from Massachusetts was to Minnesota (Christie 3–8).
32. Douglass praised Father Theobald Mathew, the Irish friar who founded a temperance movement in 1838 and subsequently endeavored to establish it in the United States. See Ch. 4 of this volume.
33. Palmerston's support of Malthusian ideas is treated in this book's introduction.
34. To be precise, Irish made up 45.6 percent of all immigrants to the United States in the 1840s and 35.2 percent in the 1850s (Kenny, *American Irish* 97–98, 104, 121).
35. See Eagan, "'White,' If 'Not Quite.'"
36. An extreme example may be found in the life story of the Ulster-born Protestant John Mitchel, who immigrated to the United States by way of an 1848 conviction and transportation to what is now Tasmania. I have written about Mitchel's pro-slavery writings and activities in O'Neill, "Memory."
37. Mott (40): in full, this passage of Mott's history of late nineteenth-century US magazines states:

> Perhaps the most important American weekly in existence at the beginning of 1865 was the one for which the Harpers furnished the management, George William Curtis most of the editorials, and Thomas Nast many of the news pictures and cartoons. These three elements, with serial fiction and news articles, combined to make *Harper's Weekly* popular and powerful.
>
> (*ibid.*)

38. See Ch. 6 of this volume.
39. The San Patricio, or St. Patrick, Battalion was composed of Irish immigrants who deserted the Union Army to fight for the Mexicans during the Mexican-American War. For more, see Peter Stevens' *Rogue's March*.
40. Aoki, for instance, writes of the "'Yellow Peril' stereotype," which "embodied Asians as a threat to Western civilization in general, and to the U.S. specifically" then notes that such stereotypes operated in part to "polic[e] Asians within the U.S." (908 n.34).

Works Cited

Aoki, Keith. "The Yellow Pacific: Transnational Identities, Diasporic Racialization, and Myth(s) of the 'Asian Century'." *University of California, Davis, Law Review* 44 (2011): 897–952.

Best, Stephen M. *The Fugitive's Properties: Law and the Poetics of Possession*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004.

Chaffin, Tom. *Giant's Causeway: Frederick Douglass's Irish Odyssey and the Making of an American Visionary*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2014.

Christie, John Aldrich. *Thoreau as World Traveler*. New York: Columbia UP, 1965.

Donnelly, James. *The Irish Potato Famine*. London: Sutton Publishing, 2000.

Douglass, Frederick. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself*. (1893).

———. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. (1855).

———. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. (1845).
(All the above contained in *Autobiographies*. New York: Library of America College Ed., 1996.)

Dunne, Finley Peter. *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2001.

Eagan, Catherine M. "'White' If 'Not Quite': Irish Whiteness in the Nineteenth Century Irish-American Novel," in Kevin Kenny, ed., *New Directions in Irish-American History*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 2003, 140–55.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "English Traits" (1856), in Edward Waldo Emerson, ed., *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol. 5*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. *Google Books*. Accessed 09/03/10.

———. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol. 12, 1835–1862*. Ed. Linda Allhardt. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1977.

Fenton, Laurence. *Frederick Douglass in Ireland: "The Black O'Connell."* Cork: Collins P, 2014.

Ferreira, Patricia J. "Frederick Douglass in Ireland: The Dublin Edition of His Narrative." *New Hibernia Review* 5.1 (2001): 53–67.

Foner, Philip S. *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*. (4 vols.) New York: International Publishers, 1975.

Gibbons, Luke. *Transformations in Irish Culture*. Cork: Cork UP, 1996.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993.

Henry, William. *The Wreck of the Brig St. John*. Cork: Mercier, 2009.

JanMohamed, Abdul R. *The Death-Bound-Subject: Richard Wright's Archaeology of Death*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.

Jenkins, Lee. "'The Black O'Connell': Frederick Douglass and Ireland." *Nineteenth Century Studies* 13 (1999): 22–46.

Keegan, Gerard. *Gerard Keegan's Famine Diary: Journey to the New World*. Edit. & intro. James J. Mangan. Dublin: Wolfhound, 1991.

Kelleher, Margaret. *The Feminization of the Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* Durham: Duke UP, 1997.

Kenny, Kevin. *The American Irish: A History*. New York: Pearson, 2000.

Kinealy, Christine. *Daniel O'Connell and the Anti-Slavery Movement: "The Saddest People The Sun Sees."* London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012.

King, Jason. "The Genealogy of Famine Diary in Ireland and Quebec: Ireland's Famine Migration in Historical Fiction, Historiography, and Memory." *Éire-Ireland* 47.1–2 (Spring–Summer 2012): 45–69.

———. "Remembering and Forgetting the Famine Irish in Quebec: Genuine and False Memoirs, Communal Memory, and Migration." *Irish Review* 44 (Spring 2012): 20–41.

Laxton, Edward. *The Famine Ships: The Irish Exodus to America*. New York: Henry Holt, 1998.

Lojek, Helen. "Thoreau's Bog People." *The New England Quarterly* 67.2 (Jun., 1994): 279–97. *JSTOR*. Accessed 07/11/10.

McDowell, Deborah E. "In the First Place: Making Frederick Douglass and the Afro-American Narrative Tradition," in William L. Andrews, ed., *Critical Essays on Frederick Douglass*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1991, 192–214.

McFeely, William S. *Frederick Douglass*. New York: Norton, 1991.

McGowan, Mark E. *Creating Canadian Historical Memory: The Case of the Famine Migration of 1847*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Canadian Ethnic Group Series, 30, 2006.

———. "Famine, Facts and Fabrication: An Examination of Diaries from the Irish Famine Migration to Canada." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 33.2 (Fall 2007): 48–54.

Miller, Kerby A. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.

Morgan, Jack. "Thoreau's 'The Shipwreck' (1855): Famine Narratives and the Female Embodiment of Catastrophe." *New Hibernia Review* 8.3 (Autumn 2004): 47–57. *Project Muse*. Accessed 07/01/10.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1865–1885, Vol. 3*. (1938) Cambridge: Harvard UP, 4th printing, 1970. *Google Books*. Accessed 01/02/15.

Murphy, Angela. *American Slavery, Irish Freedom: Abolition, Immigrant Citizenship, and the Transatlantic Movement for Irish Repeal*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2010.

Nowlan, Kevin B. "O'Connell and Irish Nationalism," in Kevin B. Nowlan and Maurice R. O'Connell, eds., *Daniel O'Connell: Portrait of a Radical*. New York: Fordham UP, 1985, 9–18.

O'Kelly, Donal. *The Cambria: Frederick Douglass's Voyage to Ireland 1845*. (2005). http://www.donalokellyproductions.com.

O'Neill, Peter D. "Frederick Douglass and the Irish." *Foilsiú* 5.1 (Spring 2006): 57–81.

———. "Memory and John Mitchel's Appropriation of the Slave Narrative." *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 11.3 (Fall 2014): 321–43.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *The History of White People*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2010.

Rediker, Marcus. *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Viking, 2007.

Rice, Alan J., and Martin Crawford, eds. *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass & Transatlantic Reform*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1999.

Rolston, Bill, and Michael Shannon. *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland*. Belfast: BTP Publications, 2002.

Rowe, John Carlos. *At Emerson's Tomb: The Politics of Classical American Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

Salt, Henry S. *Life of Henry David Thoreau*. (1890) Ed. George Hendrick, Willene Hendrick, and Fritz Oehlschlaerger. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1993.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988, 271–313.

Stevens, Peter F. *The Rogue's March: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 1999.

Sweeney, Fionnghuala. *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007.

———. "'The Republic of Letters': Frederick Douglass, Ireland, and the Irish Narratives." *Eire-Ireland* 36.1–2 (Spring–Summer 2001): 47–65.

Thoreau, Henry David. "The Shipwreck," in *Cape Cod*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961, 3–20.

———. *Walden: Or Life in the Woods and On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. New York: Harper Classics, 1965.

Trollope, Anthony. *Lord Palmerston*. London: Wm. Ibster, Ltd., 1882. *Google Books*. Accessed 12/16/14.

Whyte, Robert. *1847 Famine Ship Diary: The Journey of an Irish Coffin Ship*. Ed. James J. Mangan. Dublin: Mercier, 1994.