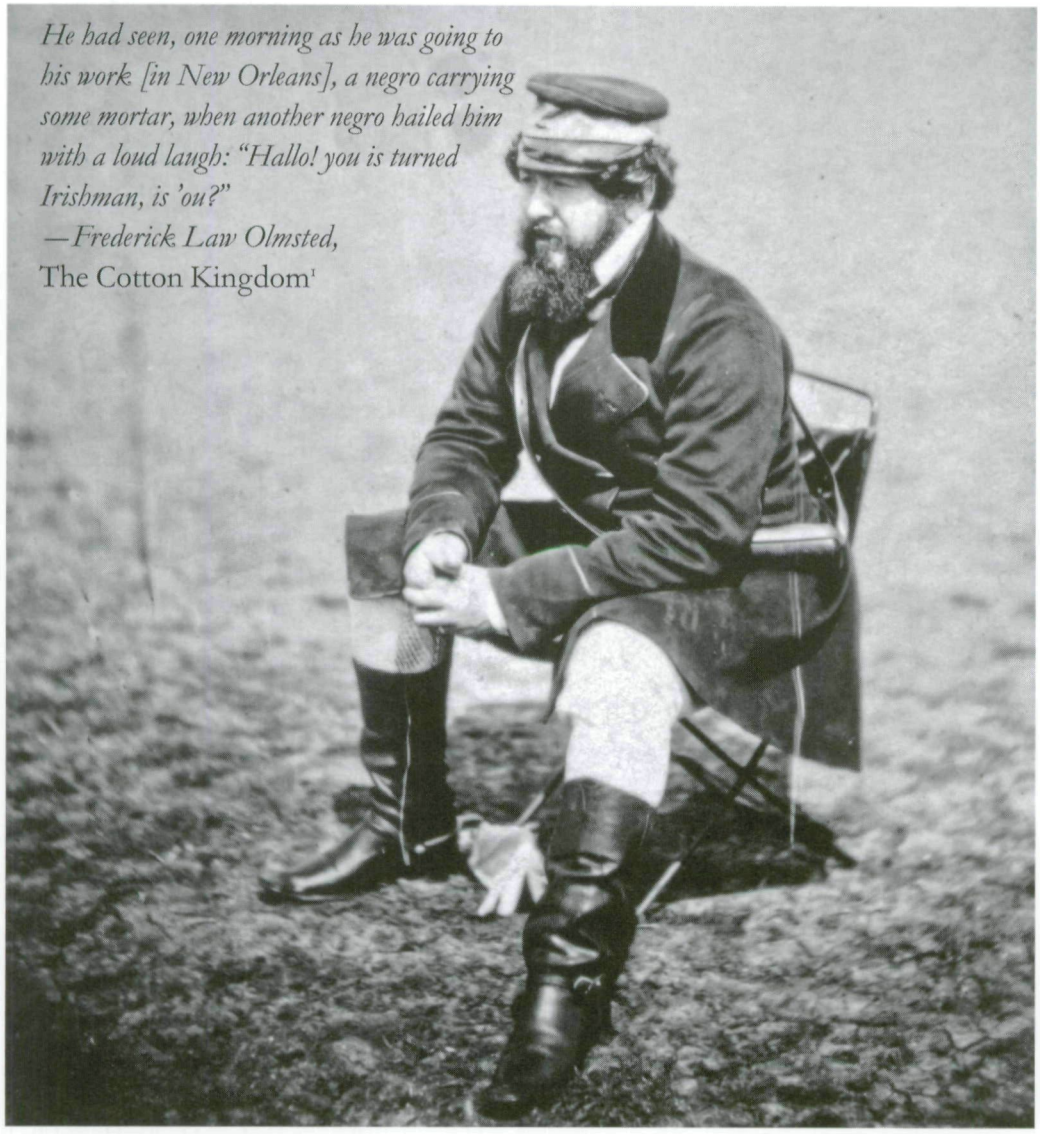
ESSAY

# Turned Inside Out

## Black, White, and Irish in the South

**by Bryan Giemza**



*He had seen, one morning as he was going to his work [in New Orleans], a negro carrying some mortar, when another negro hailed him with a loud laugh: "Hallo! you is turned Irishman, is 'ou?"*
*—Frederick Law Olmsted,*
The Cotton Kingdom[1]

*The widely recited claim that the Irish in the South were perhaps more misused than slaves is traceable to William Howard Russell (here, 1855), who wrote: "The labour of ditching, trenching, cleaning the waste lands, and hewing down the forests is generally done by Irish labourers . . . . Mr. Seal lamented the high prices of this work; but then, as he said, 'It was much better to have Irish to do it, who cost nothing to the planter if they died, than to use up good field-hands in such severe employment.'" Photograph courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.*

Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White*, a book graced by a pithy name that summarizes its provocative thesis, has generated volumes of response. But relatively little of this body of criticism bears on the South, even though Ignatiev expressly invokes the region in one of the most quoted passages of his study:

> The Irish who emigrated to America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were fleeing caste oppression and a system of landlordism that made the material conditions of the Irish peasant comparable to those of an American slave . . . On the rail beds and canals they labored for low wages under dangerous conditions; in the South they were occasionally employed where it did not make sense to risk the life of a slave. As they came to the cities, they were crowded into districts that became centers of crime, vice and disease.[2]

Ignatiev's study, like most treatments of the American Irish, focuses largely on the Northeast, with special focus on Philadelphia. It is worth asking if his observations hold up as well to southern experience. How were the southern Irish identified, in a racial sense, and how did they identify themselves? Did they, in the mode of Ignatiev, "whiten" as well? In a society that came to be seen as rigidly stratified by race, were the Irish in the South commingled in a "common culture of the lowly?"[3]

As if in reply, historians Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd write, "The Irish, it has been shown, became white in the United States precisely to the extent that both slaves and free Blacks were denied full citizenship, even humanity." And to some extent, this holds for the South, as the case of Charleston's Irish-born bishop and slavery apologist, John England, illustrates. Some southern Irish found themselves supporting the regional racial orders, willingly or not. There is an attendant sense of disappointment that the Irish did not always seek solidarity with the oppressed: as O'Neill and Lloyd put it, "All too often, the query is posed within a somewhat sentimental framework, one shaped by a weak ethical desire that the Irish should have identified with another people who were undergoing dispossession, exploitation or racism—or, indeed, shown solidarity with oppressed people in general."[4]

We might call this the Montserrat Problem, in reference to Donald Akenson's *If the Irish Ran the World*, which observes that Irish slaveholders in Montserrat rivaled any colonial power in cruelty. Even Irish nationalist hero Wolfe Tone dreamed of an Ireland that might become a colonial power in the Sandwich Islands, and instances where the Irish played the colonial game to their favor, or the ends against the middle, are not counterfactual fancy, but are exampled in history.[5] Now, as the whiteness studies paradigm begins to recede, scholars are more interested in framing the discussion in terms of movement and contact. Because the Atlantic slave trade ended (in principle if not in fact) in 1807–1808—a period when Irish

immigration was on the rise—it is indeed useful to think about the loops of these currents, and the continuing contact they established. Such a framework for interpretation offers a built-in, if circular, defense: if a moving target is what is described, it shall be very difficult to qualify those relationships except to say that they were changing. Local conditions are variable, and so are local customs; as befits a journal called *Southern Cultures*, it is granted that there are many Souths, many Irish cultures, many black cultures, and so on.

This analysis takes a second look at the origins of black and Irish interchangeability in the South. Its approach to the Ignatiev question is a literary one, and its scope is a centuries-spanning trip through cultural history. Its sources are limited by a literary record that is fleeting, fragmentary, and diffuse, a record created by outsiders, black and white, who wanted to say something about how the Irish fit into ideas of what the South should be—or should not. And the same might be said of what these accounts imply black southerners should or should not be, and what the Irish thought they should be—turtles all the way down, so to speak. Thus, the conclusions here do not seek to answer Ignatiev's question so much as demonstrate its persistence and the interest it held for scattered southern writers, black and white.

Judging from the literary record, the conclusion is that the changeable estates of southern blacks and southern Irish, grounded in bondage, were probably overstated, whereas the role of the southern Irish in shaping the region's racial dialogue has probably been understated. Both northern and southern perceptions were likely warped by overheated political rhetoric, with breezy comparisons between Irish and African "enslavement," political and literal. Racial "progress" was not a question of the limited good, so it did not follow that the Irish would prosper to the extent that southern blacks were hobbled, or vice versa. Rather, both groups struggled to assert their legitimacy within southern society, at times joining company, and at other times, eager to distinguish their superiority. In fine, the literary record leaves little doubt of the basic soundness of Ignatiev's instincts: as a place where Black and Green were in perpetual contact, the Atlantic South furnishes an ideal case study in how these peoples moved with, against, and around one another. And going by the literary record, the American South, too, was a place where the perceived status of the Irish was deeply entwined with, and inextricably related to, that of blacks.

## IRISH WITH A SOUTHERN ACCENT

It might be helpful to begin by differentiating these southern Irish from their better-known counterparts in the Northeast. The southern Irish, too, were primarily (but not exclusively) city dwellers as they tended to cluster in southern sea-

port cities. Unlike many of their northern counterparts, however, David Gleeson and other historians have suggested that the Irish got a fairly warm reception in the South. If Irish immigrants were well received in the region, observes Kerby Miller, they might thank "the general tendency of all southern whites to downplay internal differences for the sake of solidarity against the region's large and potentially rebellious black population—for slaves outnumbered whites by a ratio of 3:2 in South Carolina and by 9:1 in the coastal districts around Charleston and Savannah."[6] Certainly it is not easy to know what the prevailing attitudes of southerners, black and white, were toward the Irish, who, in stark contrast to their more numerous relatives in the North, by 1860 comprised little more than 2 percent of the "white" populace. To these southern distinctions one must add the complicated regional overlay of black and Irish labor proximities, including the legacies of indenture.

To understand the "uneasy proximity" that would follow, it is crucial to take a few moments to consider the importance of indenture in defining the first Irish to reach what is now called the American South. Many colonial period Irish immigrants came to the southern states fully indentured (in common with their counterparts who shipped to Barbados and Montserrat), with their passage incidental to their bondage; many others soldiered for England. According to missionary priest Jeremiah Joseph O'Connell's purposeful and unsmiling *Catholicity in the Carolinas* (1879), "The first Catholics were some poor Irish immigrants or redemptionists, a name by which they were called, who were unable to pay for their passage; they were apprenticed on their arrival to the planters, who reimbursed the captain for the expense of their transportation." O'Connell's history of Catholicism commences with the Irish and, significantly, their dangerous proximity to blacks:

> The history of the Church, after the descent of the Holy Ghost, begins with the preaching of two Apostles, with stripes on their backs. It begins in Charleston with two Catholics, clad in garments equally ignominious, and scarcely less painful. *In the year 1775, two Catholic Irishmen were tarred and feathered*, charged with the doubtful crime of tampering with Negroes [his emphasis].[7]

Much as in the West Indies, "tampering" was especially to be discouraged in colonial South Carolina, where fears of collusion between white servants and black slaves ran high. Any white servant who absconded with black slaves faced mortal and immortal peril; such felons were "to suffer death without the benefit of clergy." Indentured servants found guilty of misalliance could be penalized with seven years additional service, according to an Act of 1717. In the late seventeenth century captains arriving in South Carolina were required to aver that "to the best of their knowledge none of the servants by them imported be either what is commonly called native Irish or persons of known scandalous characters or Roman

Catholics." The Indentured Irish certainly faced "poverty, bond service and the recruiting agent" upon arrival, as Kerby Miller puts it, and gave up more than their Irish language as they acculturated.[8] Irish Catholics faced the reality that Catholicism was for the most part as impracticable in the colonies as in England, save (at intervals) in Maryland and scattered settlements.

And in the era of indenture, many of them simply ran away. William Kean of Virginia had been a schoolteacher but on account of his "ill conduct was obliged in May 1765 to come under indenture." A 1784 advertisement in a Virginia paper sought a runaway teacher named Patrick Coclough, "very fond of strong liquor, understands the mathematics, and writes a good hand, of which he boast much." Numbers of indentured Irish varied by state; Pennsylvania notices of 1729–1750 show that 69 percent of the indentured whose ethnicity was stated were Irish (vs. 17 percent English); comparable advertisements in Maryland between 1745 and 1764 give 36 percent Irish (vs. 48 percent English); and in Virginia between 1736 and 1768, 37 percent were Irish (vs. 49 percent English). Determining ethnicity was a sloppy business, then as now, and it was not uncommon for fugitives to cover up their country of origin. Daniel Meaders cites the cases of Betty Dawson, "born in Ireland but [who] denies her country," a servant Charles South of Maryland who "is an Irishman but will not own it," and the unconvincing Mortimour Sales who "pretends he is an Englishman, but the Brogue on his Tongue discovers him to be an Irishman."[9]

By the end of the seventeenth century, religious rebels and Jacobites were furnishing indentured servants to Carolina. In the pages of the colonial-era *South Carolina Gazette* one finds scattered notices of runaway indentured servants. According to the analysis of researcher John Donald Duncan, for the years spanning 1732 to 1752 the *Gazette* lists "2,366 advertisements for the return of 889 runaway bondmen, as follows:"[10]

| Classification of the bonded | Percentage of total runaway advertisements |
|---|---|
| 679 Negro slaves | 76.4% |
| 191 white servants | 21.5% |
| 14 Indian slaves | 1.6% |
| 4 Negro servants | .4% |
| 1 East Indian slave | .1% |

The eighteenth-century *Charleston Gazette* also noticed the sales of imported servants, with entire shipments from Ireland and Dublin. White servants "were the first to be advertised for," according to Duncan. The *Charleston City Gazette* of January 26, 1788, offered a two dollar reward for a "run-away," namely, an "Indented Irish servant, named Samuel Belford, about 15 years of age, round shouldered,

with light short hair and blue eyes." The advertisement would remind readers that "all persons are forbid harboring or carrying away said boy under penalty of the law." Notices appearing within two months of one another in the *Virginia Journal* of 1785 demonstrate the differing pictograms that were used for runaway indentured servants and slaves. Mulatto Harry Jackson was sought by a Thaddeus McCarty in Alexandria; he is depicted in loincloth with a walking stick. By comparison, Philip Lougherey, "an Irish servant lad" sought by one David Kennedy, is represented in European dress, with hat and breeches. Both men, the advertisements note, are fond of liquor and will fetch eight dollars reward, but only Philip Loughery has the published distinction of being "very impertinent, and very much given to swearing and strong liquors."[11]

Mindful of revisionists who seek to downplay the cruelties of slavery, Don Jordan and Michael Walsh's well-reviewed recent entry on indenture, *White Cargo: The Forgotten History of Britain's White Slaves in America* (2007), is careful not to conflate the history of indenture with African slavery. Of course, indenture had its own perils, especially for Irish servants in the Caribbean: the period of indenture, typically seven years, gave masters an incentive quite literally to run their indentured servants into the ground. This has been suggested of indentured servants in the American South, too, especially in South Carolina, where, in historian Warren B. Smith's summation, "The general lot of servants was usually described as worse than that of slaves."[12]

On the other hand, there is a suspicious aroma of Lost Cause apologetics hanging over some of these assertions, for the Irish and southern blacks had been conjoined, whether they liked it or not, by the agendas of paternalistic polemicists. For example, in 1844 the *Southern Quarterly Review* held out the Irish in a Malthusian nightmare scenario, contrasted with the assumed munificence of southern planters:

> What does the landlord in Ireland more than others to alleviate the famine of the people? But should it please Divine Providence to inflict the same calamity of scarcity and famine, on the slaveholding States, which now prevails in Ireland and a part of Scotland, it would be the duty of the master—a duty growing out of his position and belonging to it—to exhaust his fortune and his credit, in procuring subsistence for his slaves . . . Here only exists that combination of labor with capital, which insures to the first, in sickness and in want, as well as in health, competent supply of clothing and food.[13]

As early as 1833, South Carolina politician James Henry Hammond had linked southern and Irish nationalism in an Independence Day speech decrying English excesses. The Irish example became a standard sanction of southern slavery, and it soon worked its way into any number of propagandistic anti-Tom novels. Dialogue from *Uncle Robin, In His Cabin in Virginia, and Tom Without One in Boston* (1853)

*Florence J. O'Connor (here) of Louisiana, the Irish Catholic author of a one-off wartime propaganda novel titled* The Heroine of the Confederacy *(1863), repeated through her protagonist the familiar invective that racial hatreds burn more fiercely in the North than in the old cotton fields back home: "Go to the Five Points of New York" (where Irish immigrants thronged with Germans and African Americans) "and tell me then if you can find a negro in the whole South who would change quarters with the poor white of your cities." Frontispiece portrait from* The Heroine of the Confederacy, *published by Harrison in London.*

by J. W. Page, speaks for itself: one visiting observer remarks, "If slaves have more learning than free people, more religion than free people, and have better houses to live in than free people, I think the difference is in favour of slaves." To which the credulous Irish northerner replies, "But, your honour, there's something in liberty better than the like of onything else in the warld." In like vein, David Brown's *The Planter: Thirteen Years in the South by a Northern Man* (1853) attempted to rehabilitate southern slavery's reputation by setting it next to Irish degradation. Philadelphian Charles Jacobs Peterson (1819–1887), of *Peterson's Magazine* fame, wrote *The Cabin and the Parlor* (1852), another Dickensian Anti-Tom novel with Irish themes, and published it under the penname "J. Thornton Randolph." It features the squeaky-clean scion of a plantation family who goes north to make his fortune, but is ill-used by unscrupulous manufacturers, only to meet his end in squalor, having been taken in by good-hearted but ignorant Irish Catholics. The book also seizes on contemporaneous race riots to drive home the lesson that racial hatreds burn more brightly in Philadelphia than in the old cotton fields back home.

Florence J. O'Connor of Louisiana, the Irish Catholic author of a one-off wartime propaganda novel titled *The Heroine of the Confederacy* (1863), picked up the same invective: "Go to the Five Points of New York" (where Irish immigrants thronged

with Germans and African Americans) "and glance at the miserable hovels on the shore of the Bay of Brooklyn," urges protagonist Natalie De Villerie in a familiar tack, "and tell me then if you can find a negro in the whole South who would change quarters with the poor white of your cities." She, too, employs the language of "white slaves"—a term with a long and troubled etymology among Irish propagandists—in a fairly standard slavery apologetic.

It is not difficult to see how the language of slavery was absorbed by both southern and Irish American writers, and then manipulated to suit their political ends—even though chattel slavery, both by definition and by design, had a different character than indenture and Irish strife, as Frederick Douglass and others were quick to emphasize. Closer to our time, the interrelated rhetoric of the American Civil Rights movement and the Irish Troubles have cemented these associations between slaves and the Irish in the popular imagination.[14]

Some southern writers have bolstered these black-Irish associations, too; Irish American history, language, and characters feature importantly in the writings of contemporary African American writers, among them Toni Morrison (*Sula*), Ernest Gaines (*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*), and Edward P. Jones (*The Known World*). One hundred years after Douglass's *Narrative*, Richard Wright in *Black Boy* (1945) remembers an empathetic Irish Catholic acquaintance in Memphis, in perhaps another case of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend":

> There remained only one man whose attitude did not fit into an anti-Negro category, for I had heard the white men refer to him as a "Pope lover." He was an Irish Catholic and was hated by the white southerners. I knew that he read books, because I had got him volumes from the library several times. Since he, too, was an object of hatred, I felt that he might refuse me but would hardly betray me. I hesitated, weighing and balancing the imponderable realities.[15]

Strange kin, indeed. The Irish ally of *Black Boy*, in keeping with the conventions of the slave narrative, helps his friend find literacy by arranging to provide a library card. Of course, Wright's grandmother, who "was virtually white in appearance," according to *Native Son*, was sketched by the writer as being "of Irish, Scotch, and French stock." (Scholar Kieran Quinlan points to the passage in *Native Son* where Bigger Thomas meets an Irish immigrant maid who tells him, "My folks in the old country feel about England like the colored folks feel about this country. So I know something about colored people.")[16]

Alice Dunbar Nelson, a Louisianan whose mother was a former slave, scripted a one-act play titled *My Eyes Have Seen* (1918) featuring a black family displaced to the North after narrowly escaping lynching in the South. But the climate is scarcely better there, and even with the family's crippled older brother employed in a "factory of hell," the family barely scrapes by. A noticeable bright spot in their tribulations is their sympathetic Irish neighbor. In a play that responds to World

War I, Mrs. O'Neill is pointedly the widow of a drafted Irish solider and, significantly, the only character in the play (including the black characters) who speaks in dialect instead of standard English.[17] Mrs. O'Neill helps the family navigate their new environs, and shares their sense that they must bear the burden of national sacrifice, culminating in Mrs. O'Neill's declaration, that "you've got to fight to keep yer inheritance. Ye can't lay down when someone else has done the work and expect it to go on. Ye've got to fight."[18]

As Nelson grew up she might well have observed firsthand the struggles of Irish immigrants in a city where, it is estimated, up to 20,000 of them perished in the building of canals in the 1830s. It was around this time that the city hosted William Grattan Tyrone Power (1795–1841), the most popular Irish actor of his day. Power was aghast at the conditions of his countrymen on the "Lac Pontchartrain" canal, who were "worse lodged than the cattle of the field." The sight, he said, brought him to tears. Irish workers on the New Basin Canal were to be preferred because "a good slave costs at this time two hundred pounds sterling, and to have a thousand such swept off a line of canal in one season would call for prompt consideration."[19]

Conflicting accounts of the expendability of Irish workers in southern states do tend to substantiate Ignatiev's notion that the Irish were employed where "it did not make sense to risk the life of a slave." There are several principle southward-looking sources that make the rounds in Ignatiev's work and elsewhere, including passages by nineteenth-century writers William Howard Russell, Frederick Law Olmsted, and J. Vance Lewis. The first of these, William Howard Russell, was himself an Irishman, caught somewhere between the privileges of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy and his sympathies for the underdog. The southern travel writings of Frederick Law Olmsted make a prima facie case for Ignatiev's thesis and so, too, does J. Vance Lewis's slave narrative. Looking over narratives of southern life that reach from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, one finds a durable web of associations between Irish and black labor.

## SOUTHERN SOURCES FOR IRISH/SLAVE COMPARISONS

As it turns out, the widely recited claim that the Irish in the South were perhaps more misused than slaves is traceable (if not exclusively so) to the pen of Irishman William Howard Russell:

> The labour of ditching, trenching, cleaning the waste lands, and hewing down the forests is generally done by Irish labourers, who travel about the country under contractors, or are engaged by resident gangsmen for the task. Mr. Seal lamented the high prices of this work; but then, as he said, "It was much better

to have Irish to do it, who cost nothing to the planter if they died, than to use up good field-hands in such severe employment."[20]

The irony of this passage is that the aforementioned plantation owner had himself immigrated from Northern Ireland. John Burnside, "at his death the most extensive sugar planter . . . in Louisiana," began his career in Virginia and subsequently accumulated a fortune in the Deep South, evidently preferring his countrymen for the hardest labor. Irish "ditchers," already renowned in the North, were finding their way to the South, and "navvy" labor changed the face of the South, as it did the rest of the country. It dug the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal in the 1830s, drawing immigrants such as Abram Ryan's family toward Virginia, and brought the usual combustible mixture of labor and exploitation (federal troops had to be called in to suppress an internecine labor riot on the C&O). The peculiarly dismal conditions for the Irish in Louisiana generated a lingering legacy of gruesome folklore. As Kerby Miller writes, "Even in the early nineteenth century southern ports such as New Orleans and Mobile had well-deserved reputations as Irish emigrant graveyards, and migrants to Charleston and Savannah still had to survive a 'seasoning' process of six months or more before they were fit to work."[21]

Of course, slaves dreaded these places, too, and Russell was intimately familiar with proslavery rhetoric, including the claim that blacks were specially suited for work in the South's climate. In the same entry, he asks, in effect, what of the Irish?

> Granting the heat and the malaria, it is not for a moment to be argued that planters could not find white men to do their work if they would pay them for the risk. A negro, it is true, bears heat well, and can toil under the blazing sun of Louisiana, in the stifling air between the thick-set sugar-canes, but the Irishman who is employed in the stoke-hole of a steamer is exposed to a higher temperature and physical exertion even more arduous. The Irish labourer can, however, set a value on his work; the African slave can only determine the amount of work to be got from him by the exhaustion of his powers.[22]

For plantation owners, polemics were rather beside the point; the point was to have a reliable source of inexpensive labor, whether it be slave, indentured, or free:

> The overseer, it is certain, had no fastidious notions about slavery; it was to him the right thing in the right place, and his summum bonum was a high price for sugar, a good crop, and a healthy plantation. Nay, I am sure I would not wrong him if I said he could see no impropriety in running a good cargo of regular black slaves, who might clear the great backwood and swampy undergrowth, which was now exhausting the energies of his field-hands, in the absence of Irish navvies.[23]

*The ultimate test of southern acceptance was slaveholding itself. William Howard Russell's travels brought him into contact with the Carrolls, the most historically important Irish Catholic slaveholding family in southern history. Charles Carroll V (1801–1862) of Doughoregan Manor hosted Russell in the course of his travels. The slave quarters at Doughoregan manor, as photographed by E. H. Pickering in 1936, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.*

The irascible Hinton Rowan Helper also framed his discussion of Irish and slaves in terms of the dismal science in his *Impending Crisis*:

> It is obvious, therefore, that if we were disposed to follow the barbarian example of the traffickers in human flesh, we could prove the North vastly richer than the South in bone and sinew—to say nothing of mind and morals, which shall receive our attention hereafter. The North has just as much right to appraise the Irish immigrant, as the South has to set a price on the African slave.[24]

As labor historians have emphasized, slavery's profitability was in a constant state of flux, and so the invisible hand itself suggested the fungible quality of black

and Irish labor. A short time later, on a separate Louisiana plantation, Russell encountered another plantation owner who employed fractious Irish labor:

> He pointed out some sheds around which were broken bottles where the last Irish gang had been working, under one "John Loghlin," of Donaldsonville, a great contractor, who, he says, made plenty of money out of his countrymen, whose bones are lying up and down the Mississippi. "They due [*sic*] work like fire," he said. "Loghlin does not give them half the rations we give our negroes, but he can always manage them with whiskey, and when he wants them to do a job he gives them plenty of 'forty rod,' and they have their fight out—reglar free fight, I can tell you, while it lasts. Next morning they will sign anything and go anywhere with him."[25]

Mr. Bateman, the overseer of a Louisiana sugar plantation held by then-governor of South Carolina John L. Manning, explained to Russell,

> There were one hundred and twenty negroes at work; and these, with an adequate number of mules, will clear four hundred and fifty acres of land this year. "But it's death on niggers and mules," said Mr. Bateman. "We generally do it with Irish, as well as the hedging and ditching; but we can't get them now, as they are all off to the wars."[26]

The Irish flocked to Confederate ranks nearly as readily as their Union counterparts. In addition to William Howard Russell, Frederick Law Olmsted had an opportunity to observe them firsthand: a Connecticut Yankee, affluent one-time journalist, opponent of slavery (which he objected to, in part, on the basis of economic inefficiency), and early acolyte of American landscape architecture, Olmsted would support the idea that blacks and Irish were swappable cogs in the labor schema, though perhaps with less credibility than Russell. Having toured the southern states widely during the 1850s, and tended the wounded in Virginia during the Civil War, Olmsted would draw his own conclusion in *The Cotton Kingdom* (1861), which he dedicated to John Stuart Mill. Olmsted watched as Irish manned the most dangerous lower galleys of a steamboat being loaded with cotton:

> Negro hands were sent to the top of the bank, to roll the bales to the side, and Irishmen were kept below to remove them, and stow them. On asking the mate (with some surmisings) the reason of this arrangement, he said—"The niggers are worth too much to be risked here; if the Paddies are knocked overboard, or get their backs broke, nobody loses anything!"[27]

In Virginia Olmsted meets a "Mr. W" who "had an Irish gang draining for him, by contract." Judging them inferior to their black counterparts, he "complained much, also, of their sprees and quarrels."[28] If Olmsted emphasizes the lowly place of the Irish, one might recall that his book was written for popular consumption

*William Wells Brown (here) provides a passing glimpse of black perception of southern Irish in* My Southern Home *(1880). Like Frederick Douglass, Brown toured and lectured extensively on the anti-slavery circuit in England and Scotland, taking a three-week sojourn in Ireland in 1849. Frontispiece portrait from* Three Years in Europe: or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met, *published by Charles Gilpin in London, 1852.*

in New England, where the place of the Irish was highly contentious. He first encountered slavery "just without the district [of Columbia], in Maryland," where he found the Irish, too, in the care of one "Mr. C" who

> would not think of using Irishmen for common farm-labour, and made light of their coming in competition with slaves. Negroes at hoeing and any steady field-work, he assured me, would "do two to their one;" but his main objection to employing Irishmen was derived from his experience of their unfaithfulness—they were dishonest, would not obey explicit directions about their work, and required more personal supervision than negroes.[29]

Similar was said of Irish labor in Barbados; as early as 1676 a governor wrote that "the planters are weary of [the Irish] for they prove commonly very idle and [the planters] do find by experience that they can keep three blacks who work better and cheaper." When he observes the poor performance of the slaves, Olmsted remarks, "they were much, in these respects, like what our farmers call dumb Paddies, that is, Irishmen who do not readily understand the English language, and who are still weak and stiff from the effects of the emigrating voyage."[30]

Olmsted cannot seem to decide which racial representative makes the better malingerer. His account stands in sharp contrast to the experiences of Francis Leigh, writing some twenty years later of her "ten years on a Georgia plantation." Leigh seems unruffled by the newfound ability of free blacks to make their own terms: "[B]ut except for the bother and trouble I don't feel very anxious about it, for we have a gang of Irishmen doing the banking and ditching, which the negroes utterly refuse to do any more at all, and therefore, until the planting begins, we can do without the negro labour."[31] Slavery's legacies pressed on Leigh from all sides: the issue had worked to divide her parents, and she found herself struggling to maintain a Sea Island plantation. The Irish filled a labor vacuum there through annual employment in "banking and ditching on the Island." When Leigh and her husband, the English clergyman Reverend John Wentworth Leigh, decided to hire "Englishmen" instead, the Irish were "very indignant with [them], whom they regarded as usurpers and interlopers, and whose heads they threatened to break in consequence."

> Major D – , half in fun, said to them, 'Why, you shouldn't hate them; you all come from the same country.' To which Pat indignantly replied, 'The same country, is it? Ah, thin, jist you put them in the ditch along wid us, and ye'll soon see if it's the same country we come from.' A test they were quite safe in proposing, for the Englishmen certainly could not hold a spade to them, and after trying the latter in the ditch we were glad enough to engage our Irishmen again, which quite satisfied them, so that after that they got on very well with their 'fellow countrymen,' only occasionally indulging in a little Irish wit at their expense.[32]

Leigh elsewhere credits the Irish, of "perfect good temper," with saving the dwellings of the plantation from a damaging fire. Evidently she appreciated the unpretentious generosity of the Irish crews during a period of illness and belt-tightening, noting that they routinely shared wild game with her despite their own "scanty larder."[33]

Some thirty years after Francis Leigh, historian Ulrich Phillips's early study, *American Negro Slavery* (1918), enumerates a number of situations where Irish labor was employed in lieu of slave labor. He cites T. B. Thorpe's descriptions of life on the Mississippi, which also denominate the Irish as the best ditchers, and E. J. Forstall's observations of "thousands" of Irishmen digging ditches around sugar fields in 1845. An interview with a Georgia planter "describing his drainage of a swamp in 1855 said that Irish were hired for the work in order that the slaves might continue their usual routine." Phillips summarizes, "In short, planters must guard their slave's health and life as among the most vital of their own interests; for while crops were merely income, slaves were capital. The tendency appears to have been common, indeed, to employ free immigrant labor when available for such work

as would involve strain and exposure. The documents bearing on this theme are scattering [sic] but convincing."[34]

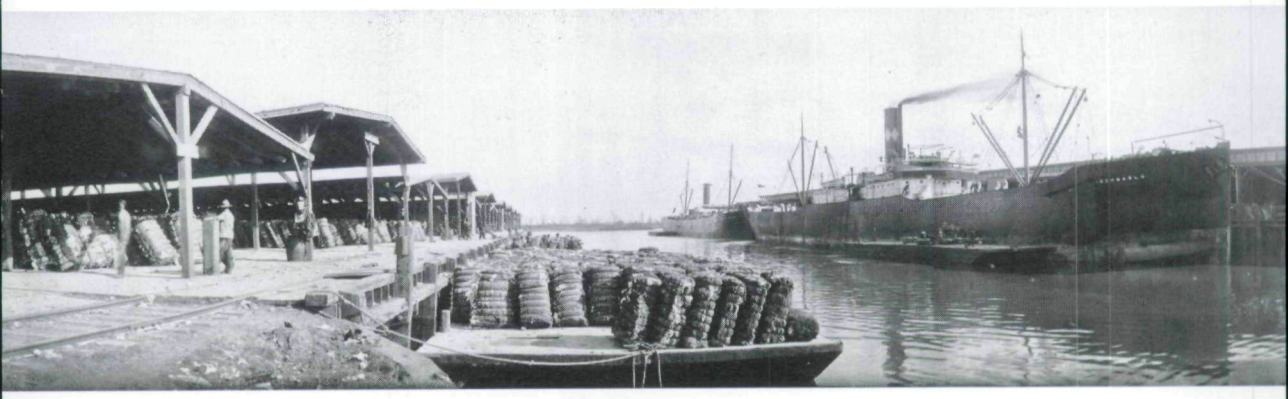
Phillips has been discredited for operating in the Lost Cause mode of historical interpretation, and these accounts hardly seal the historical issue. What they tend to show, however, is the rising profile of larger numbers of itinerant Irish workers in the South, and their inevitable association with "slave" labor. No surprise that the Irish were all "off to the wars," following in a martial tradition that Russell already remarked as one vestige of southern exceptionalism; it was then, as now, a short path to glory in the eyes of many southerners.

But the ultimate test of southern acceptance was slaveholding itself. William Howard Russell's travels brought him into contact with the Carrolls, the most historically important Irish Catholic slaveholding family in southern history. The first Charles Carroll emigrated in the seventeenth century; a later Charles Carroll would be remembered as "*the* Catholic signatory to the Declaration of Independence." The grandson of Charles Carroll (III) the signatory, Charles Carroll V (1801–1862) of Doughoregan Manor, hosted Russell in the course of his travels. "But for the black faces of the domestics," Russell wrote, "one might easily fancy he was in some old country house in Ireland. The family have adhered to their ancient faith."[35]

The Irish big house had been transplanted along with the so-called Irish faith. Indeed, the family had "adhered," going so far as building an onsite chapel since penal laws had at other times prohibited Catholic worship in public places. Carroll impressed Russell favorably, a feat not easily accomplished, and is remembered in his diary as a "kindly, genial old man—kindly and genial to all but the Abolitionists and black republicans . . ." Russell noted also the milder character of the slavery he met at the Carroll's Irish American estate. Slaves attended mass at the chapel in the early hours:

> They walked demurely and quietly past the house, and presently the priest, dressed like a French curé, trotted up, and service began. The negro houses were of a much better and more substantial character than those one sees in the south, though not remarkable for cleanliness and good order. Truth to say they were palaces compared to the huts of Irish labourers, such as might be found, perhaps, on the estates of the colonel's kinsmen at home.[36]

Russell again draws comparisons between the Irish and the enslaved, in this case, at least, finding in favor of the slaves' material conditions. When Russell later brings the priest out on the subject of slavery, his perceptions seem colored by the Anglo-Irish plantation system: "He admitted that slavery was in itself an evil, nay, more, that it was not profitable in Maryland. But what are the landed proprietors to do? The slaves have been bequeathed to them as property by their fathers, with certain obligations to be respected, and duties to be fulfilled." And



*The Irish, like African Americans, were the South's insider-outsiders, and they sometimes shared outcast sympathies. Irish Catholics labored alongside Savannah's black dock workers, and literally fraternized together in their labor organizations, furnishing an instance of close cooperation precisely where one might not to expect to find it in the South. Savannah docks, 1909, the Collections of the Library of Congress.*

how were those duties to be fulfilled? As an anti-slavery writer, Russell exhibits a measure of uncharacteristic sympathy toward this slaveholder: "In Maryland they do not breed slaves for the purpose of selling them as they do in Virginia, and yet Colonel Carroll and other gentlemen who regarded the slaves they inherited almost as members of their families, have been stigmatised by abolition orators as slave-breeders and slave-dealers."[37]

Yet it is interesting that the few extant scattered accounts which give black southerners' impressions of the Irish are often riddled with agendas of their own. One gets a passing glimpse of black perception of southern Irish in William Wells Brown's *My Southern Home* (1880). Years later, he would take stock of the Irish presence in his native South, exhorting black southerners to keep their dollars with their race, as the Irish do:

> On Duke Street, in Alexandria, Va., resides an Irishman, who began business in that place a dozen years ago, with two jugs, one filled with whiskey, the other with molasses, a little pork, some vegetables, sugar and salt. On the opposite side of the street was our good friend, Mr. A. S. Perpener. The latter had a respectable provision store, minus the whiskey. Colored people inhabited the greater part of the street. Did they patronize their own countryman? Not a bit of it.[38]

Brown's real interest is in urging the importance of racial solidarity, black and Irish alike: "This success is not the result of individual effort—it is the result of combination and co-operation. Whatever an Irishman has to spend he puts in the till of one of his own countrymen, and that accounts for Irish success."[39] *My Southern Home* also includes an encounter between an Irish peddler and a black street vendor that shows the related patter of urban Irish and blacks. Like Fred-

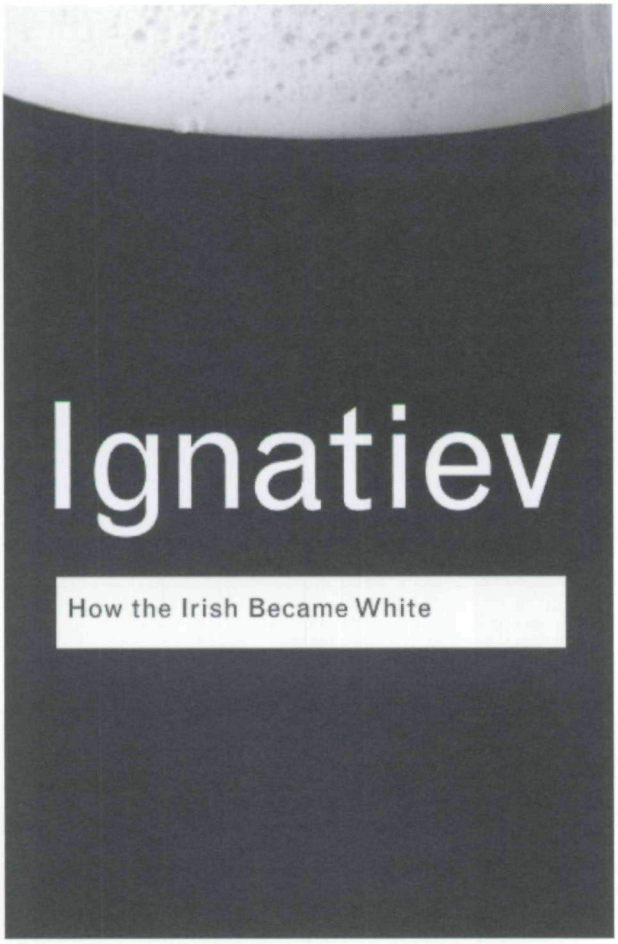
erick Douglass, Brown toured and lectured extensively on the anti-slavery circuit in England and Scotland, taking a three-week sojourn in Ireland in 1849. Unlike Douglass, however, Brown's narratives tend not to cast his own character in a necessarily heroic light; he preferred to hold himself out more as example than exemplar. Less revolutionary than Douglass, and with an assimilationist vision of the future, Brown necessarily took the long view. Thus he was careful to exercise an added degree of detachment as he broached slavery in his writing, striving to create black characters with recognizable aspirations. A self-described "fugitive" from American racism, he was relatively pleased with his reception among Dubliners:

> My own color differing from those about me, I attracted not a little attention from many; and often, when gazing down the street to see if the royal procession was in sight, would find myself eyed by all around. But neither while at the window or in the streets was I once insulted. This was so unlike the American prejudice, that it seemed strange to me.[40]

Observing the festivities occasioned by a visit from the royal flotilla, Brown was moved to remark the contrasts in the Irish populace, deeming them "indeed a strange people. How varied their aspect, how contradictory their character! Ireland, the land of genius and degradation, of great resources and unparalleled poverty, noble deeds and the most revolting crimes, the land of distinguished poets, splendid orators, and the bravest of soldiers, the land of ignorance and beggary!"[41] Brown's message was characteristically restrained. By offering a mixed portrait of the Irish, he could have his cake and eat it, too; readers unsympathetic to the Irish would not reject his account, and they might not even notice that the parallels are drawn to American character, too.

Frederick Douglass, whose visit during exile resulted in a special Dublin edition of his autobiography, was similarly adept at scenting the political winds. He steered clear of any partisan gaffe stemming from his association with Daniel O'Connell. When he adverted to the Irish hero as a "Liberator" he was careful to qualify him as an *American* (not Irish) liberator. Though Douglass employed O'Connell's example to good rhetorical effect throughout his career, he only met him briefly once at an 1845 repeal rally. Douglass would relate with satisfaction that his Irish ally had dubbed him "the Black O'Connell of the United States." This was transnationalism at its most politically savvy: Douglass was indeed "black Irish," a black man whose embrace of the Irish might permit him to call on their solidarity on both sides of the Atlantic.[42]

Other black writers seemed to use the figure of the ridiculous Irishman to enlist the sympathies of an Anglo-American readership amused by popular tales of Irish capers. In "Uncle Wellington's Wives," pioneering African American writer Charles Chesnutt writes the story of one Wellington Braboy, who abandons his




*In* How the Irish Became White, *Noel Ignatiev argues that the Irish "became white" in the South by playing the race card of white superiority. In a society that has always self-consciously defined itself according to strata of labor and race, a shared history of bondage made it easier to peddle notions of black-Irish equivalency. But the Irish effected their own disappearing act as they became indistinguishable from other white southerners. Courtesy of Routledge.*

wife and southern life and sneaks off to the greener pastures of the North. His subsequent remarriage to a "buxom" widowed Irish woman—not "brigamy," as he puts it, because of a legal technicality—sets the comic tone. Mrs. Flannigan "was not a woman of lofty ideals; with her a man was a man—For a' that an' a' that . . . ." Chesnutt gives Mrs. Flannigan the usual stage Irish catchphrases—"spalpeen," "just after," "bad 'cess," etc.—and insinuates that she might not be above selling her body. In the end, she orchestrates a day off for Uncle Wellington, whereupon Mrs. Katie Flannigan absconds, to parts unknown, with the couple's rental furniture. The note she leaves behind (curiously written in eye dialect!) explains that "her first husban has turned up unixpected."[43] Wellington is left to swallow his pride and go back to the black woman he left behind, who is clearly a cut above Mrs. Flannigan. So ends a story by an African American man that brims with the same set of racial stereotypes applied to his race.

Where did this come from? The Irish furnished a safe target—as white, but not-white—and collections of anti-Irish jokes circulated among American blacks "as early as 1870." Historian Lawrence Levine, for example, has documented how

anti-Irish jokes surface frequently in African American folklore, perhaps as retaliation for the way that newly arrived Irish were quick to take on American prejudices. As she collected black folklore in Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1917, Elsie Clews Parson could truthfully say, "Anecdotes about Irishmen have a distinct vogue." The slatternly servant was a fixture in writings about both Irish and African Americans, and just one example of the uneasy proximity of the two races within the labor scheme. The encounters played out in the colonization of the Atlantic South, too; John Scott, traveling in Barbados around 1667, observed Irish working alongside slaves "without stockings" and "in the scorching sun." The hapless Irish were "derided by the negroes, and branded with the Epithet of 'white slaves.'"[44]

William Hannibal Thomas, a free black from Ohio whose lineage traced to Virginia, observed black-Irish parallels of his own: "There are between negro and Irish character many points of resemblance; for example, indirectness in speech, fondness for personal gossip, religious veneration, and social superstitions. Amusing witticism is also a trait common to both races." In her wartime journal, white southerner Eliza Frances Andrews affirmed similar shared qualities: "The negro is something like the Irishman in his blundering good nature, his impulsiveness and improvidence, and he is like a child in having always had some one to think and act for him."[45]

Joel Chandler Harris wrote a number of stories featuring Irish characters, including some that link black and Irish characters. A good-natured Irish Union sharpshooter named Private O'Halloran stands at the center of "The Comedy of War" in *Tales of the Home Folks in Peace and War* (1898). O'Halloran cuts capers and serves for comic relief, and the outsize Irishman clearly functions as a stand-in for the usual black "buck." It is interesting that Harris's biographers would later give him a putatively Irish father, which is almost certainly a fabrication. Harris's associations with African Americans through his Remus persona, not to mention his conversion to Catholicism, doubtless made such rumors easier to accept.

## SUMMING UP: COLLUSION, COOPERATION, AND COMPETITION

To what extent did southern Irish immigrants finally take influence from the racial attitudes of the American South? The answers are as various as the individuals, but the example of broad-minded South Carolinian William Hill, a planter-class Presbyterian arriviste and United Irishman stalwart, offers some interesting clues. So completely had he absorbed southern attitudes on amalgamation that he would write of his outrage that northern Irish-American soldiers—whose expendable legions had won the war for the North, he felt—dared in Abbeville to "mingle with the Negroes with as much affinity as if of the same blood."[46]

Yet there were positive affinities between southern blacks and Irish, too. The Irish, like African Americans, were the South's insider-outsiders, and they sometimes shared outcast sympathies. Scholar George Bornstein's recently published *The Colors of Zion: Blacks, Jews, and Irish from 1845 to 1945* demonstrates how this cooperation might have been more widespread than has been recognized.[47] Irish Catholics labored alongside Savannah's black dock workers, and literally fraternized together in their labor organizations, furnishing an instance of close cooperation precisely where one might not expect to find it in the South. Moreover, argues Brendan Buttimer, "The cooperation with this group probably alienated the urban Savannah Irish from the vast majority of rural whites." Frederick Douglass heard firsthand the "wailing notes" of Irish mourners during the famine of 1845–6 and "was much affected by them" as he noted their similarity to slave songs. Later in life he would paint the oppression of American blacks as analogous to a "black Ireland" in America. Though he elsewhere blasts Irish American racism, Douglass appreciates the kindly Irish dockworkers in Baltimore who helped orient him to his flight in his *Narrative* (1845). Phillip Foner suggests that in fugitive slave accounts detailing white assistance "the Irish are most often mentioned," though this is hard to verify.[48]

Nevertheless, Kerby Miller points out, "the records of almost every major slave revolt in the Anglo-American world—from the West Indian uprisings in the late 1600s, to the 1741 slave conspiracy in New York City, through Gabriel's Rebellion of 1800 in Virginia, to the plot discovered on the Civil War's eve in Natchez, Mississippi—were marked by real or purported Irish participation." Suspicions of Irish insurrection can be explained partly by the longstanding tendency of the Irish to organize for revolution (and the failed revolutions that sent Irish fugitives to the States), as well as Anglo- and Anglo-American colonial prejudices: "As early as 1800 frightened Virginians had accused Irish republican émigrés of involvement in Gabriel's slave rebellion (allegations later repeated in Mississippi and elsewhere)."[49] The fact remains that southern politicians and slaveholders who depicted southern Irish as friendly to blacks deployed a grain of truth in service of propaganda.

On the other hand, the recurring figure of the Irish overseer is no accident either. A number of historians, including David Gleeson, have pointed out that for the Irish, work as an overseer qualified as an entry-level "skilled/artisan" occupation, a first rung on the southern job ladder. At the same time, argues Charles Orser Jr., "As a people, the Irish did not move into the ranks of 'white' America until they repudiated the rights of those deemed nonwhite. The stereotypic character of the evil Irish overseer on the southern slave plantation is a literary device intended to show this accommodation." Certainly the depraved overseer has been an enduring type—in William Styron's reimagination of Nat Turner's confession, for example, it is the drunken Irish overseer McBride who rapes Nat's

mother—but tales of Irish overseers are buttressed by historical reality. In colonial South Carolina, a certain Charles Martyn was elated at the possibility of having "poor Irish families . . . with a Number of French & German Protestants" settling "amoung us in the Capacity of Overseers in the Plantations of the several Parishes."[50]

Take, for example, this lacerating excerpt from *Out of the Ditch: A True Story of an Ex-Slave* (1910) by J. Vance Lewis:

> It happened that the overseer [of our plantation], who styled himself Jimmie Welch, was born in Ireland. It was no fault of his that he was born an Irishman, but very inconvenient. He had many peculiar characteristics, and the Negroes who have a saying that "An Irishman is only a Negro turned inside out" disliked him almost to the extent of hatred. Mr. Welch was as quick-witted as other members of his race and tactful, too . . . Mr. Welch saw that to maintain his position he must win the good will of the slaves. This he did in the following manner: We always quit work at 12 o'clock on Saturdays, and on one Saturday he announced that he would deliver an Irish oration on freedom, after which each of us would be presented with a handsome gift.[51]

Elsewhere, a variant of the "Negro turned inside out" comes from the Irish-born Anglican bishop and philosopher George Berkeley. In a kind of open letter to Roman Catholics addressing the wretched state of his "countrymen," he mentioned that "The negroes in our Plantations have a saying—'If negro was no negro, Irishman would be negro.'"[52]

All of which lends some credence to Noel Ignatiev's argument that the Irish contended with the color line and "became white" in the South by playing the race card of white superiority. To accept Ignatiev's view, one must also accept the underlying narrative: in the industrial North, according to a triumphal view of Irish ascendancy, Irish immigrants overcame religious and racial bigotry to control the political machinery of urban centers, carving out place and status from within. But what happened in the nineteenth-century agrarian South, where Know-Nothingism and rabid sectarianism never really caught fire? In a society that has always self-consciously defined itself according to strata of labor and race, a shared history of bondage made it easier to peddle notions of black-Irish equivalency. But the Irish effected their own disappearing act as they became indistinguishable from other white southerners. As abettors of the underground railroad or scheming overseers, the evidence of southern Irish alliances with blacks is at least *consistently inconsistent*. There is no pat answer to Ignatiev's question, really, but in posing it, we might listen for the regional notes in a dialogue that Americans like to repeat. And we might come to appreciate the part that black and Irish exchanges played in creating ideologies of southern identity and nationalism, both unifying and divisive.

1. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States: With Remarks on Their Economy* (New York: Dix & Edwards), 588–589.

2. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 2.

3. Ibid.

4. Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, eds., "The Black and Green Atlantic: An Introduction," in *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), xvi–xvii.

5. Donald H. Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630–1730* (Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

6. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 143.

7. Jeremiah Joseph O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia: Leaves of Its History . . . A.D. 1820–A.D. 1878* (New York: D. J. Sadlier, 1879), 140–41.

8. A. Leon Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: The Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 158; Warren B. Smith, *White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961), 77; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 14–17.

9. Daniel Meaders, *Dead or Alive: Fugitive Slaves and White Indentured Servants before 1830* (New York: Garland Pub., 1993), 38; *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, November 18, 1784, Vol. I, No. 42, p. 3; Meaders, 39; Meaders, 40.

10. The summary of data in the chart, and the quoted material, come from John Donald Duncan, *Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1776* (PhD diss., Emory University, 1971), 529.

11. Duncan, 530; *Charleston City Gazette*, January 26, 1788, Vol. VI, No. 855, p. 3; Duncan, 95, 52, 56; Loughery: *Virginia Journal*, May 12, 1785, Vol. II, No. 67, p. 3; Jackson: April 21, 1785, Vol. II, No. 64, p. 3.

12. Smith, 43; Kate McCafferty's *Testimony of an Irish Slave Girl* (2001) offers a fictional portrait of Cot Daley, a seventeenth-century Irish girl taken from Galway to indenture in Barbados; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003).

13. "Address to the Patrons of the Review, and to the People of the South," *Southern Quarterly* 22 (1847). For more on the linking of the Irish to proslavery arguments, see Edward B. Rugemer, "The Southern Response to British Abolitionism: The Maturation of Proslavery Apologetics," *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 2 (2004): 222.

14. Cf., Catherine M. Eagen, "Still 'Black' and 'Proud'": Irish America and the Racial Politics of Hibernophilia," in *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*, ed. Diane Negra (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 26. In a sense, this process of ahistorical conflation continues. Eagan cites Mary C. Waters's study of ethnicity, which quotes modern suburbanites affirming that the Irish were banished from restaurants and buses.

15. Richard Wright, *Black Boy, a Record of Childhood and Youth* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1945), 268.

16. Wright, 48; Kieran Quinlan, *Strange Kin: Ireland and the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 9.

17. Nelson also wrote in her newspaper columns about what she called "the Irish fad," referring to Irish domination of Vaudeville for the better part of two decades: "Talk a little brogue, sing about the 'ould mither,' and you went over big . . ." Responding to the success of *Emperor Jones*, *Abraham's Bosom*, and *Porgy and Bess*, Nelson would proclaim, "And now it is the Negro [fad]."

Cf., Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson and Gloria T. Hull, *The Works of Alice Dunbar-Nelson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 256–257.

18. Claire M. Tylee, Elaine Turner and Agnes Cardinal, *War Plays by Women: An International Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 33.

19. Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836), 138.

20. H. M. Seale, overseer of John Burnside's sugar plantation, where Russell visited in June of 1861. Russell's private notes on this visit, a fine companion to the published texts, are to be found in William Howard Russell and Martin Crawford, *William Howard Russell's Civil War: Private Diary and Letters, 1861–1862* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 55. William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 2 vols. (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1863), I: 395.

21. On Burnside, see "Very Profitable Farming," *New York Times*, August 20, 1893; Kerby A. Miller, "'Scotch-Irish', 'Black Irish' and 'Real Irish': Emigrants and Identities in the Old South," *The Irish Diaspora*, ed. Andy Bielenberg (New York: Longman, 2000), 146.

22. Russell, I: 393.

23. Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (New York: Burdick Bros., 1857), 86.

24. Russell, I: 48.

25. According to one linguist, "The term forty-rod whiskey is said to imply that a man cannot walk more than forty rods after taking a drink of it, although another school of thinkers contends that a drink of this beverage actually causes the drinker to run forty rods before he can stop himself!" Vance Randolph, "Wet Words in Kansas," *American Speech* 4, no. 5 (1929): 386; Russell, I: 402.

26. Ibid., 408.

27. Olmsted, 550.

28. Ibid., 91.

29. Ibid., 10. One wonders if the "Mr. C" in question was the selfsame "Colonel" Charles Carroll who hosted William Howard Russell.

30. Hilary Beckles, "A 'Riotous and Unruly Lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644–1713," *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1990): 512; Olmsted, 11.

31. Frances Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation since the War* (London: R. Bentley, 1883), 127–28.

32. Leigh, 209.

33. Leigh, 207–10.

34. Edward J. Forstall, *The Agricultural Productions of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1845); *Harper's Magazine* 7, 755; and *DeBow's Review* 11, 401, cited in Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1918), 301.

35. Russell, I: 492.

36. Ibid., I: 493.

37. Ibid., I: 494.

38. William Wells Brown, *My Southern Home; or, the South and Its People* (Boston: A. G. Brown, 1880), 236.

39. Ibid., 235.

40. William Wells Brown, *The American Fugitive in Europe. Sketches of Places and People Abroad* (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Co., 1855), 47.

41. Brown, 49.

42. Fionnghuala Sweeney, *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 2007), 29. See also Bruce Nelson, "'Come Out of Such a Land, You Irishmen': Daniel

O'Connell, American Slavery, and the Making of the 'Irish Race,'" *Éire-Ireland* 42, nos. 1–2 (2007): 58–81.

43. Charles Waddell Chesnutt and William L. Andrews, *Conjure Tales and Stories of the Color Line*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin, 2000), 206–38.

44. Bill Rolston, "Bringing It All Back Home: Irish Emigration and Racism," *Race & Class* 45, no. 2 (2003): 45; Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 301; Beckles, 511.

45. William Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro; What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become; a Critical and Practical Discussion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), 130; Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864–1865* (Macon: Ardivan Press, 1960), 340.

46. Miller, "'Scotch-Irish', 'Black Irish' and 'Real Irish,'" 151.

47. George Bornstein, *The Colors of Zion: Blacks, Jews, and Irish from 1845 to 1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

48. Brendan J. Buttimer, "New South, New Church the Catholic Public Schools of Georgia, 1870–1917" (master's thesis, Armstrong Atlantic, 2001), 85; Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), 98; *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape from Bondage, and His Complete History* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 400; Buttimer, 85; Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* 98; *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 400; Rolston, 45.

49. Miller, "'Scotch-Irish', etc.," 238; Miller, *Irish Immigrants*, 103.

50. Charles E. Orser Jr., "The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology," *American Anthropologist* 100, no. 3 (1998): 665; Duncan, 426.

51. J. Vance Lewis, *Out of the Ditch; a True Story of an Ex-Slave* (Houston: Rein & Sons Co., 1910), 16.

52. George Berkeley and Alexander Campbell Fraser, *The Works of George Berkley, D.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), 389. Berkeley's brief excursion in slaveholding was at his Whitehall plantation in Rhode Island; profits from the labor of the slaves there subsequently funded Yale's first set of scholarships. Cf., "Yale, slavery, and abolition," http://www.yaleslavery.org/Endowments/e2schol.html.