

National University of Ireland, Maynooth



‘GO WEST AND GROW UP WITH THE COUNTRY’: A STUDY OF
GERMAN AND IRISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE
AMERICAN MIDWEST, 1850-1900

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my own work

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ABSTRACT

This thesis compares German and Irish immigration to the American Midwest by examining migrant settlement in two of its cities during the period from 1850 to 1900. Concentrating on ethnically German and Irish communities in Fort Wayne, Indiana and St Louis, Missouri, this thesis examines these immigrant communities from a state of transition to settlement and ultimately assimilation through economic, social, cultural, political and religious lenses. By exploring the German and Irish migrant groups in this manner, the diversity of the immigrant experience becomes apparent. Simultaneously, the varying spatial constraints of a smaller city such as Fort Wayne as well as the challenges which faced immigrant communities in larger, significantly more developed urban centres like St Louis is also examined.

Five available decennial US Federal Census schedules from 1850 to 1900 provide the framework for this study. Through the analysis and interpretation of the information contained therein, an immigrant profile establishing demographic, residential and economic trends specific to each community is constructed. Specific case studies utilised throughout this study chart the progression and in some instances domination of one immigrant community over the other in their host cities. This dual combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis personifies the immigrant experience German and Irish communities in the America Midwest during the second half of the nineteenth century.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father Timothy, who always supported and encouraged my studies and remains my inspiration.

'The legacy of heroes is the ... inheritance of a great example'

Benjamin Disraeli

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Introduction

Introduction

Gustav Adolf Lipp was born on 27 December 1871 in the village of Möckmühl, near the city of Heilbronn, in the German state of Württemberg.¹ Ten days before his seventeenth birthday in December 1888, Adolf applied for an *Entlassungs-Urkunde* or release document from emigration authorities in the state. If granted, this document would enable Adolph to renounce his Württemberger citizenship rights and entitle him to legally emigrate from the state. This permission was subsequently granted, and Adolf received his *Entlassungs-Urkunde* which was valid for six months.²

In early May 1889, Lipp left Germany and made his way to St Louis, Missouri where he found lodgings with Henry Eckhardt, a saloon keeper, and his family who lived at 2624 Cherokee St in south St Louis.³ Having acquired work as a brewery clerk at Otto Stiefel's Union Brewing Company in St Louis, Lipp confirmed his intention to remain in the United States in September 1896, when he applied for, and subsequently received, his naturalization certificate.⁴ Five years later, in April 1901, Lipp married Mathilda Studt, a second generation German-American who was born in St Louis.⁵

The story of Adolf Lipp is by no means unique, and his immigration experience reflects that of hundreds of thousands of German and Irish emigrants who left Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. During the wave of 'old immigration', generally

¹ *Entlassungs-Urkunde* of Gustav Adolf Lipp, 17 Dec. 1888 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers 1840-1944, S0046/26/1).

² *Ibid.*

³ 1900 US Federal Census record for Henry Eckhardt and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 10, ED 152, p. 31 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (20 Aug. 2013).

⁴ Calling card of Adolf Lipp (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers 1840-1944, S0046/4/1), 1910 US Federal Census record for Adolf Lipp and family, 1910 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 2, ED 26, p. 9 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (29 June 2013), Naturalization certificate of Adolf Lipp, 15 Sept. 1866 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers 1840-1944, S0046/5/1).

⁵ Marriage certificate of Adolf Lipp and Mathilda Studt, 10 Apr. 1901 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers 1840-1944, S0046/9/1).

acknowledged to have taken place from 1790-1890, both Ireland and the German states were the two largest contributors to this influx of immigrants. Although both emigrations exhibited varying motivations, each group had, nonetheless, a unique influence on their new homelands. Upon arriving in the United States many settled initially in port cities like Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Although many were content to establish themselves on the east coast, others decided to migrate west, where the rapidly industrialising cities of the Midwest and West offered the prospect of a better life. This process of acculturation, Archdeacon argues, required an approximate seven year period on the east coast before immigrants were in a position, both financially and socially to migrate west.⁶ For others, kinship networks meant that arrival in Midwestern states was almost immediate, as relatives and friends had already settled in the Midwest and vouched for its standard of living. Consequently, the states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri became popular destinations for immigrants. This former Northwest Territory formed the epicentre of German immigration, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, with approximately 47% of the German-born immigrant population settling in the region. Conversely, their Irish counterparts accounted, according to Archdeacon, for only 20% of the Midwest's foreign born population, as many Irish immigrants chose to remain in the New England states in the east.⁷

Accordingly, this study aims to identify and analyse German and Irish immigrant communities in two cities in the American Midwest, specifically those established in St Louis, Missouri and Fort Wayne, Indiana (see map 1). Concentrating predominantly on the period from 1850 to 1900, this study examines these four communities through economic, social, religious and political lenses.

⁶ Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: an ethnic history* (New York, NY, 1983), pp 45-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Map 1 - Map of USA highlighting St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN and other major US cities⁸



Study region

The cities of St Louis and Fort Wayne provide the basis for the study of these two immigrant groups for a variety of reasons. Firstly, St Louis was a large, developing, industrial city by 1850 and because of this, it had attracted migrants of both American and foreign birth. By 1860, the US Federal Census recorded that St Louis had 47,970 inhabitants of German birth and 29,925 residents who stated their birthplace as Ireland.⁹ Not only were these two communities the two largest immigrant groups in the city, but together, they accounted for almost 42% of the city's population. As the city continued to grow, so too did the influence of both immigrant groups and by 1900 the German and Irish immigrant communities in the city were still the two largest ethnic cohorts.

⁸ Outline map taken from Maps of the USA available at: [whatisusa.info \(http://www.whatisusa.info/usa-maps/\)](http://www.whatisusa.info/usa-maps/) (6 Aug. 2013).

⁹ 1860 US Federal Census Compendium, 1860a-15 (Washington DC, 1864), p. 24 available at: US Census Bureau (www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial) (15 July 2013).

Fort Wayne, by comparison, was a significantly smaller city and did not enjoy industrial development on the same scale as St Louis. That said, however, Fort Wayne was established at the confluence of three rivers and had enjoyed sustained economic prosperity during the canal era in the 1830s and 1840s. However, it was the arrival of the railroad in the 1850s that confirmed the attractiveness of the city to European immigrants. In the 1850 US Federal Census, the city had a population of 4,282, of which 1,260 were of German birth and 190 immigrants had been born in Ireland.¹⁰ Similar to St Louis, both the German and Irish immigrant communities were the two largest foreign-born groups in the city, but significantly, given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, assimilation appeared to be achieved in this city at a swifter pace than in St Louis. This was primarily attributable to the contrasting size of the German and Irish immigrant communities in both locations as well as the contrasting size of both cities.

Structure of the thesis

The examination of an immigrant group necessitates an analysis of all aspects of its constituent parts. By extension then, when comparing two ethnic communities, not only must the same principal criteria be applied to each group, an appreciation of the diversity of each community and the asymmetrical nature of a comparative project such as this must also be highlighted from the beginning. Moreover, although the rubric of economic, social, religious and political analysis is applied to both communities throughout, each community excels in areas where the other is less dominant. Accordingly, this is reflected throughout the chapters in the thesis.

Chapter one establishes the context of European emigration during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. It introduces the reader to the plethora of reasons that

¹⁰ 1850 US Federal Census returns, Fort Wayne, IN, whole city available at: [ancestry.com \(www.ancestry.com\)](http://www.ancestry.com) (15 July 2013).

stimulated and encouraged migration from Europe to the United States and examines the donor-societies of Ireland and Germany. It provides the context of migration through an analysis of the economic, demographic and political reasons that motivated emigration from Europe and provides intermittent contrasts with similar models in the United States.

Chapter two examines why immigration to the United States was an exciting prospect for European migrants. Focusing particularly on the Midwest, it considers the economic, political, legal and religious incentives that enticed immigrants to the region. It also describes the importance of migration chains, as well as popular attitudes to emigration in the homeland. The process of leaving and the initial impressions of some European immigrants to the United States upon arrival are also outlined. The chapter closes with an examination of why migration to the Midwest could provide immigrants with a higher living standard and by using primary source data derived from 1900 US Federal Census records, possible migration routes to both St Louis and Fort Wayne are highlighted.

Immigrant settlement is examined in chapter three. This chapter provides a contextual overview of the development of both cities prior to 1850 and outlines the reasons that enticed immigrants to both locations. After establishing the significance of both cities as immigrant destinations, a micro analysis of the four individual ethnic clusters is outlined. In describing the immigrant neighbourhoods and interpreting data extracted from US Federal Census records from 1850 to 1900, an immigrant profile considering the average age, sex and household size of German and Irish immigrant communities in both cities is constructed highlighting some of the principal similarities of both groups.

Chapter four examines the economic proficiency of both groups by identifying and interpreting the occupational trends of each group as they were recorded in the US Federal Census schedules from 1850 to 1900. It is in this chapter that some of the study's most

glaring contrasts emerge. The quantitative statistical data in this chapter is complemented by qualitative data from both communities and by using the case study method, through which an understanding of both groups varying economic success emerges.

Chapter five considers the cultural legacies of both immigrant communities. Focusing exclusively on some of the social and cultural organisations to which German and Irish immigrants subscribed, significant contrasts between the social and cultural traditions of both groups are highlighted. The varying size of both cities examined in this study also contributes to the contrasts which emerge, regarding the range and diversity of the social exploits pursued by German and Irish immigrants. Qualitative data highlights the multiplicity of German organisations, while simultaneously emphasising the antipathy between secular and religious associations within the group. Conversely, the one-dimensional nature of Irish social pursuits is also exposed.

Chapter six discusses the role played by religious institutions in establishing and subsequently consolidating an ethnic identity. The immigrant church was an integral agent in creating a cultural identity for ethnic communities in the nineteenth century. This chapter focuses particularly on the Catholic and Lutheran churches established by the German and Irish immigrant communities. The relative lack of consideration given to Irish Protestant churches is primarily due to a lack of information. The chapter considers the importance of the immigrant church in terms of its role in creating communal and social infrastructures, while simultaneously ensuring the development of the respective creeds. The disparities between both immigrant communities are again prevalent in this chapter, as the role of the church in unifying the Irish immigrant community contrasts significantly with its divisive nature in the German community.

Chapter seven investigates immigrant involvement in political affairs at local, state and national level and considers the significance of immigrant participation in the American Civil War. Notably, ethnic unity was also a feature of Irish immigrant although, by contrast, however, the German community in both locations remained politically divided and members of the community adhered to both political parties. This chapter also examines why the politics of the homeland remained a concern for Irish immigrants in both cities and also why this was not a feature of the German immigrant experience.

In compiling a comparative study using economic, social, religious and political filters, there is a danger of overlooking the experience of women in immigrant communities. Hence, chapter eight examines the role of Irish and German immigrant women and evaluates their contribution to the formation of an ethnic identity. By interpreting US Federal Census schedules from 1850 to 1900 occupational trends as well as marriage patterns are identified. The contribution of women religious is also an important aspect of female involvement in the immigrant experience and is also examined in this chapter. In this instance, as in each of the other chapters, noteworthy contrasts emerge, yet it is only in the context of a comparative analysis such as this, that the significance of these comparisons becomes apparent.

The conclusion, records the key observations, comparisons and findings of this study. It highlights the importance of using a comparative approach in examining the composition of distinct ethnic communities and identifies aspects of the immigrant experience which undoubtedly warrant further investigation.

Terms of reference

Throughout this thesis, a variety of terms including assimilation, integration, identity and modernity are used throughout. Accordingly, it is appropriate to define these terms with respect to the current trends in the historiography.

Although the assimilation model has been criticised by historians, it is nonetheless an important factor in assessing the immigrant experience. Barkan, although critical of the assimilation model does nonetheless note that it is a process of stages, while Higham, who is also contemptuous of the assimilation process has noted that, ‘no ethnic group, once established in the United States, has ever entirely disappeared.’¹¹ Yet, irrespective of these criticisms, historians have noted the value of assessing immigrants in assimilative terms. Morawska has defined assimilation as ‘a vision of society increasingly unified in the course of gradual boundary reduction between group participants. This process is predicted to move through stages called, respectively, acculturation, social integration and, ultimately, identification’.¹² However, Kazal has extended this definition further by arguing that assimilation may, ‘operate at different levels: among individuals, between groups-whether defined in ethnic, racial, or religious terms ... drawn together in terms of culture, or intermarriage, or shared political institutions, or shared elements of identity, such as class consciousness’.¹³ For the purpose of this thesis, assimilation will be defined as the increasing amalgamation of immigrant communities with the host society through the processes of adaption, acculturation, social integration and ultimately identification.

¹¹ Elliott R. Barkan, ‘Race, religion and nationality in American society: a model of ethnicity’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xiv (1995), pp 38-75; p. 42; John Higham, ‘Integrating America: the problem of assimilation in the nineteenth century’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, i (1981), pp 5-13; p. 9.

¹² Ewa Morawska, ‘In defence of the assimilation model’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xiii (1994), pp 76-87; p. 77.

¹³ Russell A. Kazal, ‘Revisiting assimilation: the rise, fall and reappraisal of a concept in American ethnic history’ in *American Historical Review*, c (1995), pp 437-71; p. 438.

Barkan has defined integration as ‘taking place when an ethnic group or person becomes bilingual (or monolingual English); moves beyond the boundaries of his or her ethnic community and begins to associate on a regular basis with members of the larger society’.¹⁴ It is an important concept because it describes the intermediate process between acculturation and assimilation. Barkan continues that integration is the final process an immigrant experiences before assimilation. Integration and assimilation he notes, ‘are the foremost the actions of individuals, although there are clearly consequences for their ethnic groups’.¹⁵ In order for integration and ultimately assimilation to occur, these actions must be considered in a bidirectional manner. Both cultures are affected and so an appreciation of the ethnic identity and culture as well as the identity and culture of the host society must be achieved.

However, some historians such as Morawska, for example has argued against the integration process noting that integration into ‘the dominant group, the Anglo-Protestant middle class’ has resulted in the near disappearance of collective ethnic identities, particularly among Jews.¹⁶ For the purpose of this thesis, integration will be defined as the final stage in the assimilation process which witnesses increased interaction between the immigrant community and its host society. This integration encompasses language acquisition, intermarriage, employment interactions and social exchanges.

Gabaccia has noted that ‘the acquisition of an ethnic identity accompanied foreigners’ successful incorporation into the American nation’.¹⁷ Although immigrant historians have varying interpretations of how this identity is defined, all agree that it revolves around the relationship between the individual and their society. Gleason has argued that ‘identity involves an interaction between the interior development of the individual personality ... and

¹⁴ Barkan, ‘Race, religion and nationality’, p. 48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁶ Morawska, ‘In defence of the assimilation model’, p. 77.

¹⁷ Donna R. Gabaccia, ‘Is everywhere nowhere? Nomads, nations and the immigrant paradigm of United States history’ in *Journal of American History*, lxxxvi (1999), pp 1115-34; p. 1129.

the growth of a sense of selfhood that arises from participating in society, internalizing its cultural norms, acquiring different statuses, and playing different roles', while Kazal has noted that ethnic identities did not disappear in the transition from emigrant to immigrant, rather 'people recombined their multiple identities, and their 'self-images as ethnic and working class' became more compatible'.¹⁸ Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, the term identity will be understood as the relationship between the immigrant and their ethnic group and how these interactions characterised their exchanges with the host society.

Many scholars have attempted to define modernity. Lerner notes that it marked the transition between the end of a traditional society and the beginning of a mobile society, while Anderson notes that willingness to move to an unfamiliar place was considered a modern attitude in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ These sentiments were also reflected by Inkeles and Smith in their examination of modernity in six developing countries.²⁰ However, Giddens and Rabinow have applied a more practical definition to the term modernity noting how it was a period which reflected the rise of the nation state, increasingly capitalism and the movement of people.²¹ For the purpose of this thesis, modernity will be defined a period during the nineteenth century that reflected political, economic and migratory changes and pre-empted a period of increasing globalisation.

Throughout the thesis, regular reference is made to both Germany and the German states or the German empire. These terms are used interchangeably because after 1871 the German empire ceased to exist. Furthermore, prior to 1871, the term Germany was also used

¹⁸ Philip Gleason, 'Identifying identity: a semantic history' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, lxix (1983), pp 910-931; p. 914; Kazal, 'Revisiting assimilation', p. 467.

¹⁹ Daniel Lerner, *The passing of traditional society* (Glencoe, IL, 1958), pp47-8; Barbara Anderson, *Internal migration during modernisation in late nineteenth century Russia* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), p. 3.

²⁰ Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, *Becoming modern: individual change in six developing countries* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 20.

²¹ Anthony Giddens, *The consequences of modernity* (Stanford, CA, 1991), p. 1; Paul Rabinow, *Representations are social facts: modernity and post-modernity in anthropology*, (New York, 1986), p. 3.

to describe the states in a collective sense. Regular reference is also made to the German and Irish immigrant groups. This is also applied as a collective term throughout and is used to refer to both the immigrant generation and those of ethnic origin.

Primary sources

The principal theoretical framework of this study is derived from the sociological research methodology known as grounded theory. This method essentially allows the collected data to form the theory itself rather than manipulating the data to suit an already existing premise, arguably a strategy suited to a comparative ethnographic study such as this. Charmaz reiterates this sentiment commenting, ‘the logic of grounded theory prompts going back to data and forward to analysis.’²² In compiling a study of two contrasting immigrant communities the range of source material is as diverse as the immigrant communities themselves. However, an analysis of US Federal Census schedules for the period from 1850 to 1900 is the main source in providing the quantitative data for this analysis. The study is broadly based around the cities of St Louis and Fort Wayne, yet the statistical analysis contained herein has a significantly narrower focus, primarily because of the volume of material available. In assessing the two immigrant communities, both German and Irish ethnic clusters were identified in each city. However, extracting census material for these clusters proved unsuccessful and so the micro-study areas were extended to ward level, encompassing the precise area of the respective ethnic clusters throughout.

Accordingly, the transcription of census material for the independent city of St Louis from 1850 to 1900, necessitated the extraction of wards one and six in 1850, wards two and nine from 1860 to 1880 and wards three and eight in 1900. Similarly in Fort Wayne, for the

²² Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing grounded theory: a practical guide through qualitative analysis* (London, 2006), p. 23, see also Clive Opie (ed.), *Doing educational research: a guide to first time researchers* (London, 2004), p. 93.

census years 1850 and 1860, it was necessary to transcribe census data for the whole city as electoral ward divisions were not introduced into the city until 1870. Accordingly, from 1870 to 1900 the German and Irish ethnic clusters were situated in wards two and six respectively. However, census returns for the 1890 US Federal Census are unavailable due to the widely documented fire at the Commerce Building in Washington DC in 1921. The option of utilising census substitutes in the form of city directories or church records was considered, but only census schedules form the basis of the statistical analysis in this study. Furthermore, although ward boundaries are redefined throughout the fifty year period in both cities, in each instance the ward was chosen based on the location of the ethnic cluster.

In order to complete an accurate and concise analysis of German and Irish immigrants in both cities, it was necessary to transcribe a total of 6,124 pages of US Federal Census data from 1850 to 1900. However, as the century progressed, so too did the level of information that was collected. In 1850, the schedule recorded only basic information for each person, specifically, name, age, sex, colour, occupation, value of real estate owned, place of birth, whether married within the last year, whether the person attended school in the last year, if the person could read or write and whether the person was deaf, dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper or convict. By 1900 this basic information was still sought, but additional data concerning relationship to head of household, marital status, number of years married, number of children born to the mother and number of children living, place of birth of both parents, year of immigration, number of years resident in the United States and year of naturalisation was required. Further details relating to property ownership were also obtained.

The information extracted from these census schedules concerned only immigrants who were born in either the German empire or Ireland and their descendants. Prior to 1880, descendants were identified by their place of birth and their direct relationship to the head of household. However, after 1880 it was possible to identify generational members of the

community based on their place of birth and that of their parents. Thus, from 1880 onwards, not only second generation, but third and in some isolated instances, fourth generation immigrants were identifiable. The information was transcribed according to the way in which it was recorded on the census schedule. However, for the benefit of quantitative analysis supplementary classifications were added. Specifically, in determining the origin of German and Irish immigrants, an ethnicity classification was added as well as recording the place of birth. Thus, immigrant origins were denoted with a 'G' or 'I' respectively. Also, in determining and classifying generational elements of both groups a generational category was also added which was denoted by the terms 'G1', 'G2' and 'I1', 'I2'. This was extended to third and fourth generations where applicable.

In classifying the occupations of the recorded immigrants, the census bureau guidelines for 1900 were incorporated (see section 4.2). However, they too were modified separately to provide a more accurate account of German and Irish occupational patterns. Finally, in assessing immigrant marriage trends, additional classification categories were also required. Accordingly, four types of immigrant marriages were identified. Firstly, a 'type 1' marriage, or immigrant generation marriage, denoted a union where both partners were born in either the German empire or Ireland. A 'type 2' marriage, or intra-ethnic marriage, was characterised by one partner being of foreign birth, either in Ireland or Germany, and the second partner being a generational member of the same ethnic group. A 'type 3' marriage was an inter-ethnic marriage where one partner was a member of either ethnic group and the second partner had no identifiable association with either the German or Irish ethnic communities. The final marriage category was denoted as a 'type 4' marriage, or an inter-marriage, which recorded that one partner was of ethnically Irish origin and the other was of ethnically German origin. Upon completion of the census transcription for both cities, a concise profile of the German and Irish immigrant communities in St Louis and Fort Wayne

was apparent. The database, referred to throughout this study as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850-1900, consisted of a total of 169,104 immigrants and their descendants. Of these, a total of 122,436 were of German origin and 46,668 were of Irish descent.

There are a number of limitations to working with census material. Specifically, a researcher is reliant on the level of accuracy deemed appropriate by the census enumerators. In some instances, the diligence of enumerators is questionable as important information relating to occupation, property ownership or ethnicity is not recorded. On other occasions the census transcripts present paleographic challenges or alternatively, the quality of some of the census manuscripts is poor. However, in other examples the diligence of the enumerator is apparent. Edward Thierry, a civil engineer and draftsman from Saxe-Meinigen in eastern Germany, was the enumerator for the second ward in St Louis in 1860. Kamphoefner notes that he undertook this responsibility with 'Teutonic thoroughness' as he recorded not only the country or state of birth, but also throughout the 355 page census schedule for the ward, he records the village, town or city of each entrant.²³ Accordingly, it is possible to identify that Mick Hanley, a twenty-one year old bookkeeper was born in Headford, Co. Galway, while his neighbour, Michael Gorman a labourer, was born in Co. West Maid [Westmeath] in Ireland.²⁴ There was also the issue of forgeries and in 1880 a second enumeration of St Louis was completed as many of the city's residents claimed they had not been enumerated. However, in taking the second enumeration, the accuracy of the 1870 US Federal Census was also called into question.²⁵

²³ Walter D. Kamphoefner, 'Uprooted or transplanted?: reflections on patterns of German immigration to Missouri' in *Missouri Historical Review*, ciii (2009), pp 71-89; p. 82.

²⁴ 1860 US Federal Census records for Mick Hanley and Michael Gorman, 1860 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 2, p. 1 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (25 July 2013).

²⁵ Jeanette C. Lauer and Robert H. Lauer, 'St Louis and the 1880 census: The shock of collective failure' in *Missouri Historical Review*, lxxvi (1982), pp 151-63.

Fig. 1 Sample census schedules from 1860 and 1900 illustrating the development of the memorandum by 1900 ²⁶

Page No. 1
SCHEDULE 1. - Free Inhabitants in Second Ward City of St. Louis in the County of St. Louis State of Missouri enumerated by me, on the 1st day of June, 1860. Edward Steacy Ass't Marshal Post Office of St. Louis.

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age	Value or Nature of Dwelling		Place of Birth, having the State, Territory, or Country	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict
						Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate		
1	James Cook	M	50	W	Laborer	1000	1000	France	
2	Elizabeth Cook	F	48	W				France	
3	John Cook	M	46	W	Engineer	25000	25000	Germany	
4	John Cook	M	44	W				Germany	
5	John Cook	M	42	W	Freeman	2000	2000	France	
6	John Cook	M	40	W				France	
7	John Cook	M	38	W				France	
8	John Cook	M	36	W				France	
9	John Cook	M	34	W				France	
10	John Cook	M	32	W				France	
11	John Cook	M	30	W				France	
12	John Cook	M	28	W				France	
13	John Cook	M	26	W				France	
14	John Cook	M	24	W				France	
15	John Cook	M	22	W				France	
16	John Cook	M	20	W				France	
17	John Cook	M	18	W				France	
18	John Cook	M	16	W				France	
19	John Cook	M	14	W				France	
20	John Cook	M	12	W				France	
21	John Cook	M	10	W				France	
22	John Cook	M	8	W				France	
23	John Cook	M	6	W				France	
24	John Cook	M	4	W				France	
25	John Cook	M	2	W				France	

7-2084 2933
TWELFTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES. SCHEDULE No. 1. - POPULATION.

State Indiana County Allen Supervisor's District No. 12 Sheet No. A 76
 Enumeration District No. 24 Word of city, town, or village, within the above-named district, None
 Name of Institution, Fort Wayne
 Name of incorporated city, town, or village, within the above-named district, None
 Enumerated by me on the 15 day of June, 1900, Ray D. Stewart Enumerator.

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Color	Marital Status	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Place of Birth			Citizenship	Education			Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict
							State	Territory	Country		Years	Months	Days	
1	Allen, William	M	45	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
2	Allen, George	M	42	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
3	Allen, Sarah	F	40	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
4	Allen, John	M	38	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
5	Allen, Mary	F	36	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
6	Allen, Elizabeth	F	34	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
7	Allen, James	M	32	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
8	Allen, Susan	F	30	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
9	Allen, William	M	28	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
10	Allen, Mary	F	26	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
11	Allen, John	M	24	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
12	Allen, Elizabeth	F	22	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
13	Allen, James	M	20	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
14	Allen, Susan	F	18	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
15	Allen, William	M	16	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
16	Allen, Mary	F	14	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
17	Allen, John	M	12	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
18	Allen, Elizabeth	F	10	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
19	Allen, James	M	8	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
20	Allen, Susan	F	6	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		
21	Allen, William	M	4	W	Married	Farmer	Indiana			18	0	0		
22	Allen, Mary	F	2	W	Married		Indiana			18	0	0		

²⁶ 1860 US Federal Census schedule and 1900 US Federal Census schedule available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (25 July 2013).

Aside from the analysis of census transcripts, there was also a variety of other primary sources employed in this study. Manuscript sources in the form of family and business papers, records relating to social and cultural organisations, religious records pertaining to the establishment and management of the various immigrant churches and the personal papers and correspondence of prominent immigrant politicians. Civil War records compiled by Irish and German soldiers also provided valuable insights. One glaring difficulty was the unavailability of primary source material relating to the immigrant experience of ethnically Irish women. Many German women maintained diaries and journals which provided interesting insights into household management and the social lives of German women. However, even this discrepancy may be analysed as, perhaps, illustrating the contrasting social positions of women from the two groups. Furthermore, this limitation also applies to records available for Irish social and cultural organisations. Whereas primary source data relating to German singing societies and gymnastic organisations is readily available, there is a consistent lack of information regarding Irish cultural organisations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Land League associations, Gaelic League societies or even temperance groups. Aside from occasional notices in local newspapers, it is difficult to construct an accurate interpretation of the scope and range of these organisations.

Newspapers also have proven to be valuable sources throughout this study. However, while access to Fort Wayne's eclectic range of newspapers is available online through databases like those provided through the genealogy website ancestry.com or other digitisation projects like the Chronicling America project established by the Library of Congress, access to St Louis' newspaper collections are only available in repositories in the city. Thus, while access to newspapers like the *Missouri Republic*, the *Missouri Democrat* and the German language *Anzienger des Westens* was possible, extensive newspaper analysis of St Louis' newspapers was not possible.

Printed sources in the form of contemporary histories of each city, biographical encyclopaedias and handbooks advising immigrants on westward migration proved essential in creating both the context for immigration to each city and the environment into which the immigrants arrived. Griswold's *Pictorial history of Fort Wayne, Indiana* (1917), Scharf's *History of St Louis city and county* (1883) and Regan's *Emigrants guide to the western States of America* (1852), among others, provided a unique insight into nineteenth century life in the Midwest.²⁷ Hyde and Conard's, *Encyclopedia of the history of St Louis* was essential in identifying prominent citizens from both communities in St Louis.²⁸ However, as with all primary source material, a critical assessment of each source was necessary.

Secondary sources

Writing in the *Journal of American History*, Kevin Kenny has identified the need to examine immigration in a comparative context. 'Comparative approaches' he notes, 'examine specific similarities and differences in the experiences of similar migrants who have settled in different ... regions.'²⁹ While he is referring to a multi-locational investigation of one immigrant group, there are certainly advantages to expanding this model further to provide a multi-locational, multi-ethnic approach. However, in utilising a comparative approach, an appreciation of immigration through a transnational lens which considers the importance of linking, what Delaney terms, 'the movement of people ... to an understanding of the[ir]

²⁷ Bert J. Griswold, *The pictorial history of Fort Wayne Indiana: a review of two centuries of occupation of the region about the head of the Maumee River* (Chicago, 1917); Thomas Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county, from the earliest periods to the present day* (2 vols, Philadelphia, PA, 1883); John Regan, *The emigrants guide to the western states of America, or backwoods and prairies* (Edinburgh, 1852).

²⁸ William Hyde and Howard Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis: a compendium of history and biography for ready reference* (St Louis, MO, 1899).

²⁹ Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora as comparison: the global Irish as a case study' in *The Journal of American History*, xc (2003), pp 134-63; p. 135.

background' is also necessary.³⁰ While, nineteenth-century European migration to the United States has long been a preoccupation for historians, existing historiography and contemporary discourse on this theme, largely considers only one migrant group at a time. These studies usually focus on the millions of transatlantic migrants who sailed west to the United States, their motivations, their journeys and the assimilation process at their place of settlement. However, it is difficult to assess the apparent success or failure of this assimilation when only one immigrant community in one specific location is considered.

Nancy L. Green has asked 'what is specific and what is general in the migration phenomenon?'³¹ One of the most effective ways of answering this question is undoubtedly the utilisation of a comparative methodology in the study of migration. By its nature, a comparative approach must possess an assortment of differing variables. Comparison between locations, ethnic groupings, gender, settlement models and even communal development can all provide discerning and innovative insights into the migration process.

Green has argued that three distinct comparative models are applicable to the study of migration.³² In the 'linear model' an assessment of both the donor and host society is necessary, a method which perhaps pre-empted the emerging transnational methodologies that are increasingly popular in contemporary historiography.³³ The second approach, according to Green, is the 'convergent model', whereby a multi-ethnic group approach is employed.³⁴ However, in her definition she limits the parameter to only one settlement

³⁰ Enda Delaney, 'Our island story? Towards a transnational history of late modern Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii (2011), pp 83-105; p. 93; see also Patricia Clavin, 'Defining transnationalism' in *Contemporary European History*, xiv (2005), pp 421-39.

³¹ Nancy L. Green, 'The comparative method and post-structural structuralism: new perspectives for migration studies' in *Journal of American ethnic history*, xiii (1994), pp 3-22; p. 7.

³² *Ibid.*, pp 13-6.

³³ For example see Donald H. Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922: An International Perspective* (Montreal, 1988).

³⁴ Good examples of studies which employ the 'convergent model' approach to migration are Jay P. Dolan, *The immigrant church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (London, 1983) and Donald H. Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the great migration, 1815-1914* (Liverpool, 2011).

location. The final comparative methodology identified by Green is the ‘divergent model’ which ‘locate[s] the explanation of difference at the point of arrival, not the point of departure’.³⁵ This method is increasing popular among Irish diaspora historians like William Jenkins, Malcolm Campbell and J. Matthew Gallman for example, and focuses on a comparison of the Irish diaspora in two specific locations, often on two distinct continents.³⁶

The purposeful use of a comparative method in Irish migration studies is a relatively recent phenomenon; however, this approach is nonetheless justifiable and even necessary. Many of the existing analyses of Irish immigrant communities in nineteenth-century America almost invariably contextualise the destitution experienced by Irish immigrants in terms of their experience of famine in Ireland. In so doing, these studies inevitably highlight what Campbell terms the ‘disabling effect of the Irish famine to explain Irish subordination in the urban slums of the northeast’.³⁷ However, without applying a comparative approach and examining other ethnic groups in the same location, or alternatively the same ethnic group in a variety of locations, how can an incident like the famine be plausibly accepted as an explanation for the stunted economic development of the Irish immigrant community in America? There is little doubt that both a conceptual and contextual appreciation of the Irish immigrant community in multiple locations, and among a selection of other immigrant communities, is warranted to justify this salient feature already existing in analyses of the Irish immigrant community in America. Furthermore, as a result of considering only a single ethnic group in a single location, Irish-American scholarship has embedded what Campbell terms ‘urban subordination and maladjustment’ into the historiography of Irish-American

³⁵ Green, ‘The comparative method and post-structural structuralism’, p. 15.

³⁶ For examples of the ‘divergent model’ approach to migration see Malcolm Campbell, ‘The other immigrants: comparing the Irish in Australia and the United States’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xiv (1995), pp 3-22; Malcolm Campbell, ‘Ireland’s furthest shores: Irish immigrant settlement in nineteenth-century California and eastern Australia’ in *Pacific Historical Review*, lxxi (2002), pp 59-90; William Jenkins, ‘Deconstructing diasporas: networks and identities among the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1870–1910’, in *Immigrants and Minorities*, xxiii (2005), pp 359-98 and J. Matthew Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s children: Philadelphia, Liverpool and the Irish famine migration, 1845-1855* (London, 2000).

³⁷ Campbell, ‘The other immigrants’, p. 10.

immigrant communities.³⁸ Ultimately, failure to understand the Irish immigrant community comparatively has compromised the depiction and interpretation of this community in a variety of regional contexts in America throughout the nineteenth century.

Malcolm Campbell has suggested that by examining only one immigrant community in one location there is a 'tendency to reify Irish cultural distinctiveness in accounting for the experiences of the immigrants'.³⁹ This, he argues, ultimately results in an examination of 'Irishness' rather than immigrant experience. Conversely, existing scholarship on comparative methodologies in migration history tends to emphasise the importance of an international approach which examines both the characteristics and development of specific immigrant communities. This is evidenced in particular by the work of Campbell, Jenkins and MacRaild who focus not only on the 'Irishness' of each community, but also the factors which influence the immigrant experience.⁴⁰ In the German instance comparative methodologies relating to the study of migration trends tend to focus on nineteenth emigration and twentieth century immigration to Germany simultaneously, or indeed, intra-European migration from one nation state to another.⁴¹ However, what seems to be omitted by practitioners concerned with either ethnic group is a direct comparison of two ethnic groupings in the same location. Much of the existing scholarship relating to both the Irish and German immigrant communities in North America, Australia and Europe overlooks the importance of an inter-ethnic approach. This oversight has, however, resulted in the

³⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁹ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: immigrants, politics and society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (Madison, WI, 2008), p. vii.

⁴⁰ Donald M. MacRaild, 'Crossing migrant frontiers: comparative reflections on Irish migrants in Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century' in *Immigrants and minorities*, xviii (1999), pp 40-70; Campbell, 'Ireland's furthest shores' and Jenkins, 'Deconstructing diasporas'.

⁴¹ Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner (eds), *Migration past, migration future: Germany and the United States* (New York, 1997); Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds), *Comparative and transnational History: central European approaches and new perspectives* (New York, 2009); Brian McCook, *The borders of integration - Polish migrants in Germany and the United States, 1870-1924* (Athens, OH, 2011); Hans P. Werner, 'Integration in two cities: A comparative history of Protestant, ethnic German immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada and Bielefeld, Germany, 1947-1989' (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2002).

identification of two specific trends in the analysis of immigrant communities. On one hand, the historiography for both groups tends to focus on one ethnic group in one or more locations,⁴² while on the other, although multiple ethnic communities are considered, these investigations adopt a survey-type examination at a national level.⁴³

Whether international or inter-ethnic, a comparative methodology is important and a necessary development in the scholarship because it highlights the similarities and differences between immigrant communities while also providing further insights into the immigrant experience.⁴⁴ The effectiveness of a comparative approach to migration is substantial. It offers historians the opportunity to interpret ethnic communities judiciously and assesses the characteristics of the migration in relative terms rather than isolation. As Bloch notes, comparative history is most effective when it is ‘a parallel study of societies that are at once neighbouring and contemporary, [which] exercise a constant mutual influence, exposed throughout their development to the action of the same broad causes just because they are close and contemporaneous and owing their existence in part at least to a common origin’.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, a comparative analysis is essential in contextualising the evolution of one ethnic group over another and immensely beneficial in attempting to understand the development of a particular immigrant group in a particular region.⁴⁶

However, despite its advantages, there is a distinct lack of engagement by diaspora historians in examining two distinct ethnic communities in a multiple locations. A multi-ethnic, multi-locational approach is necessary to highlight the regional factors that may influence immigrant integration and assimilation. A micro-study considering two groups in

⁴² R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley, CA, 1980); Joseph P. Blanchette, *The view from Shanty Pond: an Irish immigrant's look at life in a New England mill town, 1875-1938* (Charlotte, VT, 1999); Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: ethnicity, religion and class in New York city, 1845-1880* (Chicago, IL, 1990); John F. Nau, *The German people of New Orleans* (Leiden, 1958).

⁴³ For example see, Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds* or Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the great migration*.

⁴⁴ Malcolm Campbell, ‘The other immigrants’, p. 18.

⁴⁵ Marc Bloch, *Land and work in medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1967), p. 47.

⁴⁶ MacRaild, ‘Crossing migrant frontiers’, p. 43.

one location does not provide a regional interpretation of how each group developed as an ethnic community. Furthermore, examining only one immigrant group in a local context also does not portray how that group interacted with other immigrant communities regionally. Therefore, an analysis of two immigrant groups in at least two geographically similar locations is essential in attempting to understand how ethnic communities interacted with each other across space and time. As Akenson notes, ‘the nineteenth century migrations from Europe were integral units for a larger Great Migration ... much of what seems noteworthy of being unusual or even unique in the case of individual nations is more significant as commonplace’.⁴⁷

There are very few examples of studies which specifically aim to compare two or more immigrant communities. One exception is Marianne Wokeck’s examination of eighteenth century German and Irish immigrants in Pennsylvania. This work chronicles the arrival of German and Irish immigrants and provides a context to the mass immigrations of both groups during the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Aside from Wokeck’s contributions, other authors like Jo Ellen Vinyard in her examination of the Irish in Detroit or Burchell’s research on the Irish in San Francisco, use an inter-ethnic comparison model for contextual purposes only and do not examine both communities using uniform criteria.⁴⁹

Scholarship on the German immigrant community also overlooks the advantages of utilising a multi-ethnic approach. Significantly, the character of German immigration research also contrasts with that of its Irish counterpart. Contemporary discussion of German migration trends, for example Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner’s *Migration past, migration future* considers emigration from Germany during the nineteenth century, while also

⁴⁷ Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the great migration*, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in strangers: the beginnings of mass immigration to North America* (University Park, PA, 1999).

⁴⁹ Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the urban frontier: nineteenth century Detroit, 1850-1880* (New York, NY, 1974); Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*.

assessing immigration in Germany during the twentieth century.⁵⁰ Scholarship of the German diaspora in America also does not correspond with its Irish counterpart. There are far more studies of Irish immigrant communities than there are of ethnically German settlements.

Aside from Burchell and Vinyard, Tyler Anbinder has analysed the Irish community at Five Points in New York, Timothy Meagher and Joseph Blanchette have investigated Irish immigrant communities in Massachusetts, while David Emmons in his study of the Irish in Butte, Montana has also examined and interpreted the existence of a significant Irish settlement there.⁵¹ Conversely, although German studies are not as abundant, Kathleen Neils-Conzen has examined the German communities of Milwaukee and Minnesota, while Nadel has also investigated the German community in New York. In the south, both Nau and Jaehn have examined German settlements in New Orleans and the broader south west region respectively.⁵² Significantly, however, much of the German scholarship is older than its Irish counterpart, demonstrating a shift away from diaspora studies in the broader German context. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is a more concentrated focus on immigration trends within Germany, especially regarding Turkish immigrants during the post-World War II era. Arguably, the forthcoming centenary of World War I might reignite German diaspora historians' interest in nineteenth and early twentieth century migration, but for the context of this study, much of the material is dated.

However, although an interpretation and analysis of literature pertaining to specific immigrant communities in specific locations is necessary, it is also essential to acquire an

⁵⁰ Bade and Weiner, *Migration past, migration future*.

⁵¹ Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth century neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001); Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish American: generation, class and ethnic identity in a New England City, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001); Blanchette, *The view from Shanty Pond*; David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Chicago, IL, 1990).

⁵² Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: accommodation and community in a frontier city* (Cambridge, MA, 1976); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: the people of Minnesota* (St Paul, MN, 2003); Nadel, *Little Germany*; Nau, *The German people of New Orleans*; Thomas Jaehn, *Germans in the southwest, 1850-1920* (Albuquerque, NM, 2005).

understanding of the broader concepts, trends and patterns of nineteenth century immigration to the United States. In this sense, Thomas Archdeacon's *Becoming American* and Walter Nugent's *Crossings* provide the context of both the donor and receiver societies, while Wyman's *Round trip to America* interprets the perspective of the returning emigrant very well.⁵³ In respect of both immigrant communities, both Kerby Miller and Donald Akenson illustrate the broader concept of Irish migration in an analytical and insightful manner, while Kevin Kenny contrasts Irish society with its Irish-American counterpart to demonstrate the reasons promoting emigration and the challenges faced by the immigrants upon arrival.⁵⁴ In the German instance, Walter Kamphoefner as well as Carl Brinkmann both contextualise the necessity of German emigration in their individual investigations of the factors stimulating German migration and the ailing German economy during the early decade of the nineteenth century respectively.⁵⁵ However, a collection of immigrant letters edited by Helbich, Kamphoefner and Sommer is also integral in comprehending German migratory trends.⁵⁶

Another important body of literature are those studies which examine specific aspects or components of the immigrant experience. Doris Weatherford's *Foreign and Female* as well as Hasia Diner's examination of Irish immigrant women and Wehner-Franco's analysis of German servant girls investigated the concept of female immigration excellently and provided stimulating insight into the experience of immigrant women.⁵⁷ Regarding immigrant

⁵³ Archdeacon, *Becoming American*; Walter Nugent, *Crossings: the great transatlantic migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington, IN, 1992); Mark Wyman, *Round trip to America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993).

⁵⁴ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, NY, 1985); Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish diaspora: a primer* (Toronto, 1993); Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, NY, 2000).

⁵⁵ Walter D. Kamphoefner, 'At the crossroads of economic development: background factors affecting migration from nineteenth century Germany' in Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (eds), *Migration across time and nations* (New York, NY, 1986); Carl Brinkmann, 'The place of Germany in the economic history of the nineteenth century' in *Economic History Review*, iv (1933), pp 129-46.

⁵⁶ Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner and Ulrike Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der neuen Welt. 1830-1930* (Munich, 1988).

⁵⁷ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995); Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, MD, 1983); Silke Wehner-Franco, *Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika, 1850-1914* (New York, 1994).

involvement in the American Civil War, Ural Bruce's *The harp and the eagle* as well as Kamphoefner and Helbich's *Germans in the Civil War* critique German and Irish immigrant involvement and contextualise their contribution to the war effort, while simultaneously demonstrating how their military service aided the German and Irish assimilation processes.⁵⁸

In terms of discussing the various religious organizations that the immigrants adhered to, Jay Dolan's, *The immigrant church* and Carl S. Meyer's article 'Lutheran churches face problems on the frontier'⁵⁹ examined the dynamism of immigrant churches while also highlighting how each church was forced to adapt and assimilate to American norms. Similarly, Faherty's *St Louis German Catholics* includes an informative discussion of the impact of German Catholics on the city.⁶⁰

David Ward, Howard Chudacoff and Kathleen Neils-Conzen have each written on the various types of settlement models adopted by immigrant communities. Yet, although all three studies present contrasting interpretations and outline the varying characteristics of immigrant settlement, each model was applicable to this study. However, all three analyses were written in the 1970s and there seems to be a discontinuity in the current literature regarding immigrant settlement patterns. However, perhaps this will be redressed given the recent popularity of diaspora studies among historians more generally.⁶¹

In providing an economic analysis of German and Irish immigrant communities, the terminology commonly used by researchers like Burchell, or even Meagher in his study of

⁵⁸ Susannah Ural Bruce, *The harp and the eagle: Irish-American volunteers and the Union army, 1861-1865* (New York, 2006); Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War: the letters they wrote home* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006).

⁵⁹ Jay P. Dolan, *The immigrant church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore, MD, 1975); Carl S. Meyer, 'Lutheran immigrant churches face problems on the frontier' in *Church History*, xxix (1960), pp 440-62.

⁶⁰ William B. Faherty, *The St Louis German Catholics* (St Louis, MO, 2004).

⁶¹ David Ward, *Cities and immigrants: a geography of change in nineteenth century America* (New York, NY, 1971); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, 'Immigrants, immigrant neighbourhoods and ethnic identity: historical issues' in *The Journal of American History*, lxvi (1979), pp 603-15; Howard P. Chudacoff, 'A new look at ethnic neighbourhoods: residential dispersion and the concept of visibility in a medium sized city' in *The Journal of American History*, lx (1973), pp 76-93.

the Worcester Irish, focuses around groups of workers, specifically, blue and white collar workers.⁶² However, this leads to ambiguity because a white collar-worker might be a professional or a store clerk. Furthermore, these terms do not accurately reflect the types of occupational classifications circulated by the Census Bureau. Accordingly, there appears to be no literature which utilises the Census Bureau characteristics in the way this current study does.

Another shortcoming in the secondary literature relates to the lack of research specifically relating to German and Irish social and cultural organisations. Aside from Annette Hofmann's research on the *Turner* movement in the United States, as well as an examination of *Lady Turners*, there is a distinct lack of research relating to other German and Irish cultural organisations.⁶³ However, as was the case in this study, perhaps this is attributable to the lack of available material.

The articles and monographs highlighted here do not represent the full range of available secondary literature. They do, however, reflect the range and diversity of scholarship relating to the study of diaspora and immigrant settlement. Those works considered here are some of the most original and influential studies relating to the subject of nineteenth-century transatlantic immigration. Moreover, they provide many valuable insights regarding the lives of nineteenth century immigrants.

Conclusion

The study of the four German and Irish immigrant communities that follows examines each community in terms of their economic, social, religious and political development. By

⁶² Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*, pp 52-73; Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, pp 46-6, 100-12.

⁶³ Annette R. Hofmann, *Turnen and sport: transatlantic transfers* (Münster, 2004); Annette R. Hofmann, 'Between ethnic separation and assimilation: German immigrants and their athletic endeavours in their new American home country' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, xxv (2008), pp 993-1009; Annette R. Hofmann, 'Lady Turners in the United States: German-American identity, gender concerns and Turnerism' in *Journal of Sport History*, xxvii (2000), pp 383-404.

interpreting each community in this way, the similarities and contrasts, as well as the dynamism, development and legacies of each group becomes apparent. By using a comparative model to interpret these ethnic settlements, a more exacting insight into their acculturation and assimilation processes is achieved.

Chapter 1 An uncertain future: the context of European emigration in the mid- nineteenth century

1.1 Introduction

Walter D. Kamphoefner contends that, ‘the degree of socio-economic mobility that ... immigrants achieved in America can only be understood adequately if one begins in Europe and investigates the occupational and social composition of the emigrating group.’¹ The occupational and social composition of the German and Irish immigrant groups during the nineteenth century is indeed reflective of each group’s social mobility in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, Ireland, Germany and the American Midwest, were, in almost every sense, worlds apart. In Europe, economic, social, political and religious change characterised the first half of the nineteenth century as central Europe redefined its hegemony in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. Simultaneously, Ireland also experienced social change as it adapted to its recent union with Great Britain.

After the Vienna settlement, European leaders began to rebuild the economies and the continent benefitted not only from a transport and communications revolution, but also from a growing economy, with GNP increasing by 120 percent from 1830-1913.² A seeming transition in international politics was also apparent. Blanning argues that, ‘the obsession with the balance of power’ experienced during the eighteenth century, was now replaced by a system based on ‘concert and political equilibrium.’³ The availability of capital and subsequent industrialisation of many European countries, coupled with a demographic increase of more than 100 percent from 1800-1900, naturally had an impact on European economic endeavours.⁴ Religion too, experienced a revolution of sorts, with churches

¹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, ‘At the crossroads of economic development: background factors affecting emigration from nineteenth century Germany’ in Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (eds), *Migration across time and nations* (New York, NY, 1986), pp 176-201; p. 195.

² T. C. W. Blanning, ‘The end of the old regime’ in T. C. W. Blanning (ed.), *The nineteenth century: Europe, 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2000), pp 1-10; p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

emerging from the Napoleonic era as ‘leaner, fitter, more missionary, less aristocratic in their social composition and more populist.’⁵

Yet, despite these innovations and new departures in European society, there was a perception among the greater public of growing poverty, increasing social unrest and escalating dissatisfaction with governments. Coupled with these changes were increasing trends in European migration necessitated by growing populations, labour shortages, economic isolation and in some instances, political and religious persecution. As Helbich *et al.* note, ‘the motives for emigration were always complex [and] economic and social problems were always important and often decisive’.⁶

Certainly, one of the primary motivations influencing emigration from Germany during the century was the uncertain economic conditions that existed after the Napoleonic wars. As the newly founded *Deutscher Bund* began its consolidation, there were many aspects of the economy which caused concern. Changes in agriculture, and hereditary entitlement to land, coupled with the introduction of the *Zollverein* and increasing industrialisation through the use of new technologies, led to an uncertain future for many working class Germans. The social tension and civil unrest that characterised the *Vormärz* period in Germany during the 1830s and 1840s also prompted many to contemplate emigration.⁷ Conversely, in Ireland, both Mokyr and Connell argue that between 1.5 and 1.75 million people had left Ireland during the first half of the century.⁸ However, a significantly larger number of economic refugees were created primarily as a result of the Great Famine

⁵ Blanning, ‘The end of the old regime’, p. 2.

⁶ Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner and Ulrike Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der neuen Welt, 1830-1930* (Munich, 1988), p. 29.

⁷ Günter Moltmann, ‘Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz?’ in Michael Salewski (ed.), *Die Deutschen und die Revolution* (Göttingen, 1984), pp 272-97; Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, *Migration past, migration future: Germany and the United States* (Providence, RI, 1997), p. 5; Günter Moltmann, *Germans to America: 300 years of immigration, 1683-1983* (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 10; see also Franz Lorenz Müller, ‘Imperialist ambitions in *Vormärz* and revolutionary Germany: the agitation for German settlement colonies overseas, 1840-1849’ in *German History*, xvii (1999), pp 346-68.

⁸ K. H. Connell, *The population of Ireland, 1750-845* (Oxford, 1950), p. 27; Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland starved: a quantitative and analytical history of the Irish economy, 1800-1850* (London, 1985), p. 230.

which affected Ireland during the middle part of the century. Thereafter, emigration became a predictable solution for the country's disenchanted populace.

Bade argues that from 1816-1914 as many as 5.5 million Germans immigrated to America.⁹ However, until the 1860s, the German immigrant group only constituted the second largest immigrant cohort to the New World. From 1860 German migrants surpassed their Irish counterparts whose emigration peaked in the aftermath of the famine during the period from 1845-60. Kenny suggests that as many as 2.1 million emigrants left Ireland during the ten year period from 1845-55. Of these, he contends that as many as 1.8 million settled in North America.¹⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century, Germany and Ireland provided the largest immigrant cohorts. Archdeacon notes that from 1860-90 a further 1.5 million emigrants left Ireland, while an additional 2.9 million left Germany during the same period. Furthermore, the decade of the 1880s represented the peak years for both emigrant groups to leave.¹¹ Towards the end of the century from 1881-1890, Nugent suggests that more than twice as many Germans immigrated to America compared with their Irish counterparts.¹² Despite this, the number of Irish immigrants arriving in the United States during the nineteenth century was also substantial when compared proportionally with its population.

Migration to the United States was not a phenomenon unique to the middle and latter decades of the nineteenth century however. Both Archdeacon and Bade and Weiner confirm the presence of a significant number of both German and Irish immigrants in the United States as early as 1810.¹³ Archdeacon suggests that as many as 20,000 German immigrants migrated to the United States in the immediate aftermath of the Napoleonic wars in 1816.

⁹ Bade and Weiner, *Migration past, migration future*, p. 5.

¹⁰ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, NY, 2000), p. 97.

¹¹ Thomas Archdeacon, *Becoming American: an ethnic history* (New York, NY, 1983), pp 45-8.

¹² Figures derived from Table 11 and Table 14 in Walter Nugent, *Crossings: the great transatlantic migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington, IN, 1992), pp 51-65. Nugent argues that 614,000 people emigrated from Ireland to the US while 1,453,000 German immigrants arrived in the United States during the decade.

¹³ Archdeacon, *Becoming American*, p. 30; Bade and Weiner, *Migration past, migration future*, pp 4-6.

Similarly, the migration of 15,000 Irish immigrants, mostly of Ulster Scots descent between 1816 and 1818, demonstrates that immigration to America was not a trend unique to the mid-century. Accordingly, one of the most significant features of American society during the nineteenth century was a substantial demographic increase and was largely attributable to the influx of immigrants evident in all US states by 1900.

As in Europe, industrialisation was a key phenomenon in nineteenth-century America, and as Joseph Conlin observes, the ‘industrial revolution found its American home in the north-eastern states’.¹⁴ Here, the advent of a variety of modern machinery had benefited the development of the cotton and iron industries as well as reformed agriculture. Similar to Europe, increasing technological developments and industrial productivity throughout the nineteenth century consequently necessitated a labour force, which flocked to emerging cities as they too mushroomed throughout the region. Politically, the young state was still undergoing a process of consolidation. Economic opportunities in the form of land ownership, competitive wages and a sustainable level of economic stability enticed many immigrants to the rapidly industrialising cities of the Midwest.¹⁵ Furthermore, political autonomy combined with relatively relaxed immigration policies tempted many Europeans to perceive the United States as a land of opportunity (see section 2.1).¹⁶ Accordingly, this led to an increase in chain migration, the growth of culturally distinct immigrant communities and a way of life that polarised the European norm many had left behind.

1.2 The economic effects of war and modernisation as causes of emigration

The economic historian Carl Brinkmann comments that Germany’s ‘economic position at the beginning of the nineteenth century must have appeared ... a spectacle of past

¹⁴ Joseph R. Conlin, *The American past: a survey of American history* (Boston, MA, 2009), p. 237.

¹⁵ Mark Ellis, ‘A tale of five cities?’ trends in immigrant and native-born wages’ in Roger Waldinger (ed.), *Strangers at the gates: new immigrants in urban America* (Berkeley, CA, 2001), pp 117-59.

¹⁶ Roger Daniels, *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882* (New York, 2004), pp 3-26.

greatness and an uncertain future'.¹⁷ The future was undeniably uncertain as the German states, and indeed the whole of Europe, endured the economic, social and political effects of the Napoleonic wars. A period of economic recession, coupled with political instability and social anxiety, characterised many European communities during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In the German states, the political consequences of the Vienna settlement led to the introduction of a free trade initiative between members of the newly formed *Deutscher Bund*. This significantly altered the economic equilibrium of many member states. As O'Rourke comments, 'continental industries had managed to prosper under wartime circumstances, but were uncompetitive internationally [and] were unlikely to favour peacetime moves towards free trade'.¹⁸ Conversely, economic stagnation and recession in Ireland as a direct consequence of the peace settlement also contributed to the uncertain future that Brinkmann alludes to.

When considering German emigration through the lens of economic necessity, it becomes obvious that the decline of proto-industry in rural, largely un-industrialised areas was a prominent cause of emigration from the German states during the nineteenth century. The demise of the handloom linen industry coupled with poor harvests and the effects of the agricultural revolution undoubtedly forced many Germans to contemplate emigration as a viable alternative. Furthermore, as was the case in Ireland, seasonal migration of rural and working class Germans was common in the north. Many provided their families with supplementary income by working the fields and peat bogs of Holland. Yet by the mid-nineteenth century, this too had ceased as a form of survival for unskilled labourers.¹⁹

Although the prospects of the German lower class were particularly grim during this period, they were not the only citizens disenchanted by the economic situation in Germany at

¹⁷ Carl Brinkmann, 'The place of Germany in the economic history of the nineteenth century' in *Economic History Review*, iv (1933), pp 129-46; p. 129.

¹⁸ Kevin H. O'Rourke, 'The worldwide economic impact of the French revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars, 1793-1815' in *Journal of Global History*, i (2006), pp 123-49; p. 147.

¹⁹ Kamphoefner, 'At the crossroads of economic development', p. 192.

the time. Wine-growers, similar to charcoal iron workers in Rhineland Prussia experienced economic difficulty due to increasing industrialisation. Therefore, any supplementary income that was provided by these ancillary occupations was severely eroded. Both endeavours, dependant, on the one hand, on uncertain non-local markets, and victim to technological advances on the other, were effectively obsolete by the middle of the nineteenth century. This too, contributed to the impoverished lower class and added to the high emigration rates in the region during the 1840s.

Many middle class entrepreneurs also became disillusioned. The decision to enforce freedom of trade within the German confederation, and also the liberalisation of customs policies, with the introduction of the *Zollverein*, were two such causes of their disillusionment. The disbanding of guilds also meant that the production unit of the master craftsman fell in value, and these tradesmen and their families were unable to pay taxes or compete with the products of newly developed technological equivalents. Accordingly these factors combined, led to more unemployment and dissatisfaction with the newly formed confederacy. Yet, unlike their lower class contemporaries, these artisans were determined to challenge their fate and as Böhme states, ‘they served to catalyse a revolutionary movement, whose leaders demanded a radical realignment in the distribution of property and the division of state authority’.²⁰ However, a large number of this group did fall into poverty and they in turn, like their rural counterparts, were also forced to emigrate. Undoubtedly, economic difficulties were a deciding factor for the rural poor, yet, it was also increasingly obvious that there was a certain concentration of emigrants who occupied a higher place in society who were also forced to emigrate due to the various economic challenges that emerged in the German states after the Napoleonic wars.

²⁰ Helmut Böhme, *An introduction to the social and economic history of Germany* (Oxford, 1978), p. 27.

The conditions challenging the rural poor in the German states were mirrored in Ireland where the influence of the famine has long been seen as the watershed for Irish emigration. For many, the famine represents a distinction between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ Irish economy. However, on closer examination of nineteenth century Irish economics, it appears conditions that both promoted and encouraged emigration were prevalent long before the onset of famine. As D. George Boyce notes, between 1815 and 1845 over one million people had already left Ireland.²¹ The principal factors influencing Irish emigration during the nineteenth century were two-fold, incorporating both economic and political motivations. Writing of the economic impact of the Act of Union between Ireland and Great Britain in 1801, Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh comments that, ‘the Irish economy was seriously affected by the fact that policy decisions vital to its performance were taken by an imperial parliament sitting in London’.²² These decisions affected both the agricultural and industrial sectors in the half century before the famine.

During the Napoleonic wars, Irish agricultural endeavours thrived. Farmers increased their agricultural output as export demand from the British market increased. The export of sheep and pigs, combined with an increase in tillage, ensured that Irish agriculture established itself as the cornerstone of the Irish economy. Undoubtedly, the main beneficiaries of this agricultural boom were the landlords. Ó Tuathaigh describes an increase in rent almost fourfold in places, as well as a significant increase in ‘lump-sum fines for the renewal of leases’.²³

However, in the years following Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, Irish agricultural exports experienced a downturn. No longer was there such a demand for Irish tillage crops in Great Britain, and soon it became more profitable to export livestock rather than crops. Simultaneously, landlords were calling for the consolidation of farms, yet all the while the

²¹ D. George Boyce, *Nineteenth century Ireland: the search for stability* (Dublin, 2005), p. 113.

²² Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine, 1798-1848* (Dublin, 1990), p. 41.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

population continued to expand. The growing lower classes gradually found it difficult to pay rents and soon agrarian unrest between these rural groups and their landlords became widespread. Membership of secret agrarian societies such as the Rockites was commonplace, as social unrest and poverty became prevalent features of rural living. Arguably, J.G. Smith summarised the situation most effectively when he commented, ‘the twenties and thirties ... were a period of exceptional economic distress marked by rapid social changes and by considerable agrarian and political agitation.’²⁴

Crop failures during the early nineteenth century, particularly those of 1817 and 1821, only pre-empted the misery of successive crop failures in the 1840s. It is estimated that from 1845-51, at least 800,000 people died as a direct result of the famine.²⁵ The small farmer and labouring classes constituted a large proportion of this number, although casualties were not only confined to rural Ireland. Many town and city dwellers also fell victim to the famine as disease spread through both town and county. Illnesses such as typhus and ‘recurring fever’ became the most common ailments to afflict the country. Hospitals and county infirmaries were unable to cope with the number of sufferers and soon workhouses became overcrowded.

However, the virtual collapse of agriculture as the cornerstone of the Irish economy by the mid-nineteenth century was not the only reason for such extensive emigration during the decades which followed. Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, small scale industries, such as those focused on localised handicraft skills, also experienced decline as they were overtaken by the technological advances of the industrial age, similar to their counterparts in the German states at that time. Changes in the silk and woollen industries illustrated how industrialisation aided the impoverishment of the Irish lower class. Much of this handicraft was undertaken by the lower classes as a means of supplying a subsidiary

²⁴ J. G. Smith, ‘Some nineteenth century Irish economics’ in *Economica*, ii (1935), pp 20-32; p. 21.

²⁵ Boyce, *Nineteenth century Ireland*, p. 114.

income for their families, and in effect they were doubly hit by the changing economic landscape. Ó Tuathaigh writes that the woollen industry became largely confined to Dublin during the 1820s, while in ‘Bandon, the number of weavers fell from about 2,000 to a mere 150 in the years from 1815-1840’.²⁶ The parliament in London applied its non-interventionist policy of *laissez-faire* to Ireland and little was done to promote regional industrial development. Thus, with increasing poverty and little opportunity to diversify, the rural poor multiplied. As Boyce comments, ‘laissez-faire was not the age of the welfare state ... and the usual response was for charitable action to meet social adversity’.²⁷ Aside from Belfast, which experienced many of the positive features of industrialisation, the rest of Ireland, when compared with both England and the German states, effectively remained in industrial darkness.

Undoubtedly, the combined effect of the agricultural crisis and a decline of cottage industry were the primary motivations propelling emigration in nineteenth-century Ireland. Of pivotal importance were the decisions, or lack thereof, made by the London parliament with respect to Ireland from 1815-40. Although the Famine and its consequences may be considered by some as an inevitability, it nonetheless illustrated some of the fundamental problems facing Irish society in the mid-nineteenth century. Persistent poverty, economic imbalance and social turmoil characterised both the pre and post famine periods, and to alleviate such problems would require, as Ó Tuathaigh comments, ‘a gigantic piece of social and economic engineering’,²⁸ and since this appeared to be lacking, emigration was for many, the only practical alternative.

1.3 The demographic cycle model as a cause of emigration

Economic imbalance was not the only cause of migration however. Writing about nineteenth century European society, James Sheehan concludes that, ‘the unparalleled

²⁶ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine*, p. 118.

²⁷ Boyce, *Nineteenth century Ireland*, p. 116.

²⁸ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine*, p. 145.

expansion of the European population was at once the product of fundamental changes in social and economic life and an impetus for further transformations'.²⁹ In the German confederation, the population increased from twenty-four million in 1816 to almost thirty-three million by 1840, representing a growth of almost three million people per decade. Ireland was also experiencing demographic growth at an alarming rate. Joseph Lee argues that the population of Ireland increased by over 1.3 million in the twenty years from 1821-41, an estimate also utilised by Ó Tuathaigh.³⁰ Census abstracts record that in 1821 the population of Ireland was 6.8 million, although by 1841, this number had risen to almost 8.2 million.³¹

Despite emigration, poor harvests and a struggling economy, the population of Germany continued to expand, reaching 40.8 million people in 1870 and fifty-six million people by the turn of the century.³² Conversely, the effects of famine and emigration are more notably observed in the Irish context. Census returns for the country in 1871 note that the population of Ireland had declined to 5.4 million while by 1901, the population had decreased further totalling only 4.4 million by the turn of the century.³³

The demographic expansion characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century had many consequences for both German and Irish societies. One of the significant areas affected by this growth was the agricultural sector, and particularly land inheritance practices. Kamphoefner describes two types of agricultural inheritance that were widely practised in the German states. The first, traditionally utilised 'in the greater part of Germany' was impartible inheritance or *Anerbenrecht*. In this instance, property was only bequeathed to one heir. The policy in the south-western part of Germany, as well as Rhineland Prussia and parts of Hesse,

²⁹ James Sheehan, *German history, 1770-1866* (Oxford, 1989), p. 453.

³⁰ Joseph Lee, 'On accuracy of the pre-famine Irish censuses' in J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (eds), *Irish population, economy and society* (Oxford, 1981), pp 37-58; p. 54; Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine*, p. 129.

³¹ Census of Great Britain and Ireland, 1821, p. 378; Census of Ireland 1841, p. 1.

³² Josef Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und historische Demographie, 1800-2000* (Munich, 2004), p. 17.

³³ Census of Ireland, 1871, p. 7; Census of Ireland, 1901, p. 13.

was known as *Realteilung* or partible inheritance. In this system more than one heir was bestowed land.³⁴ This form of inheritance in particular promoted population growth and gradually, land in these parts of Germany became overpopulated. Young marriage ages were followed by high birth rates as children now became an economic asset. Coupled with this was a collapse in the handloom linen industry as a result of the Napoleonic wars, which in turn led to the emergence of an impoverished but expanding rural lower class in many parts of the German confederation.³⁵ This subsequently led to migration to urban centres, and in many cases, often further afield. Yet, those who did benefit from industrialisation and the consequential urbanisation that followed, generally experienced the positive side of nineteenth century economics, as is evidenced in the relatively low emigration rates from areas like the Ruhr and Silesia where industrialisation became a feature of everyday life.

Yet for many, the advantages of this modernisation were unattainable. The emancipation of peasants, a process which began in 1808 was also influential in producing emigrants. While the initial objective of this exercise was to ultimately impart a sense of responsibility and equality on the peasantry through property ownership, the overriding consequence of their emancipation was the emergence of a landless, displaced and occasionally homeless lower class. As Böhme comments, ‘although it [emancipation] had begun with the intention of winning the support of the lower classes, it led ... to a renewed reinforcement of the estate position of the nobility ... at the direct expense of the peasantry.’³⁶ This, along with other agrarian crises in the 1820s together with famine and falling grain and linen prices during the 1840s, led to Germany’s highest emigration rates for the century thus far.

In Ireland, famine and falling prices also characterised the economy between 1820 and 1840. Before the famine a parallel can be drawn between the Irish custom of sub-dividing

³⁴ Kamphoefner, ‘At the crossroads of economic development’, p. 177.

³⁵ Ibid., pp 177-8.

³⁶ Böhme, *Social and economic history of Germany*, p. 20.

land and the German system of *Realteilung*, which, similar to Germany also promoted population growth. By 1841, a significant majority of the population depended on the land for both income and sustenance. The growth in population was chiefly among the rural, small farmer, cottier and labouring classes. This subsequently led to the sub-division of land among families, and an over-dependence on the potato crop, because of its ‘acre-economising nature and its high nutritional content’.³⁷ Similar to the German situation, Irish population growth was achieved through early marriage and high birth rates. However, the aftermath of the famine necessitated an adjustment in agricultural philosophy. Significantly, and perhaps somewhat ironically, before the famine the farm was divided for the sake of the family, yet in its aftermath, the family was divided for the sake of the farm. From the mid-century, Irish farmers were obliged, in practice at least, to redefine their policy of land distribution. As Guinnane notes, ‘from 1853-1902, farms of one to five acres became steadily less common in Ireland and larger farms became steadily more common’.³⁸ As a consequence, land was now generally only bequeathed to the eldest son, similar to the German tradition of *Anerbenrecht*. Accordingly, second and subsequent sons had two choices. They could remain in Ireland and attempt to carve out an existence, or more commonly, they could choose to emigrate. The situation was similar for daughters. Generally, a dowry could only be provided for the eldest daughter, and so subsequent daughters were forced to find work as maids or labourers, join convents or emigrate. To this end, Nugent argues that between 1851 and 1911, more than four million Irish people emigrated, most of which ‘were the sons and daughters of small farmers and labourers ... were young and of working age and ... in the fifteen to thirty-five age group’.³⁹

³⁷ Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the famine*, p. 130.

³⁸ Timothy Guinnane, *The vanishing Irish: household, migration and the rural economy in Ireland, 1850-1914* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), pp 41-2; see also Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration, 1850-1900* (2nd ed., Chester Springs, PA, 1997), pp 10-4; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland before and after the famine: explorations in economic history, 1800-1925* (2nd ed., New York, NY, 1993), pp 180-92.

³⁹ Walter Nugent, *Crossings*, p. 50.

1.4 Political affairs as a cause of emigration

In the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, European economies began to reorganise themselves and many governments began to redefine their roles. The governments of the German states were no exception. The German Confederation or *Deutscher Bund*, which had been established as part of the Final Act at the Congress of Vienna, had created a confederate of thirty-nine Germanic states in place of the 360 that had previously formed the Holy Roman Empire. It aimed to combat both liberalism and nationalism and restore itself to familiar pre-war conditions. The two primary states in the alliance were Prussia and Austria, although not all of their territories were included in the association. The members of the alliance were, for the first time, fully sovereign, although they did meet intermittently at a federal assembly in Frankfurt. As Green comments, 'the onus on many German governments was to reinvent the state, reform its institutions, refine its relations with its neighbours and redefine the identity of its inhabitants.'⁴⁰ Yet, the organisation remained a loose, delicate union at best, primarily because both Prussia and Austria feared domination by the other.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the need for economic and social reforms became more obvious, especially in Prussia. Böhme notes that 'the administrative authorities ... now separated from the judiciary, hoped to be able to utilise the economic resources of the enlarged territories ... by emancipating the peasantry, releasing economic potential and ... introducing freedom of trade.'⁴¹ The emancipation of the peasantry, coupled with the introduction of free trade within the union, demonstrated the modernity that was penetrating central Europe during the nineteenth century. However, this in itself had consequences for migratory trends as the century progressed, as discussed previously.

Another aspect of post-Napoleonic Europe was the emergence of political nationalism. Green contends that this 'politicised and ideological German nationalism

⁴⁰ Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: state-building and nationhood in nineteenth century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 5.

⁴¹ Böhme, *Social and economic history of Germany*, p. 19.

emerged as a response to Germany's humiliation in the Napoleonic wars'.⁴² Yet, during the 1820s, this newfound nationalism seemed to dissipate due in part, at least, to the agrarian crisis that afflicted the confederacy during that decade. Subsequently, it was not until the 1840s that nationalism truly permeated German society. Beginning in 1840 with the Rhine Crisis, nationalist sentiment began to circulate among civilians who called for further civil liberties, political reform and a unified German nation state. This in turn served merely to exacerbate already heightened tensions between Prussia and Austria and subsequently forced the so-called dualist alliance into disarray, an occurrence exemplified throughout the course of the 1848-9 revolution. Freedom of the press, and a parliament representing all German citizens to replace the already existing federal council were among the principal political reforms, while the self-organisation of universities, universal suffrage and liberal economic policies were also called for. By March of 1848, during the period of what has since been referred to as *Vormärz*, social tensions and civil unrest became more prevalent. The states of Baden, Nassau, Hesse-Darmstadt and many others were encouraged to adopt a bill of rights for their people. So popular were their campaigns that many governments simply succumbed to these liberal requests.

Ultimately, the revolutions of 1848 were unsuccessful in Germany primarily due to the Frankfurt Assembly's failure to pursue constructive measures towards unification. Despite the publication in 1848 of the *Grundrechte des Deutschen Volkes* [Basic Rights of the German People], by 1851 this had been abolished by most states and to a large extent the old order prevailed and conformity was largely restored. Böhme argues that, 'the majority [of representatives in the national assembly] did not want revolution, radicalism or equality of

⁴² Green, *Fatherlands*, p. 5.

political rights ... and despite the initial and violent unloading of tensions, the tradition of obedience towards authority was not broken'.⁴³

Importantly, however, one significant legacy of the 1848 revolution was that many disillusioned and disenchanted patriots left European shores in search of new lives in America. This group of predominately liberal emigrants were widely referred to as the Forty-Eighters. It is estimated that between four and ten thousand political emigrants fled German states in the aftermath of the revolution.⁴⁴ Despite the fact that this small number represented at most ten percent of emigrants for the period 1848-1860, these emigrants had a significant influence on immigrant life. Many of those who settled in America did so in the rapidly industrialising Midwestern states like Ohio and Wisconsin where they focused their organisational energies on German-American cultural societies such as *Turnvereins*. Significantly, they also became involved in American politics, as their immigration not only provided the opportunity to achieve economic stability and cultural preservation, but also ensured access to a liberal state that permitted full political participation. This was reflected by the large number of German immigrants who joined the ranks of the Republican Party, particularly in the years immediately preceding the American Civil War (see section 7.4). The influence of these German liberals was significant despite their small numbers and as Wittke notes, 'though many organisations had come into existence before their [Forty-Eighters] arrival, they [German immigrants] accepted the cultural leadership of the recently arrived refugees'.⁴⁵

Political instability, while indeed not the principal motivation influencing emigration from the German states during the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century, should certainly not be overlooked as a contributory factor in the decision of many Germans to

⁴³ Böhme, *Social and economic history of Germany*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Albrecht Bernhard Faust, *German element in the United States* (New York, NY, 1927), p. 582.

⁴⁵ Carl Wittke, 'The German forty-eighters in America: a centennial appraisal' in *American Historical Review*, liii (1948), pp 711-25; p. 714.

migrate. Uncertainty surrounding the political establishment may not have influenced the vast majority of working class emigrants, but it undoubtedly influenced the thought process of bourgeois émigrés, who gradually became disillusioned by the establishment's conservatism, and their determination to adhere to the *ancien régime* that had been threatened during the Napoleonic era. Notably, the American political model contrasted significantly with the dogmatism and traditionalist practices of the German political landscape. Yet, despite some liberal concessions, the administration remained as Böhme notes, 'isolated, represented as it was by a small upper layer of officials, distinguished by their humanistic education, a thorough training in cameralist and legal studies, and by property', characteristics which no doubt served to irk the forward looking, socially mobile bourgeois.⁴⁶

In Ireland, the situation was markedly different. Feldman and Baldwin note that, 'for more than three decades after 1815, the British governing class believed it lived in the shadow of a Malthusian crisis'.⁴⁷ An increasing population combined with food and labour shortages, partially as a result of the Napoleonic wars, necessitated political intervention, which was characteristically slow to materialise. In the early decades of the nineteenth century Feldman and Baldwin argue that, 'British governments did not encourage emigration [as it] was a drain on population – the very basis of national wealth',⁴⁸ yet gradually, various administrations began to appreciate the benefits of assisted emigration schemes.

As early as 1815, the conservative government of Lord Liverpool had instituted a scheme of assisted emigration from Ireland to the British colonies of North America. Moran argues that between 1815 and 1826 as many as 11,000 people were assisted in their passage,

⁴⁶ Böhme, *Social and economic history of Germany*, p. 27.

⁴⁷ David Feldman and M. Page Baldwin, 'Emigration and the British state, ca. 1815-1925' in Nancy L. Green and François Weil (eds), *Citizenship and those who leave: the politics of emigration and expatriation* (Champaign, IL, 2007), pp 135-54; p. 136.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 135-6.

either through publicly funded initiatives or privately financed schemes.⁴⁹ For the most part the state was slow to publicly endorse such schemes, but as Feldman and Baldwin note, in 1823 and 1825, the state sponsored two schemes which financed the emigration of 2,500 emigrants from Ireland to Canada at a cost of £56,000.⁵⁰ These schemes usually involved the transportation of emigrants from Ireland to one of the more sparsely populated British colonies like Canada, Cape Town or New South Wales. Although state intervention was intermittent at best, many Irish landlords also established assisted emigration schemes on their estates. The extent of these schemes varied. Duffy notes that the estates of Wandesforde, Fitzwilliam and Palmerston were relatively prolific in assisting their tenants. Between 1840 and 1856, over 16,000 emigrants were aided in their emigration from these three estates, usually to the Canadian provinces.⁵¹ Although the number of emigrants who left as part of an assisted emigration scheme constitute a small percentage of the overall figure, their number was nonetheless significant. Oliver MacDonagh has estimated that as many as 50,000 people emigrated as part of an assisted emigration scheme.⁵² However, more recently both Duffy and Moran have argued that the number was more likely to be between 80,000 and 100,000 emigrants. As Duffy writes, ‘in all about 80,000 emigrants were directly assisted with passages overseas by 180 landlords; 30,000 of these were accounted for by ten major landowners who had the resources and incentive to undertake major involvement.’⁵³ Despite the fact that, as Fitzgerald and Lambin note, ‘governments became convinced that it was cheaper to pay for the overseas passage of the impoverished [rather] than to support them at

⁴⁹ Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2004), p. 19.

⁵⁰ Feldman and Baldwin, ‘Emigration and the British state’, p. 137.

⁵¹ Patrick J. Duffy, ‘Disencumbering our crowded places: theory and practise of estate emigration schemes in mid-nineteenth century Ireland’ in Patrick Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland: planned migration schemes, c.1600-2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp 79-104; p. 84.

⁵² Oliver MacDonagh, ‘Irish emigration to the United States of America and the British colonies during the famine’ in R. Dudley Edwards and Thomas Williams (eds), *The great famine: studies in Irish history, 1845-52* (Dublin, 1994), pp 319-88; p. 335.

⁵³ Patrick Duffy, ‘Assisted emigration from the Shirley estate, 1843-54’ in *Clogher Record*, xiv (1992), pp 7-62; p. 10.

home in the workhouse', the British government committed insufficient resources to address the difficulties facing the Irish rural classes.⁵⁴ Ultimately it was up to the landlords themselves to alleviate the problem. Although the actual percentage of immigrants who received assisted passage was negligible in the overall context of nineteenth century Irish emigration, assisted schemes were nonetheless essential in attempting to stabilise Ireland during and after the famine.

1.5 Conclusion

For both the lowly Irish peasant and the German cottage weaver the decision to emigrate must have been simultaneously intimidating and stimulating. Coming from a Europe that was, at best, politically uncertain, economically biased and religiously dubious, America must certainly have offered a more certain future than Europe did. Significantly, the situation in both the German States and Ireland during the middle decades of the nineteenth century seemed to push emigrants towards an America that presented the immigrants with at least the opportunity of gaining employment. Immigration to America also provided an arena for their political values, condoned, for the most part, their religious practices and still enabled them to remain culturally exclusive. Admittedly, not all immigrants exploited the American experience to its fullest benefit, yet for many, what began as a journey of necessity and survival ended as a voyage of affluence and prosperity. Arguably, the nineteenth century represented a transformation from an old world into a new one, although, perhaps on the surface not much had changed. Yet sub-consciously modernity had, on both sides of the Atlantic symbolised a progression from disarray to order and from individuality to unity.

⁵⁴ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history, 1607-2007* (Hampshire, 2008), p. 45.

2.1 Introduction: the Midwest as an immigrant destination

In a letter to his father from this new world in November 1840, Henry Neill wrote, ‘my present Salary as I believe you are already aware is Five hundred dollars per annum from which I lay up Thirty dollars [per] month, or nearly \$75 a year, but this Dear Father ... is the only enticement I have to stay in Louisville’.¹ In truth, Henry Neill wished to migrate 400 miles further west to Iowa where he and his brother, John, had bought ‘240 acres of good land (purchased by our own earnings) that is 120 acres apiece in addition to which He [John] has 40 Acres within 3 miles of and 2 lots in the City of Burlington [Iowa]’.² The acquisition of this land and wealth had come within three years of the brothers’ emigration from Banbridge, Co. Down in 1837. Throughout his correspondence with his father, Henry Neill described the opportunities available to immigrants on the frontier. However, the accessibility of land was not the only way in which emigrants could achieve wealth and mobility. As Nugent writes, ‘the first rung of the ladder could be tenancy or wage-labour, with a reasonable expectation that, unlike in Europe, one could reach the top of the ladder eventually.’³

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the northern and Midwestern states experienced accelerated and sustained economic growth. However, the availability of employment and the prospect of social mobility through property and land ownership, were only some of the incentives that enticed immigrants from both communities to travel to the Midwest. Coupled with this were technological advances, and transport and communication developments as well as government initiatives in the form of the Homestead Act 1862 (see section 2.6). Provided that the immigrants had sufficient means to make the journey west,

¹ Henry Neill, Kentucky to Samuel Neill, Co. Down, 16 Nov. 1840, available at: Centre for Migration Studies, Irish emigrant database (CMSIED) (<http://ied.dippam.ac.uk/records/44663>) (4 May 2013).

² Ibid.

³ Walter Nugent, *Crossings: the great transatlantic migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington, IN, 1992), p. 153.

there is little doubt that a higher standard of living could be attained than if they remained on the east coast.

In the sixty or so years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, American society had transformed immensely. The American Midwest was a prime example of this modernity. Industrialisation, coupled with internal westward expansion, enabled the United States to emerge as a major world power. Appleby argues that at the turn of the nineteenth century, American society was witnessing the ‘consolidation of a market economy *and* a market society’,⁴ a phenomenon that was undoubtedly influenced by the arrival of European immigrants who contributed to the willing and able workforce that achieved this consolidation.

Throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century, agricultural techniques were transformed, textile, brewing and manufacturing industries expanded at a rapid pace and internal shipping and railroad lines were developed. Simultaneously, churches, schools and other infrastructure materialised. The Californian Gold Rush of 1849 and the Colorado Gold Rush of 1859 are considered pivotal motivations for westward expansion. As a result, this led to the brisk development of cities like San Francisco and Denver. David Goodman acknowledges the extent to which the Gold Rush influenced migration to the western frontier, noting that ‘the population of California grew from 14,000 in 1848 to almost 100,000 by 1849 and to 300,000 by the end of 1853.’⁵

Although such developments in the west are remarkable for their suddenness, the scale and success of expansion and urbanisation projects in the Midwest perhaps constituted the era’s most significant advances. As Teaford notes, ‘the Midwest possessed the pre-

⁴ Joyce O. Appleby, *Capitalism and a new social order: the republican vision of the 1790s* (New York, 1984), p. 9.

⁵ David Goodman, *Gold seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford, CA, 1994), p. ix.

requisites for great cities [like] no other region, and in the rich interior valley supposedly lay the future of urban America.’⁶ In 1860, Teaford notes that no Midwestern city lay within the nation’s top five cities. By 1890 however, four Midwestern cities, Chicago, St Louis, Cincinnati and Cleveland had populations of over 250,000 and were ranked within the nation’s top ten cities.⁷ Significantly, in the 1900 US Federal Census, German and Irish communities were recorded as the largest ethnic groups in each of these cities confirming, not only their dominant presence in the Midwest, but also the sustained development of each of these communities from the mid-century onwards.⁸

The arrival of immigrants, both Europeans and internal migrants from the east, ensured that a vibrant labour force was available to lay the railroad lines, work in factories, extract raw materials and farm the land. German, Irish and Scandinavian immigrants travelled to the Midwest seeking employment, property and a higher standard of living. Cities like Milwaukee and St Louis had large ethnically German communities, while other cities like Chicago and Cleveland had significant Irish populations. As Nugent notes, ‘the European migrants were, in aspiration if not yet in fact, a lower middle class, whether white collar or blue collar. As such they fit into American society very well, since most of the native-born were similarly situated.’⁹ Yet, by the turn of the century, Scandinavian, Russian and Italian immigrants were establishing vibrant ethnic communities in many Midwestern urban centres. This in turn led to a decrease in the representation of native-born settlers in many Midwestern cities. Teaford notes that by 1890, ‘Milwaukee had a smaller population of native white residents of native parentage than any other American city of over 100,000 population’.¹⁰

⁶ Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the heartland: the rise and fall of the industrial Midwest* (Bloomington, IN, 1993), p. 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸ 1900 US Federal Census Compendium, ‘Table LXXXIII- Foreign-born population of certain cities distributed according to principal countries of birth: 1900’, pp clxxvi-ix

⁹ Nugent, *Crossings*, p. 162.

¹⁰ Teaford, *Cities of the heartland*, p. 58.

Accordingly, given the significant ethnic clusters in many of these developing Midwestern cities, various regions throughout the Midwest became synonymous with new and emerging industries. Milwaukee, for example, became known as a brewing and distilling hub, while St Louis gained a reputation as a tobacco processing city. By contrast, Chicago and Cincinnati became known for their textile manufacturing and processing industries. Smaller cities also benefitted because of their pivotal position on newly emerging railroad lines. Cities like Fort Wayne, Dayton and Peoria became industrialised and local economies emerged as a result of the transportation opportunities available.

For many Midwestern cities, the safeguarding of their industrial competitiveness was determined by its ability to recruit immigrant labour. The arrival of immigrants to these rapidly industrialising regions was achieved, for the most part, through a complex network of kinship and social networks. As Nugent comments, ‘serial and chain migration played a huge role in directing specific people to specific places.’¹¹ The experiences of others played a key role in enticing potential migrants to emigrate or venture further west. Writing to his family in Coleraine, Co. Derry in 1837, John Anderson, residing in Ohio instructed his brother and sister of what time of year to travel, how to proceed from New York to Vienna in Clinton County, Ohio, how much money they would need to transport their luggage and where best to leave their families while they found employment. Anderson ended his testimony by commenting, ‘I like this country well and I think he could do better than in Ireland’.¹² William Porter also testified to the success one could find in the American Midwest. In a letter to his brother in Co. Down in 1855, Porter commented, ‘you could labour 20 acres here easier than one there for it is all stumps and stones and here ... there is nothing but land ...

¹¹ Nugent, *Crossings*, p. 153.

¹² J. Anderson, Ohio to his parents in Balinrees, Coleraine, 26 Mar. 1837, available at: Centre for Migration Studies, Irish emigrant database (CMSIED), (<http://ied.dippam.ac.uk/records/52161>) (4 May 2013).

tell Him to come out west ... He will see land that he never seen the likes of before'.¹³ The significance of these personal testimonies was integral in sustaining the flow of immigrants from Europe to the Midwest. As MacDonald *et al.* note, 'chain migration was an adaption of the familism and dyadic patronage which were the crucial forms of the contributing society, providing 'feedback' of information and assistance from immigrants in the United States to prospective emigrants in their home towns.'¹⁴

2.2 Economic, political and religious attractions

Aside from the economic benefits and cultural familiarity and security provided by these ethnic clusters, there were other aspects of American life that attracted immigrants to the United States. Firstly, the lack of immigration restrictions prior to 1882 meant that entry to the United States was effectively uncontrolled. Although the Steerage Act of 1819 required port authorities to keep a record of the number of immigrants,¹⁵ it was not until 1882 that what Daniels terms the 'golden doorway of admission to the United States' began to narrow.¹⁶ Coupled with non-restrictive entry was the fact that citizenship through naturalisation could be obtained relatively easily by simply signing a testimony declaring one's loyalty to the United States. However, after 1922 the process became more stringently policed.

Access to citizenship provided political rights to European men that far exceeded the rights they would have enjoyed in Europe. The reforms of the Jacksonian era not only

¹³ W. Porter, Chicago to his brother R. S. Porter, Co. Down, 4 June 1855, available at: Centre for Migration Studies, Irish emigrant database (CMSIED), (<http://ied.dippam.ac.uk/records/26634>) (4 May 2013).

¹⁴ John S. MacDonald, and Leatrice D. MacDonald, 'Chain migration, ethnic neighbourhood formation and social networks' in *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, xlii (1964), pp 82-97; p. 90.

¹⁵ Loretto Dennis Szucs, *They became Americans: finding naturalization records and ethnic origins* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1998), p. 28.

¹⁶ Roger Daniels, *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882* (New York, NY, 2004), p. 3.

ended property requirements for voting and universal suffrage for white males, but also lifted office-holding restrictions that had been in place since to the revolution. As Kohl noted, ‘Americans in the Jacksonian era were consumed with politics and their party loyalties were fierce ... political reforms since the revolution had given Americans increased power over their governmental institutions’.¹⁷ Accordingly, the United States offered a platform for immigrants to act on a range of political views from the liberal opinions of German revolutionaries to the conservative opinions of Old Lutherans. Simultaneously, Irish immigrants were able to capitalise on their newly acquired political freedom and utilised their partisan training to maximum effect, both on the east coast and in the Midwest.

The religious landscape of nineteenth century America also appealed to European immigrants. Significantly, the existence of many religious sects offered the possibility of acceptance which in turn, also had implications for German and Irish immigrants. However, McLaughlin argues that the revival of religious consciousness should be examined regionally claiming that ‘the South, the West and the Northeast were still different in their institutional structures.’¹⁸ He argues that the Second Great Awakening had varying characteristics within the regions, commenting that in New England, the awakening was best characterised as a ‘nativist movement – an effort to call America back to the old-time religion and traditional ways of life that were inevitably fading’, perhaps a sharp reaction to the influx of immigrants in the New England states.¹⁹ Pointedly however, this nativism had significant consequences for both immigrant groups as the second half of the nineteenth century dawned.

More importantly, the arrival and subsequent development of immigrant churches played a significant role in uniting individual ethnic groups. Judith Meyer, in her case study

¹⁷ Lawrence F. Kohl, *The politics of individualism: parties and the American character in the Jacksonian era* (New York, 1989), p. 5.

¹⁸ William G. McLaughlin, *Revivals, awakenings and reform: an essay on religion and social change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago, 1978), p. 106.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

of German Lutherans in Missouri observes that the German language was maintained as a means, not only of cultural identity, but also ‘other Lutheran churches did not satisfy nineteenth century Lutheran immigrants who considered them to be tainted with laxity of observance and with latitudinarianism’.²⁰ Thus, the religious tolerance afforded by the wider American society enabled the immigrant groups to establish themselves as independent entities in a melting pot of ideologies.

2.3 ‘*what will ye do in the wilds of America*’²¹

Once the decision to emigrate had been made, the process of leaving both homelands could begin. Like immigration itself, emigration practises in both locations varied. In Ireland, many cultural traditions were associated with the leaving cycle, while in Germany emigration procedures were primarily concerned with bureaucratic responsibilities. Arriving in Co. Kilkenny during the 1840s, Asenath Nicholson, author of *Ireland’s welcome to the stranger*, spent some time in the parish of her former servant, Anne. Anne, had returned to Ireland having worked ‘in service’ at the Nicholson household in New York. It was during her time in this parish that Nicholson documented her interpretation of an American wake. Anne’s sister, as Nicholson recorded, ‘was to go with three others at ten o’clock in the evening’.

From early evening,

the whole parish, young men and maidens, aged men and children had assembled. For an hour previous all was silent. The hour drew near, the girl arose, flung herself upon the neck of a young companion and gave a most piteous howl ... the howling now became louder ... one after another [they] rose and united in the lamentation ... all rushed forth, following the girls to the car ... while the mother sat down in the corner upon a bench clapping her hands, rocking her body and muttering.²²

²⁰ Judith W. Meyer, ‘Ethnicity, theology and immigrant church expansion’ in *Geographical Review*, lxxv (1975), pp 180-97; p. 181.

²¹ Asenath Nicholson, *Ireland’s welcome to the stranger or an excursion through Ireland in 1844 and 1845 for the purpose of personally investigating the condition of the poor* (New York, NY, 1847), p. 92.

²² *Ibid.*, pp 92-3.

Kerby A. Miller has noted that ‘Irish-American homesickness [and] alienation were rooted in a traditional Irish Catholic worldview which predisposed Irish immigrants to perceive or at least justify themselves not as voluntary, ambitious emigrants but as involuntary non-responsible ‘exiles’.’²³ This self-perception explains in part the significance of the American wake. By assuming the guise of a banished victim and justifying the emigration in terms of necessity rather than opportunity, Irish emigration became more palatable. Rather than accepting a more exacting interpretation of the emigration as an act of individualism, this victim motif exonerated the Catholic guilt which ensued as a result of disrupting the family structure. Certainly, economic circumstances did necessitate emigration in many instances; yet, the cultural perception of this necessity was not one of positivity, but rather cynicism. As Robert Lynd noted in 1909, ‘the Irish emigrant is not the personification of national adventure, but of something that has the appearance of national doom’.²⁴

Despite this, Nicholson’s interpretation of an American wake would seem to suggest that many Irish people did understand the dynamics of emigration more acutely than this exiled perception would suggest. In her account, Nicholson noted that, ‘... a man in the midst cried out, “and be gone from the house and stop your bawling ... why do ye bawl about the thing that’s yer own choosin”.’²⁵ This dynamic is further demonstrated by Lynd in his discussion of the American wake when he noted that, ‘sometimes the lamenting girl seems to lose her grief as suddenly as she found it, and as she arrives at various railway stations, she leans out of the window to see if there are any friendly faces’.²⁶ The tradition of the American wake is best interpreted as a cultural phenomenon which enabled a family to grieve and forced the emigrant to appreciate the gravity of their choices, yet, disguised this process as a

²³ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, NY, 1985), p. 556.

²⁴ Robert Lynd, *Home life in Ireland* (London, 1909), p. 120.

²⁵ Nicholson, *Ireland’s welcome*, p. 92.

²⁶ Lynd, *Home life*, p. 121.

victimised and persecuted national identity. As Miller observes, ‘these rituals [American wakes] seemed almost purposely designed to ... project communal sorrow and anger on the English foe, to impress deep feelings of grief, guilt and duty on the departing emigrants, and to send them forth as unhappy but faithful and vengeful ‘exiles’.’²⁷

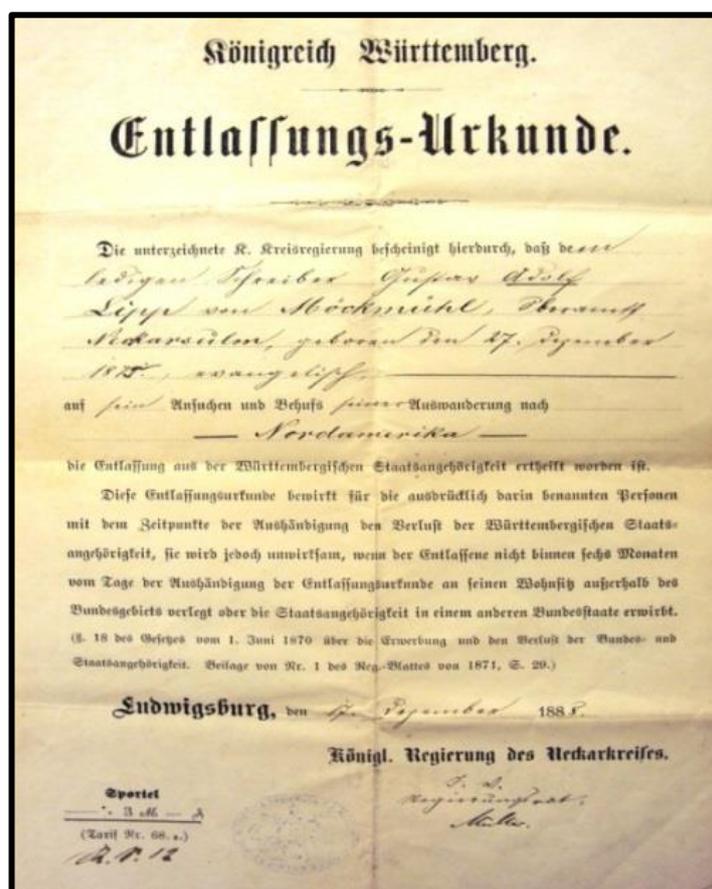
This was not the case in the German states however, where emigration, although a sorrowful experience, was nonetheless embraced with positivity and an acceptance of its necessity. In the German states, the process of leaving did not include such a complex cultural excommunication as it did in Ireland. As Schrier notes, ‘nothing comparable [to an American wake] seemed to develop in England or Germany, two countries that also contributed heavily to the American immigration.’²⁸ A prospective emigrant in the German states was, however, required to obtain legal permission to leave the state. This permission was usually granted in one of two ways. Some German states, like Hannover for example, issued a *Reisepass* or passport. This procedure was practised in Hannover after 1826 and was issued for a certain number of years. Should the emigrant return within the specified time, they would be entitled to ‘certain care’ by the kingdom. In other states, such as Württemberg, emigrants like Adolf Lipp (see Introduction) applied for a release document. If granted this document, the emigrant would automatically renounce their citizenship rights to that state after six months. This method certified the legality of the emigration and ensured that the emigrant was not attempting to abscond from either military duties or criminal charges. This method did, however, lead to the creation of ‘*Auswanderungskonsens*’ or ‘people without a country’.²⁹

²⁷ Miller, *Emigrants and exiles*, p. 556.

²⁸ Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration, 1850-1900* (2nd ed., Chester Springs, PA, 1997), p. 87.

²⁹ *Reisepass*, available at: Forschungsstelle Deutsche Auswanderer in den USA, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg (<http://www.nausa.uni-oldenburg.de/>) (23 Feb. 2013).

Fig. 2.1 *Entlassungs-Urkunde* of Adolf Lipp, 17 December 1888³⁰



2.4 'bound for New York'

In a letter to Earl Grey, the British colonial secretary in 1847, Sir Stephen de Vere, a future Irish MP for Limerick, recorded that he had submitted himself 'to the privations of steerage passage in an emigrant ship for nearly two months'.³¹ The conditions were, he recalled, 'wholly inefficient', continuing that 'hundreds of poor people, men, women and children, of all ages from the drivelling idiot of ninety to the babe just born; huddled together, without light, without air, wallowing in filth and breathing a fetid atmosphere, sick in body

³⁰ *Entlassungs-Urkunde* of Gustav Adolf Lipp, 17 Dec. 1888 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers 1840-1944, S0046/26/1).

³¹ Stephen de Vere to Earl Grey, 30 Nov. 1847 in *Papers relative to emigration to the British provinces in North America*, H.C. 1847-8 (932), xlvi, p. 13.

and dispirited in heart'.³² Once the voyager had been waked, emigrants began the initial phase of their migration, leaving home and travelling to their chosen port of embarkation. In Ireland as well as the German states, shipping companies like the White Star Line or the German *Union Linie* competed with each other to entice emigrants with their economical rates and regular departure schedules. Both national newspapers like *The Freeman's Journal* and local newspapers like the *Neagh Guardian* or *Tuam Herald* regularly published advertisements providing information on fares and departure schedules. This was also the practice in the German states and both local and state-wide publications were integral in providing potential emigrants with travel information.

The primary port of departure for German emigrants, and most likely the one used by Adolf Lipp, was Bremen. Consistently throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Germany emigrants departed the homeland from this port, bound, for the most part, for North America. Conversely, their Irish counterparts were not as predictable in their migratory trends. The port of Dublin, as well as the port of Queenstown were the two most popular departure locations. Taking the ten year period from 1857-1867 as an example, these trends are exemplified.

Towards the end of the 1850s it would appear that migration to Liverpool was the most popular trend among Irish emigrants, as the numbers leaving from Dublin port far exceeded those leaving from Queenstown. This was primarily because passage from Liverpool to America was cheaper than passage from Irish ports to the same destination.³³ Furthermore, Irish emigrants often had only enough money for a single fare to Liverpool where, upon arrival, they hoped to find work before migrating further (see section 4.6).

³² Ibid.

³³ Rev. John O'Hanlon, *The Irish emigrant's guide for the United States* (Boston, MA, 1851), p. 33; James M. Bergquist, *Daily life in immigrant America, 1820-1870* (Connecticut, CT, 2008), p. 66.

Conversely, many others who disembarked in Liverpool immediately obtained onward passage to North America.

Fig. 2.2 Sample advertisements which appeared in Irish newspapers³⁴

FOR LIVERPOOL.



THE DUBLIN and LIVERPOOL STEAM-SHIP COMPANY'S Screw Schooner, "DUBLIN," Capt. Campbell, is intended to sail from the Grand Canal Docks (Kingsend) at Three o'Clock on **TO-MORROW** (Tuesday) **AFTERNOON**, 9th February; and from Trafalgar Dock, Liverpool, for Dublin, on **THURSDAY**, 11th of February.

☞ She will start full or not full.
 Freights moderate, and no landing charges.
 Agents in Dublin—**THOMAS BERRY**, Grand Canal Docks.
 Agents in Liverpool—**Thomas Martin and Burns**, and Co., 7, Water-street, and Trafalgar Dock.

THE IRISH BOATS.
WHITE STAR LINE.



NOTICE—The Steamers of this Line take the Lane Routes, recommended by Lieut. Maury, on both the Outward and Homeward passages.

UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMERS,
 5,000 tons Burthen. 3,000 Horse-power.
 Sailing from **LIVERPOOL** for **NEW YORK** every **THURSDAY**.
 From **QUEENSTOWN (CORK)** every **FRIDAY**.
 Forwarding Passengers to all parts of the United States and Canada.

RETURNING FROM NEW YORK EVERY SATURDAY.
 The well-known fast Mail Steamers of this Line, all constructed by Messrs. HALLAND and WOLFF, of Belfast, sail as under:—

From **LIVERPOOL** via **QUEENSTOWN**.
REPUBLIC ... Thursday, 17th February.
GERMANIC ... Thursday, 24th February.
CELTIC ... Thursday, 2nd March.
ADRIATIC ... Thursday, 9th March.
BALTIC ... Thursday, 16th March.

From New York.
GERMANIC ... Saturday, 5th February.
CELTIC ... Saturday, 12th February.

These new and splendid Vessels reduce the passage to the shortest possible time, and afford to Passengers the highest degree of comfort hitherto attainable at sea.
 Average passage, 8½ days in summer, 9½ days in winter.

The Steerages are unusually spacious, well lighted, ventilated and warmed, and Passengers of this class receive the utmost civility and attention.

An unlimited supply of cooked provisions.
 Medical comforts free of charge.
 Stewardesses in steerage to attend the women and children.

Steerage fare at Reduced Rates.
 For full particulars apply to any of the White Star Agents; to **JAMES SCOTT and Co.**, Queenstown; or to
ISMAY, IMBIE, & CO.,
 10, Water-street, Liverpool.
 Agent for **NENAGH**—Charles C. Foley, Grocer and Auctioneer.
 Agent for **Roscrea**—Michl. Madden, the Square.
 Agent for **Thurles**—William Hennessy, Main-street.
 Agent for **Templemore**—Jeremiah Doyle.

Yet as this decade developed, Queenstown experienced increasing popularity. Recording only 95 outgoing passengers in 1858, within nine years this number has risen to 30,167 emigrants leaving the port. Increasing provision for passengers coupled with more regular departures by North American bound liners might in part explain this rapid escalation.³⁵ Dublin port, however, continued to retain its share of the market throughout the 1860s with Queenstown only surpassing it in 1866 and 1867 (see table 2.1).³⁶ In Germany, there was no such competition between the ports, primarily because German emigrants only had one destination in mind. In 1867, 73,971 passengers left Bremen bound for North America, while in Hamburg, only 38,170 were recorded. Of course, other European ports like

³⁴ Ship advertisements for the Dublin-Liverpool steamship company in *The Freeman's Journal*, 8 Feb. 1847; ship advertisement for White Star Line, *Neagh Guardian*, 19 Feb. 1876.

³⁵ Terry Coleman, *Passage to America: a history of emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the mid-nineteenth century* (London, 2001).

³⁶ Agricultural statistics of Ireland, 1857-1865, Emigration statistics of Ireland 1866-68 available at: House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (www.parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/) (23 Feb. 2013).

Antwerp and Le Havre were also possibilities for German emigrants, but in 1867, these ports combined recorded fewer than 25,000 German passengers.³⁷ Despite the fact that ports in both Ireland and Germany experienced a steady increase in the number of out-going passengers over this ten year period, there is a marked decline in emigrant numbers in the year 1861 in all three ports. Only 16,540 emigrants left from Bremen, while 13,334 and 7,630 out-going travellers left Dublin and Queenstown respectively. This decline is, of course, explained by the outbreak of the American Civil War and it is interesting to observe emigration trends in this four year period. During the early 1860s, Ireland experienced heavy summer rains and bad harvests as well as a return of the potato blight for three successive years.³⁸ Although initially decreasing, by 1863 all three ports experienced an increase in departures which continued until the end of the 1860s.³⁹

Table 2.1 Passenger departure numbers from Dublin, Queenstown and Bremen ports, 1857-1867⁴⁰

Year	No. of emigrants leaving the port of Dublin	No. of emigrants leaving the port of Queenstown	No. of emigrants leaving the port of Bremen
1857	21,085	321	49,448
1858	16,154	95	23,177
1859	19,697	1754	22,011
1860	20,293	12,824	30,296
1861	13,334	7,630	16,540
1862	18,259	14,137	15,187
1863	29,747	27,746	18,175
1864	35,940	25,405	27,701
1865	26,888	26,676	44,665
1866	21,426	30,270	61,877
1867	12,931	30,167	73,971

³⁷ Karl Andree, *Globus: illustrierte zeitschrift für Länder – und Völkerkunde* (Hildburghausen, 1868), xiv, p. 190.

³⁸ James S. Donnelly, *The land and the people of nineteenth century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London, 1975), p. 146.

³⁹ For an overview of European migration trends see Nugent, *Crossings*, pp 27-33.

⁴⁰ *Agricultural statistics of Ireland, 1857-1865; Emigration statistics of Ireland 1866-68; Andree, Globus*, p. 190.

In a letter written by Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart in 1851, Foster recorded that ‘all passengers who arrive at Liverpool a day or more before the sailing of an emigrant ship, have to be inspected by a surgeon appointed by the government’.⁴¹ This inspection, according to Foster, was both swift and limited, with an emphasis on processing as many potential passengers as possible. Foster continued to describe the embarkation process claiming to have been ‘laid hold of by the legs and pulled in, falling head foremost down upon the deck’.⁴² Following this, the medical inspection was subsequently repeated when all passengers were mustered as the ship was towed out of the dock.

Contemporary evidence from German sources does not, however, present such a chaotic scene. Frederick Gerstäcker recorded that, ‘the majority of the intending passengers by the ... *Hoffnung* bound for New York were assembled at the Hull Arms tavern in the ancient town of Bremen ... to hear the laws read. They related not only to the voyage across the sea but were intended to ‘firmly unite the emigrants’.⁴³ The *Hoffnung* was a new vessel and on this particular voyage, it was carrying, among others, a group of German emigrants who had formed a cooperative and pooled their resources for the purpose of emigrating and establishing a settlement in rural America. Although the consortium included a pastor, some businessmen and land owners, many of whom travelled in the cabin accommodation, the majority of the group travelled in steerage, similar to their Irish counterparts.

Gerstäcker’s recollection of the experience of the steerage passengers contrasts significantly with those of Foster and de Vere. Both of these commentators highlighted the over-crowding and the ‘fearful state of disease and debility’ that many passengers

⁴¹ Letter from Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart, *Emigrant ship ‘Washington’*, copy of a letter from Lord Hobart to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners; enclosing letter detailing the treatment of the passengers on board the emigrant ship ‘Washington’, on the passage to New York; with the answer returned by the commissioners, and correspondence with the emigration officer at Liverpool on the subject, H.C. 1851 (198), xl, 433, p. 2.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Frederick Gerstäcker, *The wanderings and fortunes of some German immigrants*, trans. David Black (Cincinnati, OH, 1856), p. 2.

experienced.⁴⁴ While over-crowding was also an issue for those on the *Hoffnung*, it would appear, that it did not affect passengers to the same extent. Gerstäcker recalled that, ‘it was a scene of disorder and confusion, chests, boxes, umbrellas, hat cases, blankets, mattresses and cooking apparatus’ were visible in the steerage compartment, yet, ‘each person had a permanent berth allotted to him and also a certain allowance of butter for the week and of beef or salt pork for the day’.⁴⁵ Despite this overcrowding however, German emigrants were arguably in a more fortunate position because as de Vere noted, emigrants on many of the ships leaving English and Irish ports lived, ‘without food or medicine except as administered by the casual hand of charity ... the food [was] generally ill-selected and seldom sufficiently cooked [and] filthy beds teeming with all abominations [were] never required to be brought on deck and aired.’⁴⁶

One of the most significant differences in comparing the plight of Irish and German steerage passengers is the standard and availability of food provisions. Foster emphasised the poor quality of the nutritional provisions on board. In a letter to the captain shortly after the *Washington* left port, Foster noted how, ‘four days hav[e] expired without our having received one particle of the stipulated provisions, excepting water’.⁴⁷ When these supplies were subsequently issued, Foster recalled that they were, ‘eight pounds of oatmeal, eight pounds of flour, eight pounds of rice and eight pounds of biscuit’.⁴⁸ German contemporaries on board the *Hoffnung* were simultaneously enjoying a weekly butter ration and regular portions of beef or pork. Gerstäcker also commented that steerage passengers, ‘came up on

⁴⁴ De Vere to Earl Grey, 30 Nov. 1847, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Gerstäcker, *Wanderings*, p. 13.

⁴⁶ De Vere to Earl Grey, 30 Nov. 1847, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

deck regularly three times a day to receive their meat and drink and laid themselves quietly down again on their mattresses’.⁴⁹

One of the most noticeable similarities of both emigrant experiences was the medical provision available on board the ships. Gestäcker notes how no doctor was present on the *Hoffnung* and how medical supplies were provided by Pastor Hehrmann’s wife. On the *Washington*, Foster records that there was a doctor on board who was remunerated by the government. Despite this, he highlights on numerous occasions, the corrupt nature of the doctor who, aside from his salary, also requested a fee from individual emigrants that had occasion to obtain his services. Notwithstanding the superior conditions on board German ships, death was a feature of both groups when travelling across the ocean. The death of children was a common occurrence on board the *Washington*. Foster records that by 25 November 1851, less than a month at sea, as many as twelve children had died on board from dysentery. Child mortality was also a feature of Theodor Brohm’s diary written during the Saxon emigration of 1838 when a congregation of 600 Saxons left Germany to establish a Lutheran community in Perry County, Missouri. Brohm chronicled the death of two children from the Marbach family, the first of which died within hours of leaving Bremen.⁵⁰

In-fighting and complaints by the occupants of steerage compartments was also a feature prevalent among both cohorts of emigrants. Gestäcker recalled how wooden shoes belonging to Oldenburger emigrants were thrown over-board, while his predecessor Brohm worried almost continuously about the ‘afflicted spiritual condition’ of the emigrants.⁵¹ Foster also recorded how passengers were treated by the sailors on board noting how he witnessed the first mate beating a passenger and who of a morning ‘took it into his head to play the hose

⁴⁹ Gestäcker, *Wanderings*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Theodor Friedrich Brohm diary, 1838-1839 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, MO, Saxon immigration papers, M0015/1/23/1).

⁵¹ Ibid.

upon the passengers in the occupation of the water closets, drenching them from head to foot'.⁵² This contrasts starkly with Gestäcker who remembered a sailor helping a German family retrieve some water with 'the most obliging countenance in the world ... before [going] back to his work chuckling inwardly'.⁵³

Life on board an emigrant ship was undoubtedly challenging for both groups of emigrants and in an environment where commercialism surpassed humanity, many emigrants faltered under the pressures of survival. However, those that persisted now faced new challenges, as Gestäcker noted, 'the splendid landscape spread out before them ... they saw only the beautiful shell ... [but] none of the emigrants knew yet the cares and privations, which, perhaps awaited them there'.⁵⁴

2.5 'do not foolishly linger in the cities'⁵⁵

Writing about New York, John Regan recalled that, 'when you arrive in that city, you see everyone driving business with all his might. Splendid houses and filthy poverty stricken dwellings, rich men and poor men ... your first thought is "I need not have left home for this. We have enough of this sort of thing there"'.⁵⁶ Life in an American port city was challenging, as Boyer commented, 'the strangeness of the city was not simply a matter of size, physical expansion or even of a shifting demographic profile. The very rhythm and pace of life differed in ways that were as unsettling as they were difficult to define'.⁵⁷ These sentiments were confirmed by Henry Bradshaw Fearon who described New York in 1818 as having 'a

⁵² Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart, p. 5; see also Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2004), pp 91-123.

⁵³ Gestäcker, *Wanderings*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁵ Robert Holditch, *The emigrants guide to the United States of America containing the best advice and directions respecting the voyage, preservation of health, choice of settlement &c.* (London, 1818), p. 42.

⁵⁶ John Regan, *The emigrants guide to the western states of America, or backwoods and prairies* (Edinburgh, 1852), p. 113.

⁵⁷ Paul Boyer, *Urban masses and moral order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 4.

carelessness, a laziness, an unsocial indifference which freezes the blood.⁵⁸ Thus, even before the city was afflicted by the mass European immigration of the mid-century there were already calls for urban reform and renewal. In many instances, the initial euphoria of arriving in America gave way to poverty, crime and homelessness. As Robert Lynd commented, ‘the worst tragedy of Irish emigration occurs amid the disillusionments of the big cities in America’.⁵⁹ For many who were lucky enough to acquire employment in these cities, their immediate goal became economic stability with the intention of migrating further west. As Regan commented, ‘to get away from this state of thing, you require to sail up the Hudson 180 miles ... then you are in a position to appreciate, the advantages for which you have left’.⁶⁰

Religion played an integral role in enticing newly arrived immigrants to consider settling in the west. The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod was particularly active in this regard. Since the early 1850s, Theodor Brohm, the pastor who worried so fervently about his congregation’s spiritual condition during the crossing in 1838, was one of the first to suggest the idea of an emigrant mission. He felt that many Lutherans were arriving in the port cities but there was no coordinated effort made by the Lutheran church to minister, advise or aid the immigrants in any way. Various strategies were explored and it was first thought that recruiting potential immigrants to the Midwest before they left the German ports would be the most successful way to fulfil the mission. Colporteurs, stationed in New York would recruit agents in German ports who in turn would encourage German emigrants to contact these colporteurs upon their arrival.⁶¹ This strategy failed however and by 1853, the Lutheran

⁵⁸ Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America: a narrative of a journey of five thousand miles through the eastern and western states of America* (London, 1819), p. 11.

⁵⁹ Lynd, *Home life*, p. 121.

⁶⁰ Regan, *Backwoods and prairies*, p. 113.

⁶¹ Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, *Vierter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1850* (St Louis, MO, 1876), p. 132.

Church Missouri Synod still had no comprehensive strategy for aiding newly arrived immigrants, and ultimately recruiting new members to the synod.

After 1853, the synod openly supported Brohm's efforts to establish an emigrant mission, but it was not until the aftermath of the Civil War that this mission began to prosper. Throughout the 1860s, the synod became more overtly involved in the *Emigrantenmission* [emigrant mission] and it was decided by Rev. Berkemeier to establish an immigrant home in New York which subsequently became known as the *Lutherische Pilgerhaus* [Lutheran Pilgrims Home].⁶² The Lutheran mission in New York was officially established in 1867 and its first pastor, Rev. Stephanus Keyl served as the leader of the mission until his death in 1905. In other port cities, agents of the synod were dispatched to meet emigrants off the boat and entice them to the Midwest before they 'became dispersed in the cities and farms of the new homeland'.⁶³ This was not only an obvious benefit to the immigrant, it also aided the development of the synod, while simultaneously preserving all facets of German identity which otherwise might be threatened by the opportunities of the new homeland. The *Emigrantenmission* was essentially an exercise in extending the influence of the Lutheran church in the Midwest. By meeting emigrants off the boat and offering them practical advice on spiritual and economic matters, many emigrants felt that the community spirit shown to them by the agents would be replicated in congregations throughout the Midwest. As Meyer writes, 'these churches were concerned with the immigrants and that concern was a dual one - a religious and an ethnic or cultural concern.'⁶⁴

The German Catholic emigrant missions were also effected in the aftermath of the Civil War. Many of these settlements took place in Minnesota and Nebraska where German

⁶² 'Auszug der wichtigsten Verhandlungen und Beschlüsse aus den Protokollen des Ministeriums' in J. Nicum, *Geschichte des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums vom Staate New York und angrenzenden Staaten und Ländern* (New York, NY, 1888), p. 449.

⁶³ Carl S. Meyer, 'Lutheran immigrant churches face the problems of the frontier' in *Church History*, xxix (1960), pp 440-62; p. 453.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

emigrants could afford large tracts of land, which subsequently enabled them to enjoy a reasonably comfortable existence. However, their Irish counterparts were also active in this regard. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there had been many attempts by various individuals and groups to remove Irish immigrants from the larger cities on the east coast as ‘grinding poverty, insufficient food, wretched housing conditions, unhealthful labour, mortality, intemperance and crime, ward politics and labour uncertainties’ afflicted Irish communities on the east coast.⁶⁵ Accordingly, organisations like the New York Irish Emigrant Association or the American Catholic Colonization Society established by Archbishop John Ireland of St Paul, Minnesota, undertook the systematic removal of Irish immigrants from the city and settled them in Illinois and Minnesota respectively. For many immigrants this was an enticing prospect because as Campbell notes, ‘the declining availability and increasing cost of land elsewhere made Minnesota an attractive destination’.⁶⁶ In St Louis, John Mullanphy had also undertaken a colonization project whereby he encouraged emigrants from Ireland to come directly to St Louis where they were provided with land and employment. There were also settlement projects in rural Missouri where the colonies of Armagh and Downpatrick were established.⁶⁷ However, like the Lutheran church, for the most part there was no coordinated attempt to remove Irish immigrants from the eastern cities on a large scale. During the 1850s a movement was established to achieve this aim but it failed almost immediately. Again, in 1869 there was another attempt to organise a body which would both entice and support immigrants in their westward migration. Accordingly, a movement was established but ultimately it failed to raise sufficient funds to

⁶⁵ Sr Mary Evangela Henthorne, *The Irish Catholic colonization association of the United States* (Champaign, IL, 1932), p. 30.

⁶⁶ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's new worlds: immigrants, politics and society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (Madison, WI, 2008), p. 69.

⁶⁷ Henthorne, *Irish Catholic colonization association*, p. 31.

support the colonization schemes and also suffered from a lack of ideological clarity and strong leadership, and so like many others before it, this organisation was also disbanded.⁶⁸

It was not until 1879, ten years after the successful strategic policies of the Lutheran church, and other successful German colonization projects by the Catholic Church that the Irish Catholic Colonization Association was founded, on St Patricks Day, 1879 in Chicago. It was decided that the aim of the organisation should be to ‘initiate, systematise and direct the immigration of our countrymen ... to make it practical to bring within the reach of the poorer classes ... the opportunities to become owners and cultivators of the land and enable them to acquire comfortable homes’.⁶⁹ Accordingly, the association adopted a strategy forwarded by Archbishop Ireland of St Paul, who had previously undertaken successful colonization projects of Irish immigrants in Minnesota. In accordance with this new departure other projects followed, like for example the arrival of emigrants from Connemara as part of a migration scheme to Minnesota in 1880.⁷⁰ Although the society did enjoy some successes, it ultimately failed in its aim to make the ‘poorer classes’ land owners. As Bishop Spalding of Peoria, Illinois correctly noted, ‘the very great number of Irish Catholics who desire to settle upon the land have not the amount of money which is required in order to be able to take farms in the Minnesota colonies’.⁷¹

However, despite the problems facing the association, there were also wider connotations of the emergence of the organisation. One of the underlying aims of colonizing Irish settlers in the Midwest and West was the development of the Catholic Church in these territories. Accordingly, this irritated the Catholic hierarchy on the east coast and Archbishop Hughes of New York became one of its more ardent critics, highlighting that if endorsed,

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp 45-59.

⁶⁹ Circular from Onahan Scrapbook, 1879, quoted in Henthorn, *Irish Catholic Colonization association*, p. 37.

⁷⁰ For an extensive discussion of this scheme see Gerard Moran, 'In search of the promised land: the Connemara colonisation scheme to Minnesota, 1880' in *Éire/Ireland*, xxxi (1996), pp 130-48.

⁷¹ Rev. J. L. Spalding, *The religious mission of the Irish people and Catholic colonization* (New York, NY, 1880), p. 191.

these colonies would lead to the dislocation of an already vulnerable Irish Catholic immigrant church.⁷² As Bovee writes, ‘Archbishop Hughes condemned colonization projects for their impracticality and their intention of forming exclusive ‘Irish towns’ and above all, putting the displaced faithful beyond the spiritual ministrations of the church’.⁷³ Yet, there was also the more practical concern for the east coast hierarchy. By enticing immigrants to settle in the west, the population of their own dioceses would depreciate and this in turn would expose eastern dioceses to financial and material decline.⁷⁴

Significantly, it should be noted that all three religious entities, the Lutheran church and the respective national elements within the Catholic Church all realised the importance of developing their communities in the west. By enticing immigrants to rural America, the churches could not only protect and develop their own interests, but could also regulate the type of societies that emerged there. As Bishop Spalding noted, ‘the power of religion in these primitive surroundings is almost incredibly great ... a new world soon grows up here. The first-comers perceive they have a creative power, they are now to be the founders of an independent community.’⁷⁵

2.6 *‘to this fine country, I would direct the attention of emigrants’*⁷⁶

Thomas Archdeacon observes that ‘the task of attracting foreign settlers to the Middle West became widespread and intensive after the Civil War’.⁷⁷ Undoubtedly, the various

⁷² For a more thorough discussion see Leonard P. Riforgiato ‘Bishop John Timon, Archbishop John Hughes and Irish colonization: a clash of episcopal views on the future of the Irish and the Catholic Church in America’ in William Pencak, Selma C. Berrol and Randall M. Miller (eds), *Immigration to New York* (New York, NY, 1991), pp 27-56.

⁷³ David S. Bovee, *The church and the land: the national Catholic rural life conference and American society, 1923-2007* (Washington DC, 2010), p. 10.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Spalding, *The religious mission*, p. 198.

⁷⁶ Regan, *Backwoods and prairies*, p. iii.

⁷⁷ Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: an ethnic history* (New York, NY, 1983), p. 36.

religious institutions were integral in this regard, but there were also some external factors which influenced an immigrant's decision to migrate westwards. One of the most significant stimuli was the rapidly improving transportation facilities, which in turn both encouraged and promoted industrial growth and many speculators were attracted to the region because of the economic opportunities that could be exploited. The Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862-6 aimed to construct a transcontinental railroad which would not only provide greater flexibility and comfort to the traveller, but also would create employment.⁷⁸ For those who did decide to migrate west, government incentives like the Homestead Act of 1862, which provided private access to unappropriated federal lands encouraged western settlement. Tracts of up to 160 acres were granted once certain criteria were met. Bagwell and Mingay note that between 1860 and 1890 the number of farms rose from two million to 5.7 million and the amount of land being farmed more than doubled.⁷⁹ For others, their migration to the Midwest was merely an interim stop on the way to the west coast where cities like San Francisco offered additional opportunities and a higher standard of living for the more courageous immigrant.⁸⁰

The Midwest held many opportunities for immigrants who were willing to seize them. In a report to the Missouri state immigration convention during the 1880s, Waldo Johnson claimed that 'the natural advantages of Missouri are the fertility of its soil, the abundance of valuable timber, the inexhaustible quality of its minerals, the length of the water courses, the extent of its water power for manufacturing and the adaptability of its geographical situation.'⁸¹ The state also boasted of 'thirty-seven hundred miles of completed railroad

⁷⁸ For an extensive discussion of its significance see Gillian Houghton, *The transcontinental railroad: a primary source history of America's first coast to coast railroad* (New York, NY, 2003).

⁷⁹ Philip S. Bagwell and Gordon E. Mingay, *Britain and America, 1850-1939: a study of economic change* (New York, NY, 1970), p. 71.

⁸⁰ R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley, CA, 1980), pp 37-42, 52-70.

⁸¹ Waldo P. Johnson, 'Financial position of the state and countries of Missouri' read before the Missouri state immigration convention, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Immigration to Missouri Collection 1834-1947, A0747/1/1/p. 1).

with at least 5000 miles of railroad by the first day of January 1882.⁸² Indiana also was a tempting prospect for many immigrants and the same criteria could be similarly applied to that state. In *The western tourist*, J. H. Colton noted that, ‘the Ohio meanders along the entire southern boundary of the state ... the Wabash and Erie canal commencing at Toledo, Ohio extends along the Maumee River to La Fayette ... and several other canals and railroads have been projected’.⁸³ However, it would be at least thirty years before Fort Wayne would prosper as a result of these projections.

Robert Holditch advised emigrants that, ‘on arriving at the desired port, if the emigrant has any letters of introduction he should deliver them immediately: his friends may probably assist him in finding a proper place where his family may rest a few days after the fatigues of the voyage’.⁸⁴ A common feature of most immigrant guides advised newly arrived immigrants to vacate the maritime port cities at their earliest convenience as persons ‘so devoid of principle’ may ‘induce immigrants to remain in the cities ... tempting them to spend their money’.⁸⁵ Holditch further encouraged the reader to ‘proceed to the countries east (*sic.*) of the Alleghenies’ by travelling on wagons from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh or from Baltimore to Wheeling.⁸⁶ Although this immediate departure to the interior was unfeasible for many Irish and indeed German immigrants, some were in a position to migrate westerly soon after their arrival. This journey could be achieved through a variety of methods. Usually, if the immigrant chose to travel by wagon, he could join the Ohio River at either Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania or Wheeling, Virginia. From here, Holditch recommended that, ‘if it is necessary to descend the Ohio, the best mode of proceeding will be ... in the purchase of an arc ... the usual price is seventy-five dollars, accommodating three or four families ... and

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸³ J. H. Colton, *The western tourist or the emigrant's guide through the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri and the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa* (New York, NY, 1846), pp 45-59.

⁸⁴ Holditch, *The emigrants guide to the United States of America*, p. 43.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

can be sold for nearly its cost six or eight hundred miles down the river'.⁸⁷ Once entering the Ohio River, the immigrant was provided with a variety of settlement options that stretched from the east coast to Missouri. As a result, prominent Irish and German communities developed in cities like Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Cincinnati, Ohio; Evansville, Indiana and Louisville, Kentucky. Settlement along this route was a strategic decision for many. Professional immigrants might have been more suited to destinations in urban centres like Pittsburgh or Cincinnati. Those with a trade were encouraged to venture further along the river into areas like Louisville, as their skills were required in developing the city. Finally, those without a trade or profession were advised to travel as far west as possible and acquire employment as farm labourers.⁸⁸ As Holditch noted, 'after the arrival of the emigrant of the Ohio, the next step he takes is a very important one and it is at this point that he has the greatest need of counsel and advice'.⁸⁹ Notably, however, immigrants who were advised to proceed furthest west were also those persons who could least afford to do so.

For emigrants who arrived through the port of New Orleans, northern migration through the Mississippi basin was the most popular course. Departing New Orleans during the 1850s, John Regan recalled that, 'our passage from New Orleans to St Louis, 1100 miles, was four dollars exclusive of provisions'.⁹⁰ This northerly migration subsequently led to the development of immigrant communities in cities like Memphis, Tennessee and Little Rock Arkansas. Although the latter was not on the course of the river, a vibrant German community did, nonetheless, develop there. Given the large propensity of German immigrants who arrived through the port of New Orleans compared with their Irish counterparts, it was largely German immigrant communities who dominated the ethnic landscape of these states, although smaller Irish communities did exist.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp 43-7.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 43.

⁹⁰ John Regan, *Backwoods and prairies*, p. 30.

As the century progressed water transportation slowly gave way to the increasingly popular railroad network. As early as 1848, railroad lines leaving St Louis travelled to areas as far apart as Astoria, Oregon and New York. By travelling north to Chicago, it was possible to reach the east coast in a matter of days. By the 1890s, such was the development that had taken place in the transportation sector that the immigrant train journey leaving New York for St Louis lasted only four days. Lange informed German immigrants that, 'those who travel the immigrant train from New York must travel no later than Tuesday evening, departing from New York, if they want to avoid wasting a whole day on route laying around and getting bored'.⁹¹ This advice was wise given the fact that no trains travelled on Sundays. For the more affluent immigrant, there was another possibility however. Lange informed his readers, that 'the voyage from New York to St Louis in the Express train last two days',⁹² but this, of course, would cost considerably more.

All trains to St Louis from the east coast arrived on the east side of the Mississippi River. Upon disembarkation, immigrants boarded buses which were subsequently carried across the Mississippi by steamboat. Once on the western side of the river, these buses took the 'traveller to any address for the minimal fee of .35c'.⁹³ Yet, on arriving in St Louis, many immigrants had little or no money left nor had they any accommodation. In this instance refuges like the Mullanphy emigrant home, established in 1867 provided an invaluable service for immigrants. The purpose of the home was to provide a temporary shelter for immigrants arriving in St Louis and ensure that they had somewhere to stay while establishing themselves in the city. The home cost \$30,000 to build and was located at the epicentre of the Irish neighbourhood on north 14th St. The emigrant home was open to all

⁹¹ W. C. Lange, *Zur Richtschnur für Auswanderer*, circular c.1890, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Immigration to Missouri Collection 1834-1947, A0747/1/2/p.1).

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

nationalities, but it was mainly Irish immigrants who availed of its services.⁹⁴ German immigrants also had traditional establishments which housed immigrants upon their arrival. Lange encouraged newly arrived settlers to seek initial accommodation in hotels like the Green Tree Tavern, Leimbergers Hotel or Griesmeyer's Hotel.⁹⁵

Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, immigration to this city was slow until the 1870s when the city became a popular stop on many railroad routes. During the 1830s, the city had experienced a period of growth benefitting from the development of various canals that emerged in northern Indiana, but this, coupled with a small economy had failed to attract significant immigrant settlers. By the 1890s however, the city had transformed both its economy and its transportation amenities and Fort Wayne grew to be the largest city in northern Indiana, attracting numerous immigrant communities during its expansion. Unlike St Louis, which attracted immigrants from the east as well as the south, Fort Wayne mostly attracted immigrants from the north eastern states (see map 4 and accompanying table). Given the fact that the city did not begin to develop at a rapid pace until the 1870s, it is plausible to suggest that the railroad was the primary means of transporting immigrants to the city. Routes such as the Ohio and Pennsylvania railroad as well as the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago railroad were integral in enticing immigrants to come to the city. Upon arriving in Fort Wayne, many immigrants were forced to stay in various hotels and lodging houses until they acquired suitable employment. Two of the most popular were the Hedekin Hotel and Mayer House Hotel which fulfilled the same function as their counterparts in St Louis.

⁹⁴ Notes on the Mullanphy family, Bryan Mullanphy (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Mullanphy Family Papers 1780-1950 A1108/1/14/4).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

Map 2 – Possible migration routes of German and Irish immigrants from eastern cities to the Midwest, 1850-1900 ⁹⁶



⁹⁶ Base map taken from Maps of the USA available at: (<http://www.whatisusa.info/usa-maps/>) (6 Aug. 2013), railroad route maps taken from Library of Congress, Railroad Maps collection, ‘Railroad map of Pennsylvania Company showing the Pennsylvania Railroad, Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railway, and their connecting eastern and western lines, 1871’ and ‘Map of South Pacific Rail Road Co. of Missouri, 1870’ available at: Library of Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/index.html>) (19 Aug. 2013), 1900 US Federal Census Compendium, ‘Table LXXXIII- Foreign-born population of certain cities distributed according to principal countries of birth: 1900’, pp clxxvi-ix, 1900 US Federal Census returns for St Louis (Independent city), MO, wards 3 & 8 and 1900 US Federal Census returns for Fort Wayne, IN, wards 2 & 6.

2.7 'westward, ho!'⁹⁷

By 1900, many of the principal cities on the east coast and across the Midwest had substantial German and Irish immigrant communities. Significantly, many of the prominent cities along popular railroad lines boasted the largest numbers of German and Irish immigrants. For both communities, New York recorded the largest number of foreign born immigrants. This was followed in both instances by Philadelphia, a city which had dual significance in terms of migration patterns as it was a stop on many prominent railroad lines and was also a port city. Of what might be termed intermediate cities in an immigrant's ultimate migration to St Louis or Fort Wayne, Chicago was the most popular city among immigrants from both communities. Other locations such as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Baltimore and New Orleans also consisted of significant numbers of German and Irish immigrants. Interestingly, these are all cities which form part of the ultimate migratory routes leading from the respective ports to the two cities concerned in this study.

Table 2.2 Number of German and Irish-born immigrants resident in major US cities, 1900⁹⁸

US City		German	Irish
<i>Port cities</i>	Boston	10,523	70,147
	New York	322,343	275,103
	Philadelphia	71,319	98,427
	Baltimore	33,203	9,690
	New Orleans	8,733	5,398
<i>Intermediate cities</i>	Pittsburgh	21,222	18,620
	Cleveland	40,648	13,120
	Cincinnati	38,219	9,114
	Chicago	170,738	73,912
<i>Study cities</i>	St Louis	58,781	19,421
	Allen Co. Indiana (Fort Wayne u/avl)	6,499	598

⁹⁷ Regan, *Backwoods and prairies*, p. vii.

⁹⁸ Figures extracted from 1900 US Federal Census Compendium, vol 1.2, pp 60-4 available at: US Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1900.html>) (20 Feb. 2013).

From 1880, the US Federal Census Bureau recorded the birthplaces of an individual's parents. Accordingly, this enabled second, third, and in some isolated instances fourth generation immigrants to be identified. Once their ethnicity had been deciphered, it was also possible to trace the family's migration route across the United States. One example was the Carroll family. Michael and Bridget Carroll were both born in Ireland during the 1830s. It is likely that they emigrated from Ireland separately and arrived in New York during the 1850s where they subsequently married. This marriage produced thirteen children, the first four of which were born in New York. By 1867, however, with the birth of the third daughter Mary, the family had moved to Ohio. Although it is not known where exactly the family moved to, it is likely that the Carrolls became part of the Irish community in Cleveland or Cincinnati, which, in the aftermath of the Civil War experienced industrial growth and provided ample employment to migrant labourers that were willing to work on the railroad or in railroad shops. However, by 1878, census returns show that the family had moved again, this time to St Louis, and it is here, at 1121 O'Fallon St in St Louis' Irish neighbourhood known as the 'Kerry Patch' that the Carrolls are living by the 1880s.⁹⁹ Thus, the Carroll's migration pattern lead them from Ireland to New York, then to Ohio and finally to Missouri.

By using the census returns from 1900 as well as a deliberation of table 2.2 above, it is possible to at least partly reconstruct the types of migration routes used by both immigrant groups. Considering the returns for St Louis, and analysing the birthplace of second and third generation immigrants, it is plausible that three principal migratory routes led German immigrants to St Louis. The first of these began in Louisiana, presumably in New Orleans. Based on the number of second and third generation immigrants born in Arkansas, it would seem that the most popular migration route by Germans from the south was over land, through Arkansas and then to Missouri. The two other conceivable routes have eastern

⁹⁹ 1880 US Federal Census record for Michael Carroll and family, 1880 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 9, ED 92, p. 42 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (23 Feb. 2013).

origins. Beginning in a port city like New York, a common route based on the birthplace of the generational element was through the state of Pennsylvania, perhaps residing in cities like Pittsburgh given its significant German population at the time. Ohio also records a large number of second and third generation births suggesting that cities like Cleveland and perhaps more plausibly Cincinnati were possible stops during the migration. Few ethnically German children are recorded as being born in Indiana suggesting instead that Illinois was a more popular immigrant destination among the German community. The third possible route taken by German immigrants was from Maryland, usually beginning in Baltimore. From here, migration to the state of Ohio was an achievable goal. The smaller yet equally significant number of German children born in Kentucky might also suggest that an interim destination was made in cities like Louisville which was located on the Ohio river and also was an important stop on many railroad routes.

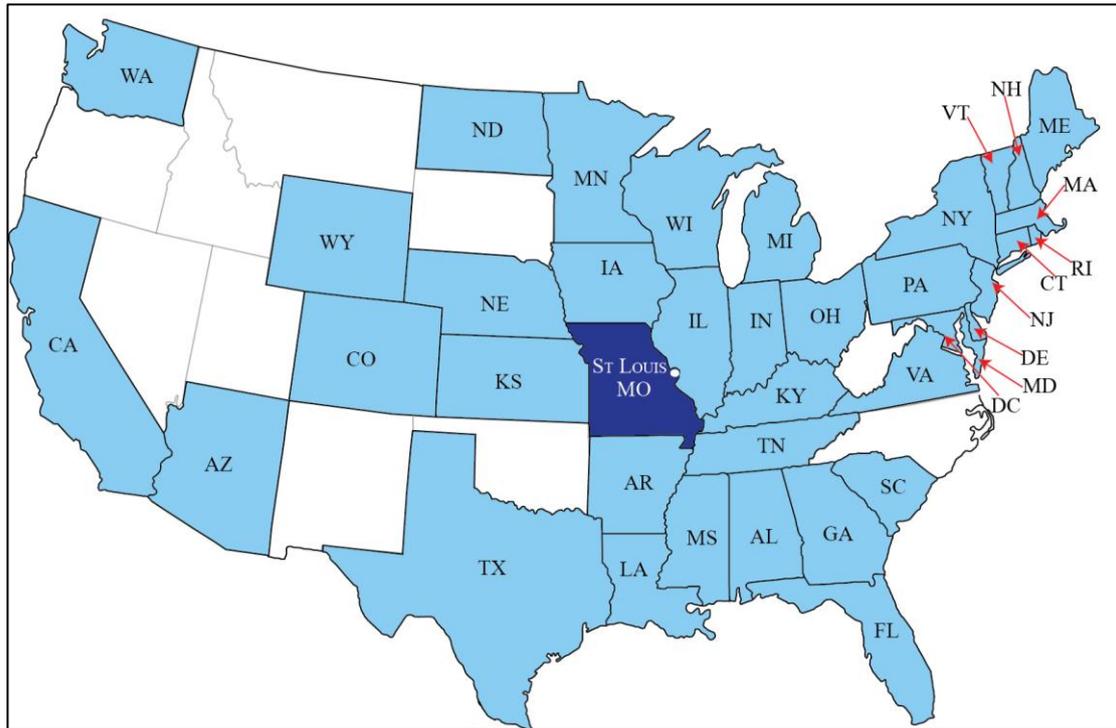
By contrast, only two significantly identifiable routes emerge for Irish immigrants and interestingly, these routes would appear to overlap with those taken by the German community. Given the large number of ethnically Irish children born in Massachusetts, it would seem that a significant number of Irish immigrants began their westward migration from the port of Boston. Accordingly, high birth rates of Irish children in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois would seem to suggest that many Irish immigrants pursued the same migratory trends as their German counterparts. Similarly, the second distinguishable Irish migratory route began in New York taking immigrants through the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio and subsequently to Missouri.

In comparing possible migratory trends in this manner, a variety of observations emerge. Firstly, it would seem that by and large the Irish community adopted a uniform migratory trend, travelling through the heavily industrialised north-eastern states. Migration from the south to Missouri is virtually non-existent and it would seem that if an Irish

immigrant landed in New Orleans, they rarely moved north to St Louis. Conversely, three distinct migratory trends can be deciphered for the ethnically German group, and it would seem that their migration was not determined wholly by employment opportunities in the urbanised north-east.

Aside from these discernible migratory patterns, it is also interesting to note those families who appear to have migrated from the west back towards St Louis. Both communities recorded generational members who were born in California, Wyoming and Colorado. There is also a representation of immigrants from Minnesota and Nebraska suggesting that their initial migration was part of a Catholic colonization project which eventually led them to Missouri. All of these trends and observations are of course tentative, yet in 1900 each of these children's families are resident in St Louis, implying that the children have migrated from their own place of birth. This fact alone lends itself positively to the argument that certain patterns were adopted by each group.

Map 3 – Birthplace of ethnically German and Irish-Americans, residing in St Louis, MO in 1900, outlining the most popular immigrant destinations prior to settlement in St Louis¹⁰⁰

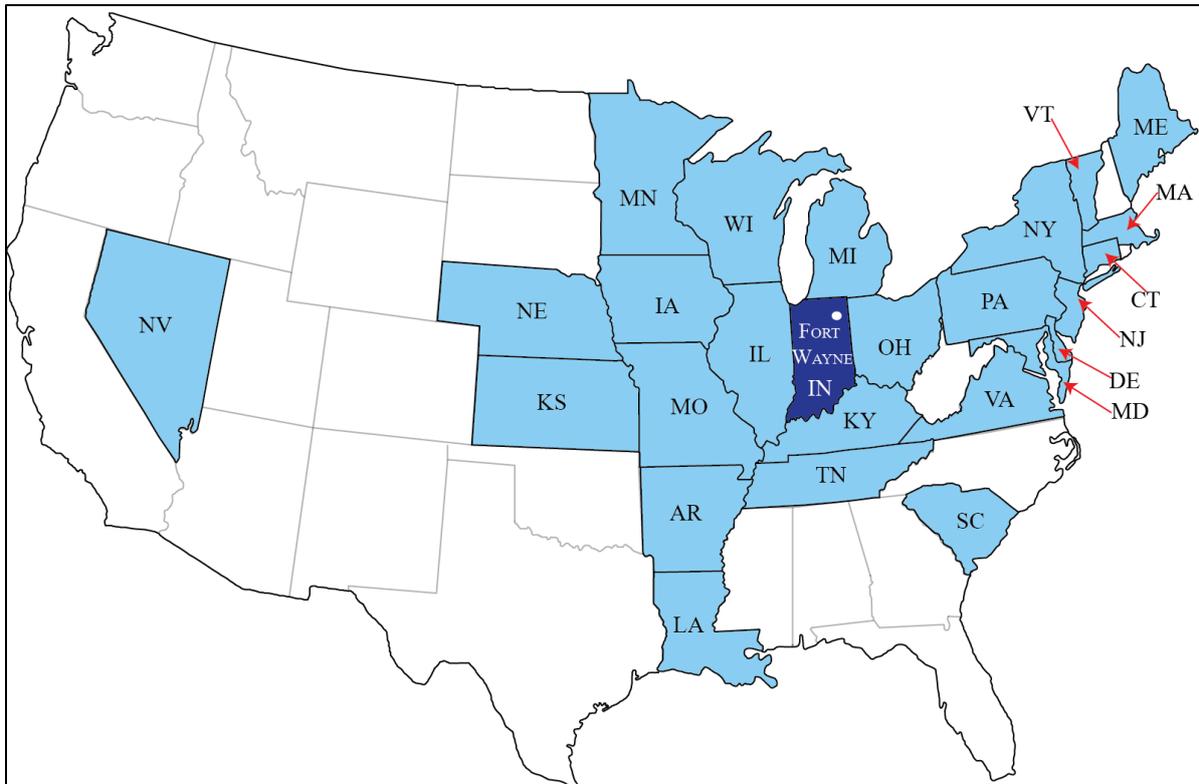


State of birth of 2 nd and 3 rd generation	German-born	Irish-born
Alabama (AL)	2	6
Arizona (AZ)	4	-
Arkansas (AR)	21	7
California (CA)	4	2
Colorado (CO)	9	2
Connecticut (CT)	2	8
Delaware (DE)	2	2
Dist. of Columbia (DC)	4	9
Florida (FL)	-	1
Georgia (GA)	1	-
Illinois (IL)	1417	189
Indiana (IN)	95	45
Iowa (IA)	20	-
Kansas (KS)	33	14
Kentucky (KY)	72	31
Louisiana (LA)	39	33
Maine (ME)	-	4
Maryland (MD)	23	8
Massachusetts (MA)	8	28
Michigan (MI)	20	23

State of birth of 2 nd and 3 rd generation	German-born	Irish-born
Minnesota (MN)	16	8
Mississippi (MS)	16	2
Missouri (MO)	14,709	2,890
Nebraska (NE)	9	3
New Hampshire (NH)	-	2
New Jersey (NJ)	7	13
New York (NY)	107	78
North Dakota (ND)	2	-
Ohio (OH)	187	75
Pennsylvania (PA)	104	61
Rhode Island (RI)	1	2
South Carolina (SC)	1	1
Tennessee (TN)	19	16
Texas (TX)	18	4
Vermont (VT)	2	2
Virginia (VA)	6	7
Washington (WA)	2	-
Wisconsin (WI)	43	6
Wyoming (WY)	1	1

¹⁰⁰ Figures derived from 1900 US Federal Census returns for St Louis (Independent city), MO, Wards 3 & 8. Table reflects birthplaces of ethnically German and Irish-Americans that had migrated to St Louis, MO by 1900.

Map 4 – Birthplace of ethnically German and Irish-Americans, residing in Fort Wayne, IN in 1900, outlining the most popular immigrant destinations prior to settlement in Fort Wayne ¹⁰¹



State of birth of 2 nd and 3 rd generation	German-born	Irish-born
Arkansas (AR)	2	-
Connecticut (CT)	-	3
Delaware (DE)	2	-
Illinois (IL)	65	15
Indiana (IN)	3,495	754
Iowa (IA)	4	1
Kansas (KS)	2	-
Kentucky (KY)	9	3
Louisiana (LA)	3	1
Maine (ME)	-	2
Maryland (MD)	10	-
Massachusetts (MA)	3	11
Michigan (MI)	44	18

State of birth of 2 nd and 3 rd generation	German-born	Irish-born
Minnesota (MN)	3	1
Missouri (MO)	21	2
Nebraska (NE)	3	-
Nevada (NV)	1	-
New Jersey (NJ)	4	2
New York (NY)	63	28
Ohio (OH)	216	70
Pennsylvania (PA)	58	32
South Carolina (SC)	-	1
Tennessee (TN)	3	-
Vermont (VT)	-	2
Virginia (VA)	2	1
Wisconsin (WI)	12	5

¹⁰¹ Figures derived from 1900 US Federal Census returns for Fort Wayne, Wards 2 & 6. Table reflects birthplaces of ethnically German and Irish-Americans that had migrated to Fort Wayne by 1900.

The smaller size of Fort Wayne is again evident in considering the migration patterns which led both German and Irish immigrants to the city. In this instance it would seem that the same potential route was taken by both immigrant groups. In 1900, the majority of immigrants from both groups began their migration to Fort Wayne from New York, with the possible exception of some Irish immigrants who left from Massachusetts and some German immigrants who migrated from Maryland. Interestingly, no German families were recorded as leaving from Massachusetts and no Irish families from Maryland. Both groups appear to have followed similar routes through Pennsylvania and Ohio before reaching Fort Wayne. Interestingly, a number of Fort Wayne's residents have spent time in Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky and Ohio suggesting that migration to Fort Wayne took place after initially migrating to other states in the Midwest. This again serves to highlight the economic development of Fort Wayne towards the end of the century and emphasises its emergence as an immigrant destination.

2.8 Conclusion

In leaving the homeland, the emigrant initiated a series of transitions that would ultimately redefine his interpretation of his identity. In leaving the homeland he clung tightly to the comforting familiarity of his culture, yet as this series of transitions evolved, so too did his ideals. For those immigrants who were fortunate enough to disembark at an American port, their challenges were only beginning, and ultimately the way in which they faced these challenges defined the success or failure of their migration. For those who decided to stay on the east coast opportunities were more difficult to seize. Furthermore, westward migration was not a viable solution for many initially, particularly for those whose primary goal was escaping poverty in the homeland. Accordingly, many sought assistance from various benefactors. Whether through philanthropists like John Mullanphy, or through larger projects like the Lutheran *Emigrantenmission* or Catholic colonisation projects, those who were

determined to redefine their identity underwent the next transition and migrated west. It was here that many immigrants first witnessed the America they had heard about, and it was here that many faced their next transition. As Regan noted, ‘the first important advice I would give to an emigrant after he has resolved on trying the West, is one which has been too much overlooked. Let him be satisfied with moderate advantages, and not grasp at too much, else he will lose all.’¹⁰²

¹⁰² Regan, *Backwoods and prairies*, p. 114.

3.1 Introduction

In advising immigrants to be cautious, patient and hard-working Regan's advice was well placed, for as Emmons writes, 'the American west – real and imagined, going to it and living in it – was solidly based on the American commitment to individual rights [and] private property ... going west was a very modern thing to do: calculating, rational, progressive and uprooting'.¹ Yet, for many German and Irish immigrants, embracing modernity in this way was not a primary concern. Certainly, acquiring property and initiating the progression and social mobility of one's family might have been long-term objectives, but for most, the immediate motivation was subsistence. Moreover, many immigrants defined their westward migration through cultural, economic and social perceptions which had migrated with them from the homeland. For many German and Irish immigrants, western relocation was motivated by economic opportunities that would subsequently enhance their financial condition. Cultural familiarity and exclusivity also promoted western migration and for both communities, migratory chains were integral in ensuring the current of west-bound immigrants remained constant.

However, one significant contrast between both groups influenced the pace at which 'real and imagined' interpretations of western migration were distinguished. This contrast was based on distinct cultural perceptions surrounding emigration. The acceptance and existentialism that defined German emigration was lacking in the Irish context. Furthermore, Irish migration to the west excluded almost immediately any cultural melancholy that lingered from the homeland. Those who migrated west were forced to embrace the American experience more acutely than those who remained in the east. Clark suggests that by 1850, as many as 150,000 Irish immigrants had left the eastern states and migrated

¹ David Emmons, *Beyond the American pale: the Irish in the west, 1845-1910* (Norman, OK, 2010), pp 110-4.

inland.² Over the next three decades, this trend continued to develop and as Clark continues, ‘by the 1880s over one-third of the immigrants from Ireland listed by one Irish newspaper as arriving in New York, were headed for destinations in Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and other states’.³

Despite the increasing popularity of western states among Irish immigrants, it was their German counterparts who enjoyed numerical dominance in the region. Given their relatively more secure financial position pre-emigration, their migration to the Midwest and West enabled them to acquire property more readily than most other immigrant groups. Accordingly, German immigrants predominated in many of the rapidly developing regions across the Midwest and West. Yet, despite their economic and numerical dominance, the German community did not experience the same type of unity that was characteristic of their Irish counterparts. As Kazal notes, ‘the *Deutschtum* created by nineteenth century immigrants was driven by divisions of class, religion, space and gender ... reflected most clearly in the associational subcultures forged by middle class ethnic activists, working class unionists, Catholics, Lutherans and others.’⁴ German communities throughout the Midwest and West reflected this rubric, yet in some instances there was evidence of shared cultural values. Defence of the German language as well as some of the more uniform tenets of German culture were aspects of the ethnic tradition that induced rigorous protection from external criticism.⁵

Yet, in spite of the intricacies and dynamics of each immigrant group, both German and Irish communities developed apace in cities throughout the Midwest and West during the second half of the nineteenth century. Irrespective of size, whether larger cities like Chicago,

² Denis Clark, *Hibernia America: the Irish and regional cultures* (Westport, CT, 1986), p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming old stock: the paradox of German-American identity* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Milwaukee and St Louis or smaller cities like Dubuque, Little Rock and Fort Wayne, ethnic communities in these cities were integral in addressing the acculturative and assimilative needs of its members. Two primary models of immigrant settlement have been forwarded by David Ward and Kathleen Neils-Conzen, the ‘ethnic ghetto’ and the ‘ethnic community’ models respectively. Importantly, in both Fort Wayne and St Louis there was evidence of each of these models and the contrasts between the settlement patterns of both immigrant groups was significant (see section 3.3).⁶

3.2 ‘a new and brighter era’⁷

Describing the city of St Louis in 1848, J. H. Colton commented that, ‘St Louis is the great depot of the country west of the Mississippi ... viewed from the opposite shore, or as it is approached from the river, it presents a beautiful appearance.’⁸ The area was first settled during the seventeenth century but was not incorporated as a city until 1822. The first city directory, published in 1821, commented that, ‘eight streets run parallel to the river and are intersected by twenty-three others at right angles. Market Street is in the middle of town and is the line dividing the north part from the south’.⁹ Throughout the nineteenth century, St Louis’ population increased exponentially. In 1830, the city had a population of 6,694 citizens, yet by the 1860s its population had risen to over 186,000 people and its boundary was extended by 660 feet west of Grand Avenue.¹⁰

⁶ David Ward, *Cities and immigrants: a geography of change in nineteenth century America* (New York, NY, 1971); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, ‘Immigrants, immigrant neighbourhoods and ethnic identity: historical issues’ in *The Journal of American History*, lxvi (1979), pp 603-15.

⁷ Thomas Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county, from the earliest periods to the present day* (2 vols, Philadelphia, PA, 1883), ii, p. 989.

⁸ J. H. Colton, *The emigrant’s handbook: a directory and guide for persons emigrating to the United States of America, containing advice and directions to emigrants but especially to those designing to settle in the great western valley* (New York, NY, 1848), p. 88.

⁹ I. H. Lionberger, *The annals of St Louis and a brief account of its foundation and progress, 1764-1928* (St Louis, MO, 1930), p. 17, available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (30 Nov. 2010).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Table 3.1 Population increase in St Louis, 1830-1900 including the number of German and Irish immigrants resident in the city where available.¹¹

	German	Irish	City Total
1830	-	-	6,694
1840	-	-	16,469
1851 [city census]	23,814	11,277	77,716
1860	47,970	29,925	186,178
1870	65,936	34,803	226,811
1880	54,901	28,536	350,518
1900	58,781	19,421	575,238

Throughout the early decades of the century, many developments took place within the city. The first Presbyterian Church was established in 1817, while the first Baptist church was organised a year later. Also in 1818 the first cathedral was erected. In 1821 voluntary fire companies were organised although a city fire department was not incorporated until 1857. Lionberger's *Annals* also recorded that in 1825 a 'whipping post was made available for various offences.'¹² The decade of the 1830s saw the first record of German settlers in St Louis and that decade also witnessed the development of the wharf, the first distribution of water throughout the city from the city waterworks in 1832, and the establishment of the first public school in the city in 1838.

Throughout the period from 1830-50 there was a rapid increase in the use of steamboats, partially as a consequence of westward expansion. Steamboat construction became a major industry in the city with the first being launched in the city in 1842. Public services continued to improve during the decade particularly with the opening of the first hospital in the city in 1847. Poor sanitation and the arrival of an infected steamboat from New Orleans in 1848, led to the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in the city. The epidemic

¹¹ Figures derived from Lionberger, *Annals of St Louis* and US Census Compendia 1860-1900, available at: US Census Bureau (www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents) (5 Mar. 2013).

¹² Lionberger, *The annals of St Louis*, p. 12.

lasted four years killing thousands of St Louisians. Further misfortune befell the city in 1849 when the Great Fire caused by a blaze on the *White Cloud* steamboat destroyed twenty-three steamboats and fifteen city blocks.¹³ By 1850, there was a substantial presence of both German and Irish immigrants in St Louis and these immigrants held a pivotal role in the rebuilding of the city in the aftermath of the fire. By the 1850s the number of German-born settlers resident in St Louis was so great that it necessitated the translation of the city ordinances into German for their benefit. A German *Turnverein* or gymnastic society was established, as was the German medical society. Irish immigrants impacted the organisation of the city on a much smaller scale during the period preceding 1850. Yet, as the second half of the nineteenth century dawned, an Irish neighbourhood known as the Kerry Patch began to develop and the Irish presence in the city gradually increased. It was during this time that Irish philanthropists like John Mullanphy and John O’Fallon initiated programs to aid the newly arrived immigrant Irish. Aside from philanthropy, the O’Fallon School of Medicine was incorporated into the city in 1860.¹⁴

The decade of the 1850s saw the population of the city rise to over 77,000. When considering this decade, the most prominent aspect of development in St Louis is undoubtedly the progress and improvement witnessed in the transport sector. Both river and rail transport thrived during this decade and this was reflected within the wider St Louisian community. By 1850, St Louis had become a major internal port city due to its location between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Lionberger’s *Annals* recorded that in the year 1850 multiple tonnes of ‘flour, wheat, oats, pork, lard, pigs, tobacco, hemp, sugar, whiskey and cotton’ were all shipped through the port at St Louis, making it the second largest port in the United States.¹⁵ Further to this, the California Gold Rush in 1849 had resulted in St Louis

¹³ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

becoming a necessary layover for many migrants as they stopped to replenish supplies before heading overland. As a result, entrepreneurs like Joseph Murphy, a wagon manufacturer developed their businesses and capitalised on the popularity of westward expansion.

The development of the railroad was also a characteristic of St Louis during the 1850s. As early as 1835 the Internal Improvement Convention recommended that two railroad lines connect St Louis with outlying parts of the state, particularly to the iron mines in the south of Missouri and Fayette to the northwest. Other more extensive railroad lines were also suggested, and by 1839 St Louis was connected with Buffalo providing a railroad connection between east and west.¹⁶ The Pacific Railroad became the first railway line west of the Mississippi. Construction began in 1852 and by 1855 a railroad connecting St Louis to Jefferson City and later to the extended western frontier was in place. However, the inaugural journey on the railroad ended in tragedy as a bridge over the Gasconade River collapsed killing many of St Louis' prominent citizens. Soon after the construction of the Pacific Railroad, the Iron Mountain Railroad was constructed southwardly from St Louis benefitting further the rich mining regions in the southern part of the state. The North Missouri Railroad, which later became the Wabash Railroad, was also built to the north and west during this time.¹⁷ In 1882, a total of eighteen railroad lines entered the city, four from the west, six from the east, five from the south and three from the North.¹⁸

Aside from the abundant growth in transport, the city also experienced many other developments during the second half of the century. In 1853 Washington University was incorporated and this coincided with the opening of the first public high school in the city. Public sanitation was also addressed with the commencement of the city's first sewer construction program in 1850 and as a testament to the continued development of St Louis,

¹⁶ Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county*, p. 1140.

¹⁷ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman, (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 325.

¹⁸ Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county*, p. 992.

the city limits were further expanded in 1855 and again in 1870.¹⁹ By the 1880s, Scharf recorded that ‘cheap homes can now be furnished ... on finished streets, with gas and water, or convenient to street cars ... comfortable dwellings can be erected cheaper in St Louis than in any city in the United States having a population of one hundred and fifty thousand.’²⁰

The city continued to develop in all aspects of manufacturing and commerce throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s. Accordingly, this led to the city’s increased popularity as a destination for labour migrants and wanderers alike. By 1882, a total of fourteen street railways, twenty-three hotels and an equal number of banks operated in the city. Of these twenty-three banks, four were clearly identifiable with German and Irish immigrant groups. The Bremen Savings Bank as well as the German-American Bank and the German Savings Bank addressed the financial needs of many of the city’s German immigrants. Similarly, the city’s Irish immigrants would likely have dealt with the Mullanphy Savings Bank, although Irish banking practices were not as readily identifiable as those of their German counterparts.²¹ The fact that German and Irish immigrants had established banking institutions in this way highlighted the significance of St Louis as an immigrant destination.

Further north, the settlement of Fort Wayne was also developing as an attractive immigrant destination. In 1821, Thomas Scattergood Teas surveyed the territories of northern Indiana. Visiting the settlement of Fort Wayne, he recorded that ‘the settlement at this place consisted of about thirty log cabins and two tolerably decent frame houses.’²² Over the course of the next twenty years, Fort Wayne developed at an accelerated pace, benefitting from its geographical position between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. During the 1830s the

¹⁹ Lionberger, *Annals of St Louis*, p. 22.

²⁰ Scharf, *History of St Louis and county*, p. 989.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 992.

²² Thomas Scattergood Teas, ‘Journal of a tour to Fort Wayne and the adjacent country in the year 1821’ in *Fort Wayne Pamphlet series*, (Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, IN), unpaginated.

settlement expanded as labour migrants, speculators and investors were attracted to the city during the canal era. The construction of these canals contributed to the city's cognomen of the 'Summit City', as the settlement was the highest point above sea level along the entire Wabash canal route. Cooper noted that, 'labourers were employed in great numbers' and were forced to dig 193 feet at Fort Wayne so the St Joseph River would meet the channel.²³ The first canal boat arrived in Fort Wayne in 1834 and thereafter the harbour in the western part of the city became an important business district.

The advent of the canal undoubtedly aided the town's development economically and during the early decades of the nineteenth century many new industries were established. The trading of fur and peltries was a common endeavour as the banks of the three rivers surrounding Fort Wayne were plentiful in the hides of beaver, otter, bear and deer. Given the abundance of forests in north-eastern Indiana, saw mills were also a popular source of employment. According to Cooper, one of the earliest and best known saw mills in the city was located at the corner of Lafayette and Walter streets under the proprietary of George Baker.²⁴ Throughout the nineteenth century, saw milling continued to provide employment as many mills were opened on the north side of the canal. The location of the city at the confluence of three rivers, as well as the later advent of the railway, made transportation of timber from the saw mills to commercial centres like Detroit, worthwhile for all involved. The Hoffman brothers owned one of the most prosperous mills in Fort Wayne, and Cooper noted that, 'every foot of ground that can be leased within three blocks of their mills is covered by lumber and logs.'²⁵ Until prohibition in the 1850s distilling was also a popular industry in Fort Wayne. The first spirit distillery was opened in 1836 by William Rockhill.

²³ Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the upper Maumee with historical account of Allen county and the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana: the story of its savagery to civilisation* (Madison, WI, 1889), p. 22 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (30 Nov. 2010).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

However, the distilling industry stagnated after December 1848, when the city council imposed a liquor law forbidding the establishment of distilleries within city limits.²⁶

Evidence of Fort Wayne's development was confirmed with the introduction of the city's first telegraph line in 1848, followed four years later by the construction of the first railroad in the city. Similar to St Louis, Fort Wayne also suffered a cholera epidemic in 1849 and within five years over 600 people had succumbed to the disease.²⁷ By 1850, the city's population had risen to 4,282, of which 1,260 were of German descent and 190 were natives of Ireland.²⁸

The development of Fort Wayne's extensive railroad network began in the 1850s. This led not only to the rapid modernisation of the region, but also to the emergence of the city as a manufacturing and industrial centre. Writing in the *History of the upper Maumee valley*, Cooper noted, 'the fact that six railways enter Fort Wayne and provide easy communication in ten different directions is of the highest importance to the manufacturing and commercial interests of the city'.²⁹ The first railroad locomotive in Fort Wayne was brought from Toledo, Ohio and delivered by canal boat in 1854.³⁰ The road was laid quickly, and the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, later the Pennsylvania Railroad, developed the first line in the south of the city. It was here that the repair and construction shops, dubbed 'Pennsy Shops' because of their relationship to the Pennsylvania railroad, were established. These 'Pennsy shops' were of particular significance to the local economy

²⁶ Bert J. Griswold, *The pictorial history of Fort Wayne Indiana: a review of two centuries of occupation of the region about the head of the Maumee River* (Chicago, 1917), p. 403.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 397-8.

²⁸ All information for this analysis is derived from US Federal Census returns for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850-1900. US Federal Census St Louis, MO 1850, wards 1 and 6, US Federal Census St Louis, MO 1860-80, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne 1850-60, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1870-1900, wards 2 and 6, available at: ancestry.com, (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013). Hereafter referred to as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN 1850-1900, personal database.

²⁹ Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the upper Maumee*, p. 54.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

as it provided a source of employment for many of the following decades. In 1863, a ‘brick station’ was constructed for the Pennsylvania line. This was a significant event in Fort Wayne, and the completion of the station merited a ball, at which, ‘the dancing floor was 220 by 80 feet, [and was] illuminated by 375 gas jets, locomotive headlights and coloured lanterns. About 2500 guests were present’.³¹ The fact that the people of Fort Wayne celebrated the establishment of the ‘Pennsy shops’ in this manner, highlights their importance in the development of the city. Gradually, Fort Wayne attracted modern industries to the area, including the Thompson-Houston electrical company which established itself as the General Electric Company in Fort Wayne in 1891. Signifying the industrial development of the city, Cooper, perhaps patriotically declared that, ‘Fort Wayne is the largest and most important city on the Wabash line between Toledo, Ohio and St Louis, Missouri.’³²

The influx of workers as a result of the canal and railroad construction programs, as well as Fort Wayne’s location on one of the most strategic railroads to the west, led to the emergence of immigrant communities within the city. By 1870, the German element within the city was so large, that two of the city’s newspapers, the *Staats Zeitung* and the *Freie Presse* were published in German.³³ The presence of immigrant communities was also reflected in the emergence of new churches during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Rev. John Lang recorded that the first Catholic church in the city was erected in 1837 and was named in honour of St Augustine.³⁴ In 1848, ‘thirty German families of Fort Wayne ... manifested a strong desire to build a house of worship wherein they could worship in their own language’.³⁵ This church was named St Mary’s, and the churches of St Mary and St Paul, as well as St Vincent’s orphanage, were all built in the same year. There was also a

³¹ Griswold, *Pictorial history of Fort Wayne*, p. 413.

³² Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the upper Maumee*, p. 58.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp 319-22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

strong Lutheran presence in Fort Wayne. The Trinity English Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded by an Irishman named Peter Bailey was one example. Addressing the diversity of its congregation, it offered services in both English and German. An Irish community also developed in the south of the city near the Pennsy shops where they established their own church and schools. Yet, Irish influence in the city never surpassed that of their German counterparts.

The fortunes of Fort Wayne throughout the nineteenth century undoubtedly reflected the economic and religious aspects of America life in the wider context. Having established itself as an industrial centre by the 1880s, Fort Wayne was, in many ways, a natural choice for immigrants seeking to start afresh in the Midwest. Writing in 1889, Cooper noted that on approaching the city by train, ‘houses are seen to be aligned into streets, the smoke of many factories curls about the train, shutting out the glimpses of stately churches, tall business blocks, tasteful residences and the other abundant evidences of a rich and prosperous city’,³⁶ a significant difference from Scattergood’s observations seventy years previously. By the 1890s, Fort Wayne had become the most important city in northern Indiana. A small, yet industrialised city, it enabled immigrants to experience the American way of life, yet still afforded them the comfort of contributing to a culturally distinct ethnic group.

3.3 ‘a peaceful conquest’³⁷

Historians such as Kathleen Neils-Conzen, David Ward and Howard Chudacoff have discussed at length the various formulations, structures and models of immigrant communities.³⁸ Ward has long argued the validity of the ‘ethnic ghetto’ model, while Conzen

³⁶ Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the upper Maumee*, p. 22.

³⁷ Kargau, *German element*, p. 124.

³⁸ Ward, *Cities and immigrants*, pp 105-25; Kathleen Neils-Conzen, ‘Immigrants, immigrant neighbourhoods and ethnic identity’, pp 603-15; Howard P. Chudacoff, ‘A new look at ethnic neighbourhoods: residential dispersion and the concept of visibility in a medium sized city’ in *The Journal of American History*, lx (1973), pp 76-93.

contends that the 'ethnic community' model was a more likely explanation of how immigrant communities were structured. Both theories are applicable, the only variable being the type of immigrant community under examination. In the Irish instance, the ghetto model justifies the high concentration of Irish immigrants, occupying the lowest social classes and poorest areas of the city; usually those neighbourhoods close to the central business district, where unskilled employment was easily attainable. Irish communities throughout the United States, whether in New York, Boston or St Louis, followed this model. Emmons' examination of the Irish in Butte, Montana describes the Irish ethnic clusters of Corktown and Centreville, both of which replicated conditions outlined by Anbinder in his investigation of Five Points.³⁹ Similarly, in Massachusetts Meagher and Blanchette also identify the presence of ethnically Irish clusters in Worcester and Lawrence respectively.⁴⁰ By contrast, many German communities including those in St Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee were aligned with Neils-Conzen's theory of the 'ethnic community'.⁴¹ Furthermore, Rowan's analysis of Germans in Cleveland highlights German ethnic communities in the east and west sides of the city and this model is also identified by Nau who noted that Germans in New Orleans settled in one of three ethnic neighbourhoods, Little Saxony, Lafayette or Carrollton.⁴² The 'ethnic community' model outlined by Neils-Conzen argues that not only residential clustering, but also local amenities such as churches, shops, schools and saloons were as important in defining the characteristics of an ethnic neighbourhood as residential concentration. However, these models were not confined to German and Irish immigrant communities in the

³⁹ David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Chicago, IL, 1990), p. 73; Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth century neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001), pp 72-105.

⁴⁰ Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish American: generation, class and ethnic identity in a New England City, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), pp 123-31; Joseph P. Blanchette, *The view from Shanty Pond: an Irish immigrant's look at life in a New England mill town, 1875-1938* (Charlotte, VT, 1999), pp 25-34.

⁴¹ Kargau, *German element*, pp 123-40; Andrew J. Townsend, *The Germans of Chicago* (Chicago, IL, 1932), p. 20; Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: accommodation and community in a frontier city* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), pp 144-7.

⁴² Steven W. Rowan, *Cleveland and its Germans* (Cleveland, OH, 1998), pp 155-60; John F. Nau, *The German people of New Orleans* (Leiden, 1958), pp 17-20; see also Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: ethnicity, religion and class in New York city, 1845-1880* (Chicago, IL, 1990).

United States. Similarly, the Irish in Britain, specifically Manchester, London and York followed the ethnic ghetto model outlined by Ward. Conversely, German communities in Brazil tended to establish ethno-exclusive communities. As Lesser comments, ‘The Germans in Brazil were completely distinct and independent of Brazilians ... they had a different language, different customs, different religion and different ideas’.⁴³

Between March 1848 and March 1851, a total of 34,218 German immigrants arrived at the port in St Louis.⁴⁴ As a result of increasing German immigration to the city, the St Louis German immigrant society had been formed the previous year. The function of the society was to aid immigrants by providing advice, and in some instances material support, upon their arrival in the city. The society was incorporated in 1851 and thereafter it held a pivotal role for German immigrants upon their arrival in the city. As Scharf noted, the function of the society was to, ‘protect and defend the immigrants from Germany, provide them with employment when needed, and care for the sick and destitute.’⁴⁵ An annual subscription of four dollars ensured membership of the association and funds were also raised by theatre performances and concerts. The role of the society and the service it provided to the German community was most clearly observed when German immigration to the city peaked in the aftermath of the Civil War and again in the 1880s. Emphasising the language barrier experienced by many German immigrants, the society’s agent was often forced to act as an interpreter between prospective employers and immigrants. During the second half of the nineteenth century, German immigration to the city increased. This, according to Kargau, ‘placed great demands upon the society, because the task of finding work for the unemployed was enormous ... the office ... was surrounded from morning to night by men who sought

⁴³ Roger Swift (ed.), *Irish migrants in Britain, 1815-1914: a documentary history* (Cork, 2002), pp 40-52; Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: a study of Irish immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork, 1982), pp 35-68; Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, ethnicity and national identity in Brazil: 1808 to the present* (New York, NY, 2013), pp 79-81.

⁴⁴ Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county*, p. 1018.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1019.

work'.⁴⁶ By 1868, the society was aiding an average of 1,400 immigrants per year. German immigration to the city increased rapidly until the mid-1870s, after which time the membership and significance of the society began to dwindle, as immigration to the city decreased. Accordingly, the German immigrant society was disbanded in 1884.

In St Louis, the German ethnic community was located in the south of the city in an area known as Frenchtown or Soulard (see map 5). Neils-Conzen notes that almost 40% of German households in St Louis were located in either of the two traditionally German dominated wards. This lends further weight to her theory of an ethnic community that formed a microcosm of the entire city.⁴⁷ As Kargau comments, 'not only in the last decades, but even in the fifties, one was justified in calling that part of the city which is known as Frenchtown, Germantown ... for at that time, one could wander from Chouteau Avenue as far as the Arsenal without hearing anything else than German'.⁴⁸

In describing some of the city blocks in Frenchtown, Neils-Conzen's theory is again illustrated. Kargau recalls that on the west side of a city block, located on Carondelet Avenue, was George Weber's saddle factory and to the northwest stood John Degenhardt's lumberyard. At the southwest corner of the block was a brewery known as the Star Brewery which was owned by George Rothweiler and Christopher Sutter. The block also contained a police station, a hat and cap store, Ottenads furniture store, Ferdinand Dauth's jewellery shop, a hardware store and a tinshop operated by Frederick Nischwitz. Thus, residential concentration was not the only factor which contributed to the presence of an ethnic cluster. As Neils-Conzen writes, 'the ethnic neighbourhood was ... a central place, conveniently

⁴⁶ Kargau, *German element*, p. 208.

⁴⁷ Neils-Conzen, 'Immigrants and immigrant neighbourhoods', p. 609.

⁴⁸ Kargau, *The German element*, pp 123-4.

located for the concentration of specialised services patronised by group members resident through the city'.⁴⁹

German daily life in Frenchtown contrasted starkly with that of their Irish counterparts in the north of the city. Burnett and Luebbering note that, 'some neighbourhoods in St Louis looked like sections of cities in Germany; the streets were lined with two storey brick houses, with green shutters on the windows and had roofs with decorative triangular gables'.⁵⁰ Many immigrants owned their own homes and although there were a variety of social classes residing in Frenchtown, few German immigrants found themselves in tenement buildings similar to those visible in the north of the city. The crime rate in Frenchtown was also low. Kargau noted that with the opening of the police station on Carondelet Ave., 'every person under arrest was followed by a numerous crowd of curious men and women, who remained in and around the station until the object of their curiosity disappeared behind lock and bolt'.⁵¹ However, at times disputes did occur and in these instances, 'many a hearing before the justice of the peace ... constituted a real event'.⁵² The people of Frenchtown were hard-working, but as Kargau again observes, 'there was no lack of taverns in Frenchtown during the fifties. Because the streets were usually quiet, one could hear at some distance when a new keg of beer was opened'.⁵³ For many German immigrants, the security offered by the ethnic community that surrounded them aided the acculturative and assimilative processes. The composition of the group, and the stereotypes of diligence and industry that surrounded them, ensured that a positive image of their migration permeated through the city.

⁴⁹ Neils-Conzen, 'Immigrants and immigrant neighbourhoods', p. 606.

⁵⁰ Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering, *German settlement in Missouri: new land, old ways* (Columbia, MO, 1996), p. 83.

⁵¹ Kargau, *The German element*, p. 137.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

As Scharf commented, ‘they constitute a potent and fully recognized industrial, mercantile, social, and intellectual force in the community.’⁵⁴

In these neighbourhoods, the protection and conservation of the German language was one of the most significant preserves of the ethnic group. The publication of German language newspapers was integral in this endeavour. Scharf noted that ‘the German press in St Louis is a power throughout the city’.⁵⁵ There were two German language newspapers of prominence in St Louis during the period from 1850 to 1900, although many more existed at intermittent stages. These newspapers, the *Anzeiger des Westens* [Gazette of the West] and the *Westliche Post* [Western Post] was essential in maintaining German cultural exclusivity, promoting the language and influencing the opinions of German immigrants throughout the city. *Anzeiger des Westens* was founded by Christian Bimpage in 1835 and continued under various editors until the 1890s when the two primary German newspapers merged. In 1850, Henry Bornstein, a German immigrant, political activist and a sympathetic Republican became the editor of the paper. Bornstein was also a founding member of the German-language theatre in the city and he played an important role in ensuring that St Louis fought for the union cause during the Civil War. The newspaper itself was the oldest German publication west of the Mississippi River, and for the most part, remained politically independent. It was, however, strongly critical of Catholicism and favoured abolitionism. The *Westliche Post* was founded in 1857 and enjoyed a wide readership in St Louis. The newspaper was Republican in politics and was focused to a large extent on local issues. The preservation of German culture was also a preoccupation for the *Westliche Post*. As Saalberg writes, ‘even immigrants who had become citizens and spoke English proficiently continued

⁵⁴ Scharf, *History of St Louis city and county*, p. 1019.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

to read the *Post* for social and nostalgic reasons. For here they found information about German food, music, plays, friends and visitors from Germany.’⁵⁶

The school system was also important in preserving the German language. Kamphoefner notes that ‘St Louis had a program of German instruction in public elementary schools for nearly a quarter century. Begun as an experiment in 1864 ... by 1880 all but five of the city’s fifty-seven public schools offered the program.’⁵⁷ This phenomenon not only exemplifies the extent and influence of the German community in St Louis, but also the obvious desire to preserve and even extend their cultural identity. However, the preservation of the language in this way was not confined to St Louis. Cincinnati had introduced a German program into its public school system in 1840, while Milwaukee adopted a similar system in 1869.⁵⁸ By the 1880s, eight states had adopted bi-lingual policies in public schools.⁵⁹

3.4 ‘the people of the Kerry Patch are poor but independent’⁶⁰

Conzen writes that, ‘the immigrant neighbourhood was for decades a distinctive element in the American landscape’.⁶¹ Few immigrant neighbourhoods in St Louis were as distinctive as the Kerry Patch. This residential area, home to many of the Irish in St Louis, firmly adhered to Ward’s ‘ethnic ghetto’ model. The ‘Patch’ as it was colloquially known emerged in 1842 after a group of pre-famine immigrants from Co Kerry arrived in St Louis and settled on a piece of unoccupied commons. Originally, it was only two or three city blocks wide, and was concentrated between Mullanphy and Biddle Sts to the east and west respectively, and extended in a north-south direction from Seventeenth to Fourteenth Sts.

⁵⁶ Harvey Saalberg, ‘The *Westliche Post* of St Louis: a daily newspaper for German-Americans, 1857-1938’ (PhD dissertation, University of Missouri, St Louis, 1967), p. 281.

⁵⁷ Walter D. Kamphoefner, ‘Uprooted or transplanted?: reflections on patterns of German immigration to Missouri’ in *Missouri Historical Review*, ciii (2009), pp 71-89; p. 83.

⁵⁸ Steven L. Schlossman, ‘Is there an American tradition of bi-lingual education? German in the public elementary schools, 1840-1919’ in *American Journal of Education*, xci (1983), pp 139-86; pp 147-9.

⁵⁹ Charles L. Glenn, ‘Immigrant education’, available at: StateUniversity.com, (<http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2077/Immigrant-Education.html>) (11 Mar. 2013).

⁶⁰ Joseph A. Dacus, *A tour of St Louis* (St Louis, MO, 1878), p. 418.

⁶¹ Neils-Conzen, ‘Immigrants, immigrant neighbourhoods and ethnic identity: historical issues’, p. 603.

However, the arrival of famine immigrants during the forties and fifties meant that the boundaries of the Patch became blurred and gradually the area became synonymous with Irish immigrants.⁶² The houses were nothing more than shacks and the area quickly developed into a slum similar to that at Five Points in New York, Bridgeport in Chicago or Boston's West End. However, as Anbinder observes, many of the Irish in these ethnic clusters were prepared to accept such conditions as they were used to them in Ireland and at least in America there was a possibility of economic advancement.⁶³

Visiting the Kerry Patch in 1878, Dacus recorded that, 'the shanties are not always kept in the best of repair ... the hinges of the windows are often broken, the doors have fallen down and a bundle of rags often do service the wind from circulating too freely'.⁶⁴ Social problems like alcoholism and vagrancy soon characterised the area which had gradually become accustomed to anti-social behaviour. Dacus recorded that, 'their [the Irish] chief amusements consist in punching each other's eyes, occasionally battering up a 'peeler' [policeman] and in dog fights on Sundays.'⁶⁵ The Patch operated according to its own set of rules, even electing its own king or chieftain. It is probable that this tradition migrated with the immigrants and significantly, the election of a King in the Kerry Patch illustrates the transfer of distinct cultural traditions from Ireland to the American Midwest. Many communities along the west coast and particularly on the Blasket and Inishkea islands adopted this system of clanship.⁶⁶

⁶² Ellen Dolan, *The St Louis Irish* (St Louis, MO, 1967), p. 39.

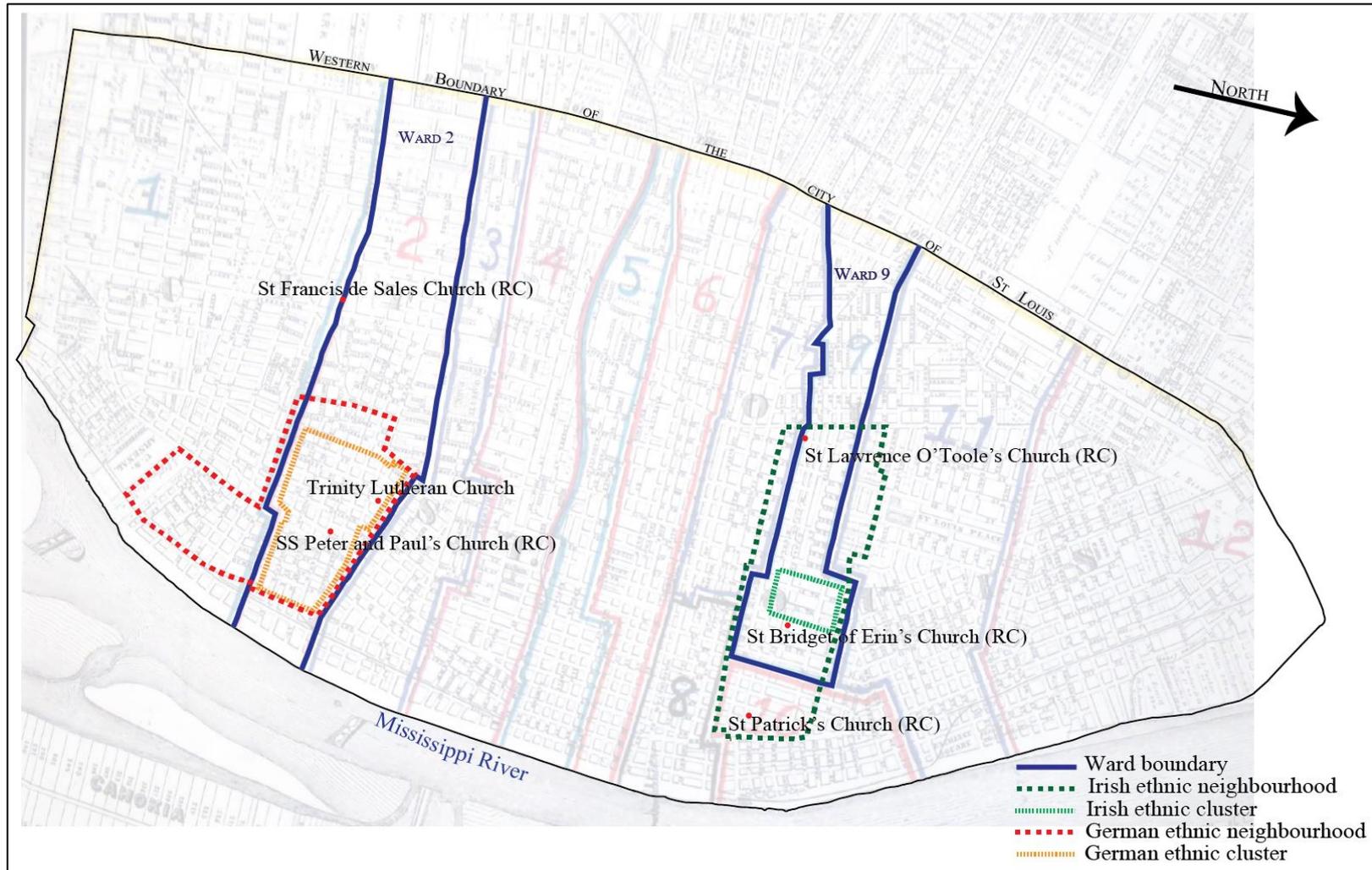
⁶³ Anbinder, *Five points*, p. 76.

⁶⁴ Dacus, *A Tour of St Louis*, p. 418.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ For an extended discussion of the clanship system see Brian Dornan, *Mayo's lost islands: the Inishkeas* (Dublin, 2000).

Map 5 - Map of St Louis c. 1870 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighbourhoods⁶⁷



⁶⁷ Base map taken from Kennedy & Co., St Louis Ward Map, 1870 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO).

Customarily, the King of the Kerry Patch in St Louis was the head of the Sheahan family. This tradition began in 1855 when Denis Sheahan, a native of Co Kerry was elected ‘King of the Patch’.⁶⁸ He held the role for ten years until his death in 1865. Upon his death, his son, Jack who was only twelve years old, was deemed too young to be proclaimed King and so another prominent member of the community, James Cullinane was given the honorary title.⁶⁹ However, Cullinane was originally from Co Cork and so many felt he had no right to the title. Accordingly, in 1873 after Jack Sheahan celebrated his twentieth birthday, it was generally agreed within the community that he was now ready to assume the honour. To celebrate his coming of age, a torchlight procession was held in the Kerry Patch, followed by a party which was remembered by the *St Louis Globe Democrat* newspaper as ‘one of the most notable in the history of the patch’.⁷⁰ Sheahan’s role in the community had many guises. As Dornan comments, ‘the king became a shop steward for the community’.⁷¹ By trade Sheahan was a policeman, but his role as king resembled that of a politician. He also negotiated between tenants and landlords and mediated local disputes. However, it was his dedication to public service that won Sheahan most acclaim. Throughout the 1890s Sheahan sat on the St Louis School Board and was an advocate for free school books for all school-going children. Sheahan also sat on the Board of Police Commissioners.⁷²

In its prime however, not only did the Patch possess a king, but there was also a more sinister side to life in the neighbourhood. Gangs, such as ‘Eagan’s Rats’ and ‘Hogan’s gang’ controlled the streets and even though the Patch covered only a few city blocks, sub-communities soon emerged. Names such as Wild Cat Chute, Poverty Pocket, Clabber Alley and Castle Thunder were common parlance among dwellers of the Patch. The mob-culture

⁶⁸ Etan Diamond, ‘Jack Sheahan: King of the Kerry Patch’ in *Gateway Heritage*, x (1989), p. 31.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, 31 Dec. 1905.

⁷¹ Dornan, *Mayo’s lost islands*, p. 274.

⁷² Diamond, ‘Jack Sheahan’, p. 31.

which developed in the Kerry Patch mirrored the ghetto experience of many Irish immigrant communities both in the United States and beyond. Swift, writing about the Irish in Victorian England comments that, ‘much Irish criminality was clearly the by-product of a poverty-ridden and brutalising urban slum environment’.⁷³ This was certainly the case for the Irish in St Louis. By the turn of the century, Irish criminality in St Louis was influencing voting patterns, internal migration within the city and was responsible for a considerable portion of the city’s illegal liquor smuggling.⁷⁴

Jack Sheahan had the honour of being the last king of the Kerry Patch, as his death in 1935 also effectively signalled the death of the Kerry Patch as an Irish neighbourhood (see Fig. 3.1). Irish social mobility and internal migration within the city had slowly begun to characterise the Irish immigrant community from the 1880s. As Neils-Conzen writes, ‘to the extent that its structure and values encouraged upward mobility, the ethnic community fostered its own physical disappearance and the social-structural assimilation of its members.’⁷⁵ Yet, in the Irish context this was not completely accurate. Certainly, upward mobility did facilitate the physical disappearance of the Kerry Patch as an Irish immigrant neighbourhood, but this mobility did not necessarily constitute the structural assimilation of Irish immigrants. Instead, Irish immigrants adopted the second type of ethnic neighbourhood structure. Migrating to the outskirts of the city to an area called Dogtown, many Irish immigrants found employment in the clay mines. Here, the Irish immigrant community after 1880 seem to have adopted the ‘ethnic community’ model of their German counterparts.

⁷³ Roger Swift, ‘Heroes or Villains?: The Irish, crime and disorder in Victorian England’ in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, xxix (1997), pp 399-421; p. 408.

⁷⁴ Daniel Waugh, *Egan’s Rats: the untold story of the prohibition-era gang that ruled St Louis* (Nashville, TN, 2007).

⁷⁵ Neils- Conzen, ‘Immigrants and immigrant neighbourhoods’, p. 612.

Fig. 3.1 ‘A Kerry Patch resident’⁷⁶



Howard Chudacoff maintains that, ‘most immigrants became trapped inside a homogeneous, inner-city neighbourhood for a generation or two’.⁷⁷ This certainly appears to define the Irish immigrant experience in St Louis during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As the immigrant generation established themselves in the Kerry Patch, census returns suggest that as the century progressed, both the immigrant generation itself, and the slowly maturing second and third generations, sought social mobility away from this inner city location. Table 3.2 considers the number of immigrants classified as the ‘head of household’ in the Irish dominated ward for 1880 and 1900. Interpreting these figures, the mobility of the Irish community away from the inner city neighbourhood is clear. In 1880, a total of 3,051 Irish households are recorded in the vicinity of the Irish ethnic neighbourhood. By 1900, this has fallen to 1,026 households and is complemented by an increase in the number of Russian and Polish dwellings that have emerged. This statistic both suggests and confirms that a new wave of immigration prevailed in the area, thus endorsing Bodnar’s

⁷⁶ Dacus, *A tour of St Louis*, p. 418.

⁷⁷ Chudacoff, ‘A new look at ethnic neighbourhoods’, p. 76.

comment that, ‘newcomers were constantly moving into areas of first settlement, generally where supplies of inexpensive housing existed near places of employment’.⁷⁸

Table 3.2 Aggregate number of households, per generation, recorded in the Irish dominated ward, St Louis 1880 &1900

	<i>Immigrant generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>	<i>Third generation</i>	Total
1880	2378	668	5	3051
1900	505	517	4	1026

However, the Irish community in St Louis were not alone in terms of aid from their fellow countrymen who had arrived in St Louis before them. The Irish community were equally as innovative as their German counterparts when it came to aiding and supporting their fellow immigrants upon their arrival in the city. The Irish Emigrant Society was founded in the 1840s. This society had the same function as its German counterpart, although the Irish society also provided passage for some emigrants from Ireland.⁷⁹ John O’Fallon was elected the society’s first president. As many famine immigrants arrived in the city during the 1850s the importance of the Emigrant Society became clear. O’Laughlin records that in 1853, ‘the Irish Emigrant Society actively assisted 2,053 immigrants, of an estimated total of 8,000 new Irish arrivals’.⁸⁰

Aside from individual societies like the Irish Emigrant Society, the Mullanphy family was perhaps one of the most loyal friends of the Irish immigrant. John Mullanphy was born in 1758 near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. At the age of twenty, Mullanphy entered the Irish Brigade of the French army but returned to Ireland before the French Revolution in 1789. In the same year, Mullanphy married Elizabeth Brown and the couple immigrated to America

⁷⁸ John Bodnar, *The transplanted: a history of immigrants in urban America* (Bloomington, IN, 1987), p. 177.

⁷⁹ Dolan, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 25.

⁸⁰ Michael O’Laughlin, *Missouri Irish: the original history of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City, MO, 2007), p. 102.

three years later in 1792. Initially, the couple settled in Philadelphia before moving to Baltimore, Frankfort, Kentucky and eventually to St Louis, Missouri. St Louis became the primary residence of the family and the place where the family's legacy was most pronounced.

John Mullanphy had the distinction of being St Louis' first millionaire after completing a shrewd business deal in 1815. He had many business interests and owned stores in both Frankfort and St Louis, and was repeatedly elected to St Louis' Board of Aldermen.⁸¹ The Mullanphy name became synonymous with St Louis and his children, particularly his only son Bryan Mullanphy and his daughter Ann Biddle, continued the charitable endeavours of their father upon his death. Bryan Mullanphy, a former mayor of St Louis, died in 1851 and on his death, he donated two thirds of his will to his sisters and the final third, 'to the city of St Louis, in the state of Missouri in trust, to be and constitute a fund to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travellers coming to St Louis, on their way, bone fide to settle in the west'.⁸² This sum amounted to half a million dollars and was known as the Bryan Mullanphy Emigrant and Traveller's Relief Fund. Part of this fund was utilised to build the Mullanphy Emigrant Home in 1867. The purpose of the home was to provide a temporary shelter for emigrants arriving in St Louis and ensured that they had somewhere to stay while they established themselves in the city. The home cost \$30,000 to build and was located in the heart of the Irish neighbourhood on North Fourteenth St. The home was only used for ten years and was then leased to the city school board and used for educational purposes.

Given St Louis' frontier status, it was largely up to the social conscience of benevolent businessmen like John and Bryan Mullanphy to anticipate the needs of the community and act upon these observations thereafter. The fact that Mullanphy was not only

⁸¹ Walter Barlow Stevens, *St Louis: history of the fourth city, 1763-1909* (2 vols, St Louis, MO, 1909), ii, p. 593.

⁸² Last will and testament of Bryan Mullanphy (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Mullanphy Papers, A1108/12-3/1).

a prominent St Louisian but an Irishman meant that he readily identified with the insecurities and uncertainties that were aligned with immigration. There is little doubt that the charitable astuteness which characterised the Mullanphy family benefitted the famine Irish. Few other immigrant families, in St Louis or any other frontier city for that matter, were responsible for such an impressive array of schools, hospitals, widow's homes, abandoned infant refuges, convents, an emigrant relief fund and an emigrant home for the benefit of their countrymen.

3.5 Fort Wayne – ‘a rich and prosperous city’⁸³

Bodnar comments that, ‘transiency and ethnic mixture may have characterised most immigrant neighbourhoods but it did not occur at such a pace as to inhibit the emergence of strong communal ties and activities’.⁸⁴ Transiency and ethnic mixture did indeed characterise the ethnic fabric of Fort Wayne. Given its significantly smaller size, ethnic clustering in Fort Wayne was not as obvious or indeed as evident in Fort Wayne as it was in St Louis, yet cultural bonds still retained their significance. The smaller size of Fort Wayne did enable immigrants to forge strong communal connections while also forcing them to embrace the host society more comprehensively than their counterparts in St Louis might have done. There is very little evidence to suggest the existence of an ethnic ghetto in Fort Wayne. Both communities followed the ethnic community model and concentrated on the establishment of cultural amenities as well as residential concentration.

In 1848, the first German neighbourhood emerged. Since their arrival in Fort Wayne, German Catholics had attended the city cathedral. However, as the German presence in the city began to increase, many felt their language and cultural identity was being threatened by their participation in religious services with other immigrant groups. Accordingly, thirty

⁸³ Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the upper Maumee*, p. 22.

⁸⁴ Bodnar, *The transplanted*, p. 178.

families obtained permission to establish a national parish in the north-east of the city. This parish became known as the *Mutter Gottes Kirche* or the Mother of God parish, although it was later renamed St Mary's. Significantly, at this time German Lutherans were also increasing their representation in the city and they established St Paul's Lutheran Church within one city block of their Catholic counterparts. Thus, by the time electoral wards were introduced in the city in 1870, this area to the north-east, designated as ward two, exhibited a high concentration of ethnically German immigrants. After the establishment of the churches, schools and local German businesses emerged and although the area was not known as any specifically named German neighbourhood, this part of the city constituted the German ethnic neighbourhood as it contained a high representation of German immigrants.

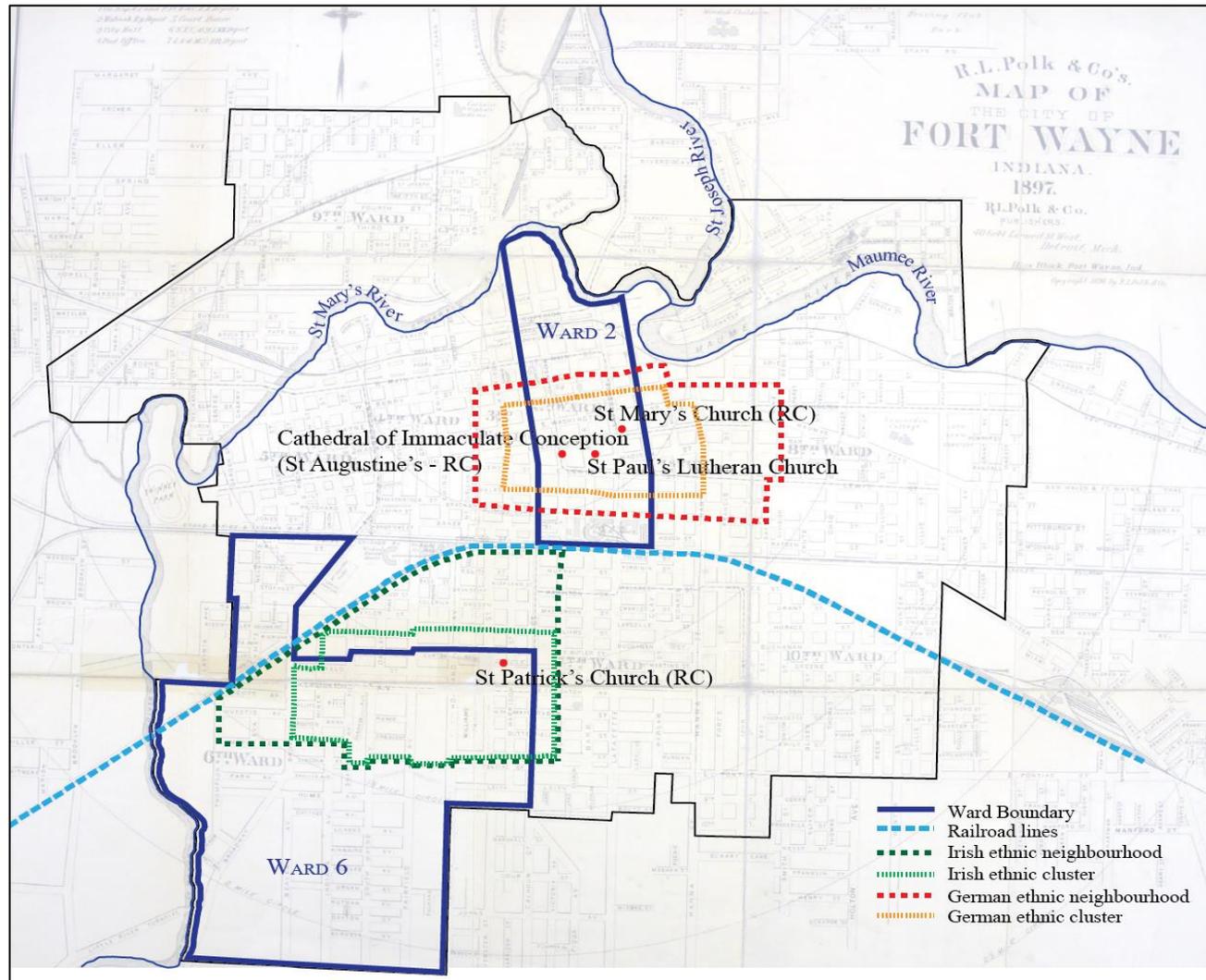
At this time, the number of Irish immigrants resident in Fort Wayne was relatively low. In 1850, only 190 immigrants were natives of Ireland. By 1860, the total number of Irish-born immigrants in the city had risen to 438.⁸⁵ Accordingly, many of these immigrants attended the city cathedral with other immigrant groups, such as the French who also had a significant representation in the city. Irish children attended either the cathedral's parochial school or one of the city's public schools and although an Irish community did exist in the city, its longevity and cultural loyalty were challenged. Given the smaller size of the Irish immigrant community in the city, assimilation appeared to be achieved relatively easily for Irish immigrants and ethnic organisations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians did not enjoy a permanent presence in the city. Furthermore, although the Irish in Fort Wayne participated in occupations similar to their counterparts in St Louis, the Irish stereotype in Fort Wayne was not necessarily as pejorative. As the century progressed however, more Irish immigrants were attracted to the city as the railroad and related industries provided employment.

⁸⁵German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN, 1850-1900, personal database.

However, it was not until 1891 that an Irish national parish was established in the city and even with its existence, the Irish community remained small. Yet, by the end of the century, it was possible to identify an ethnic cluster of Irish descent. This community was located to the south of the city near the railroad shops and Irish businesses and amenities began to appear in this area.

Despite this increasing Irish influence, Fort Wayne remained, in almost every sense, a German town. German immigrants dominated both the Catholic and Lutheran Evangelical hierarchies in the city. They also controlled many pivotal secular positions within the city and were represented at all levels of the city's governance, as well as at the higher levels of the fire and police departments. German surnames also dominated trade within the city and German immigrants were involved in all aspects of the city's commerce. Despite this, the German community in Fort Wayne did experience the same regional, class and religious divisions that were characteristic of so many German immigrant communities in the United States.

Map 6 - Map of Fort Wayne c. 1900 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighbourhoods⁸⁶



⁸⁶ Base map taken from R. L. Polk & Co., Map of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1897 (Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, IN).

3.6 *Who were the immigrants?*

The census returns provide a wealth of information in constructing an immigrant profile and identifying the immigration trends particular to each community. Surprisingly, both communities exhibited remarkably similar statistics in terms of average age, sex, year of arrival and household size.⁸⁷ Taking St Louis as the first example, the population trends for both groups follow similar patterns with each community exhibiting a net increase for the fifty year period. Interestingly, the German population decreases between 1850 and 1860 whereas the Irish cohort increases (see Fig. 3.2). This is explained by the number of famine immigrants which arrived in city during the 1850s. However, the German community experiences a net increase of 41.1 per cent but their Irish counterparts only experienced an increase of 23.4 per cent for the period from 1850-1900. This statistic serves as confirmation of German dominance of the Midwestern region and points towards Irish dominance of other regions in the United States like the east coast and New England states for example.

Despite this, the overall ethnic compositions of German and Irish immigrant groups in Fort Wayne exhibit the most significant population increases. Over the fifty year period from 1850-1900, the German population in Fort Wayne experienced a net increase of 168%, while the Irish community grew by approximately 231% during the period. In actuality, these increases are probably higher, as in 1850 and 1860, the population composition is calculated on the basis of the entire immigrant community in the city. From 1870 to 1900, these figures refer to electoral ward figures only. Thus, German and Irish immigrant influence in the city is most likely higher than represented here. However, the significant increases that are visible here emphasise the extent of Fort Wayne's development over the fifty year period and demonstrate how important the development of the transportation sector was to the city (see Fig. 3.3).

⁸⁷ See appendices A and B for trends in year of arrival.

Fig. 3.2 Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, St Louis, 1850-1900

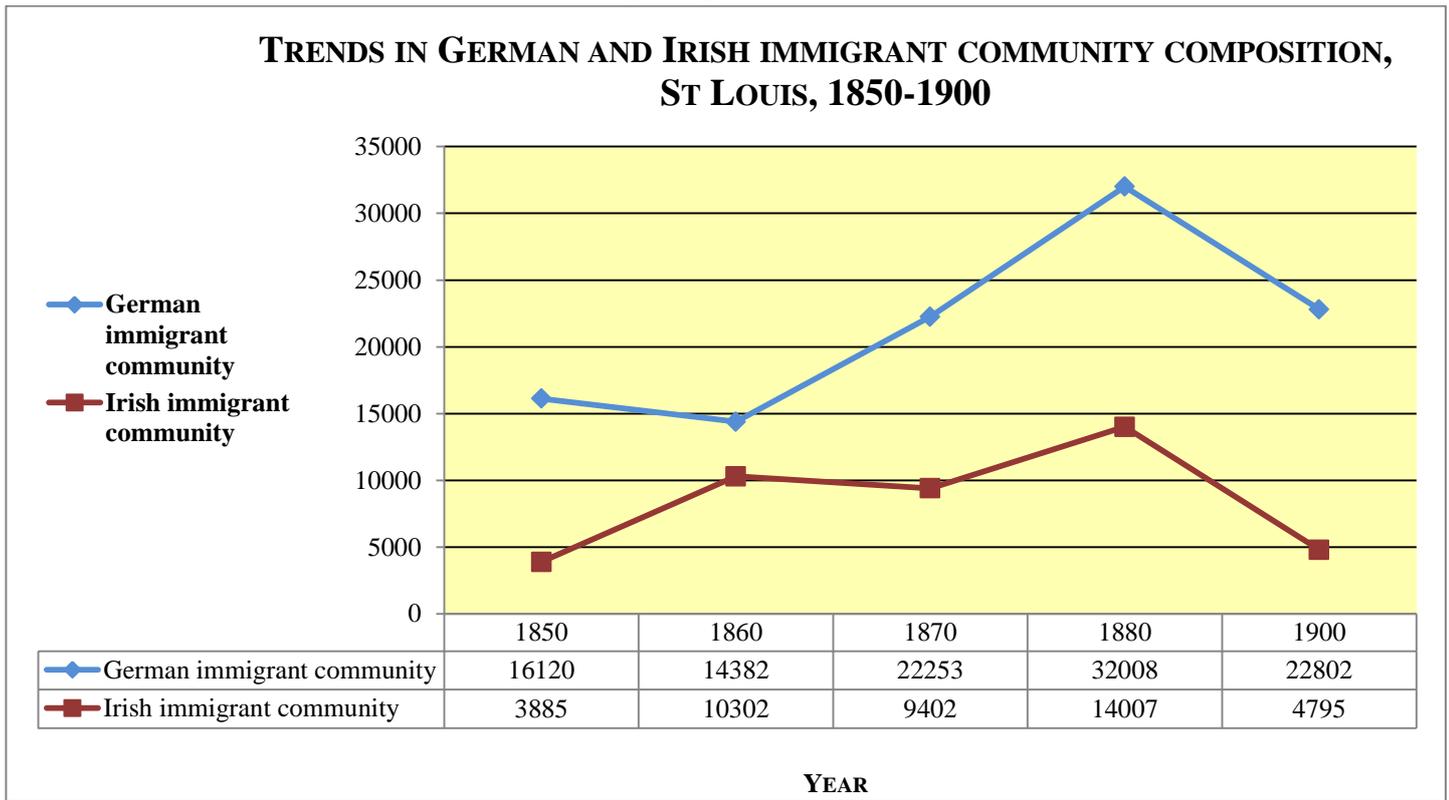
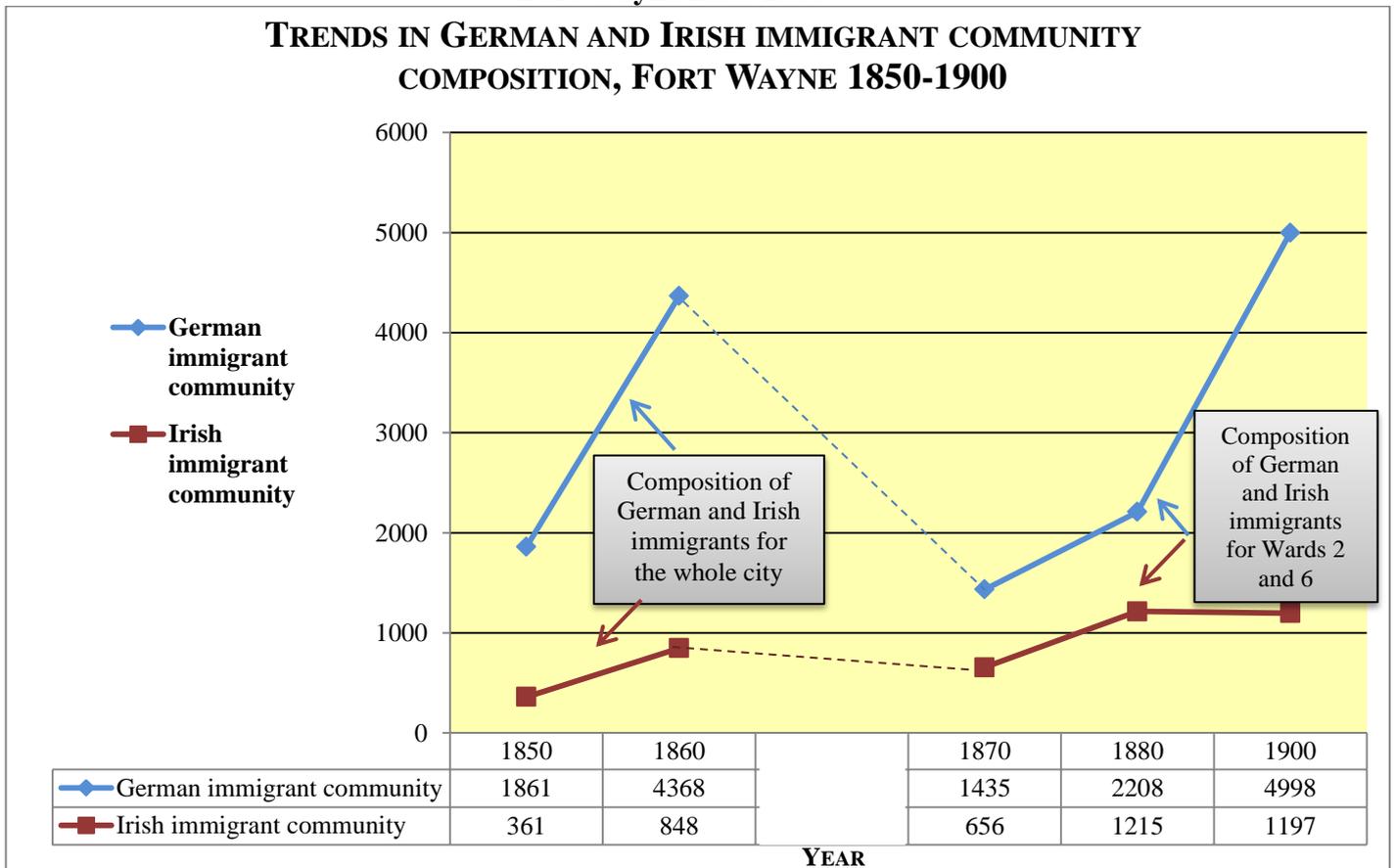


Fig. 3.3 Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, Fort Wayne 1850-1900



Not surprisingly, the trends of the immigrant generation for both males and females to each city reflect the overall trend of the respective immigrant group. European-born males and females experienced the same peaks and troughs as the overall trend in their representation in both cities through the period except in two instances. In St Louis, first generation Irish females were marginally more numerous in their representation in the city in 1880 than Irish-born males. Throughout the period, male immigrants were frequently more abundant in St Louis than their female counterparts. Yet, in 1880, more Irish-born females were present in the city than Irish-born males. This is explained by the availability of employment in the city by 1880. Aside from domestic service, many women were also employed in tobacco related industries, a sector in which St Louis experienced significant growth towards the end of the century. This increase is not explained by a divergence in migratory patterns of Irish males and females, but rather by the effects of chain migration and the increased availability of employment for women in factories throughout the Midwest (see Fig. 3.4).

The same trend is evident in Fort Wayne, with the presence of Irish-born females exceeding that of their male counterparts. However, in Fort Wayne, this trend is experienced earlier in the period, and the difference is, in effect, negligible. In 1860, there are 8.5 per cent more Irish-born women residing in Fort Wayne than their male counterparts. While this difference has little significance when examined in isolation, it is worthwhile to compare this trend with German-born women. At no interval over the fifty year period did German-born women exceed the presence of German-born men. Yet, in the Irish example, there is evidence of this trend happening once in each city. This is perhaps reflective of the contexts in which both migrations took place, and again emphasises the cultural perceptions that surrounded emigration. It may of course also suggest, that at certain intervals, Irish-born women are more willing to migrate west than their male counterparts. Another possibility, which is discussed

Fig. 3.4 Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration in St Louis, 1850-1900

TRENDS IN MALE AND FEMALE IMMIGIRANT GENERATION COMPOSITION, ST LOUIS 1850-1900

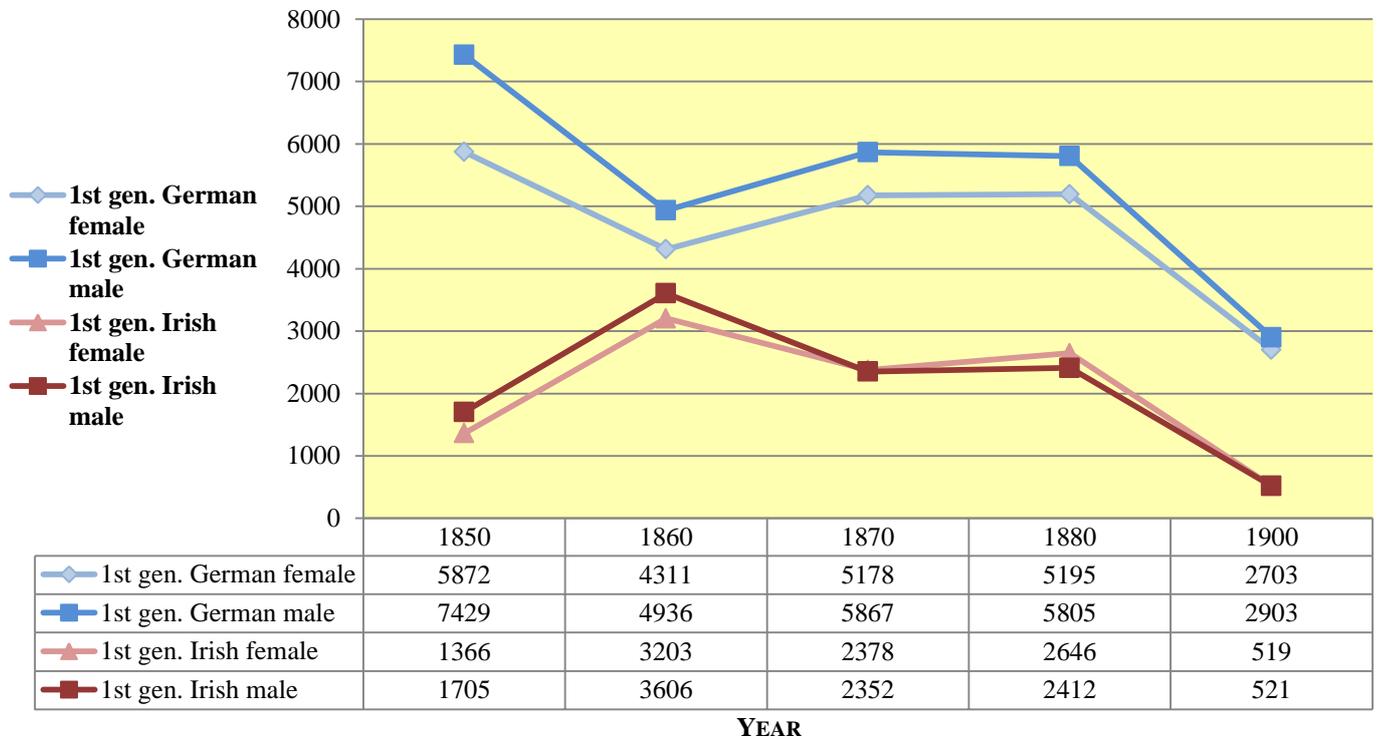
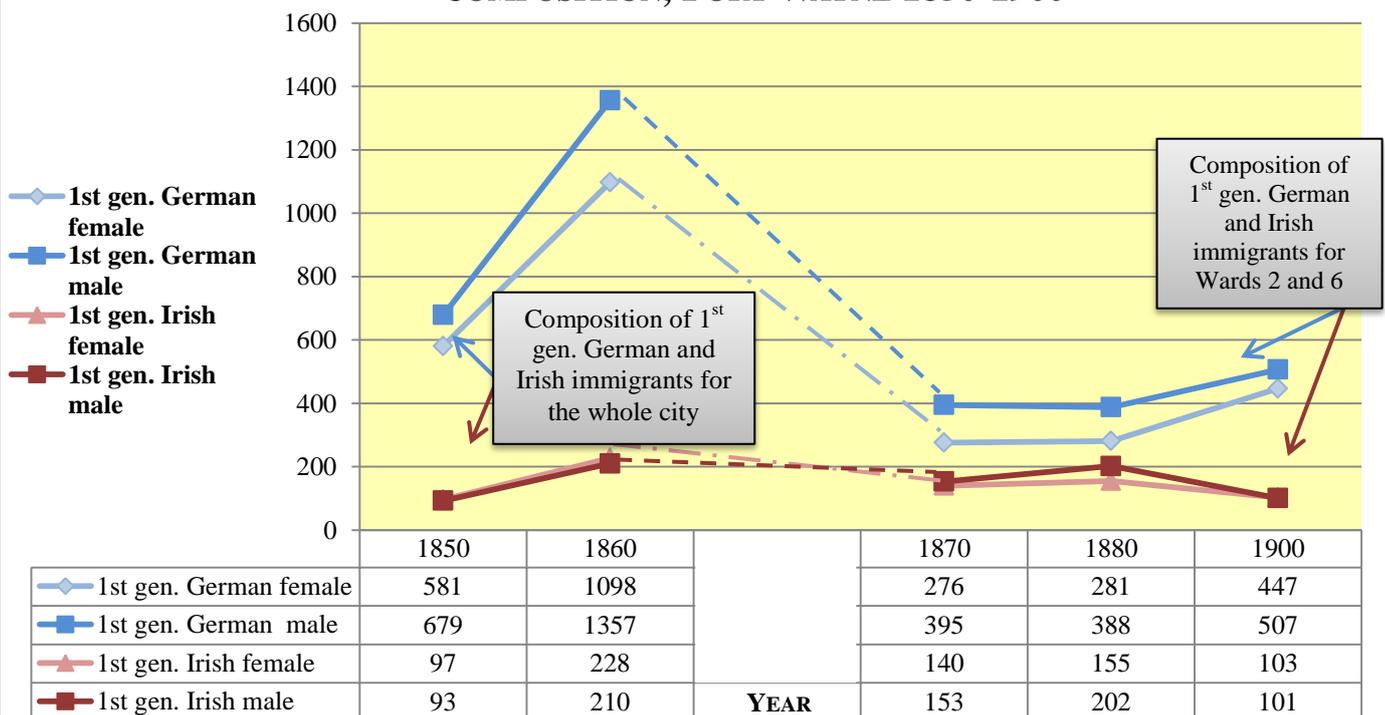


Fig. 3.5 Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration in Fort Wayne, 1850-1900

TRENDS IN MALE AND FEMALE IMMIGIRANT GENERATION COMPOSITION, FORT WAYNE 1850-1900



in more detail in chapter eight, is the possibility of intermarriage between Irish-born females and males of other nationalities, which subsequently led to their arrival in the west (see Fig. 3.5).

In the German example, German-born males consistently outnumber their female counterparts. In neither city throughout the fifty year period is there any trend suggesting that equal numbers of males and females from Germany were present in the respective city at one time. Again, this trend is also reflective of the context within which the migration occurred. It has been widely documented that, with the exception of Irish-born women, male migration from Europe was more frequent than female migration. These trends in male and female migration highlight one of the fundamental contrasts in the immigrant experience of each group, and reflect the existing discourse which surrounds migration from both countries.

The average age of each immigrant community ranged from twenty-one years in 1850 to twenty-nine years in 1900 (see Table 3.3). In St Louis, the average age of the immigrant generation in both communities in 1850 was twenty-six years. The average age was calculated again in 1870 highlighting that native born German immigrants were slightly older than their Irish counterparts. However, by 1900, this trend had altered and at the turn of the century, it was the Irish immigrant generation that exhibited the older average age of forty-nine years for the immigrant generation. These figures present many interpretative issues. Firstly, the alternating trends between the German and Irish community highlight the transient nature and composition of both ethnic groups. This is furthered by the fact that in 1870, the average age of the German immigrant group was lower than the 1850 calculation. Furthermore, the older average age of the Irish immigrant generation highlights the possibility that some members of the Irish immigrant group chose to remain in the inner city instead of moving to the more suburban neighbourhood.

Table 3.3 Analysis of German and Irish immigrant communities by age and generation, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900

	1850	1870	1900
ST LOUIS			
German community			
<i>Average age of 1st generation German (immigrant)</i>	26.2 years	36.2 years	45.3. years
<i>Average age of German generational composition</i>	5 years	8.6 years	19 years
<i>Average age of German immigrant community overall</i>	23.1 years	22.9 years	25.7 years
Irish community			
<i>Average age of 1st generation Irish (immigrant)</i>	26.3 years	35.9 years	49.7 years
<i>Average age of Irish generational composition</i>	7.7 years	8.9 years	21.5 years
<i>Average age of Irish immigrant community overall</i>	22.8 years	23 years	27.9 years
FORT WAYNE			
German community			
<i>Average age of 1st generation German (immigrant)</i>	27.8 years	36.2 years	46.7 years
<i>Average age of German generational composition</i>	5.9 years	9.5 years	21.2. years
<i>Average age of German immigrant community overall</i>	21.5 years	22. 6 years	26.1 years
Irish community			
<i>Average age of 1st generation Irish (immigrant)</i>	31 years	36.5 years	51.2 years
<i>Average age of Irish generational composition</i>	8 years	8.9 years	25.2 years
<i>Average age of Irish immigrant community overall</i>	21 years	21.8 years	29.7 years

A different trend emerges in Fort Wayne. Initially there was a relatively young presence of German-born immigrants in the city, but by 1870, the arrival of young Irish immigrants into the city for employment purposes, forces the average age of the Irish community to remain in the thirties and equates with the German figure. This stabilisation of the aging process within the Irish community is explained by two interrelated factors. Firstly, by 1870, the city has been divided into electoral wards and so there is a higher concentration of Irish immigrants from which to calculate the average age as the Irish neighbourhood south of the railroad lines is beginning to develop. Secondly, the increasing occupational opportunities in the city attracted more labour migrants to the city and this group usually consisted of a younger composition (see Table 3.3).

Finally, in comparing the cities of Fort Wayne and St Louis, it is interesting to note that St Louis appears to have attracted younger immigrants, while the more mature immigrant was drawn to Fort Wayne. This again is perhaps attributable to employment prospects, migratory chains and a certain amount of youthful vigour. In both cities, the figures would seem to suggest that the Irish community was less transient than their German counterparts. This is confirmed by two observations. Firstly, the average age of the immigrant generation increased at a more significant rate in the Irish community. This suggests that those Irish who had arrived in the city were slow to leave, and also that fewer Irish immigrants are arriving in the city than their German counterparts. Secondly, the average age of the Irish generational element in both cities was higher than the generational element in the German community. This suggests perhaps that Irish families stayed in each location until their children were ready to enter the workforce, whereas the evidence would seem to suggest that their German counterparts were migrating internally at a faster rate.

Related to age and family structure is the average household size (see Table 3.4). Again, regional variations and ethnic eccentricities are evident. In St Louis, the average

household size, despite the large families characteristic of each immigrant group, was approximately four. However, arguably this is a misrepresentation as the figure is calculated on the number in each household rather than family size. That said, both communities lived in households that contained an average of four people. This figure increased to just over five people in the German community in Fort Wayne in 1870, further evidence of migratory workers and boarders who rented rooms in various types of accommodation. This increase in household size also corresponds with the average age of a German immigrant in Fort Wayne in 1870. Interestingly, these numbers do not reflect the congestion and overcrowding that would have been characteristic of the Kerry Patch during the period from 1850 to 1870. Thus, while census analysis can provide valuable information and aids in the construction of an immigrant profile, this statistical data must be interpreted with other qualitative data in order to obtain a more accurate interpretation of the composition of immigrant communities.

Table 3.4 Analysis of average household size of German and Irish immigrant communities, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900

	1850	1870	1900
<i>St Louis</i>			
<i>Average German household size</i>	4.3 people	4.3 people	4.0 people
<i>Average Irish household size</i>	4.2 people	4.2 people	3.7 people
<i>Fort Wayne</i>			
<i>Average German household size</i>	4.1 people	5.2 people	3.8 people
<i>Average Irish household size</i>	4.0 people	4.3 people	3.8 people

The origin, or what census schedules termed the ‘place of birth’, of the immigrant generation itself also provides for an interesting analysis. Excluding the location of generational births which are discussed in detail in chapter two (see section 2.6), the birthplaces of all other individuals highlight not only the scope and range of the emigration

process, they also illustrate migration trends and settlement patterns upon immigration. However, the extent of such a discussion is dependent on the level of accuracy required by the census bureau and subsequently the diligence of the enumerators themselves. In 1850, for example, enumerators recorded the majority of inhabitants from the German Empire as being born in ‘Germany’ rather than stating the exact state or territory. By 1870 however, there was a greater focus on the specific region within the German Empire and so a more detailed interpretation can be formed. This also illustrates the distinct cultural divisions that existed within the German community and also explains, in part at least, the diversity that characterised the group. Accordingly, by 1900, the prevalence of individual state names has decreased significantly reflecting perhaps the acceptance of German unification among the German émigrés in both Midwestern cities.

An analysis of immigrant generation origins is also beneficial in identifying the various components in the step migration processes for both groups (see Table 3.5 and 3.6). Consistently, within the Irish community a clear pattern is evident in the stages of migration for that group. Although as expected a clear majority of Irish immigrants living in both Fort Wayne and St Louis were born in Ireland, enumerators also recorded England and Canada as recurring places of birth. Significantly, Canada ranks second to Ireland as the place of birth for immigrants resident in Fort Wayne for the three decades considered in table 3.6. This seems logical given both Fort Wayne and Indiana’s location in relation to the Canadian border. To a lesser extent, Scotland and Wales are also recorded as ‘places of birth’ confirming Guinnane’s statement that, ‘the transition from rural Ireland to urban North America did take several steps. One common strategy was to spend a period of time in Great Britain.’⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Timothy Guinnane, *The vanishing Irish: households, migration and the rural economy in Ireland, 1850-1914* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), p. 181.

Table 3.5 Origin of German immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850-1900

St Louis 1850-1900		Fort Wayne 1850-1900	
Country/State of birth	No. born	Country/State of birth	No. born
<u>1850</u>		<u>1850</u>	
Germany	13,269	Germany	1276
Prussia	15	Prussia	5
Switzerland	6	Canada	3
Hannover	6	At sea	2
France	5		
Holland	4		
England	2		
<u>1870</u>		<u>1870</u>	
Prussia	4644	Prussia	289
Hannover	1520	Bavaria	86
Bavaria	1292	Württemberg	85
Baden	1078	Baden	65
Hessan	971	Hessan	56
Saxony	295	Hannover	36
Hesse-Darmstadt	219	Hesse-Darmstadt	30
Nassau	133	Saxony	18
Germany	101	Germany	12
Hesse-Cassel	81	Nassau	6
<u>1900</u>		<u>1900</u>	
Germany	5623	Germany	940
Prussia	16	Canada	10
Russia	13	Prussia	6
France	8	France	4
Canada	8		
Austria	7		
Poland	7		
England	5		
At sea	5		
Holland	4		
Brazil	4		
Bavaria	2		

Table 3.6 Origin of Irish immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850-1900

St Louis 1850-1900		Fort Wayne 1850-1900	
Country	No. born	Country	No. born
<u>1850</u>		<u>1850</u>	
Ireland	3067	Ireland	196
England	20	Canada	12
Canada	6	England	2
Wales	3		
Scotland	1		
Isle of Man	1		
At Sea	1		
<u>1870</u>		<u>1870</u>	
Ireland	4722	Ireland	302
Canada	59	Canada	9
England	46	England	1
Scotland	8		
Wales	2		
<u>1900</u>		<u>1900</u>	
Ireland	1043	Ireland	195
England	66	Canada	23
Canada	42	England	11
Scotland	8		
Wales	3		
Sweden	2		
Mexico	1		
South Africa	1		

By contrast however, a chain-migration trend seems more applicable to the German community, as an overwhelming majority of the immigrant generation were born in the German states. This suggests that intermediate migrations between the German Empire and the United States were not as popular in this community as it was for their Irish counterparts. However, where a step-migration process is evident, birthplaces like England and Canada are also popular, but also locations like France, Switzerland and Brazil, illustrating the varying migratory configurations of the two communities.

In assessing the census schedules, settlement patterns, particularly relating to the German community, can be identified. Interestingly, there were no Hanoverians resident in Fort Wayne in 1870, but in St Louis they were the second most popular group of Germanic origin, confirming the presence of chain migration in St Louis. Furthermore, Württembergers were the third most populous group of German immigrants in Fort Wayne in 1870, yet in St Louis, their presence in the city was negligible as they were not recorded within the ten most recurring places of birth for that year.

The final significant observation to be made here is the fact that in 1870, only 101 immigrants resident in St Louis identified themselves as having been born in 'Germany', while the number in Fort Wayne was only twelve. This reflects the importance of regional identities to German immigrants in America and also suggests that once acculturation was achieved, the political affairs of the homeland were a secondary concern and the importance of popular discourse regarding the homeland was less important to German immigrants than it was to their Irish contemporaries. However, a numerical analysis of census schedules cannot confirm this observation without the support of qualitative data (see section 7.12).

3.7 Conclusion

The construction of an immigrant profile in this manner benefits the contextualisation of the immigrant experience. Similar to the Irish in Butte, Montana, or the Irish in San Francisco, Irish immigrants to St Louis were usually under thirty, probably male and most likely unmarried.⁸⁹ Similarly, the German profile complements Neils-Conzen's immigrant profile of the German community in Milwaukee.⁹⁰ Furthermore, in comparing a larger city with a developing town, the contrasts are again visible and it is possible to identify the types of immigrants that migrated to each location. Yet, what is also evident is that many of the Midwestern immigrants still faced similar adversities as those experienced by their fellow immigrants on the east coast.

One of the most significant contrasts emerging from this immigrant profile is the difference in the types of immigrant experience endured by the immigrants. Undoubtedly, although the German community did experience cultural divisions within the group, their resources in the pre-emigration phase ensured that they could embrace the American west in a way that the Irish community could not. Yet, despite this relative economic security, the immigrant experience did present challenges to the German immigrant population. Whereas the Irish community were less secure in terms of their material worth, they were nonetheless a more unified immigrant group because of their shared class and religion. Divisions based on regional, class and religious differences meant that the German community as a whole did not, and could not, exercise an influence proportional to size. This is exemplified by the fact that the Irish community, although significantly smaller than their German counterparts, nonetheless dominated political and religious affairs both on the east coast and in the Midwest.

⁸⁹ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, pp 62-94; R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Manchester, 1979).

⁹⁰ Kathleen Neils-Conzen, 'The German Athens: Milwaukee and the accommodation of its immigrants, 1836-1860' (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972).

Despite this, the legacy of both immigrant communities on St Louis and Fort Wayne should not be misinterpreted. Both communities were integral in developing the cities in terms of the economic, cultural, religious and political hierarchies, while still succeeding in retaining their own cultural exclusivity and ethnic values.

In achieving social mobility, it is interesting to note the types of immigrant neighbourhoods that emerged. The Irish St Louis is the only one of the four immigrant communities that was forced to adopt a ghetto structure. However, it was also the St Louis Irish that exhibited the most social mobility over the period in question. Arguably, both Ward and Neils-Conzen's models work in unison. Given the unstable economic situation of the St Louis Irish, the ghetto model was the only type of ethnic community that the group could adopt. However, when social mobility was attainable, the group progressed to the type of social structure proposed by Neils-Conzen. Thus, the social structure of an ethnic community was fundamentally based on the context in which the immigration occurred, and repeatedly, German emigrants originated from a more stable economic environment ensuring that their immigrant experience was characterised differently than that of their Irish counterparts. However, this economic stability was also reflected in the types of employment obtained and pursued by both immigrant groups.

4.1 Introduction

Christian Meyer, druggist. Edward Fogerty, blacksmith. August Spilker, saloon keeper. Thomas Donnelly, railroad contractor. There is little doubt, as Anbinder comments, ‘that the New World offered a much wider array of jobs than the Old’.¹ Yet, this ‘wider array of jobs’ was not only evident on the east coast, but across the Midwest and West as well. In both Fort Wayne and St Louis, German and Irish immigrants pursued a vibrant multiplicity of occupations in a bid to acquire both economic security and ultimately, social mobility. In the US Federal Census of 1880, Fort Wayne’s German and Irish residents recorded 168 varying occupations across seven occupational categories. Contrastingly, their counterparts further south in St Louis were engaged in a total of 1,040 occupations across all nine of the Census Bureau occupational categories (see Table 4.1).²

Emmons writes that, ‘Industrial safety valves, if they were to function properly ... had to release the potentially mutinous into brave, new and different worlds ... from an urban and industrial East into a rural, small town and agrarian west’.³ Although St Louis hardly constitutes a ‘small town’ in the same way as Emmons’ statement might refer to Fort Wayne, his comment nonetheless retains its relevance when considering the economic structure of both St Louis and Fort Wayne. Many of the ‘mutinous’ Emmons refers to made their way to cities like Fort Wayne and St Louis for economic reasons where they certainly encountered ‘new and different worlds’. This chapter will investigate these worlds through an economic lens, aiming to interpret, illustrate and explain how integral economic stability and subsequently, economic success, was in defining the structure of the immigrant community. Accordingly, not only is the immigrant

¹ Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth century neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world’s most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001), p. 111.

² All information for this analysis is derived from US Federal Census returns for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850-1900. US Federal Census St Louis, MO 1850, wards 1 and 6, US Federal Census St Louis, MO 1860-80, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne 1850-60, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1870-1900, wards 2 and 6, available at: ancestry.com, (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013). Hereafter referred to as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN 1850-1900, personal database.

³ David Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: the Irish in the West, 1845-1910* (Norman, OK, 2010), p. 34.

generation itself investigated, but also a generational analysis is undertaken, with the aim of further elucidating the immigrant experience, and more importantly, its legacy. Throughout this examination, comparisons are undertaken through both ratio analysis and percentage representation, as this allows for more relative comparisons to be deduced. For the most part, this discussion focuses almost exclusively on male involvement in the economic sphere.⁴

4.2 Census classifications

One of the most important duties enumerators were tasked with was identifying the various types of gainful employment citizens pursued. In a booklet entitled *Instructions to enumerators, 1900*, enumerators were informed that the occupation column was, ‘a most important question’ and they should ‘endeavour *always* to ascertain the kind of work done and so state it’.⁵ The booklet also outlined the types of occupations typical of each of the nine census categories, and so upon collation of the census records, each occupation was distributed accordingly. It is these nine categories that are used here to interpret and examine German and Irish involvement in the economies of Fort Wayne and St Louis (See Table 4.1).

Similar to Burchell’s study of the Irish in San Francisco, Vinyard’s analysis of the Irish in Detroit, and Neils-Conzen’s investigation of Germans in Minnesota, this investigation also identifies occupational trends and interprets them in relative terms.⁶ In comparing the cities of Fort Wayne and St Louis, the smaller economic structure of Fort Wayne is immediately apparent.

⁴ Female employment and economic prospects are considered in detail in chapter eight.

⁵ Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth census of the United States, June 1, 1900, Instructions to enumerators* (Washington DC, 1900) available at: United States Census Bureau, (<http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/>) (11 Feb. 2013).

⁶ R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Los Angeles, CA, 1980), pp 52-73; Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the urban frontier, Detroit, 1850-1880* (New York, NY, 1976); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: the people of Minnesota* (St Paul, MN, 2003), pp 25-41; see also Thomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest, 1850-1920* (Albuquerque, NM, 2005), pp 73-103; Harmut Keil and John B. Jentz (eds), *German workers in Chicago: a documentary history of working class culture from 1850 to World War I* (Chicago, IL, 1998), pp 52-99 and Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and prejudice: a study of Irish immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork, 1982), pp 98-110.

Table 4.1 1900 US Federal Census Instructions to Enumerators regarding occupation, trade or profession⁷

<i>Census classification</i>	<i>Occupational examples</i>
<i>Agricultural pursuits</i> – those involved in agricultural endeavours including farming, forestry and food production	Farmer, farm labourer, lumberman, gardener, stock herder, wood chopper, plant grower, nurseryman, dairyman, livery stable keeper etc.
<i>Fishing</i> – those involved in the harvesting of marine life from water sources	Fisherman, oysterman etc.
<i>Mining and Quarrying</i> – those involved in the mining of coal (as opposed to ore) and the quarrying of stone	Quarryman, collier, coal miner etc.
<i>Professional pursuits</i> – those involved in highly skilled pursuits and/or those engaged in a particular profession	Actor, artist, teacher, clergyman, dentist, doctor, architect, draftsman, civil engineer, mechanical or mining engineer, lawyer, musician, journalist, government clerk, physician, veterinary surgeon etc.
<i>Domestic and personal service</i> – those who work in the home and/or related service industries. Those involved in the care and defence of the community	House wife, house keeper, servant, washerwoman, boarding house keeper, bartender, saloon keeper, restaurant keeper, policeman, soldier, fireman etc.
<i>Pursuits of trade and transportation</i> – those involved in trade and commerce and those who work in the transportation sector	Real estate agent, insurance agent, clerk, bookkeeper, wholesale dry goods, store clerk, stenographer, pedlar, hackman, drayman, furniture car driver, locomotive engineer, hostler, teamster, telegraph operator, steamboat captain, longshoreman etc.
<i>Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits</i> – those involved in the manufacture of goods and development of mechanical industries. Those with skills in a particular trade	Painter, cooper, cabinet maker, tobacco manufacturer, shoemaker, foundry worker, moulder, finisher, cotton spinner, butcher, baker, hatter, tailor, dressmaker, milliner etc.
<i>Non-gainful pursuits</i> – those not employed in gainful employment, excluding those who work in the home	Patient, pauper, child, pensioner, retired person etc.
<i>Education</i> – those currently receiving education through a recognised institution	School student, college student, medical student, law student etc.

⁷ Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth census of the United States, June 1 1900, Instructions to enumerators* (Washington DC, 1900) available at: United States Census Bureau (<http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/>) (7 Feb. 2013).

Accordingly, this is reflected in the types of occupations pursued (see Fig. 4.1-4.4). Taking the years, 1860, 1880 and 1900 as examples, it was not until 1900 that there is evidence of the Fort Wayne economy expanding into new sectors like mining and quarrying for example.⁸ Throughout the fifty year period, despite its rural, small town characteristics, there was decreasing engagement with agricultural pursuits, such as farming and lumber processing. Proportionally, however, more German and Irish immigrants were engaged in agricultural pursuits in Fort Wayne over the fifty year period than their counterparts in St Louis. This is perhaps a logical conclusion given the contrasting size of each city, yet interestingly, by 1900 immigrants in St Louis were two and a half times more likely to work in agriculture than their fellow immigrants in Fort Wayne. Perhaps surprisingly, it was not Irish immigrants who were most willing to engage in the industry, but rather their German counterparts who engaged most frequently in agricultural pursuits in both cities. Furthermore, it is essential to interpret agricultural pursuits, not only in the traditional sense as farmers and ranchers, but also as gardeners, fruit growers and lumbermen as each of these occupations were also classified as agricultural pursuits. One likely explanation is that German immigrants had more capital from which to buy land than their Irish counterparts.

Those involved in professional pursuits often included doctors, lawyers, priests, nuns, government employees and teachers. Given the higher level of education of many German immigrants compared to their Irish contemporaries, it is hardly surprising that more members of the German community were employed in professional occupations than were Irish immigrants. However, this statement is only applicable to St Louis. Over the course of the five decades, German professionals in St Louis were recorded almost twice as regularly as Irish professionals and proportionally, the German group has a more consistent and consolidated share of this category. However, analysis of Fort Wayne's occupational structure presents a more challenging

⁸ For a thorough engagement with occupational trends, see appendices C and D.

interpretation. A relative analysis of immigrant involvement in the professions in Fort Wayne uncovered that proportionally, more Irish immigrants were pursuing occupations in the professional category than their German counterparts. This is interesting considering the perception of Fort Wayne as a German town and also the dominance of German immigrants in most of the other categories in the city.

By far the most popular categories in which male immigrants from both communities were engaged were 'Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits' and 'Pursuits of trade and transportation'. In both cities, German immigrants significantly outnumbered their Irish counterparts in the manufacturing category, both physically and relatively. In Fort Wayne, German involvement in manufacturing remained constant at approximately one in eight immigrants pursuing employment in manufacturing industries from 1850 to 1880. It was not until 1900 that German involvement in this sector increased with one in six workers now engaged in a manufacturing occupation. A possible reason for this was the continued dominance and development of the German immigrant group in the city which was paralleled with increasing manufacturing opportunities that emerged as a result of Fort Wayne's growing significance as a railroad depot. However, the Irish community in Fort Wayne exhibited a steady increase in those involved in the manufacturing sector. In 1850, only one in every twenty-eight workers was engaged in manufacturing industries. Yet, by 1900, Irish workers were five times more likely to be employed in this sector. This increasing trend should, however, coincide with a decrease in labourers and other Irish workers involved in the 'domestic and personal service' category. Accordingly, an increase in the trade and transportation sector should also be apparent. However, this is not so, as overall, more members of the Irish community are represented across all three categories. Thus, the increase in Irish involvement in manufacturing in Fort Wayne during the fifty year period is most likely attributable to the increasing size of the Irish

immigrant community, both in terms of its generational aspect and also increasing trends in the immigrant generation itself.

In St Louis, involvement in 'manufacturing and mechanical pursuits' was the most popular form of occupation after the 'domestic and personal service' occupations for members of both communities. However, this latter category almost exclusively consisted of females. Thus, in both cities, manufacturing was the most popular sector for male workers. Similar to Fort Wayne, St Louis' German and Irish communities both exhibited a gradual increase in the numbers of workers pursuing employment in this sector. However, in St Louis the rate of German increase was slower, ranging from one in seven workers in 1850 to one in four workers by 1900. Yet, the rate of increase among Irish workers was more rapid and experienced a sharp increase between 1850 and 1900. In 1850, only one in every fifteen Irish workers were engaged in a manufacturing pursuit. By 1870, this had risen to one in eleven and by 1900, one in every five Irish workers was engaged in a manufacturing occupation. Given the generational development of each group, these figures would seem to suggest that social mobility at the lower end of the economic ladder was more prominent among Irish workers than German workers, as they exhibited larger and more extensive increases in the types of employment they pursued, which ultimately reflected their social status. The increase by 1900 might also be attributable to the higher standard of education that generational members of the Irish immigrant group were receiving, particularly compared with the immigrant generation itself, who were largely employed as labourers and so categorised in the 'domestic and personal service' classification.

Fig. 4.1 German and Irish occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850⁹

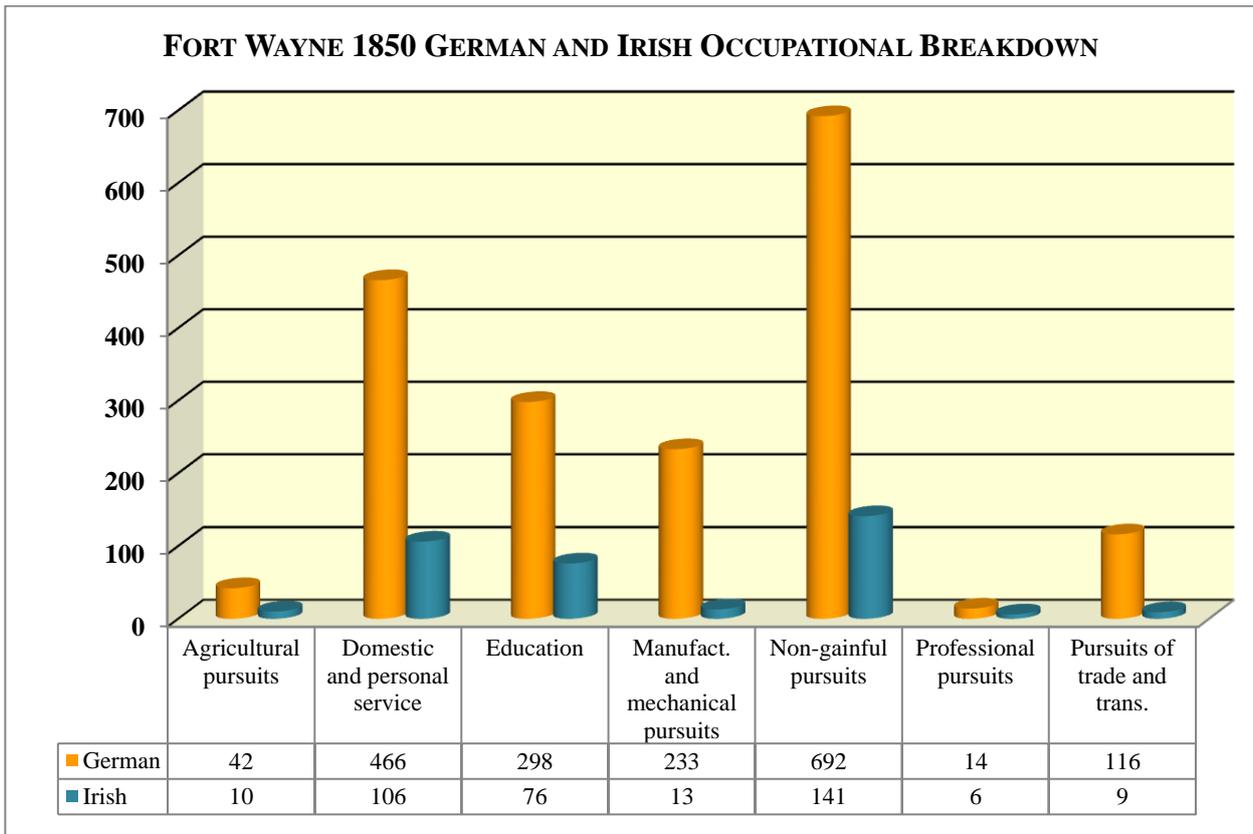
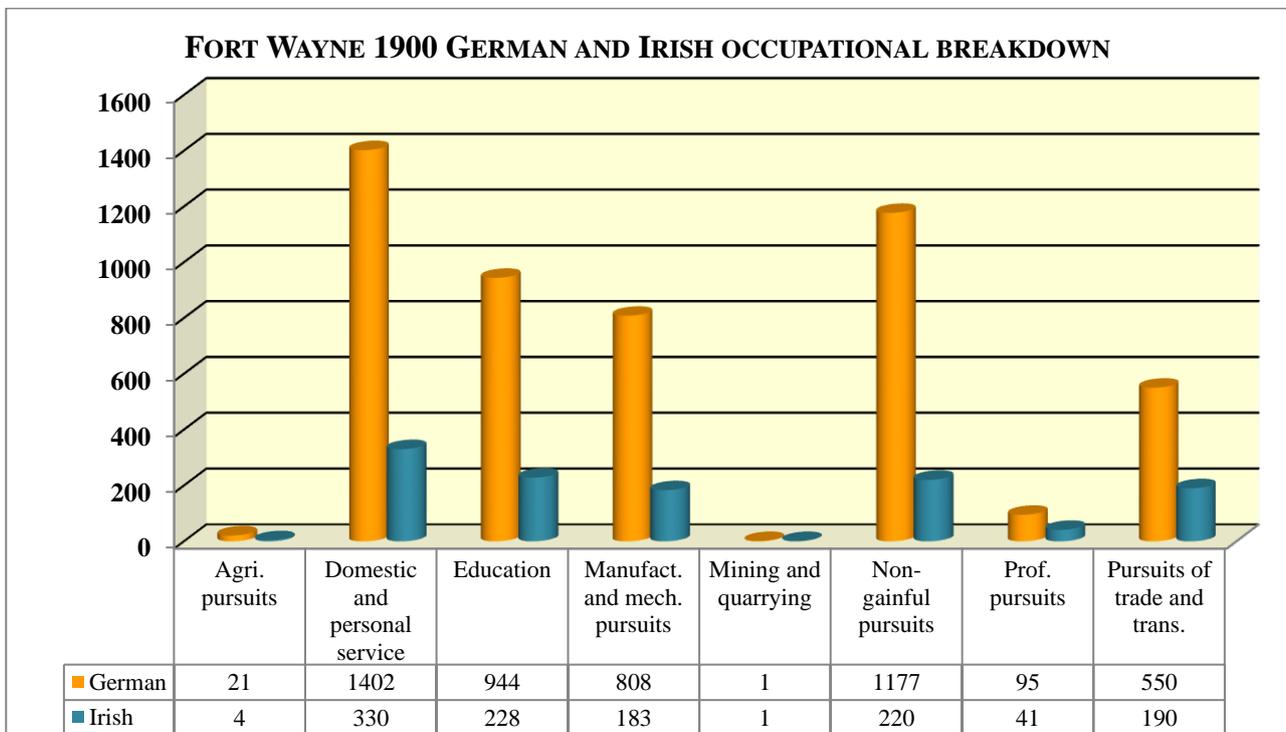


Fig. 4.2 German and Irish occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900



⁹ German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN 1850-1900, personal database.

‘Pursuits of trade and transportation’ is the other most significant category in considering male immigrant employment trends. The consolidation of this category to include commercial interests as well as transportation concerns is perhaps an oversight on the part of the Census Bureau. Nonetheless, this category, similar to manufacturing, is integral to deciphering variations in the pyramidal structure of immigrant employment trends. German engagement with this sector in Fort Wayne experienced turbulent trends over the fifty year period, with alternate years demonstrating peaks and fluctuations in the sector. Overall, however, by 1900 German immigrants were almost twice as likely to engage in employment in this sector as they were in 1850. Their Irish counterparts also exhibited an overall increase in this sector with workers over six times more likely to pursue employment in the trade and transportation sector in 1900 than they were in 1850. The reason for this increase in both communities was the introduction of the railroad to Fort Wayne, for by 1900, Fort Wayne had established itself as an important stop on the Pennsylvania Railroad, among others. The 1900 city directory for Fort Wayne records eleven railroad companies operating out of the city, compared to only seven in 1872.¹⁰ Thus the increase in the number of those recorded in the ‘pursuits of trade and transportation’ sector was realised not only by railroad workers, labourers, switchmen and drivers, but also by clerks who were responsible for selling tickets, luggage handlers, conductors and even engine cleaners. The emergence of these railroads benefitted the Fort Wayne economy in both the commercial and transportation spheres.

¹⁰ R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City and Allen County directory, 1900* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1900), pp 60-1; H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley, commencing with its occupation by the French in 1860* (Toledo, OH, 1872), p. 395.

Fig. 4.3 German and Irish occupational trends, St Louis, 1850

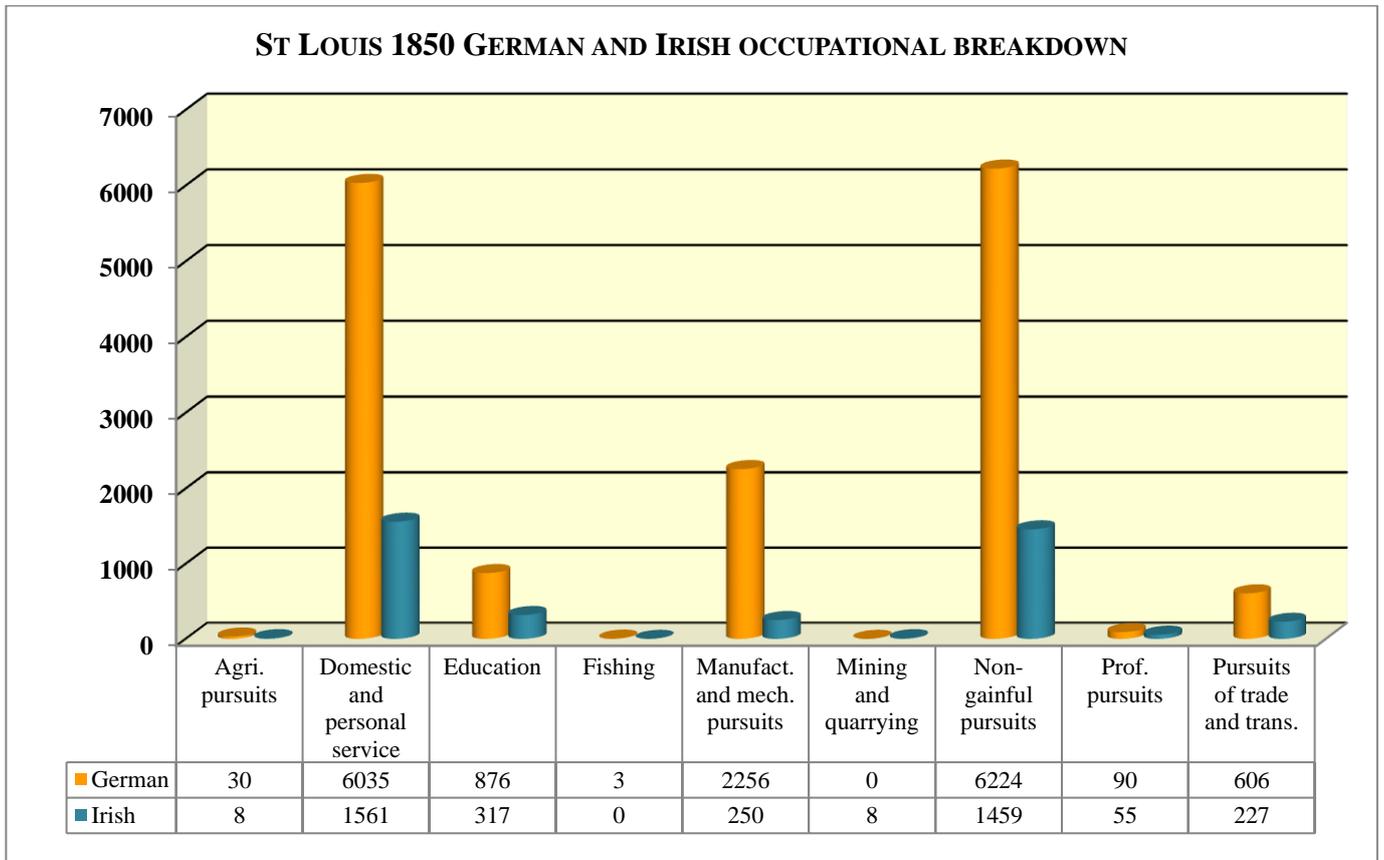
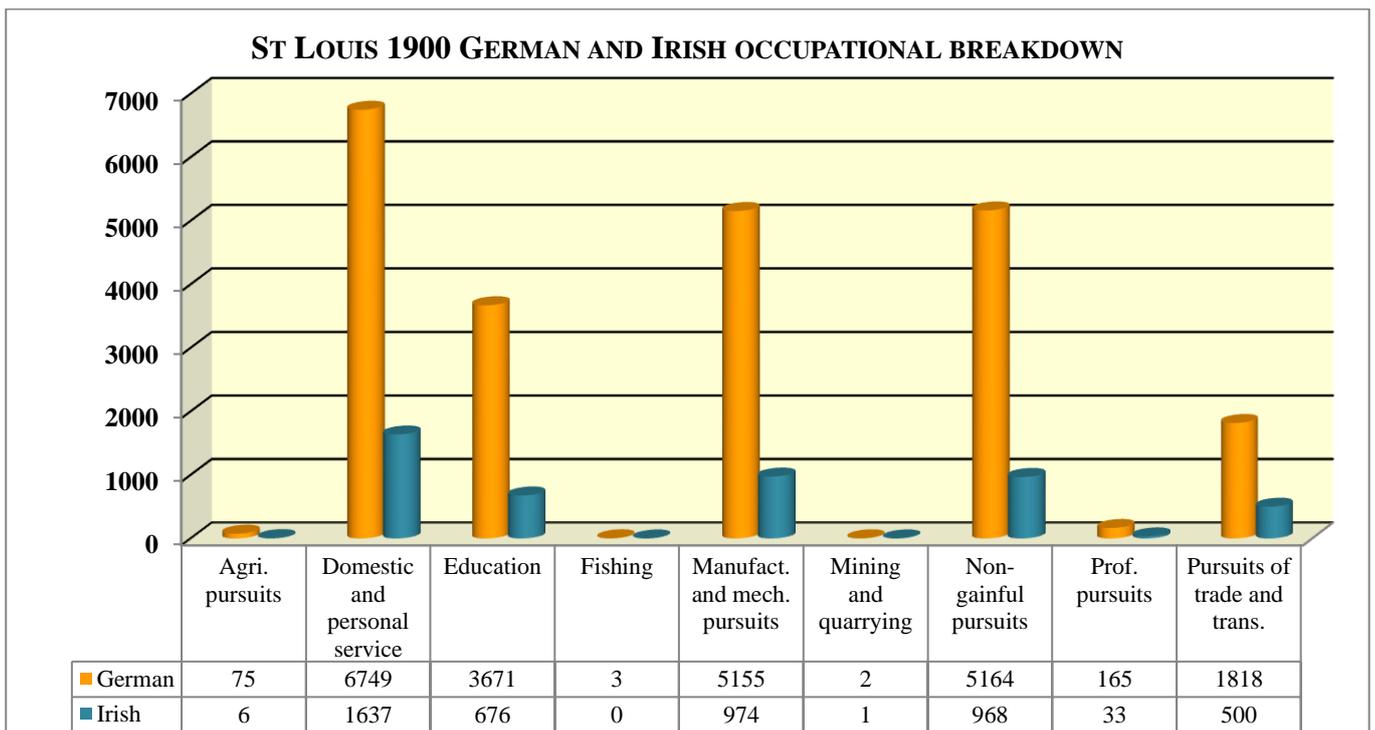


Fig. 4.4 German and Irish occupational trends, St Louis, 1900



Trade and transportation in St Louis experienced a somewhat different trend than it did in Fort Wayne. Interestingly, the rate of German involvement in this sector surpassed the rate of Irish participation for the first time in this analysis. By 1900, Germans were more than twice as likely to work in trade or transportation pursuits, compared to an increase of just over one and a half times for the Irish community during the period from 1850 to 1900. The ratio of German workers in this sector by 1900 was one in twelve workers compared to one in nine workers from the Irish community. Thus, although the Irish rate of increase was slower, proportionally, more Irish workers pursued employment in this sector than their German counterparts. This is significant as it reinforces the difference in the size of each immigrant group and demonstrates perhaps, that social mobility was more easily attained in the Irish immigrant group as a whole due to their increased involvement in all sectors relative to the German community. That said, however, it must be remembered that the Irish immigrant group began its social transition from a lower base than that of their German contemporaries.

Aside from these two influential categories, the ‘domestic and personal service’ category, as well as the ‘education’ and ‘non-gainful pursuit’ classifications recorded the most number of entries. Although the ‘domestic and personal service’ category is analysed in detail in chapter eight (see section 8.2), it seems pertinent to summarise its trends here. Despite the population increase in German and Irish communities in both cities, both communities exhibited a steady and constant engagement with the domestic industries. In both Fort Wayne and St Louis, the number of people employed in this sector averaged one in three for both communities over the fifty year period. This implies that despite the fluctuations in each of the other categories over the course of the five decades, ‘domestic and personal service’ remained the most popular category. However, this trend should not be misinterpreted, as in essence, this is the only category that female workers employed in the home, or indeed outside of it, were classified. What is significant however, is the fact that proportionally, a similar number of workers were

engaged in this sector for both communities in both cities, and this reflects one of the most unifying trends which emerges from the data.

Those classified as being included in 'non-gainful pursuits' included members of the community who declared themselves to be retired, or those unable to work such as prisoners or hospital patients. However, by far the most numerous group assigned to this category were the younger members of each immigrant group; those not yet attending school, or those who had finished education but had not yet acquired gainful employment. In this instance, the data shows some startling trends. In both St Louis and Fort Wayne, the trends for each immigrant group were the same over the course of the five decades. One in every two and a half immigrants in both cities in 1850 was recorded as being a member of the 'non-gainful' category. By 1900, this number had decreased to one in four Germans and one in five Irish in both locations. Not only is the uniformity of these trends of interest, closer interpretation also suggests that the rate of increase in each community had decreased by 1900 and also the rate of employment had increased with members of each community becoming part of some of the 'gainful' categories, characterising perhaps the slower rate of immigration in both communities by 1900.

The final sector to be considered here is education. Census analysis and interpretation provides a good insight into increasing German access to education. With respect to the German community, Fort Wayne fared much better in ensuring that its children were educated. In 1850, one in six German children were involved in regular education. By 1900, this number had increased to one in five. However, in St Louis, there is an obvious discrepancy between the number of German and Irish children regularly attending school. In 1850, only one in eighteen children overall were regularly attending school. By 1900, however, this number has increased three fold and by the turn of the century, there are more German children attending regular schooling than their Irish counterparts. Although the discrepancy is small, – one in six German children to one in seven Irish children – this trend illustrates a number of essential points. Firstly,

it highlights the developments in the public school system in St Louis over the course of the five decades and secondly, it also highlights the integral role played by the various churches in establishing schools within the community, which ultimately corresponds to the higher number of children attending school by 1900. However, it should also be noted that an enumerators diligence in recording access to education was not as resolute as their efforts to record an occupation which provided a tangible income and so these trends are only as accurate as the information provided by the enumerators will allow.

An analysis of occupational trends of two immigrant groups such as this is beneficial in ascertaining the development of one group in comparison to another. In particular, the fact that German involvement in agriculture was more prominent than Irish involvement complements studies of the Irish community which consider the urbanised employment trends of the Irish on the east coast.¹¹ It has been widely acknowledged that Irish workers in cities reneged on their agricultural heritage. However, Emmons, among others, has argued that this was not necessarily a conscious decision.¹² A variety of factors influenced the tendency of Irish immigrants to remain in urban centres. Firstly, many Irish immigrants did not have the economic independence to migrate west and immediately purchase land and construct a homestead. Furthermore, housing was cheaper in urban locations and employment was more readily attainable. Accordingly, as Emmons notes, ‘the assumptions were that the Irish did not want to farm and did not know how to farm ... [yet] the Irish did want to ... and did know how to, but they wanted to farm the Irish way and only knew how to farm that way, which meant in close proximity to other Irish farmers on a small scale’.¹³ Furthermore, due to their significant economic superiority over their Irish counterparts, German immigrants were more regularly targeted by American land promoters and

¹¹ Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: generation, class and ethnic identity in a New England city, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), pp 99-120; Anbinder, *Five points*, pp 106-40; Joseph P. Blanchette, *The view from Shanty Pond: an Irish immigrants look at life in a New England mill town, 1875-1938* (Charlotte, VT, 1999), pp 63-101; Brian C. Mitchell, *The Paddy camps: the Irish of Lowell, 1821-61* (Chicago, IL, 2006), pp 78-101.

¹² David Emmons, *Beyond the American pale*, p. 228; Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, NY, 2000), p. 144.

¹³ Emmons, *Beyond the American pale*, p. 228.

because of their economic security more German immigrants could exploit the land market in the Midwest compared with Irish immigrants.

4.3 Generational trends

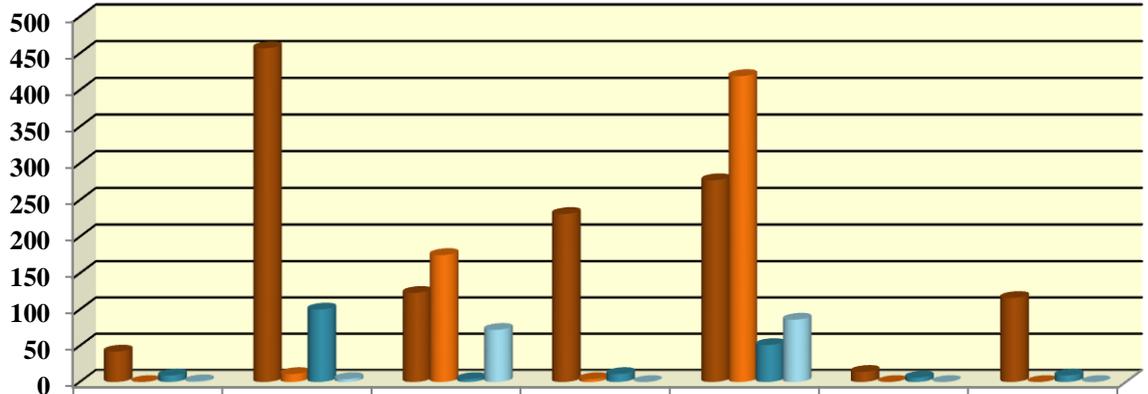
Ward comments that ‘the transition from labour migrant to immigrant was often spasmodic and slow [but] ... the second and third generation of most, but not all, migrant groups did gain access to the more secure strata of the labour force’.¹⁴ An analysis of the generational composition of both immigrant groups is essential in determining the economic success of an immigrant group. Through analysis of census records, it was possible to record first, second, third and in isolated instances fourth generation immigrants. Accordingly, it is possible to trace their economic involvement over the fifty year period.

Figures 4.5 and 4.6 illustrate the generational breakdown of both communities in Fort Wayne in 1850 and 1900. In 1850, the impact of the immigrant generation is clear. In both groups, it is the first generation that has the most workers in the pivotal categories of manufacturing, trade and domestic and personal service. However, the second generation are predominately recorded in the education and non-gainful pursuit categories, implying that the economic success of both communities is reliant on the economic success of the immigrant generation itself. However, by 1900, the economic structure of both communities has altered significantly. In 1900, it would appear that it is the second and third generations of both communities that dictate the economic structure of their ethnic group. For example, whereas

¹⁴ David Ward, *Poverty, ethnicity and the American city, 1840-1925: changing conceptions of the slum and the ghetto* (New York, 1989), p. 200.

Fig. 4.5 German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850

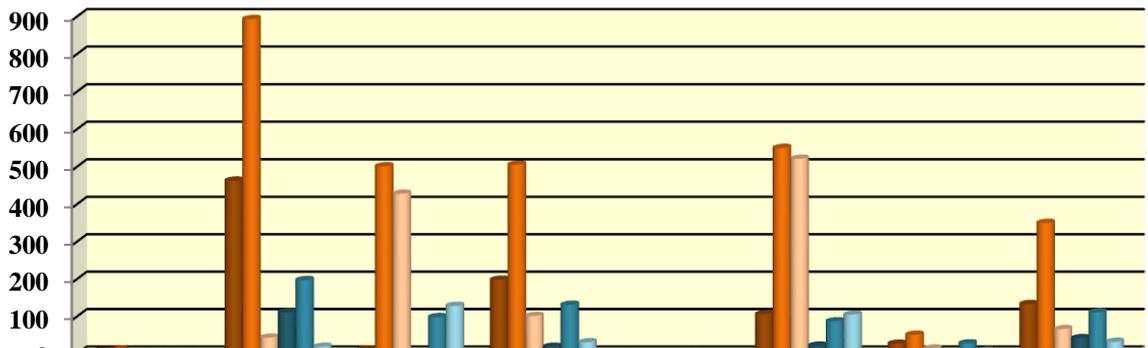
GERMAN AND IRISH OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN BY GENERATION AND ETHNICITY, FORT WAYNE, 1850



1st generation German	42	457	123	231	277	14	116
2nd generation German	0	11	175	4	419	0	0
1st generation Irish	9	100	4	11	51	6	9
2nd generation Irish	1	4	72	0	86	0	0

Fig. 4.6 German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900

GERMAN AND IRISH OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN BY GENERATION AND ETHNICITY, FORT WAYNE, 1900



1st generation German	8	464	13	199	1	107	28	134
2nd generation German	11	894	502	506	0	551	52	351
3rd generation German	2	44	429	102	0	522	15	67
1st generation Irish	2	112	0	20	1	23	3	43
2nd generation Irish	2	198	99	132	0	88	29	112
3rd generation Irish	0	20	129	32	0	106	9	33

in 1850, it was predominantly the immigrant generation that controlled the manufacturing and trade and transportation categories, it is very firmly the second and even third generations that prevail in 1900. For both communities, the numerical advantage of the generational composition of each community has ensured that the 'more secure strata of the labour force' Ward refers to, has been attained.

Ward's sentiments are confirmed in particular by an examination of Fort Wayne's involvement with the transportation sector. In 1850, only the immigrant generation is represented in this category. However, as the half century progressed, the railroad industry developed in Fort Wayne, and by 1900, this sector came second only to manufacturing in providing gainful employment. Thus, one of the most important aspects in attaining the economic stability sought by immigrants was the successful exploitation of structural changes to the economy by the second and subsequent generations. More employment opportunities coupled with increased access to gainful employment, primarily through the family structure, had thus ensured that a certain level of economic security had been acquired by both groups by 1900.

A generational analysis of both immigrant groups in St Louis reiterates the trends which emerged in Fort Wayne for the same period. However, in St Louis, these trends are even more pronounced. Similar to both communities in Fort Wayne, the immigrant generation dominated all of the occupational categories in 1850. By 1900, however, it is clearly the second generation that participate most regularly in the key sectors of manufacturing, trade and transportation and domestic and personal service. What is also significant is that by 1900, the occupational trends in St Louis would seem to suggest that immigrants from both groups were socially mobile. Both the German and Irish communities in St Louis decrease by 29% and 66% respectively from 1880 to 1900.

Fig. 4.7 German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1850

GERMAN AND IRISH OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN BY GENERATION AND ETHNICITY, ST LOUIS, 1850

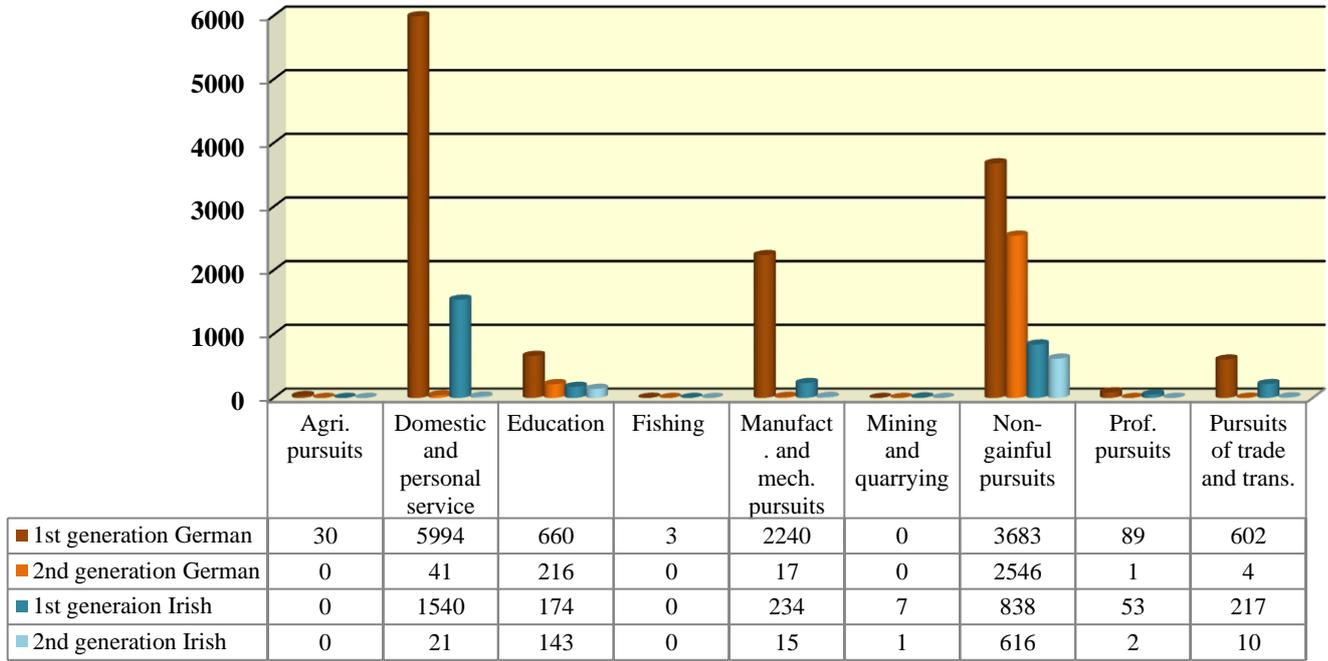
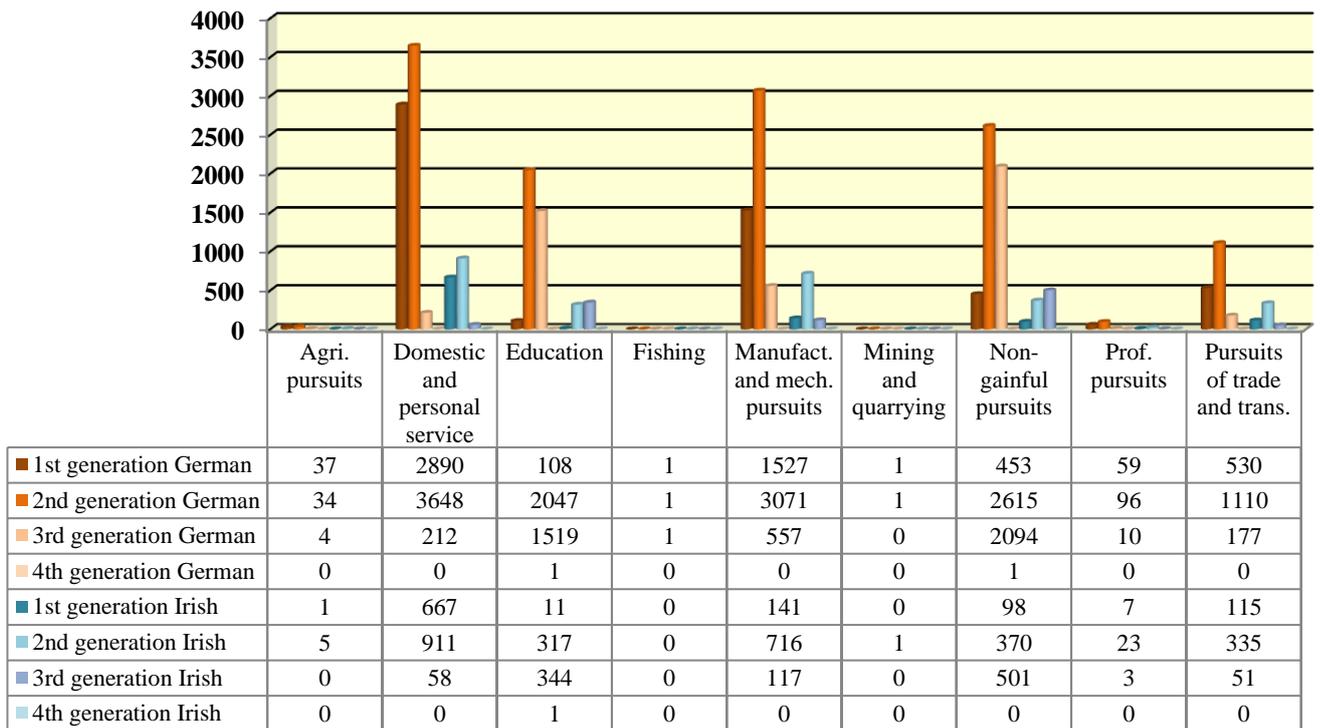


Fig. 4.8 German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1900

GERMAN AND IRISH OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN BY GENERATION AND ETHNICITY, ST LOUIS, 1900



Despite the redrawing of ward boundaries from 1880 to 1900, the nucleus of both communities remains constant and even allowing for the second enumeration of St Louis in November 1880, a decrease in each community would certainly seem to suggest social mobility was also a contributing factor in this decrease. The movement of German and Irish immigrants, coupled with their increasing influence on the economic structure of the city, as well as their decline in certain neighbourhoods, supports Ward's assertion that 'lifetime rates of mobility were modest among the migrant generation, the key indicator of advancement is the degree ... their descendants were able to take advantage of the structural shifts in capitalism that created ... more remunerative strata in the labour force.'¹⁵ It would seem that by 1900, the generational dimension of both the German and Irish communities had indeed taken advantage of the structural shifts in capitalism that Ward refers to, and in St Louis, perhaps even more so than in Fort Wayne, both German and Irish communities had attained a degree of economic security as well as social mobility.

4.4 Census classifications shortcomings

However, despite the usefulness of these census classifications in determining the extent to which immigrants participated in various sectors, they do encompass a number of shortcomings, which, in turn present interpretational issues particularly in the case of Irish economic involvement. Domestic and personal service is one such category. Day labourers, housewives, nurses and boarding house keepers were all assigned to this category by the Census Bureau. However, while each of these occupations are suitably allocated to this category, others like policeman, fireman and soldier are questionable. Many Irish immigrants, and to a lesser extent, their German counterparts pursued public service occupations like these, and yet were assigned the same classification as a day labourer or porter. This also leads to an over-

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 201.

representation of workers in the domestic and personal service category, when perhaps a public service classification would have been more appropriate. Certainly, due to the proportional abundance of Irish policemen and firemen relative to their German counterparts, this has led to an over-representation of both German and Irish immigrants in the domestic and personal service classification (see Table 4.2).

Another shortcoming of these classifications is the consolidation of the trade and transportation categories. Again, this has led to interpretational issues in assessing the Irish community. It is widely acknowledged that the Irish community were prolific in the development of transport networks across the United States, yet these classifications conceal a distortion between immigrant involvement in trade and in the transportation sector. Given the fact that the German community were more likely to become involved in business, whereas their Irish counterparts were more usually associated with the transport sector, the census classification of 'pursuits of trade and transportation' could easily misrepresent the true involvement of one group over the other.

Contrastingly, other investigations which have considered immigrant occupations, in particular Burchell's study of the Irish in San Francisco, overcame this problem by simply dividing immigrant occupations into two easily identifiable sectors, namely blue and white collar workers, with two further sub categories of 'skilled' and 'semi-skilled'.¹⁶ In considering the occupations of the Irish community in Worcester, Meagher also uses blue and white collar terminology.¹⁷ However, while this method does lend itself to a straight forward interpretation of the occupational superstructure, it dilutes the true extent of immigrant involvement in each specific sector. In her study of the Irish in York, Finnegan adopts a similar methodology by identifying specific occupations and comparing Irish involvement in these, with the number of

¹⁶ Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, pp 52-72.

¹⁷ Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, pp 45-6.

the overall workers in a given profession.¹⁸ However, this provides little comparison with similar ethnic communities and presents a one dimensional representation of the Irish occupational structure there. By contrast however, many German-American historians do not undertake a thorough numerical analysis of the occupational structure of the German community. Neils-Conzen's analysis of Germans in Minnesota provides a good overview of German involvement in some sectors at state level, but very little attention is given to the occupational structure at local and city level.¹⁹ Conversely, Jaehn does provide this localised analysis although he chooses to focus on occupational groups, for example, farmers, miners and servants, but again a thorough examination of the occupational trends encompassing the whole immigrant group are absent.²⁰

Accordingly, and primarily as a means of interrogating the data more accurately, while simultaneously providing a more concise overview of the pyramidal occupational structure of each community, both classifications, domestic and personal service, and pursuits of trade and transportation have been further sub-divided to include public service and trade and transportation. Table 4.2 illustrates how these classifications affected immigrants in both cities from 1850 to 1900. This table highlights the benefits of adapting the census classifications and provides for a more factual, and indeed tangible, engagement with the census data. By 1900, the Irish communities in both cities are more regularly employed in public service occupations than their German counterparts. In St Louis by 1900, a member of the Irish community was two and a half times more likely to work in the public service than his German contemporary. Similarly, with the exception of one year, 1870, the Irish immigrant group dominate public sector occupations in Fort Wayne until the end of the century. Yet, despite German dominance of the city throughout the period in question, their numerical advantage and the influence held by this group throughout the second half of the nineteenth century is not reflected in their involvement in public service jobs.

¹⁸ Finnegan, *Poverty and prejudice*, pp 98-109.

¹⁹ Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota*, pp 25-40.

²⁰ Jaehn, *Germans in the southwest*, pp 73-85.

Table 4.2 Adapted ethnic classification of public, transport and trade sectors, including associated ratio, as derived from original census classifications, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900²¹

St Louis	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Recorded domestic and personal service total (G+I)</i>	7,596	8,935	9,234	13,311	8,386
<i>No. of German in Public Service</i>	5 (1:3224)	13 (1: 1106)	36 (1:618)	53 (1:604)	70 (1:325)
<i>No. of Irish in Public Service</i>	9 (1:431)	21 (1:490)	28 (1:335)	70 (1:242)	37 (1:130)
Public Service total	14	34	64	123	107
Actual domestic and personal service total (G+I)	7,582	8,901	9,234	13,188	8,289
<i>Recorded pursuits of Trade and Transportation total (G+I)</i>	833	1,484	1,863	3,604	2,318
<i>No. of German in transportation sector</i>	225 (1:72)	312 (1:46)	425 (1:52)	571 (1:56)	593 (1:38)
<i>No. of Irish in transportation sector</i>	162 (1:24)	406 (1:25)	263 (1:35)	480 (1:29)	196 (1:24)
Actual Transportation total (G+I)	387	718	688	1051	789
<i>No. of German in trade sector</i>	381 (1:42)	564 (1:26)	920 (1:24)	1828 (1:18)	1225 (1:18)
<i>No. of Irish in trade sector</i>	65 (1:60)	202 (1:51)	255 (1:37)	725 (1:19)	304 (1:16)
Actual Trade total (G+I)	446	766	1175	2553	1488

Fort Wayne	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Recorded domestic and personal service total (G+I)</i>	572	1639	490	1097	1732
<i>No. of German in Public Service</i>	0 (1:n/a)	2 (1:2184)	3 (1:478)	6 (1:368)	22 (1:227)
<i>No. of Irish in Public Service</i>	1 (1:361)	2 (1:424)	1 (1:656)	10 (1:121)	7 (1:171)
Public Service total	1	4	4	16	29
Actual domestic and personal service total (G+I)	571	1635	486	1081	1703
<i>Recorded pursuits of Trade and Transportation total (G+I)</i>	125	302	160	222	740
<i>No. of German in transportation sector</i>	64 (1:29)	104 (1:42)	42 (1:34)	43 (1:51)	192 (1:26)
<i>No. of Irish in transportation sector</i>	7 (1:51)	51 (1:17)	47 (1:14)	60 (1:20)	96 (1:12)
Actual Transportation total (G+I)	71	155	89	103	288
<i>No. of German in trade sector</i>	52 (1:36)	132 (1:33)	66 (1:28)	104 (1:21)	358 (1:14)
<i>No. of Irish in trade sector</i>	2 (1:181)	15 (1:57)	5 (1:131)	15 (1:81)	94 (1:13)
Actual Trade total (G+I)	54	147	71	119	452

²¹ German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN, 1850-1900, personal database.

Arguably, there are two reasons for this. Firstly, as Meagher notes, ‘Irish immigrants, both men and women, had to learn their trades in America, and that learning process was very slow’.²² Moreover, involvement in the public sector required little artisanal knowledge and crucially, this enabled Irish immigrants to gain economic security as well as a prominent position in the community. As Meagher notes, ‘in America, the political rewards of public employment and contracts were growing rapidly in the late nineteenth century’,²³ and so perhaps the political training the Irish had received before emigration encouraged them to seek and acquire this type of public service employment. Conversely, many of their German counterparts were skilled in artisan trades like carpentry and tailoring and so economic security was achieved through execution of these skills. Language may also have been a consideration for German immigrants not entering public service occupations, particularly in the earlier decades of this study. Yet, perhaps the fundamental observation is that the perception of these jobs was significantly different in each immigrant group. From an Irish perspective, pursuing employment as a policeman, fireman, constable or sheriff was seen as an elevation in terms of social mobility. Significantly, however, the opposite was true of their German counterparts, where the pursuit of small enterprise was held in high esteem as evidenced by the number of German artisans recorded in the census schedules.

A similar trend emerges when considering Irish involvement in the transportation sector. Consistently, in both cities, more members of the Irish community are employed in transport related industries. In St Louis, an Irish immigrant was, on average, one and a half times more likely to be involved in the transportation sector. In Fort Wayne, from 1860 onwards, this number is even higher with Irish immigrants more than twice as likely to work in transportation activities rather than pursue a clerical occupation. Conversely, members of the German community in both cities participated more regularly in the trade sector. In this instance, Irish

²² Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, p. 48.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

immigrants are consistently outnumbered. German immigrants in St Louis from 1850 to 1870 were one and a half times more likely to become involved in enterprise than their Irish counterparts. This is due mainly to the highly developed artisanal knowledge of the German community. Many German immigrants and their families opened stores, selling bakery goods, shoes and furniture, much of which was manufactured by the family as well. Aside from this, members of the German community engaged more eagerly with new industries like electricity and telegraph communications, and so this in part explains German dominance of the trade sector (see appendices C and D).

It was not until the end of the century that the Irish in both Fort Wayne and St Louis began to compete with German immigrants in this sector. Significantly, by 1880 in St Louis, both German and Irish communities exhibited a ratio of approximately one in every twenty members pursuing employment in trade related occupations. This was the first time since 1850 that the Irish and German communities in St Louis had an equal share in the sector, proportional to their respective sizes of course. Perhaps largely because of its smaller size, this trend does not emerge in Fort Wayne until the turn of the century. An increasing Irish population, as well as the prominent diversification of German labour from the trade and transportation sector to the manufacturing industries enabled members of the Irish community to benefit from increased involvement in the trade sector, where they performed better than their German counterparts. In Fort Wayne, by 1900, one in thirteen Irish immigrants pursued an occupation which is classified as a 'trade' pursuit, while German involvement was slightly lower at one in fourteen Germans in the same sector. Although this difference is negligible, it does nonetheless, highlight decreasing Irish involvement in traditional sectors like the domestic and personal services areas and a more conscious diversification to more specialised industries.

By separating these two census classifications, a more thorough understanding of the employment pursuits of each community can be acquired. Although German immigrants

consistently outnumbered their Irish counterparts in the generic classification of ‘Pursuits of trade and transportation’, both communities are misrepresented. Similarly, both groups have members who participated in public service occupations. However, relative to each group, the generic classification of ‘domestic and personal service’ compromised the true involvement of both Irish and German immigrants in public service occupations. Thus, by sub-dividing these two categories, a more accurate interpretation of the types of work pursued by both German and Irish immigrant communities reinforces their individual distinctiveness and benefits a more exacting comparison of the economic structure of each group.

4.5 Securing ‘genteel employment’²⁴

Table 4.3 German and Irish occupational trends in the professional sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900

Ethnic analysis, including percentage relative to each group, of immigrants engaged in Professional Pursuits, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900						
<i>City</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	<i>German</i>	14	48	23	53	95
		<1.0%	1.1%	1.8%	2.4%	1.9%
	<i>Irish</i>	6	11	6	23	41
		1.6%	1.3%	<1%	1.9%	3.4%
<i>St Louis</i>	<i>German</i>	90	167	221	349	165
		<1.0%	1.2%	1.0%	1.1%	<1%
	<i>Irish</i>	55	70	42	144	33
		1.4%	<1.0%	<1%	1.0%	<1%

Dr Thomas O’Reilly, a native of Virginia, Co Cavan, was born in 1827 and immigrated to London at the age of twenty-two. O’Reilly had received a good education in Ireland and in 1840, at the age of thirteen, O’Reilly presented himself in front of the examiners at Apothecary’s Hall in Dublin. Upon passing the exam it was decided O’Reilly was ready to begin the study of medicine. During the famine, O’Reilly worked briefly with a group of French doctors who had been sent to Ireland to research typhus and typhoid fevers, but in 1849, he decided to leave

²⁴ *The Pharmaceutical Era*, 15 May 1890.

Ireland and attend the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Shortly, thereafter he decided to immigrate again, this time to America, and upon arriving in New York made his way to St Louis where he began his own medical practice. This practice developed quickly and by 1861, O'Reilly was able to make a return visit to Co. Cavan. However, after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, O'Reilly returned to St Louis, where he supported the secession movement. O'Reilly still retained his allegiance to the homeland however, and as Hyde and Conard commented, 'he has been prominent among Irish-Americans, who have laboured unremittingly to obtain Home Rule for Ireland.'²⁵ O'Reilly continued to practice medicine and became a highly regarded physician in the city, publishing extensively in the medical press. His papers entitled *Beneficial influence of tobacco as an antidote to strychnine poisoning* and *The influence of rest and recreation as a cure for nervous prostration* were very well received in the profession.²⁶

Immigrants like Thomas O'Reilly represented only approximately 1% of both immigrant groups in 1850. The correlation of professionals in both cities over the period 1850-1900 remained relatively low and in St Louis, effectively no increase in the level of immigrant employment in the professional sector is evident. In fact, in the case of Irish professionals in St Louis, there was an overall decrease in the period. The same trend is true of the German community in St Louis, although some growth is witnessed in this sector in the middle decades of the study. The fact that neither immigrant group could successfully penetrate this sector contradicts Ward's opinion that the generational composition of immigrant communities could, and did, eventually gain more secure employment than the immigrant generation.²⁷ Despite this, in Fort Wayne, members of both groups did have greater success in attaining this more secure employment (see Table 4.3). By 1900, both the German and Irish communities of Fort Wayne had more than doubled their involvement in this sector since 1850, showing increases of 137%

²⁵ William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis: a compendium of history and biography for ready reference* (St Louis, MO, 1899), p. 1676.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 1675-6.

²⁷ Ward, *Poverty, ethnicity and the American city*, p. 200.

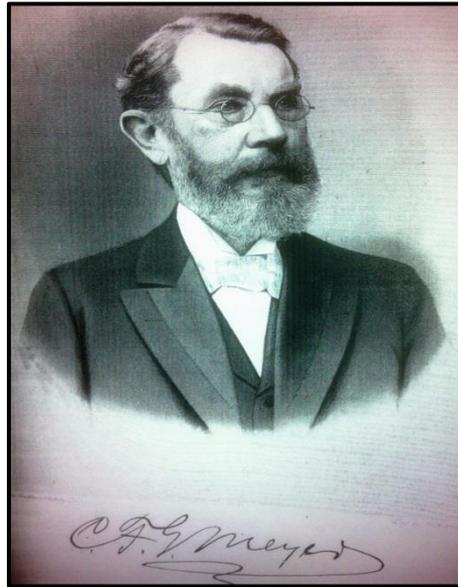
and 175% respectively. Interestingly, however, by 1900, those engaged in professional pursuits in both St Louis and Fort Wayne were predominately second and even third generation immigrants, and so even though more people were physically involved in this sector, this involvement failed to translate into a significant proportional share for either community. This is perhaps attributable to the fact that generational members of the community had fewer assimilative challenges to overcome than the immigrant generation itself had. Added to this, was the fact that the generational element had better access to educational facilities and so this they also enabled them to progress economically.

Christian Friedrich Meyer, a druggist by trade, is a rare example of a professional who practised his skills in both Fort Wayne and St Louis (see Fig. 4.9). Meyer was born on a farm in Haldem, a small village in Westphalia in northern Germany in December 1830. In September 1847, Christian and his older brother Johann Wilhelm left Westphalia and made their way to Bremen. Family lore recalls how Christian did not have enough money to pay his fare as ‘his entire possessions amounted to only twelve Prussian dollars’.²⁸ Upon arrival, the Meyer brothers boarded a three-masted ship called the *Swanton*. Seven and a half weeks later, in November 1847, the *Swanton* docked in the port of New Orleans with both Meyer brothers in good health and anxious about the next part of their journey. Their destination was Fort Wayne, a small town in north eastern Indiana where their half-brother lived. Making their way up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, the Meyer brothers arrived in Fort Wayne, after walking the final forty-five miles.²⁹

²⁸ The most important events in the life of C. F. W. Meyer up to the time of his marriage, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Meyer family papers and business collection, A1038/1/1).

²⁹ Ibid.

Fig. 4.9 C. F. W. Meyer, druggist and founder of Meyer Bros., Fort Wayne and St Louis ³⁰



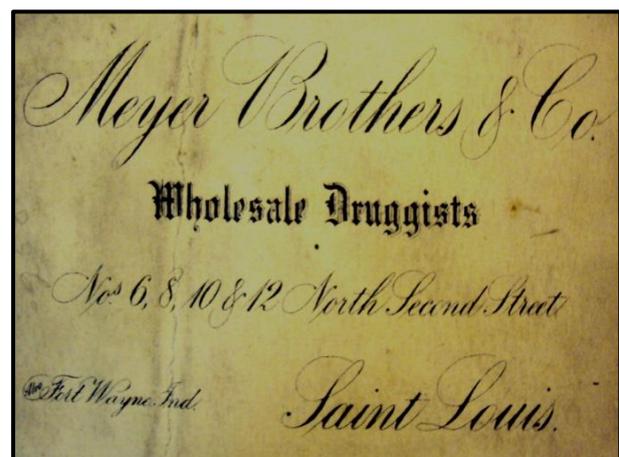
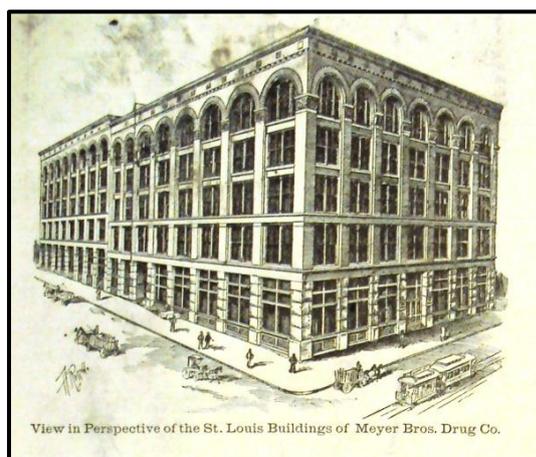
Upon arriving in Fort Wayne, Meyer boarded with a Mr John Hill, for whom he undertook general labour. Meyer also attended school where he became proficient in English. After a short time, Meyer became apprenticed to a druggist named Hugh Reed and by 1851, within three years of arriving in Fort Wayne, Meyer had completed his apprenticeship and become the general manager of Reed's company. Reed had died in the interim as a result of the cholera epidemic in the city in 1849, and so Meyer was forced to learn quickly. He later recalled that, 'I saw it [the apprenticeship] only as a necessary step for my existence and did not have the slightest idea that my future calling would be pharmacy.'³¹ In 1852, Meyer left Reed's and entered a partnership with Watson Wall, a company which traded as Wall and Meyer Drug Company. However, by 1857, the partnership ceased and Christian and his brother Johann Wilhelm, who had since found employment as a steamboat pilot, founded the Meyer Brothers Wholesale Drug Company (see Fig. 4.10). Thus, although beginning his professional life as a druggist, a profession he pursued throughout his life, Meyer was now forced to engage with commercialism also. This transition however created little difficulty for Meyer who was 'full of

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

energy and ambition'.³² Despite a fire destroying their premises in Fort Wayne in 1863, the brothers immediately set about rebuilding the business. By 1865, in the aftermath of the Civil War, Meyer Brothers decided to expand the business and St Louis, a city which at the time had approximately 200,000 inhabitants and twelve wholesale drug companies, became the destination of choice. The St Louis branch continued to grow and by 1900, the company had become the largest wholesale druggists in the city. Meyer married Francisca Schmidt in 1854, a marriage which produced nine children, three of which were employed by the firm at the time of Meyer's death in 1905. Throughout his life, Meyer had gained much respect in both the German and business communities. He held the directorship of three banks, the first of which was the State Bank of Indiana, a position he obtained before the age of thirty. When Meyer left Haldem at the age of seventeen with twelve Prussian dollars in his pocket, few would have believed that before them stood a pharmacist, entrepreneur and shrewd businessman. Meyer is an example of an immigrant who successfully challenged the pyramidal economic structures of both cities and ensured that both he and his family acquired and ultimately retained the economic security and social mobility sought by many, yet acquired by few.

Fig. 4.10 Artist's interpretation of Meyer Bros. building, St Louis and Meyer Bros business card³³



³² Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 1482.

³³ Meyer Bros. building, *The Pharmaceutical Era*, 15 May 1890; Meyer Bros. business card, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Meyer family papers and business collection, A1038/6/5).

4.6 A job 'executed with neatness and dispatch'³⁴

The majority of male workers from both the German and Irish communities pursued occupations related to the manufacturing and mechanical industries. However, in both Fort Wayne and St Louis, this sector was a more popular choice among German immigrants than their Irish counterparts (see Table 4.4). Yet, although both communities experienced an increase in the number of workers involved in this sector by 1900, it is the Irish community which exhibited the most substantial and comprehensive increase. Irish growth in this sector increased by approximately 325% in Fort Wayne from 1850 to 1900. Equally, Irish involvement with the manufacturing and mechanical industries also increased in St Louis, albeit at a slower rate. Comparatively, their German counterparts, while also increasing their involvement in the sector in both cities, did so at a considerably slower rate, equating an increase of 61% in St Louis and only 30% in Fort Wayne over the period from 1850 to 1900.

Table 4.4. German and Irish occupational trends in the manufacturing and mechanical sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900

Ethnic analysis, including percentage relative to each group, of immigrants engaged in Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900						
<i>City</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	<i>German</i>	233	556	221	276	808
		12.5%	12.7%	15.4%	12.5%	16.2%
	<i>Irish</i>	13	43	65	88	183
		3.6%	5.1%	9.9%	7.2%	15.3%
<i>St Louis</i>	<i>German</i>	2256	2308	3434	5473	5155
		14.0%	16.0%	15.4%	17.1%	22.6%
	<i>Irish</i>	250	914	863	1928	974
		6.4%	8.9%	9.2%	13.8%	20.3%

³⁴ Edward Fogerty advertisement in R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne city directory, 1875* (Detroit, MI, 1875), p. 55.

Ward has argued that as many as 60% of the Irish workforce, ‘were confined to the least secure, service-oriented occupations’.³⁵ Undoubtedly, Irish involvement in the lower skilled occupations was a reality for many immigrants. However, by 1870, there was ample evidence to suggest that this rubric can be refuted. Irish involvement in both the trade and manufacturing sectors increased exponentially from 1870, when many Irish immigrants become increasingly involved in artisan pursuits like carpentry and smithing.

However, Keil and Lentz maintain that ‘Germans settled, as artisans, skilled workers and small businessmen in the mid-Atlantic and mid-western cities’,³⁶ and this statement does, nonetheless, hold a particular resonance in any analysis of the German community. There is little doubt of German dominance of small business interests and certain artisan trades like bakery, for example. Throughout the census returns for both cities from 1850 to 1900, the German community had proportionally more representatives in the skilled trades. Yet, while it might appear that the Irish community did successfully manage to gain their proportional share of this sector, they were usually identified in the census returns as ‘factory workers’, ‘mill labourers’ or ‘helpers’ of some kind. Where Irish artisans did independently pursue a trade, popular examples included tinsmithing, blacksmithing, masonry or carpentry, but Irish bakers and tailors remained few and far between.

One such Irish artisan was Edward Fogerty, who was born in Ireland in 1849. Edward and his mother Catherine, together with his brother and aunt, left Ireland in the years after the famine. By 1861 the family were residing in the ecclesiastical parish of St Elphin situated in Warrington, Lancashire, England and Edward and his brother James are both recorded as working as factory hands.³⁷ Given Warrington’s close proximity to Liverpool, it is likely that it

³⁵ Ward, *Poverty, ethnicity and the American*, p. 204.

³⁶ Hartmut Keil and John B Lentz, *German workers in Chicago, a documentary history of working-class culture from 1850 to World War I* (Chicago, IL, 1988), p. 3.

³⁷ 1861 UK Census record for Edward Fogerty, 1861 UK Census, Warrington, Lancashire, District 8, p. 17 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (7 Feb. 2013).

was through this port that the family completed the next step of their migration. Within nine years, by 1870, Edward and his mother, Catherine were residing at 23 West Jefferson Blvd. in Fort Wayne, Indiana where they were living with Charles Henry Fogerty, a school teacher and possibly a relative of Catherine's late husband.³⁸ Edward is recorded as working as a blacksmith in a premises on the south corner of Pearl and Harrison Sts.³⁹ By 1875, the family had moved into this premises and Edward's entrepreneurship seems to have been thriving, for in the 1875 city directory for Fort Wayne, Edward's business is advertised (see Fig. 4.13).⁴⁰ The family were still in Fort Wayne in 1880, where Edward was self-employed as a blacksmith. In the intervening decade however, Edward had married Alice, a second generation Irish-American born in Wisconsin.⁴¹ However, Fogerty was not the only Irish immigrant to acquire a trade. Thomas Conley, who lived on East Wayne St was a broom maker, Timothy McCarthy was a moulder with the Kerr Murray company in Fort Wayne, makers of gas works machinery and steel products, and John O'Grady, who lived at 60 Columbia St was a plumber.⁴² Thus, even though many Irish immigrants did work on factory lines, many others like Fogerty, Conley, McCarthy and O'Grady did acquire higher skill levels and competed with German immigrants in some aspects of the manufacturing sector (see Fig 4.11-4.16).

³⁸ 1870 US Federal Census record for Edward Fogerty, 1870 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 3, p. 28 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (7 Feb. 2013).

³⁹ Ibid., R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1870-71* (Fort Wayne, 1871), p. 97 available at: archive.org (www.archive.org) (7 Feb. 2013).

⁴⁰ R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1875-6*, p. 106.

⁴¹ 1880 US Federal Census record for Edward Fogerty, 1880 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 3, ED 123, p. 13 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (7 Feb. 2013).

⁴² Various entries in the R. L. Polk & Co. *Fort Wayne city directory*, Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne city directory*, p. 78, 180, 208.

Fig. 4.11 Boseker and Liebman Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1880

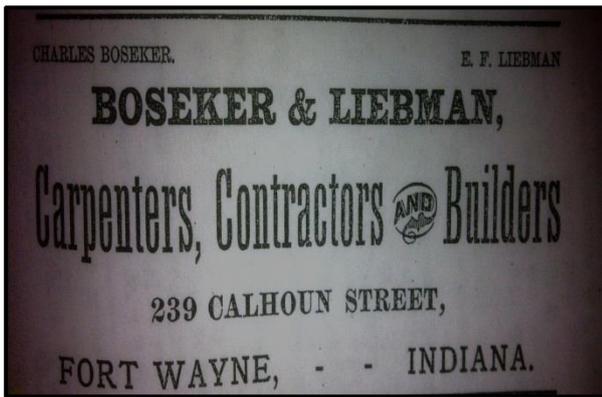


Fig. 4.12 Meyer Bros Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1880

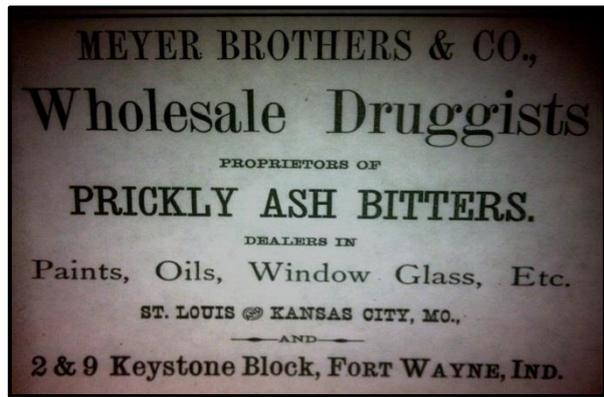


Fig. 4.13 Edward Fogerty Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1875

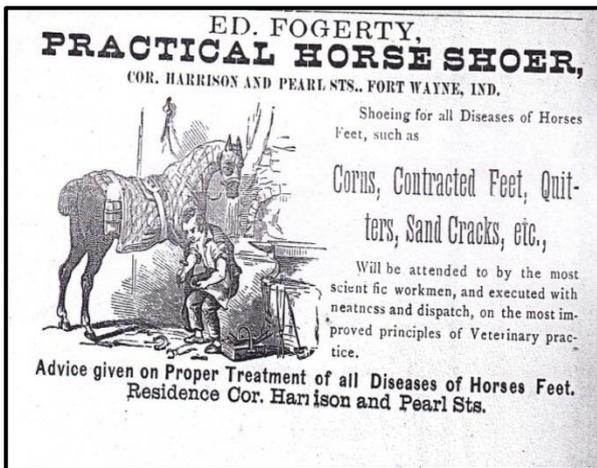


Fig. 4.14 Peter Moran Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1880

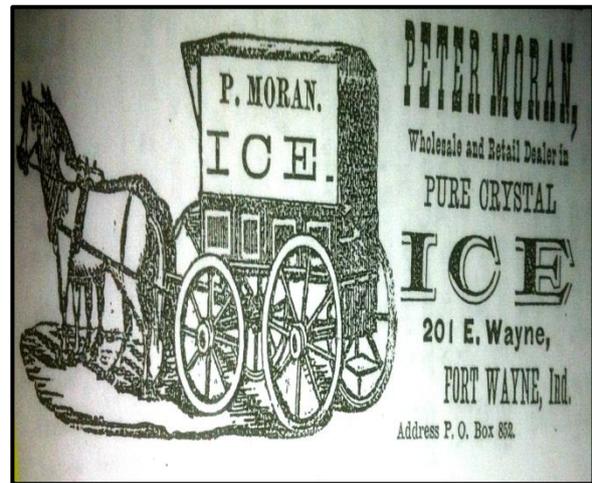
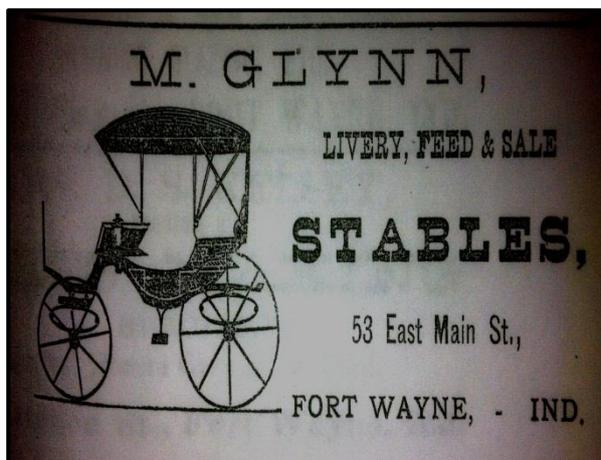


Fig. 4.15 F.W. Shildmeyer Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1875



Fig. 4.16 M. Glynn Advertisement,
Fort Wayne City directory 1875



This is not to suggest however that German and Irish immigrant groups did not participate at the highest levels of this classification. On the contrary, in 1872, tobacco production was worth approximately two million dollars to the Missouri economy and by 1892, its value had increased to twenty-three million dollars. At the turn of the century, St Louis was the ‘the national leader in chewing and pipe tobacco manufacturing’.⁴³ Six major tobacco factories as well as many smaller ones operated in the city during the final decades of the century. One of these was Liggett and Myers, the largest producers of plug tobacco in the country.⁴⁴ The Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company is a good example of economic cooperation between both immigrant groups and also evidence that both groups did compete at the highest level of this sector. John E. Liggett was a second generation Irish immigrant, the son of a Co. Derry migrant.⁴⁵ His business partner George Myers was of German descent. The partnership was formed in 1873, but it was not until 1878 that the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Manufacturing Company was incorporated.⁴⁶ At its peak, the company employed over one thousand workers, many of them women who worked as tobacco stemmers and strippers.⁴⁷ The company continued to thrive and manufactured tobacco out of their factory on the corner of St Charles and Thirteenth Sts, just north of the downtown area, until 1896 (see Fig. 4.17).⁴⁸ The immigrant database records for 1900 relating to wards three and eight of the city of St Louis show that a total of 292 workers of both German and Irish origin worked in tobacco related industries in that year.

⁴³ Katharine T. Corbett, *In her place: a guide to St Louis women’s history* (St Louis, MO, 1999), p. 117; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the valley: St Louis, 1764-1980* (St Louis, MO, 1998), p. 331.

⁴⁴ Corbett, *In her place*, p. 117.

⁴⁵ 1880 US Federal Census record for John E. Liggett, 1880 US Federal Census, St Louis, MO, ED 139, p. 27 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (12 Feb. 2013); Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 1282.

⁴⁶ Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 1282.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1283.

⁴⁸ Corbett, *In her place*, p. 117.

**Fig. 4.17 Liggett and Myers Tobacco Manufacturing Company,
St Charles and Thirteenth Sts, St Louis⁴⁹**



Admittedly, it cannot be stated for certain how many of these immigrants actually worked in the Liggett and Myers factory, but it can be ascertained that 233 of these workers, 148 of which were women, formed part of the German immigrant group. Conversely, only 59 workers were of Irish decent with slightly more females working in the industry than males. Although the immigrant generation did participate in the production of tobacco, the immigrant database would suggest that in both cohorts, the majority of workers were second and third generation immigrants.

Tobacco manufacturing was only one of many industries that had a large representation of ethnically German workers. German labourers were also regularly recorded as brewers or maltsters. In both Fort Wayne and St Louis the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis and Fort Wayne documented a variety of occupations associated with the brewing industry. In 1900, the database returned a total of 180 workers who were employed in beer production. Remarkably, 175 of these workers were of German descent and only five were of Irish origin. All of the workers were male.

⁴⁹ Liggett and Myers Tobacco Manufacturing Company, St Charles and Thirteenth Sts, available at: Northern Illinois University, (<http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/fimage/lincolnimages/scharf2-1248.jpg>) (12 Feb. 2013).

By the 1880s, membership of a trade union had become a concern for many of these workers. In 1886, the Henry Tobias Brewers and Maltsters Union Local #6 was established in St Louis and consisted primarily of German members (see Fig. 4.18). Five years earlier, in 1881, three of the carpenters' unions in the city had joined together and formed the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which later became known as Carpenters Local #5. Both the brewers union and the carpenters union had lobbied solidly to improve their members working conditions. Accordingly, the carpenters union, which had been nicknamed the 'Dutch local' because of the high German membership in the union, successfully secured an eight hour working day for its members. The brewers union undertook similar negotiations and a ten hour working day was agreed upon. Keil and Lentz observe that, '[the fact] that German workers played a key role in this movement [trade unionism] is no coincidence, since they clearly represented the largest group in the trades that were among the first to be organised, such as tailoring and cabinetmaking and – along with the Irish – building and construction'.⁵⁰ There is little doubt that German workers eagerly embraced the trade union movement, yet, as Keil and Lentz acknowledge, their Irish counterparts were also active in this respect. Despite the propensity of German carpenters in the Carpenters' Local #5, there are some examples of Irish members also, James McNulty and Joseph Fitzgerald being just two examples.⁵¹

However, it would be remiss to suggest that the role of these organisations extended only to negotiating working hours. The Locals also concerned themselves with other issues affecting workers, and just as importantly, they provided a social setting within which members could acculturate. This was achieved by organising events and outings, one of which took place in May 1892. At the regular meeting of the Local in June of that year, the entertainment committee reported that 'in spite of the very bad weather, the celebration at Concordia Park was a huge

⁵⁰ Keil and Lentz, *German workers in Chicago*, p. 7.

⁵¹ Membership list of Carpenters' Local #5, (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Carpenters' Local #5, S0160/1/107).

success', and added that '108 barrels of beer had been consumed in all'.⁵² The union was also responsible for settling labour disputes. One such disagreement was thought serious enough to be highlighted in the union newspaper, *The Brewery Worker* [*Brauer Zeitung*], a German publication that was circulated to all members. In December 1892, 'a brewery generally known for its worker friendly atmosphere' was brought before the Court of Arbitration following the suspension of two workers for fourteen days. The workers, having obtained permission from the foreman, left work fifty minutes early on the day of the union elections. They were subsequently suspended as the foreman had no recollection of sanctioning this early release because as the report states, 'at the time of the incident, the foreman had clearly been under the influence of alcohol'.⁵³

The fact that both German and Irish immigrants were involved in trade unions such as the Locals #5 and #6 suggests a certain economic security had been acquired. By engaging with and becoming part of these unions, German and Irish immigrants were clearly outlining their desire to compete with the native born in an increasingly industrial economy. Both groups appear to have had an awareness of the quality of their labour and were willing to defend its integrity. As Ward notes, 'Similar to the Irish, the increasingly complex division of labour diversified the occupational range of the Germans, [and] as a result they were prominent both in the new lower middle class and in the relatively unionised trades'.⁵⁴ Thus, it would seem that by 1900, both groups were socially mobile and aware of their individual rights.

⁵² *The Brewery Worker*, 9 June 1892.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 24 Dec. 1892.

⁵⁴ Ward, *Poverty, ethnicity and the American city*, p. 207.

Fig. 4.18 Membership card of John Pissinger, Henry Tobias Brewers and Maltsters Union, Local #6, 1890⁵⁵

International Union No.	8237	Total Union No. 6	Total Union No. 186
Name } Name }	John Pissinger		
Where born } Geburtsort }	Munich Bayern Deutschland		
When } Geburtstag }	9 Jan 1864		
Initiated } Eingetreten }	12 April 1890		
In L. U. No. } In L. U. No. }	142 Seattle Wash		
Took out first paper } Nahm erstes Bürgerpapier heraus }	ja		
Took out second paper } Nahm zweites Bürgerpapier heraus }	ja		
Member of Benevolent Society } Mitglied des Kranken-Unterstützungs-Bereins }	ja		
Working at } Beschäftigt in }	Central. J. T. Card June 1st 1921.		

4.7 'creative, progressive and dependable'⁵⁶

Table 4.5 German and Irish occupational trends in the trade and transportation sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900

Ethnic analysis, including percentage relative to each group, of immigrants engaged in Pursuits of trade and transportation, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900						
City	Nationality	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
Fort Wayne	German	116	236	108	147	550
		6.2%	5.4%	7.5%	6.6%	11.0%
	Irish	9	66	52	75	190
		2.5%	7.8%	7.9%	6.2%	15.9%
St Louis	German	606	876	1345	2399	1818
		3.8%	6.1%	6.0%	7.5%	8.0%
	Irish	227	608	518	1205	500
		5.8%	5.9%	5.5%	8.6%	10.1%

⁵⁵ Membership card of John Pissinger, 1864 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, Henry Tobias Brewers and Maltsters Union, Local #6, S0615/33/276).

⁵⁶ Clovis Linkous, *General Electric at Fort Wayne* (Baltimore, MO, 1994), p. 273.

David Ward has argued that by 1855, the occupational patterns of Irish and German immigrants in New York had already been established. ‘German immigrants’, he notes, ‘were already well represented amongst small proprietors and ... dominated many of the artisan trades’.⁵⁷ This trend is also applicable to the German communities of Fort Wayne and St Louis. Throughout the immigrant database, German migrants consistently appear as bakery clerks, merchant tailors, wholesale grocers, shoe dealers and jewellery clerks, whereas their Irish counterparts are regularly outnumbered in this regard. However, the consolidation of the trade and transportation sector in the census bureau classifications ensures that Irish representation in this category appears both proportional and relative to other immigrant cohorts. As evident in the manufacturing sector, the Irish community in Fort Wayne experienced exponential growth in the trade and transportation sector during the period from 1850 to 1900, exhibiting a growth rate of over 500% in the fifty year period (see Table 4.5). Their German counterparts also experience rapid growth over the period, but at the slower pace of 77% for the period. The involvement of both communities in the trade and transportation sector in St Louis is also positive, but not as pronounced as their small-town neighbours further north. In St Louis, it is actually the German community which experienced the most growth in this sector as increased involvement in both aspects of the classification are evident. From 1850 to 1900, German interaction with this sector demonstrates an overall increase of 110%, while the Irish growth rate is a somewhat slower 77%. Thus, although Irish involvement grew more extensively and at a faster rate in both cities in the professional and manufacturing categories, German enterprise excelled in this instance.

Yet, for the majority of immigrants, neither their proportional share of the sector, nor their growth rate was an immediate concern, for as Ward notes, ‘settlers were not necessarily zealous entrepreneurs, and the way in which many of them participated in the market economy has been described as a distinctive system of household production ... for the security and

⁵⁷ Ward, *Poverty, ethnicity and the American city*, p. 200.

independence of the family rather than individual profit'.⁵⁸ Although an entrepreneur, Thomas Donnelly was one of those immigrants concerned primarily with the security of his family. Donnelly was born in Co. Roscommon, Ireland in August 1827. He was one of three Roscommon men who became intimately involved with the westward development of the railroad out of St Louis. The others, Edward Dowling, Donnelly's future business partner and John Scott were also well respected and hardworking entrepreneurs. Donnelly was educated in the 'common schools of Ireland',⁵⁹ and emigrated at the age of nineteen. Arriving first in Nova Scotia, Donnelly later made his way to New York, Pennsylvania and subsequently Missouri, where, in 1864, he met Dowling and agreed a business arrangement that endured for twenty years when the firm was finally dissolved. Dowling, Donnelly & Co. were involved in the construction of many of the major railroad lines leaving St Louis, the Iron Mountain Railroad and the Missouri Pacific being just two examples.⁶⁰ Donnelly subsequently retired from railroad construction and purchased a farm in up-state Missouri near Baden.

Fort Wayne too, had a prolonged dalliance with the transportation industry. In the 1830s, the city provided much employment through the development of canals, but the second half of the century saw Fort Wayne emerge as an important stop on the Pennsylvania railroad line. Accordingly, this benefitted the Fort Wayne economy in a multiplicity of ways. Not only did this lead to a significant increase in commercial interests in the city, but also the arrival of a skilled work force which was required to repair, manufacture and operate the railroad machinery. Repair shops known as 'Pennsy shops' were established on the south side of the city, close to the Irish neighbourhood of Irishtown (see Fig 4.19). From the 1880s onwards, both German and Irish immigrants found employment in this sector, which ultimately led to the consolidation of vibrant immigrant communities in the city.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 191.

⁵⁹ Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 590.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 591.

Fig. 4.19 Fort Wayne's 'Pennsy shops' c. 1890⁶¹



However, transportation was not the only new industry in the city. By the 1890s, and perhaps as a partial result of Fort Wayne's strategic position on the Pennsylvania line, Thomson-Houston, the successful New York electrical company had decided to relocate its operations to Fort Wayne, and so in 1891, James J. Woods arrived in the city.

James John Woods was born in Kinsale, Co. Cork in March 1856. He was the son of Paul H. Woods, the local workhouse master in Kinsale. The Woods family immigrated to the United States in 1864, when J. J. was eight years old.⁶² Three years later the family moved to Bradford, Connecticut and within a few years, Woods began working at the Bradford Lock Company where his engineering skills were first exposed. During the 1870s, Woods moved back to New York and obtained a position in the Brady Manufacturing Company which developed machinery to order. However, it was when Woods began working with Thomson-Houston in the 1880s that his first interaction with electricity took place. Woods was quite successful and it was his design that was responsible for the original flood lighting for the Statue of Liberty upon her arrival in

⁶¹ Fort Wayne 'Pennsy shops', c.1890 (Fort Wayne History Centre, Schanz Photograph collection).

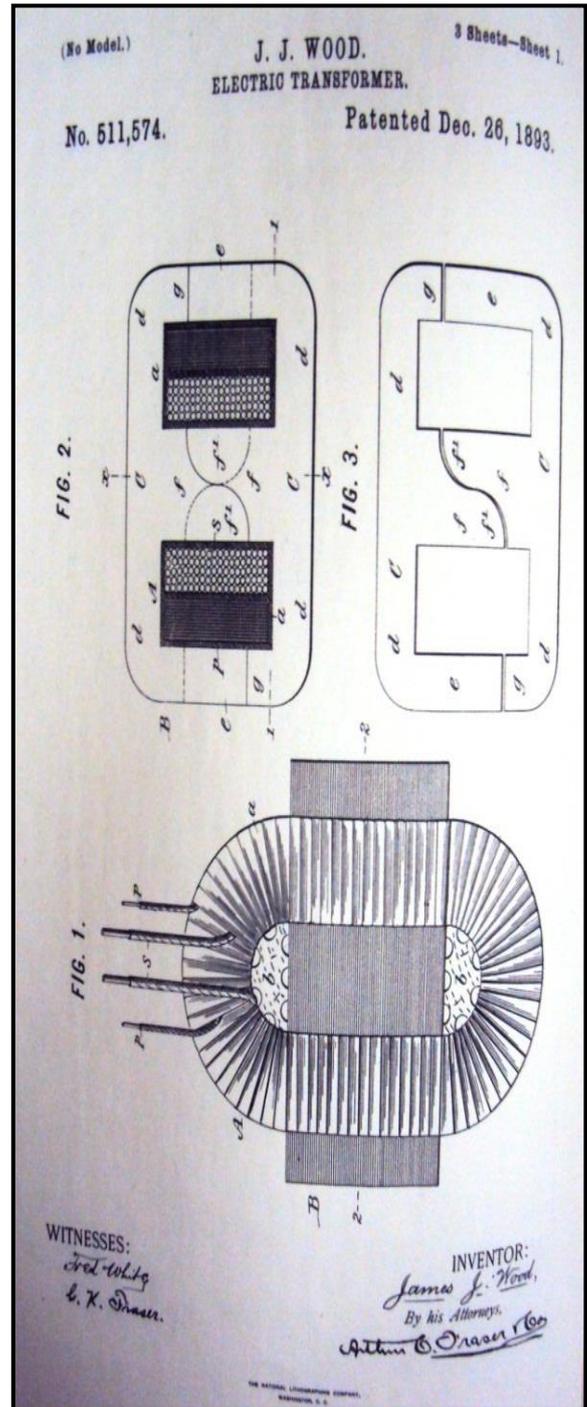
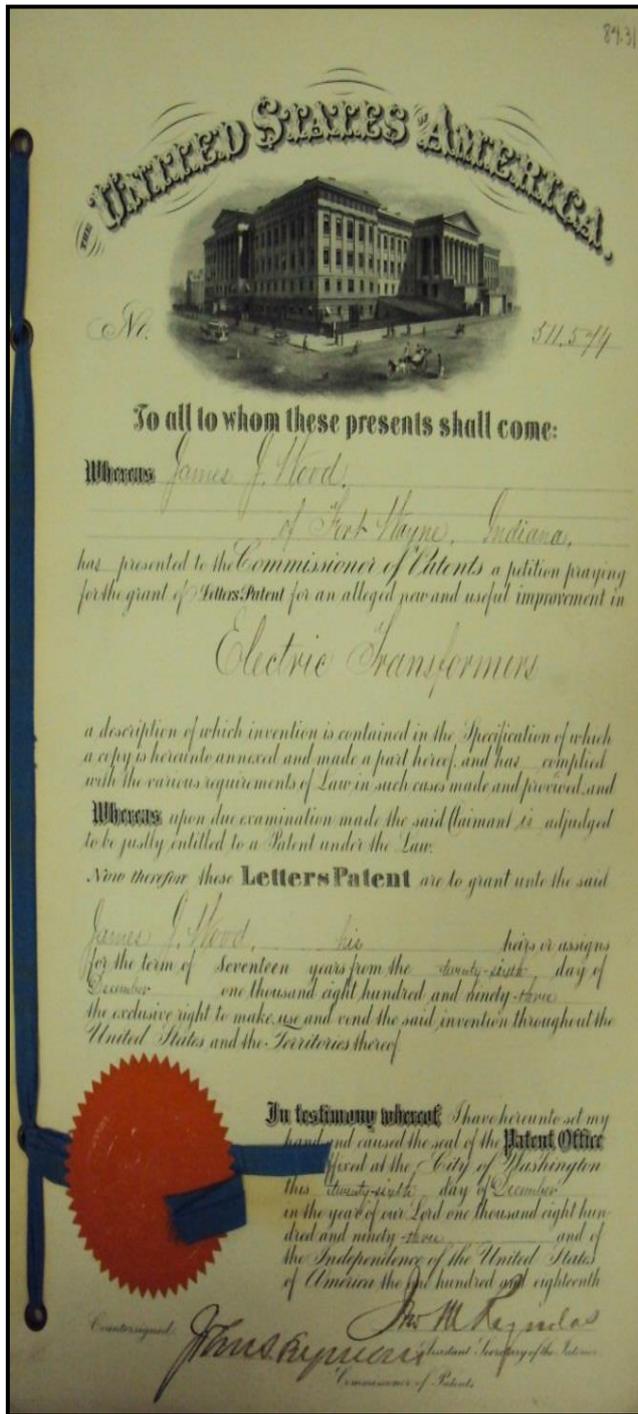
⁶² Linkous, *General electric*, p. 272.

New York Harbour in 1885.⁶³ It was while working at Thomson-Houston that Woods made his way to Fort Wayne. In 1890, T-H moved its business to Fort Wayne, Indiana, in a bid to exploit the Midwestern market. In early 1891, Woods along with 127 other employees and two train loads of machinery arrived in Fort Wayne and the rebranded Fort Wayne Electric Company began trading. Woods became integral to the innovations taking place in electricity at the time. Over the course of his career, Woods patented no fewer than 240 electrical and mechanical devices ranging from generators to alternating current systems. On 26 December 1893, while living in Fort Wayne, Woods patented a resistance coil which benefitted the construction of electric transformers by improving the subdivision of the laminates in an iron-clad transformer (see Fig. 4.20). The innovative design of his electrical components had both tangible and enduring consequences for the development of electricity in the Midwest and beyond. Woods was held in high esteem by his fellow electricians, and one, Luther Sterringer, a close associate of Thomas Edison was quoted as saying, ‘there are only three real electrical geniuses in the United States, Thomas Edison, Elihu Thomson and James J. Woods’.⁶⁴ Woods married four times, but died at the age of seventy-two in North Carolina. His body was brought back to Fort Wayne however, and a funeral service took place at Trinity Episcopal Church, a church founded by his fellow Irishman, Peter P. Bailey, a former owner and editor of the *Fort Wayne Weekly Republican* newspaper.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 275.

Fig. 4.20 James J. Woods, electrical transformer patent, 1893⁶⁵



⁶⁵ James J. Woods, electrical transformer patent, 1893, (Fort Wayne History Centre, James J. Woods patents 84.31/1/4).

4.8 'there are a lot of things going on in this neighbourhood that might be of interest to you' ⁶⁶

Table 4.6 German and Irish occupational trends in the domestic and personal service sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900

Ethnic analysis, including percentage relative to each group, of immigrants engaged in domestic and personal service, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900						
<i>City</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	<i>German</i>	466	1323	319	664	1402
		25.0%	30.3%	30.1%	30.1%	28.1%
	<i>Irish</i>	106	315	171	433	330
		29.4%	37.1%	35.7%	35.7%	27.6%
<i>St Louis</i>	<i>German</i>	6035	4635	5932	8715	6749
		37.4%	32.2%	27.2%	27.2%	29.6%
	<i>Irish</i>	1561	4300	3302	4596	1637
		40.2%	41.7%	35.1%	32.8%	34.1%

In the domestic and personal service sector, both communities were well represented and maintained their involvement in this area throughout the century. However, in terms of social mobility, the desired trend is one of decline as this would imply the acquisition of more skilled labour, leading ultimately to a more secure economic status. Throughout the period, each of the four communities, barring one, achieved this decline. Both communities in St Louis reduced their involvement in this sector, with each group reaching their lowest level in 1880. Although this was the area where the majority of female workers were classified, either as home makers, seamstresses or laundresses, the category also contained a significant male composition. Firemen, soldiers, policemen, saloon keepers and restaurant owners were all classified in this category as well.

⁶⁶ Mrs Ebbler to John Nooney, 29 Aug. 1921 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers, S166/1/4).

In August 1921, Mrs Ebbler, a resident of Bulwer Ave in the city of St Louis, wrote to policeman John Nooney thanking him for ‘the favours you done me in making a better boy of Williard’ and also to inform him of certain incidents in the neighbourhood ‘that might be of interest’.⁶⁷ Nooney was a second generation Irish immigrant and entered the police force in St Louis in 1899 (see Fig. 4.21). Throughout his career, he served as both a patrolman and desk sergeant until he retired from the force in 1933. The role of policemen like Nooney is difficult to underestimate. They were responsible for ensuring the safety of the community and held a particular standing in the locality. Many of these public service men were of Irish descent and proportionally, the Irish community in both cities pursued these types of occupations more readily than their German counterparts.

An extract from Nooney’s daybooks for August 1921 highlights the important role executed by these men. On 1 August 1921, Nooney recorded that he spent the day searching for Charles Hafner who was suspected of committing a larceny in the fourth division. Two days later, as well as arresting Hafner, Nooney was also called to investigate a larceny at the home of Bertha Whitman of Margarita Ave. By the 7 August, Hafner was before the court and so Nooney was required to attend, before also being called to investigate a case of extortion at the home of Mrs Klucker on Glasgow Ave.⁶⁸ Thus, the position of trust the community placed these public employees in ensured that they held a pivotal role in maintaining the community’s standards and preserving its integrity. Anbinder has contended that Irish-American historiography promoted the interpretation that Irish famine emigrants were a ‘lost generation’, destined to remain victims of circumstance – prone to disease, consigned to the lower levels of society and lacking ambition.⁶⁹ Yet, many immigrant families strove for social mobility and although it might not

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ John Nooney, Daybook, 1921 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers S166/2/1/90).

⁶⁹ Anbinder, *Five Points*, p. 137; Oscar Handlin, *Boston’s immigrants, a study in acculturation* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 55; Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, NY, 1985), pp 295-9.

have necessarily been achieved in the immigrating group, generational members like John Nooney overtly contradict this assertion and their legacy remains under documented.

Fig. 4.21 John Nooney (on right) and colleague in their police uniforms, c. 1905⁷⁰



A popular source of income for members of both communities who were classified in this category was saloon and boarding house keeping. One such saloon keeper was August Spilker who managed a saloon with his wife Sophia. Both Sophia and August were born in the German state of Hannover, but immigrated to America, where they settled in St Louis and undertook the operation of what Kargau describes as a ‘tavern and restaurant’.⁷¹ By 1860, August and Sophia had a young family consisting of a daughter and two sons. August tended the bar, while all the cooking for the restaurant was to be undertaken by Sophia and her daughter, Doris who was only

⁷⁰ Portrait of John Nooney and colleague, c. 1905 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers S0166/1/7).

⁷¹ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 132.

eight years old.⁷² However, Spilker had, as Kargau notes, ‘at times a bad temper’ and ‘on one occasion chased away his wife and daughter [and] declared that he did not need them at all and would cook himself’.⁷³ After some time apart both cook and barkeeper were reunited and August was reported to be ‘heartily glad that his better half returned to her post at the kitchen range’.⁷⁴ Thus, although the majority of married women were assigned the role of homemaker by officialdom, the reality for many immigrant women was that they were not only homemakers, they too were responsible, at least in part, in ensuring the economic stability of their families.

4.9 ‘newsboys hawked their wares at every intersection’⁷⁵

Although enumerators were charged with the task of accounting for all members of the household, their primary concern was with those who made up the workforce. Often the exploits of children were overlooked. In many instances neither the education column nor the occupation column were addressed. Despite this, it is still possible to construct a profile of the activities of ethnically German and Irish children.

Table 4.7 illustrates immigrant involvement in education. In both cities, the interaction of German and Irish immigrant children with education increased at a steady pace over the fifty year period from 1850 to 1900. The greatest improvement was among the German community in St Louis. In 1850, only 5.4% of the German immigrant group were recorded as regularly attending school. This was a relatively low number considering their Irish counterparts returned a 3% higher attendance. By 1900 however, German involvement in this category had increased by almost 200% and according to census returns for wards three and eight in 1900, over 16% of

⁷² 1860 US Federal Census record for August Spilker and family, 1860 US Federal Census, St Louis, MO, Ward 2, p. 144 available at: ancestry.com, (www.ancestry.com/) (24 Apr. 2012).

⁷³ Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, p. 132.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Bonnie Stenepoff, *The dead end kids of St Louis: homeless boys and the people who tried to save them* (Columbia, MO, 2010), p. 5.

the German community were attending educational institutions regularly. Worryingly, the Irish community in Fort Wayne showed an overall decrease of almost 10% for the period. However, on analysis of each decade, the fluctuations and alternate fortunes of educational pursuits in Fort Wayne might, in part, be explained by the diligence of enumerators. It seems almost implausible to suggest that in 1880 only 10% of the Irish community were receiving regular education during a period when the Irish population overall was increasing in the city.

Table 4.7 German and Irish occupational trends in the domestic and personal service sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900

Ethnic analysis, including percentage relative to each group, of immigrants engaged in Education, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850-1900						
<i>City</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	<i>German</i>	298	646	325	245	944
		16.0%	14.8%	22.7%	11.1%	18.8%
	<i>Irish</i>	76	147	158	125	228
		21.1%	17.3%	24.1%	10.3%	19.1%
<i>St Louis</i>	<i>German</i>	876	1441	3807	6030	3671
		5.4%	10.0%	17.1%	18.9%	16.1%
	<i>Irish</i>	317	1055	1700	2613	676
		8.2%	10.2%	18.1%	18.7%	14.1%

When Christian Meyer, the druggist referred to earlier in this chapter, was receiving education in Fort Wayne during the late 1840s, he spoke of reading exercises, learning arithmetic and writing.⁷⁶ The role played by both the public schools and the religious schools in each location was pivotal in creating progressive immigrant communities by the turn of the century. The 1900 census for St Louis records that a total of 3,692 children between the ages of five and twelve were attending either a kindergarden or a school. Of these, the overwhelming majority, 3,133 pupils, formed part of the German ethnic group, while only 549 were of Irish descent.

⁷⁶ The most important events in the life of C.F.W. Meyer up to the time of his marriage, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Meyer family papers and business collection, A1038/1/1).

Fig. 4.22 Students from one of St Louis' public schools including John Nooney's future wife, 1882⁷⁷



However, no matter how much some children liked attending school, once the opportunity of employment that could support and further bolster the family's economic prospects, presented itself, many children were forced to leave their education behind. Taking St Louis in 1900 as an example, a total of 142 children aged twelve or younger were engaged in gainful employment (see Tables 4.8-4.9). These occupations usually ranged from simpler tasks like box making or even peanut sorting in the manufacturing sector to messenger boys and pedlars in the trade and transportation sector. Newsboy was also a common occupation and as Stenepoff notes, the newsboys could be seen 'hawking their wares at every busy intersection',

⁷⁷ St Louis Public School Portrait, 1882 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers S0166/1/15).

Table 4.8 Ethnically German and Irish children in employment and education, St Louis, 1900

Job description	German	Irish	Total
apprentice milliner	1		1
apprentice printer	1		1
apprentice tinner	1		1
at home	10		10
bag factory worker	1		1
bag folder	2		2
beer bottler		1	1
blacksmith helper	1		1
bottle filler	1		1
bottle labeller	1		1
box maker	3	2	5
bucket maker		1	1
carpenter	1	1	2
cash boy	1	1	2
cash girl	3	1	4
cotton mill labourer	2		2
cotton spinner	3		3
dressmaker	1		1
errand boy	3		3
factory worker	2	1	3
glass works labourer	2		2
grocery clerk	2		2
hemp weaver	1		1
house worker	10	2	12
invalid	2		2
iron worker	1		1
jeweller errand boy	1		1
jewellery clerk	1		1
kindergarden	11	2	13
labourer	21		21
messenger	5	2	7
messenger boy	1		1
news boy	3		3
n/avl	1153	241	1394
office boy		1	1
packer		1	1
painter	2		2
paper assorter		1	1
paper box packer	1		1

Job description	German	Irish	Total
paper packer	1		1
peanut assorted	1		1
pedlar	1		1
rolling mill labourer	1		1
railroad clerk	1		1
school	3132	547	3679
seamstress	1	1	2
servant	3		3
shoe factory cutter		1	1
shoe factory stitcher	1		1
shoe factory worker	3		3
shoemaker	2		2
soap factory labourer	1		1
soda factory labeller		1	1
steam fitter	1		1
stove polisher	1		1
tailor	1		1
tobacco stemmer		1	1
vegetable pedlar	1		1
water boy	1		1
weaver	1		1
whitener	2		2

Table 4.9 Number of children between 5-12 years old pursuing gainful employment

Age of child	Total in gainful employment
5	3
6	5
7	6
8	6
9	15
10	14
11	22
12	71
Total	142

before making their way to the docks or the train station to see if they could earn money as luggage carriers.⁷⁸ Girls too, were expected to contribute to the family income if they were lucky enough to acquire employment. In 1900, two cash girls, two seamstresses and three servants, aged twelve or younger were recorded. Many more like Doris Spilker, the daughter of the saloon keeper mentioned earlier were expected to participate in the family business, and for the most part these employees were not recorded by census enumerators. Interestingly, these types of occupations contrast with those recorded by Anbinder in his study of the Irish community in the Five Points neighbourhood in New York, where many young girls worked as ‘hot corn sellers’ or street sweepers.⁷⁹ This distinction suggests perhaps that a higher level of employment was possible for children in St Louis compared with urban centres on the east coast. However, a striking similarity between both locations was the necessity of young children to gain employment and supplement the family income in a bid to ensure financial security for their families.

4.10 Conclusion

David Ward comments that, ‘labour migration was a response to economic insecurity that was primarily dedicated to the preservation of the ancestral homestead’.⁸⁰ However, in the first instance it might be argued that the ancestral homestead was, in fact, a secondary concern. For many, labour migration was indeed a response to economic insecurity, yet arguably, economic stability followed by social advancement was what truly motivated labour migration for many of the German and Irish immigrants considered here. Certainly, those immigrants who arrived in Fort Wayne during the 1880s to benefit from the developments in the transportation industry were more concerned with economic stability than the ‘preservation of the ancestral homestead.’

⁷⁸ Stenepoff, *The dead end kids of St Louis*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Anbinder, *Five Points*, p. 129.

⁸⁰ Ward, *Poverty ethnicity and American city*, p. 190.

Anbinder maintains that social mobility could be achieved through ‘a concerted scheme of hard work and self-sacrifice’.⁸¹ This self-sacrifice was required at all levels of the family structure down to and including the newsboys and cash girls. All members of the household were expected to contribute to the economic endeavours of the family. Although it has been widely contended that Irish immigrants filled the ranks of the lowest paid and most dangerous occupations, there is ample evidence to suggest that this was only a phenomenon among the immigrant generation. Even so, many immigrants, like for example Edward Fogerty, one of Fort Wayne’s blacksmiths who began his working career as a factory hand in England, were able to penetrate the higher levels of the occupational structure and achieve social mobility. Christian Meyer is another example of an immigrant who should, according to the stereotype, have remained in what Ward terms the, ‘undesirable jobs in distant locations’.⁸² Yet, Meyer too bucked the trend and became one of the leading drug manufacturers in the Midwest.

The fact that both German and Irish immigrant communities were able to achieve a proportional and representative share of all industries relative to their size and influence is one of the most significant observations this study can highlight. Given the fact that the German community are generally considered to have entered the American labour market at higher level than their Irish counterparts, it would seem logical that social mobility should have been achieved at a faster rate. However, this economic analysis would suggest otherwise. Both German and Irish immigrants show similar rates of development in the professional occupations, and increased at comparable levels in the other pivotal classifications such as manufacturing and trade and transportation. Perhaps, however, the German community did achieve social mobility more quickly than their Irish contemporaries, but this is not clearly evident from the data. If this was achieved, it is arguably because they entered American society with a higher level of economic independence than their Irish counterparts did. Furthermore, considering the fact that

⁸¹ Anbinder, *Five points*, p. 140.

⁸² Ward, *Poverty ethnicity and the American city*, p. 191.

the German community did not generally have to make the transition from the domestic industries into the manufacturing and trade areas, perhaps German social mobility is more difficult to identify than that of the Irish community since it happened within industries that German immigrants were already established in.

What is also significant here is the story of the immigrants themselves. Each of those considered here, whether German or Irish held a common goal. Druggist, tobacco manufacturer, blacksmith or newsboy all desired two things, economic stability and social advancement. There is little doubt that both were achievable, but as Kenny concludes, ‘those who did advance socially did not rise from rags to riches; they did not move from unskilled labour to the ranks of the professionals ... instead social mobility occurred within the working class, from unskilled to semi-skilled or skilled labourer’.⁸³

⁸³ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 150.

Chapter 5 A reputation of respectability: social and cultural aspects of immigrant life

5.1 Introduction

In the evenings when the mills had closed, the stores had ceased trading, the motormen had gone home and the domestic servants had been given a rare evening off, the social life of a nineteenth century immigrant had many possibilities. Social and cultural outlets were integral aspects of the immigrant experience and both communities excelled in the provision of these pursuits for their members. Aside from religious organisations, there existed a plethora of societies, fraternities and associations where immigrants could meet, deal, socialise and reminisce. As Jim Sack states, ‘German clubs were where deals were made, beer and *bratwurst* enjoyed, dances and festivals held and the culture of old Germany celebrated in America’.¹ The Irish community also enjoyed an extensive range of social opportunities. Organisations were established to further education, propel political ideologies and reinforce cultural bonds. Fraternal associations which celebrated shared origins and interests, benevolent societies that aided struggling members of the community and religious groups whose participants shared a common identity were all established with characteristic enthusiasm and vigour.

Aside from offering immigrants a forum within which to socialise and compare experiences, these organisations also served as arenas where their ethnic identity could be both reinforced and reinvigorated. Paradoxically, these distinct ethnic institutions also served as mediums through which assimilation could be achieved. In being able to depend on the security of the ethnic group and the camaraderie these various associations offered, the ultimate progression to assimilation was gradually achieved. As Kenny argues, many immigrant groups only established their ethnicity and sense of self in America. Therefore

¹ Jim Sack, ‘The Germans in Fort Wayne’ in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, 2005), i, pp 676-99; p. 686.

their ethnic experiences were ‘rooted in local experience ... and acquiring an ethnic identity [became] the first pre-requisite for assimilation’.²

Many of these societies and associations conformed to a centralised administration and in many instances national governing bodies were established. This further reinforced the presence and impact of the ethnic group and served as a means of publicising their endeavours. In both communities, German and Irish immigrants were members of centralised bodies like the North American *Turnerbund* or the Ancient Order of Hibernians. However, the social and cultural experiences of immigrants in the Midwest often differed from their counterparts on the eastern seaboard. Although these centralised associations existed in port cities like New York and Boston, there were also many local institutions for immigrants to replicate their cultural traditions, primarily due to the large communities that existed. Tyler Anbinder comments on the presence of a hurling club in the Five Points neighbourhood of New York and there was also evidence of county societies that mirrored the German *Landsman* associations.³ Yet, for the Irish in St Louis and Fort Wayne, there were no such organisations. Contrastingly, in the German instance however, there were an abundance of *Landsman* associations and the presence of distinct cultural movements like the *Turnverein*. The multiplicity of associations in the Midwest that unified German immigrants on the basis of their regional origin confirmed the numerical dominance of the group in the Midwestern states. However, it also reflected the internal divisions within the German immigrant group as a whole and in part illustrated why the German immigrant community did not exercise an influence proportional to its size.

In considering some of the musical, fraternal, benevolent and sporting organisations available to immigrants, the process of determining the role these movements played in the

² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (Essex, 2000), pp 148-9.

³ Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth century New York neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, 2001), pp 183-9.

overall immigrant experience becomes apparent. While initially acting as a defence mechanism against the strange and often threatening new world many immigrants found themselves in, the social and cultural movements established by both immigrant groups held a pivotal role in defining the structure of everyday immigrant life. By identifying why each community established social and cultural organisations, a perception of how these institutions facilitated an immigrant's adjustment to nineteenth century American norms becomes apparent. Through the comradeship and shared heritage promoted by these organisations, tangible business links, political ideologies and religious tolerance were fostered and adapted to fit within the parameters of each individual immigrant experience.

5.2 'Vereinsdeutsche and Kirchendeutsche'

In comparing German and Irish social traditions, there is a strong contrast between the types of social activities pursued by each immigrant group. In the German instance two activities appealed widely to the German immigrant population. These associations were singing societies or *Sängerbunde* and a unique German sporting organisation called the *Turnverein*. These social pursuits played an integral role in the characterisation of the immigrant experience and largely mirrored the cultural traditions of the fatherland. In many instances, these organisations were simply transplanted from Europe to the ghettos of the east coast until their subsequent migration to the Midwest.

The social and cultural organisations that defined German immigration can be broadly divided into two categories, which Hoyt terms, '*Vereinsdeutsche and Kirchendeutsche*'⁴ [club Germans and Church Germans]. This perhaps also reflects the Green and Grey phenomenon that split Germans politically after the arrival of the political emigrants in the wake of the

⁴ Giles Hoyt, 'Germans' in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), pp 146-81; p. 160.

1848 revolutions. The Green Germans represented the *Vereinsdeutsche*, who were more liberal while the Greys typified the earlier more conservative immigrants or the *Kirchendeutsche*. However, while German-Americans tended to be split between religious and secular organisations, most of the Irish associations, even though they exhibited secular characteristics, nonetheless disguised inherent religious influences.

Perhaps one of the primary reasons influencing this cultural division among the German immigrant group was the fact that the composition of the German community was fragmented. There were regional differences, class differences and most importantly, religious and political differences. This led to the emergence of societies with varying interests, goals and philosophies which in turn meant that an integrated generic representation of German identity was difficult to achieve. By contrast, within the Irish immigrant community, despite the fact that there were regional contrasts, these could be overlooked due to a lack of significant class differences in terms of their economic, social and political identities. More importantly however, the Irish community possessed a more united religious identity than their German counterparts, particularly from 1850 onwards after the arrival of famine immigrants, and so this also influenced the social and cultural structure of their community.

Yet, despite the fundamental differences in the composition of the German immigrant group, the social and cultural societies they subscribed to were multifunctional, as were those of their Irish counterparts. Olson contends that the presence of such varied clubs and societies did not emerge as a result of cultural insecurity, but rather they had more practical origins in the dispersed nature of German neighbourhoods within big cities.⁵ While this argument has certain validity, Hoyt also maintains that these social and cultural organisations also

⁵ Audrey L. Olson, 'St Louis Germans, 1850-1920: the nature of an immigrant community and its relation to the assimilation process' (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 1970), p. 140.

‘functioned beyond merely providing entertainment and diversion. They were also support groups that prepared members for leadership within ... the broader urban community’.⁶ Furthermore, there was also the issue of their cultural mission. Aside from the *Sängerbunde* and the *Turnverein*, there were also German clubs for shooting, card playing, music, acting, playing lotto, as well as *Landsman* [Countryman] clubs, trade and craft organisations and lobby groups. What is significant however, is that even though these organisations also existed within the Irish immigrant community, they usually operated under the auspices of the Catholic Church and the distinction between religious and secular organisations was relatively more ambiguous.

5.3 ‘On Sundays the Gardens were teemed with people’⁷

One aspect of the German and Irish national characters that exhibited similarities was their propensity towards enjoying themselves on the Sabbath. This met with disdain from the host community and ultimately led to the Prohibition debate during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Both communities enjoyed the consumption of alcohol and accordingly, the camaraderie that surrounded this pursuit. Comparing the similarities in the social character of both immigrant groups, Kenny commented that, ‘Irish and German immigrants ... wanted to drink and carouse, among other things on Sundays – the one day a week they had off work’.⁸ However, many felt that these practices were undermining the virtue of the host communities and in some instances this caused further animosity between the immigrants and their hosts. For example, in March 1890, the *Fort Wayne News Sentinel* recorded that ‘last Sunday several of the saloons of the city, while having their front doors

⁶ Hoyt, ‘Germans’, p. 163.

⁷ Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbring, *German settlement in Missouri: new land old ways* (Columbia, MO, 1996), p. 83.

⁸ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 79.

locked and their blinds down, had their back doors wide open and customers went in and out ... the men went onto the streets again, showing clearly by their staggering that the law had been broken'.⁹ Although no immigrant group was identified in this instance, the paper implied that such activity would not have taken place without the presence of immigrants in the city.

Nonetheless, both German and Irish immigrants proceeded with their cultural traditions of fraternisation and drinking on the Sabbath. Writing of Germans in St Louis in 1893, Kargau noted that, 'consistent with the seriousness of the North German character, the people first thought of the practical side of making a living and only then they thought of amusement'.¹⁰ For each immigrant community, Sunday was a day of socialising and entertainment. While the German-Americans filled beer gardens, Irish-Americans were arranging dances for later that evening. Yet, for both groups, these social gatherings not only involved alcohol consumption but also many of the ethnic traditions associated with it.

Likewise, Sunday was also an important day for the Irish community. Patrick Murphy was an Irish immigrant who, in William Griffin's research on the Irish in Indiana recalled how the Irish 'held dances on Saturday and Sunday nights and at times the doors were taken off and placed on carpeted floors so that the dancers would have a hard surface for dancing the hornpipe'.¹¹ The preservation of culture in this regard was principally achieved by the continual practising of traditions like these which were transported from the homeland with the immigrants. There was however, also an element of evolution in these traditional pursuits and the genre of Irish folk singing, for example slowly began to assume an Irish-American identity in the same way as the immigrants had. Yet, for each immigrant group the

⁹ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, 10 Mar. 1890.

¹⁰ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 36.

¹¹ Patrick Murphy quoted William Griffin, 'Irish' in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), pp 243-73; p. 262.

conservation of this cultural heritage had varying characteristics. Significantly, although Irish music, song and dance did not have the structured existence it had for the German community, it survived nonetheless, perhaps on the one hand because of the sheer number of Irish-Americans and on the other because of Irish exiles' constant affiliation to the homeland.

Burnett and Luebbring comment that, 'Sunday afternoon was a time for plays, music and sharing food and drink'.¹² For many Germans living in South St Louis, these activities usually took place at Arsenal Park.¹³ At these gatherings, bands played, members of the *Männerchor* sang folk songs and later on in the evening there was often dancing at Arsenal Park. All the while Germans mingled, reminisced about the homeland, negotiated business deals or recalled their pioneering escapades to the Midwest. Importantly however, the German community did not assume the negative stereotype for alcohol consumption that their Irish contemporaries did. This was attributable to two reasons. Firstly, upon their emigration, German immigrants were stereotypically of a higher social standing than their Irish counterparts and consequently, this ensured that they entered the social spectrum at a higher strata. Furthermore, due to their relative economic independence, particularly when compared with Irish immigrants, German migrants did not, for the most part, experience the same level of social problems that the Irish community did.

5.4 'A scene seldom equalled anywhere'

On the morning of 13 June 1888, the Central *Turner* Hall located on Tenth St in St Louis was a veritable hive of activity. St Louis had been chosen as the city to host the twenty-fifth annual *National Sängerefest*. On this day, forty-two German choirs from all over the United States arrived in St Louis for the national singing festival. Included were thirteen

¹² Burnett and Luebbring, *German settlement*, p. 83.

¹³ Kargau, *German element*, p. 140.

choirs from Ohio, nine from Illinois, two from Louisiana and one from Pennsylvania and New York respectively.¹⁴ Upon arrival, primarily by rail, visiting *Sängerbünde* were met with brass bands and music and were escorted to the Central *Turner* Hall where a welcoming reception was held.¹⁵ So began four days of singing, parading, drinking, picnicking and general joviality as the essence of German-American life was celebrated. From Thursday to Sunday, various *Sängerbunde* participated in matinees, concerts and other performances. On Sunday, the festival drew to a close with a picnic at the fairgrounds, entertainment by the various groups and bands, and a display of daylight Japanese fireworks.¹⁶

Music and song had long been entwined with German culture and migration from European shores to American ports did not diminish its relevance. Levy *et al.* note that, ‘music [was] central to German-American concepts of culture; musical literacy ha[d] always been highly valued and ... was an integral part of the curriculum in German-American schools.’¹⁷ The emergence of German singing societies in urban centres confirmed the existence of a settled and well-established German immigrant community. As Hoyt comments, ‘these musical and artistic endeavours typically constituted the primary source of [social] activity in virtually all communities where Germans had settled in significant numbers.’¹⁸ These singing societies were identifiable by various names. Some were called *Männerchor* or *Damenchor* [Men’s choir and women’s choir] or in many instances the term *Gesängvereine* [Singing unions] was also used. Others were denoted by names such as *Liederkrantz* [Singing circle] or *Liedertafel* [literally ‘singing table’]. Yet all of these variations had the same purpose, a gathering, usually of German males, who met, rehearsed and performed technical four-part German folk songs.

¹⁴ *Die Westliche Post*, 14 June 1888.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Carl Rahkonen, Christopher Goetzen, Jenifer C. Post and Mark Levy, ‘European American musical cultures’ in Ellen Koskoff (ed.), *Musical cultures in the United States: an introduction* (New York, 2005), pp 161-85; p. 175.

¹⁸ Hoyt, ‘Germans’, p. 163.

The first men's singing society was organised in St Louis in 1846 and became known as the St Louis *Sängerbund*. Kargau remembered that, 'A few Germans ... one day held a meeting. The place was the bedroom of George Schneider's Washington Brewery on Third and Elm Sts and from this meeting came the society'.¹⁹ Kargau also noted that an attempt to amalgamate this *Sängerbund* with the Cecilia Society, an organisation which performed musical concerts on a subscription basis, failed. This, he claimed, was because 'the Cecilia Club objected to the drinking of the *Sängerbund* during rehearsals'.²⁰ Such an objection confirms the recreational nature of singing societies and emphasises the jovial atmosphere that surrounded this particular social pursuit. During these rehearsals, not only was the consumption of beer inevitable, but also conversation in the German language. In these rooms there existed a uniquely German reality. Business networking, homeland reminiscences and contemporary matters were all discussed at length either through local dialects or the more uniform High German to which all Germans were privy. When the time came for singing, the content had two primary characteristics. Firstly, they sang folk songs brought with them from the homeland, for example, *Als Soldat bin ich geboren* [I was born a soldier] or *Nicht weit von Württemberg* [not far from Württemberg].²¹ Conversely they sang about topics such as politics, living conditions or labour issues; subjects that reflected their immigrant experience but that could not necessarily be spoken aloud in conversation. Ultimately, singing provided a veil through which these thoughts could be articulated.²² In preparation for festivals, classical refrains like Hayden's *With Joy th'Impatient Husbandman*, for example, were practised at length.²³ At the Silver Jubilee celebration of the *Frier Männerchor* in August 1888 a selection of folk songs and hymns were performed. These

¹⁹ Kargau, *German element*, p. 159.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Johann Lewalter, *Deutsche Volkslieder: in Niederhessan aus den Munde des Volkes gesammelt* (Hamburg, 1892), p. 9, p. 60.

²² Goetzen, Levy *et al.* 'European American musical cultures', p. 173.

²³ *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1885.

included *Das Elternhaus* [Parents homestead], *Empor zum Licht* [Towards the light] and *Du fernes Land* [You distant land].²⁴

Although the outbreak of the civil war did affect these societies' functionality, by 1866 membership began to recover and involvement increased (see Fig. 5.1). Aside from the St Louis *Sängerbund*, the *Socialer Sängerchor* had also been formed in St Louis by 1850 and before long, German singing groups became a salient feature of German-American life in St Louis. Kargau recalled that Franz Wendl, a watchmaker who had his workshop on Market St was one of the 'most enthusiastic members of the *Socialer Sängerchor*.'²⁵ There were many other singing societies such as the *Rheinische Frohsinn*, the *Social Choir of Singers*, the *Germania Sängerbund* and the *Harmonie Gesängverein*.

The *Harmonie Gesängverein* was established in the southern part of St Louis in August 1885. The society met every Tuesday in the Union Park Hall at Ninth St and Allen Ave. Over the course of the first year, the group continued to grow and in December 1886 the *Harmonie Gesängverein* became a member of the *Nord-Amerikanischer Sängerbund*, the governing organisation that had been established in Philadelphia in 1850.²⁶ The society organised concerts regularly and in 1888, the same year as the national singing festival was held in St Louis, the society held its first masked ball. This became an annual event that took place on the last Monday before Lent.²⁷ Thus, such singing societies not only enabled the German community to interact with each other socially, they also provided the opportunity to remain culturally distinct, while simultaneously reinforcing their ethnic identity. As Erdely comments, 'for every German who had an interest in music, participation in a choir became a

²⁴ Silver Jubilee program of the *Frier Männerchor*, 19 Aug. 1888 (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, Workingmen's Singing Society, S237/42/4/1).

²⁵ Kargau, *German element*, p. 120.

²⁶ History of the *Harmonie Gesängverein*, St Louis (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, Harmonie Singing Society papers, S033/1/4/2).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

way of life'.²⁸ As this tradition assumed a German-American identity, *Gesängvereine* and *Liederfeste* also became a characteristic of German-American life.

Fig. 5.1 Blank membership card of the Workingmen's Singing Society, St Louis MO, 1888²⁹



At the national singing festival in St Louis in 1888, it was not only choirs from large cities like Chicago, New Orleans and Milwaukee that were represented; choirs from smaller German settlements were also in attendance. *Männerchoren* from Topeka, Kansas, as well as singing groups from Joliet, Illinois and Avondale, Ohio also participated in the festivities.³⁰ Although the singing society from Fort Wayne did not attend the national festival in St Louis, it did nonetheless regularly participate in singing competitions and festivals elsewhere. The group travelled frequently to the annual singing festival in Toledo, Ohio where it performed

²⁸ Stephen Erdely, 'Ethnic music in the United States: an overview' in *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, xi (1979), pp 114-37; p. 119.

²⁹ Blank membership card of the Workingmen's Singing Society, St Louis 1888 (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, Workingmen's Singing Society, S237/2/1/1).

³⁰ *Die Westliche Post*, 14 June 1888.

with the Toledo singing group and other choirs like the Detroit Workingmen's singing society.³¹

Aside from their annual trip to Toledo, the Fort Wayne *Männerchor* pursued many other endeavours and even had a female branch known as the *Damenchor*. The Fort Wayne singing society was founded in 1869 and the roster book, in use from 1869 to 1929 recorded members who hailed from all over the German states as well as some second generation German-Americans also (see Fig. 5.2).³² The fact that second generation Germans participated in the activities of the singing societies was of pivotal importance. As Erdely states, 'to indoctrinate the American-born generation in their parents musical heritage was one of the primary aims of singing societies.'³³ Without their involvement and participation, the longevity of the ethnic identity was questionable. Therefore it was both beneficial and necessary for cultural institutions to entice multi-generational subscriptions, as well as promoting immigrant membership to their organisations. Realising that a cultural identity could not be created, and indeed sustained, without encompassing the extended immigrant community, 'subsequent generations' as Goetzen comments, 'shifted from an immigrant identity to an ethnic identity'.³⁴ Thus, the development of these societies was two-fold. On the one hand they were sustained by the involvement of second and third generation offspring, while simultaneously, they also benefited from the influx of new immigrants, who, as Levy argues, 'sought out institutions that supported their ethnic identity'.³⁵ Furthermore, membership of these individual organisations was intended 'to cut across economic, social and occupational boundaries'.³⁶ Accordingly, the membership subscription of many singing

³¹ German American Biographical Co., *Toledo und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland, OH, 1899), p. 78.

³² Sack, 'The Germans', p. 686.

³³ Erdely, 'Ethnic music', p. 121.

³⁴ Goetzen, Levy *et al.*, 'European American musical culture', p. 163.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁶ Goetzen, Levy *et al.*, 'European American musical cultures', p. 176.

groups amounted to approximately fifty cents per month or six dollars per annum.³⁷ This, in part, accounts for their large membership base and the continued popularity of singing groups within the wider German immigrant community. Significantly, this unified and shared ethnic identity contrasted starkly with the disjointed and often fragmented character that existed in many other aspects of the German immigrant experience.

Fig. 5.2 Extract from the Fort Wayne *Männerchor* roster book showing members born in Indiana, Nassau and New York, June 1877³⁸

Namens-Verzeichniß der Mitglieder des Fort Wayne Sängerbundes.					
I	Name.	Aufnahme.	Geburtsdag.	Geburtsland und Ort.	Residenz.
	Frank H. Rohr	June 7 th 1877	Jan. 23 1852	9 Ward Plough St. St. Wayne Ind New County	245 W. Washington St. 241 Broadway
2	J. J. Stein	June 7 th 1877	Dec. 27 th 1844	Nassau Pulsdorf	122 Maumee Avenue
3	Erhardt J. Heiny	July 8 th 1877	January 8 th 1846	Amesia New York City New York State	No. 22 West Main St.

In smaller towns like Fort Wayne, Topeka, Kansas and Joilet, Illinois, singing societies were an integral aspect of the social life of a German-American. In April 1885, the *Fort Wayne Gazette* printed an article anticipating the Indiana State *Sängerfest* which was being held in the city two months later, in June.³⁹ This article exemplifies the level of excitement that surrounded such cultural events, as they provided an opportunity for the whole of the German community to become involved (see Fig. 5.3). As the Indiana State *Sängerfest* of 1885 neared, the people of Fort Wayne and particularly its German community

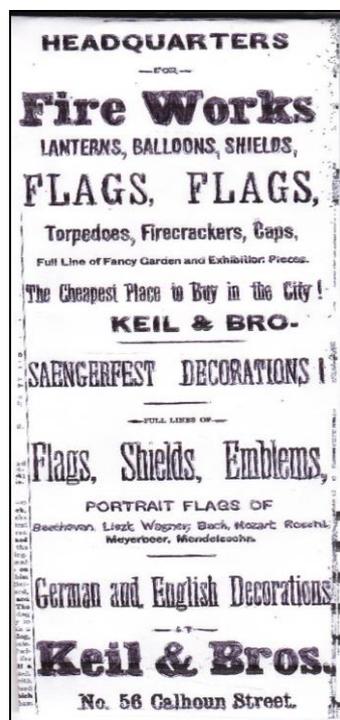
³⁷ German American Biographical Co., *Toledo und sein Deutschtum*, p. 78.

³⁸ Extract from the Fort Wayne *Männerchor* roster book, June 1877 (Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, IN).

³⁹ *Fort Wayne Gazette*, 26 Apr. 1885.

were eagerly anticipating the grand opening of the event. Portrait flags of Beethoven, Bach and many more German composers were available for purchase, as were balloons, firecrackers and fireworks, caps and lanterns. The streets were filled with enthusiastic expectation and on the opening night, the *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* noted that ‘a number of small boys placed ladders along the east side of the building and took in the whole performance’.⁴⁰ Reporting on the event, the journalist noted how, ‘the scene at the Princess last evening was one seldom equalled anywhere and certainly one that would greatly impress a spectator.’⁴¹ Mayor Muhler addressed the assembled gathering and welcomed the visitors by commenting ‘our city feels honoured by the presence of those this day gathered here ... the object of your meeting is highly commendable as by these gatherings you build a taste and desire for music which is productive alone of peace, harmony and pleasure.’⁴²

Fig. 5.3 Advertisement placed in *The Daily Gazette* (Fort Wayne, Indiana) promoting *Sängerfest* Decorations⁴³



⁴⁰ *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, 24 June 1885.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, 25 June 1885.

Aside from singing and choral societies, German immigrants pursued many other aspects of the arts. Music and the emergence of bands were promoted by the German-American communities and many credit the emergence of piano playing in the home to German families who brought pianos with them from Europe.⁴⁴ The first band was formed in Fort Wayne in 1842. The *Kekionga Band* was a brass band and consisted of many prominent members of Fort Wayne's German community.⁴⁵ Three years later in 1845, a second band was formed by Charles Strubey and became known as *Strubey's Band*. Thus, even before the emergence and subsequent dominance of singing societies, music was almost instantly identifiable with German-ness.

Drama, both spectating and participating, was also a popular social pursuit for German-Americans in the mid-late nineteenth century. There is evidence of dramatic societies in St Louis. Many of the performances were in aid of benevolent causes and attracted great audiences. Again, the performances were targeted at a specifically German audience and usually the drama being performed was of German origin. However, it would be erroneous to suggest that dramatic performances were held in the same regard or attended with the same fervour as singing performances. In 1853, Heinrich Börnstein, the owner of the German language newspaper *Anzienger des Westens* [Western Advertiser] established an amateur dramatic organisation called the *Philodramatische Gesellschaft* in St Louis.⁴⁶ Despite its initial success with Börnstein writing, directing and even acting in some of the group's performances, his influence on German theatre in St Louis declined with the outbreak of the American Civil War. A *German Theatre Verein* [Union] was also formed in the city, yet despite the guaranteed income provided by its members' subscriptions, German theatre in general endured a waning in popularity. This was partially due to the relative exclusiveness

⁴⁴ Burnett and Luebbring, *German settlement*, p. 85.

⁴⁵ Sack, 'The Germans', p. 678.

⁴⁶ Olson, 'St Louis Germans', p. 114.

of the German theatre within the wider immigrant community and also because of the increasing membership of organisations like the *Turnverein*, which often had their own dramatic societies.

5.5 'behind the doors of the Turnhalle'

As well as singing and the arts more generally, the other cultural movement which was integral in creating and maintaining a German ethnic identity was the *Turnverein*. Sport, exercise and well-being were important values which had also migrated with the German immigrant population. The influence of these ideals was expressed most effectively through the establishment of a movement known as the *Turnverein*. The *Turnverein* or gymnastic union was essentially a social and cultural organisation propagated in the United States by the German political émigrés who arrived in the aftermath of the 1848 uprisings in the German states. It was primarily concerned with the physical fitness and well-being of young German men, although it gradually metamorphosed into a cultural organisation concerned with the preservation and development of German culture more generally. While some examples of German fitness organisations were evident in the United States as early as the 1830s, it was not until the arrival of politically engaged, educated and motivated immigrants in the late 1840s that *Turnerism* became a popular pursuit.

Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who affectionately became known as *Vater Jahn* [Father Jahn], formed the first *Turnplatz* [Gymnastics area] near Berlin in 1811. Wild comments that, 'his plan was to encourage bodily exercise and to foster patriotic ideals in his pupils, so that with sound minds in sound bodies, inspired with love of country and passion for freedom,

they might help in the liberation of their country'.⁴⁷ Consequently, the adoption of Jahn's model formed an integral aspect in the ideology of many of the Forty-Eighters, and subsequently, this was again reflected through German involvement in the American Civil War during the 1860s. Once defeat of the Forty-Eighters in May 1848 was imminent, many of the disillusioned political activists fled. Describing the development of *Turnerism* in the United States, Barney observes that, 'the evolution of the *Turnverein* movement in America, exactly and methodically paralleled the emigration of the Forty-Eighter *Turner* refugees from Germany.'⁴⁸ Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, Vater Jahn's vision had spread across the Atlantic and gradually, *Turnerism* became synonymous with German-America.

During the 1850s, numerous *Turnvereine* emerged, and like singing societies, the presence of a *Turnverein* indicated the existence of a significant German settlement nearby. From 1848-51, Barney claims that twenty-two individual *Turnvereine* were organised within the United States. Two years later, by 1853, this number had increased to seventy.⁴⁹ Over the next two decades the movement continued to flourish but it was not until the 1890s that the organisation enjoyed its heyday. By the end of the nineteenth century, the *Turner* movement included, as Hofmann records, 'over 40,000 members, with another 25,000 children and 3,000 women participating in the activity classes.'⁵⁰

So what actually happened behind the doors of the *Turnhalle* [Gymnastics hall]? Specifically, members took part in regular exercise, initially in gymnastics, but also in more popular exercises such as 'running, jumping, lifting and climbing as well as fencing,

⁴⁷ Robert Wild, 'Chapters in the history of the Turners' in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, ix (1925), pp 123-39; p. 125.

⁴⁸ Robert Knight Barney, 'Forty-Eighters and the rise of the *Turnverein* movement in America' in George Eisen and David Kenneth Wiggins (eds), *Ethnicity and sport in North America: history and culture* (Westport, CT, 1994), pp 19-43; p. 19.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Annette R. Hofmann, 'Lady Turners in the United States: German American identity, gender concerns and *Turnerism*' in *Journal of Sport History*, xxvii (2000), pp 383-404; p. 383.

swimming and wrestling'.⁵¹ As the movement progressed, individual *Turnvereine* constructed purpose built gymnastic halls, which essentially constituted complexes of German culture. Not only was a gymnastic hall erected, but also libraries, lecture rooms and reading rooms were also created and some *Turnvereine* even boasted of having bathing rooms. Gradually, *Turner* schools also emerged. These were schools organised by the *Turnverein* which accepted ethnically German students, both boys and girls. They had a dual focus in that they incorporated academic learning with physical, specifically gymnastic, instruction also. Significantly however, this dual approach was achieved through the medium of German. In St Louis, membership of the organisation was payable monthly by a subscription of two dollars. Of this, one dollar was retained for the management of the organisation, fifty cent was allocated to the society's library and the final fifty cent contributed to the cost of *Krankenkasse* or the association's health insurance, which provided financial assistance to members who obtained an injury.⁵²

Aside from the daily administration of the organisation, festivals and competitions called *Turnfeste* were regularly organised and members would compete against athletes from rival *Turnvereine*. Singing societies and drama groups slowly evolved from the *Turnverein* and Ladies Auxiliary branches also appeared as they were not entitled to full membership until the end of the nineteenth century. Picnics, outings and masquerade balls were also organised for members and trips became a feature of the *Vereinsleben* [club life].⁵³ There were also special events for children like the annual *Kinderball* [Children's dance] and annual outings (see Fig. 5.4). All of these events and excursions necessitated committees and

⁵¹ Annette R. Hofmann, 'Between ethnic separation and assimilation: German immigrants and their athletic endeavours in their new American home country' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, xxv (2008), pp 993-1009; p. 998.

⁵² *Verfassung des St Louis Turnvereins* (St Louis, MO, 1860), p. 4 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis MO, St Louis Turnverein papers 1852-1933, A1449/1/12).

⁵³ Note in St Louis Turnverein Minute book, Feb. 1900 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis MO, St Louis Turnverein papers 1852-1933, A1449/1/20A.5.4).

it was in this respect that the Ladies Auxiliaries had their most significant influence on the *Vereinsleben*.

Fig. 5.4 South St Louis *Turnverein*, children's outing c. 1900 ⁵⁴



Since the *Turnverein* movement had been founded by those émigrés who felt obliged to leave after 1848, the *Turnverein* was periodically linked to political issues. As Barney argues, ‘the *Turnverein* ... offered Forty-Eighters an organisational centre for espousing the social and political causes in which they believed so stringently’.⁵⁵ It came as little surprise then when *Turners* all over the country became concerned with the events leading up to the outbreak of the civil war. Hofmann comments that, ‘until the outbreak of the civil war the turner societies had a strong political orientation. Their political attitudes reflected the opinions of the free thinkers, an anti-religious movement that advocated rationalism, science and history.’⁵⁶ Many of the *Turnverein* members also identified with these sentiments and thus supported the Republican Party. Consequently, when the Civil War began many of the

⁵⁴ South St Louis *Turnverein*, children's outing, c. 1900 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis MO, Photographic collection).

⁵⁵ Barney, ‘Forty-Eighters’, p. 21.

⁵⁶ Hofmann, ‘Between ethnic separation and assimilation’, p. 999.

Turners felt compelled to answer Lincoln's call and fight for the Union. As Wild commented, 'the *Turnerbund* sent forth the flower of its membership ... thousands and thousands of young men skilled in the use of arms ... more than sixty per cent of its membership enlisted in the army'.⁵⁷

One of the most illustrative examples of this was in St Louis where, as Hofmann notes, '*Turners* got armed with guns ... and with some 800 volunteers of German stock they formed four regiments which took over Camp Jackson.'⁵⁸ These four regiments formed part of the company which fought during the Camp Jackson Affair and defended the arsenal at St Louis (see section 7.10). Many influential members of St Louis' German community fought during the Camp Jackson Affair and tried to quell the unrest which lasted four days. Among them was Captain Constantin Blandowski who was the fencing master of the St Louis *Turnverein*. Like many other German *Turners*, Blandowski was killed during the war. As Wild remembers, '[He] was one of the first to fall in the capture of Camp Jackson and the arsenal.'⁵⁹

According to Kargau, 'our city [St Louis] was considered the chief fostering place of *Turner* activity on this side of the ocean'.⁶⁰ Despite *Turnvereine* in bigger cities like New York and Philadelphia in the east, or Milwaukee and Chicago in the Midwest, Kargau's claim had a certain validity. The St Louis *Turnverein* holds the distinction of being the 'oldest in the west' and was the first *Turnverein* to be incorporated.⁶¹ Although the date of the establishment of the first *Turnverein* in St Louis is contested, Kargau remembered that 'as early as the second half of the forties, Charles Speck ... had endeavoured to bring together a group of young men ... who met on Sundays to harden their bodies by playing ball, exercising

⁵⁷ Wild, 'Chapters in the history of the Turners', p. 129.

⁵⁸ Annette R. Hofmann, *Turnen and sport: transatlantic transfers* (Münster, 2004), p. 94.

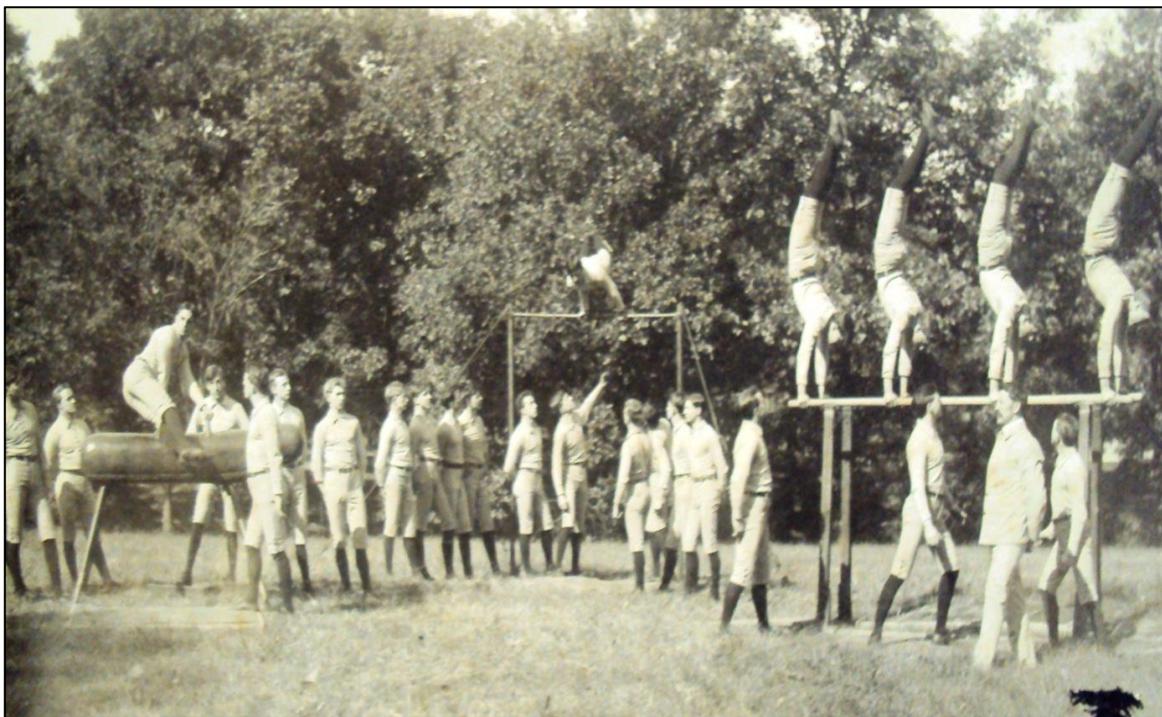
⁵⁹ Wild 'Chapters in the history of the turners', p. 130.

⁶⁰ Kargau, *German element*, p. 216.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

and swimming’ (see Fig. 5.5).⁶² On 17 June 1850, this small body of men formed the St Louis *Turner* Society, meeting in the first instance at the Rhenisch Wine Hall. Membership of *Turner* societies was open to any member of German ethnicity, and although externally it may seem like one of the primary aims was to preserve German culture and inhibit any assimilation that may arise as a result of employment or any other external force, the opposite was in fact true. As Wild notes, ‘it was a fundamental requirement that every *turner* had to be a citizen, and it was a condition of admission to membership that each applicant was obliged to become naturalized as speedily as possible. Americanization was, for them, no problem at all.’⁶³ Bergquist agrees claiming that the *Turnvereine*, although enthusiastically embraced, served primarily as a ‘decompression chamber, which aided the processes of acculturation and assimilation’.⁶⁴

Fig. 5.5 Gymnastic drill at the South St Louis *Turnverein*, c. 1900 ⁶⁵



⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Wild, ‘Chapters in the history of the Turners’, p. 131.

⁶⁴ James M. Bergquist, ‘German communities in American cities: an interpretation of the nineteenth century experience’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, iv (1984), pp 9-30; p. 17.

⁶⁵ Gymnastic drill at the South St Louis *Turnverein*, c. 1900 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis MO, Photographic collection).

On the occasion of their first anniversary, the ‘German girls’ of St Louis presented the *Turnverein* with ‘a beautifully embroidered white silk banner’.⁶⁶ The *Turnverein* continued to grow and in May 1852, the *Verein* hosted its first competition where clubs from ‘Belleville, Evansville, Quincy, Louisville and Cincinnati’ were also represented.⁶⁷ After the success of this first competition, the *Verein* went from strength to strength. It was decided to build a *Turner* Hall at Tenth St and in 1855 when the hall was dedicated, there was also space for a library, which ‘by 1898 had accumulated three thousand volumes’.⁶⁸ A singing society, a drama club and a plot for *Turners* in Picker’s cemetery was also pursued in the following years. By 1858, the St Louis *Tuner* Society had over five hundred members and by the time it moved to the new building in 1889, the *Verein* boasted of an impressive 965 participants. The library was further evidence of the organisation’s success. By 1900, the contents of the library were so voluminous that a second building was established at 1506 Chouteau Ave, a short distance away from the new *Turner* Hall.⁶⁹

Despite St Louis’ flourishing *Turnverein* in the central downtown area, there was still sufficient demand for a *Turner* society in the southern part of the city. In September 1869, a number of members of the original society decided to formally establish a *Turner* society in the Frenchtown area of south St Louis. This was primarily motivated by the fact that the trip to the Central *Turner* Hall on Chouteau Ave was too far, particularly considering the poor street car service that existed in the south of the city. By May 1882, and after a lot of legal wrangling, a *Turner* hall was built on the corner of Tenth and Carroll Sts. This, as Kargau commented, ‘formed the central meeting place of the German element in this part of the city.’⁷⁰ Although admittedly poaching some members from the original society, by 1882, the

⁶⁶ Kargau, *German element*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Gould & Co., *Gould’s St Louis City Directory*, 1900 (St Louis, MO, 1900), p. 2485.

⁷⁰ Kargau, *German element*, p. 222.

South St Louis *Turner* Society had '648 members, a fine class for the older folk, a ladies' class and support[ed] an extraordinarily well attended *Turner* school'.⁷¹ Aside from a specific class for ladies, women gradually began to play a more active role in the community life of the society. However, it was only in the aftermath of the Civil War that they began to have a practical involvement in the physical activities of the society. Writing of female contributions in the Indianapolis *Turnverein* Hofmann notes, 'Another role the Indianapolis *turner* ladies fulfilled involved supervision of children's *turn* classes, which grew rapidly after the Civil War. Because the number of girls attending these classes grew, *turner* ladies were trained as assistant instructors to chaperone these classes'.⁷²

Similar to the singing societies, *Turnvereine* were also a prominent feature of German communities in smaller towns. However, in Fort Wayne, it was not until 1865, in the aftermath of the Civil War, that the *Turnverein Vorwärts* was founded. As immigrant levels began to rise in the city once more and the movement increased in popularity more generally, the German population of Fort Wayne decided to form a *Turnverein* of their own. The *Verein* had its hall at 'Hugh McCulloch's mansion on Superior St',⁷³ although by 1895 the society, which met on the second Sunday of each month, had relocated to the *Sängerbund* Hall on West Main St. Although not as expansive as its counterpart in St Louis, the role played by the *Turnverein* in Fort Wayne was equally, if not more, important as its counterpart in St Louis. Organisations like the *Turnverein* enabled smaller immigrant communities to retain their cultural exclusivity in an environment where assimilation was more easily achieved. By extension, the influence of *Turnvereine* on German immigrant populations in the Midwest and beyond essentially personified the immigrant experience.

However, by 1895, the rate of immigration had slowed down and the central governing body of the *Turners*, the North American *Turnerbund* decided to seek and accept

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Hofmann, 'Lady Turners', p. 39.

⁷³ Sack, 'The Germans', p. 686.

memberships from other communities. This move received a mixed reaction. On the one hand some members realised it was a necessary diversification given that it would ensure the long-term sustainability of the movement. Conversely, this dilution as many people saw it, represented the end of a distinctly German aspect of immigrant life. As Hofmann commented, '*Turnvereine* not only offered physical education classes but also functioned as vehicles for German immigrants to stay in touch with their own culture through the preservation of German traditional customs, language and celebrations'.⁷⁴ Now, it seemed this was under threat from external forces. Despite this, its legacy remained undisputed. The *Turnverein* transformed German-American, and more latterly American society, by what Wild terms its 'genuine, original, and lasting contribution to the education, citizenship, idealism, social progress, political reform, and culture' of its adoptive home.⁷⁵

5.6 '*the widest possible range of clubs*'⁷⁶

The very fact that Irish-Americans showed little interest in the areas where most German-American social activities were focused, exemplifies the extent to which the character of each immigrant group differed. Singing and music generally, as well as sport were the two most popular and widely practised social pursuits of German-Americans. In these arenas, the Irish tradition, although upheld, was not as structured and certainly did not stimulate the same level of interest as it did for their German counterparts. The impact the *Turner* movement had on American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is difficult to dispute, but aside from involvement in the *Turnverein*, German immigrants did not regularly engage in the sporting activities of the wider community, with the exception of employment based sports events.

⁷⁴ Hofmann, 'Ethnic separation and assimilation', p. 1001.

⁷⁵ Wild, 'Chapters in the history of the Turners', pp 123-36.

⁷⁶ David M. Emmons, *Beyond the American pale: the Irish in the west, 1845-1910* (Norman, OH, 2010), p. 281.

A significant feature of both of these organisations was the emphasis they placed on language. Involvement in these inherently German organisations was integral to the preservation and longevity of the most distinctive aspect of German culture. However, German immigrants were not alone in this pursuit and there were isolated examples of Irish organisations that also emphasised the importance of the Irish language. In 1906, Douglas Hyde visited St Louis as part of an American tour which aimed to secure funding for the Gaelic League movement in Ireland, but which also highlighted the importance of the Gaelic language and culture.⁷⁷ Organisations such as this, combined with other more politicised associations like the American Land League clubs reinforced a cultural link with Ireland and reminded immigrants of their heritage and cultural obligations to the homeland, while simultaneously mirroring many of the labour struggles they faced in America. As Dolan writes, ‘By joining Irish nationalism with American social reform, the Land League encouraged a radical working class consciousness among Irish-Americans that took root in the 1880s in the Knights of Labor.’⁷⁸ More importantly however, they also engendered a sense of shared identity and promoted the conservation of a shared heritage.

Aside from politicised, cultural associations, Irish immigrants also participated in sporting organisations although the parameters of their existence were not as regimented as their German counterparts. Where they did participate, and usually excelled, were in sports like prize-fighting and soccer. However, the host community abhorred this Irish attachment to prize-fighting and consequently this was looked on with disdain by many, contributing further to their already dubious reputation. More socially acceptable to the American-born community was the European sport of soccer. Soccer became particularly popular not only on the east coast but in the Midwest as well. Yet, it largely remained an immigrant sport. In St Louis in particular, soccer clubs were formed by the immigrant parishes. Soccer teams

⁷⁷ Douglas Hyde, *Mo thuras go hAmerice* (Dublin, 1937), pp 71-2.

⁷⁸ Jay Dolan, *The Irish Americans: a history* (New York, 2008), p. 197.

consisting of immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland were evident in St Louis and in 1881 an ‘Irish’ versus ‘English’ match took place on the Sunday after Thanksgiving.⁷⁹ However, as with the majority of Irish social activities, a Catholic undertone permeated immigrants’ involvement in sport. As Faherty writes, ‘in the 1880s the sport of soccer galvanised Irish Catholic parish loyalties in St Louis.’⁸⁰ Parish teams gradually emerged and played against each other in the Solidarity League. St Malachy’s, St Teresa’s, St Patrick’s and St Bridget’s all fielded teams, most of which consisted of Irish immigrants. In the 1890s, a team from St Teresa’s parish won the Solidarity League repeatedly throughout the decade. Of the eleven players that started, ten were Irish.⁸¹ Aside from soccer, Irish immigrants also became involved in baseball. In April 1860, two Irishmen, John O’Connell and J.D. Fitzgibbon were the first men to lay out a baseball diamond in the city.⁸² By 1900, the Irish community in St Louis were also beginning to produce players. In the US Federal Census returns for 1900 Michael McDermott is recorded as a ball player and although not a professional, there were others in the Irish community who did play for the St Louis Perfectos.⁸³ Jack O’Connor joined the Perfectos in 1898 after moving to the city from Cleveland. Others who played for the Perfectos were Mike Donlin, born in Illinois and Jimmy Burke a native of St Louis. Thus although both communities did pursue physical activities, their approaches differed greatly.

Aside from Irish immigrant involvement in sport, there were many other activities that engaged Irish-Americans once evening fell. Commenting on the Missouri Irish, McLoughlin notes that, ‘one gauge of the strength of an ethnic group is the number of formal

⁷⁹ William Barnaby Faherty, *St Louis Irish: an unmatched Celtic community* (St Louis, MO, 2001), p. 113.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁸² Michael McLoughlin, *Missouri Irish: the original history of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City, MO, 2007), p. 105.

⁸³ 1900 US Federal Census record for Michael McDermott, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 46, p. 3 available at: [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (20 June 2013).

organisations founded by them'.⁸⁴ Similar to the German immigrant community, Irish-Americans also established a number of fraternal organisations that enabled them to celebrate their shared culture and form a specific communal identity in their new homeland. Although the primary exponents of Irish-American cultural practices differed greatly from their German-American counterparts, the cultural bonds of brotherhood were nonetheless a leading motivation in the foundation of each community's social and cultural practices. Whereas singing societies and gymnastic unions characterised the principal facets of German-American social lives, the Irish-American participated in temperance movements, nationalist brotherhoods, political organisations concerning the homeland and religious societies (see section 6.12). Furthermore, the Irish-American had a specific day each year when he celebrated his heritage. 'The Irish' as Emmons writes, 'had the widest possible range of clubs making demands on their purses, seeking their vote, filling out their social calendar, confirming their manhood – and womanhood – and selling them liquor',⁸⁵ a pastime not entirely unknown to their German contemporaries either.

5.7 'the oldest Catholic organisation in the United States'

Founded in 1836, the Ancient Order of Hibernians was one such fraternal organisation. Although the AOH professed itself as a nationalist organisation, 'they were' as Emmons notes, 'far more active on the cause of the people rather than the nation'.⁸⁶ Divisions of the AOH, the oldest Catholic organisation in the United States, were evident in each location, as indeed it was in most towns and cities where there was a significant Irish presence during the nineteenth century. Initially the AOH existed without the benefit of a

⁸⁴ McLoughlin, *Missouri Irish*, p. 96.

⁸⁵ Emmons, *Beyond the American pale*, p. 281.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

centralised governing body. However, in 1871 the Order was reorganised on a national basis and thereafter its existence became more structured, although membership remained open only to persons of Irish nativity or descent. The AOH played an integral role in the creation of an Irish identity and importantly, it was also responsible for producing many of the community's leaders. Fraternal societies like the AOH and the Robert Emmet Literary Society (RELA), an organisation that was closely aligned with the AOH, provided immigrants with both a forum to celebrate their Irishness, and also a sphere within which to network and propel their American ambitions. Brunsmann furthers this argument by commenting that immigrants were willing to pay the hefty annual membership of \$100 for two reasons.⁸⁷ Firstly, they identified with the cause and secondly these associations consisted of prominent members who could readily secure employment for immigrants given that they had the appropriate skill set.⁸⁸ Hence, there were essentially two prerequisites to joining fraternities like the AOH. On the one hand a member was required to be reasonably affluent, while on the other, they were required to possess a skill level uncharacteristic of many of the famine immigrants who arrived in the decade after 1850. For these reasons, a certain portion of Irish-America remained detached from the AOH until the latter decades of the nineteenth century when Irish-America as a whole became more affluent and consequently were socially mobile. Thus, not only were these fraternities gatherings of a shared culture, they were also a springboard from which the American dream could be furthered and even attained.

In 1870 John Tigh and Peter Leonard established the first division of the AOH in St Louis. The organisation had already been in existence for a number of years and within the first year of its establishment in St Louis two more branches were founded in the city. At its

⁸⁷ Sandra M. Brunsmann, *Early Irish settlers in St Louis Missouri and Dogtown neighbourhood* (St Louis, MO, 2000), p. 9.

⁸⁸ Emmons, *Beyond the American pale*, p. 276.

peak, there were ten branches of the order in St Louis ranging in membership from fifty-eight to 150 affiliates.⁸⁹ Aside from weekly or fortnightly meetings, the AOH was particularly visible on St Patrick's Day. Within two years of its establishment in the city, the AOH played an important role in the 1872 St Patrick's Day parade in the city. Demonstrating the rapid development of the organisation in St Louis, the AOH had representative branches in both the north and south sides of the city. During the parade, those branches from north St Louis were marshalled by John Tighe, while Michael Cull took charge of the divisions from the southern part of the city.⁹⁰

By the 1880s the influence of the AOH in St Louis was apparent. At the 1880 St Patrick's Day parade the *Missouri Democrat* reported that 'the total number of members of the AOH in line was about 400.'⁹¹ Each of the ten divisions were represented and the Mitchell Field Band formed part of their procession. The *Democrat* noted that the men 'were dressed in a suit of black, with a hat of the same, ornamented with a white cockade besides wearing paraphernalia of green decked with insignia of the order.'⁹² Each division carried an American flag and banners denoting their society and division. The fact that 400 Irishmen made themselves available to walk in a parade on a Wednesday morning is in itself illustrative of the close ethnic unity advocated by the Irish immigrant community. The AOH continued to play an integral role in the consolidation of an Irish cultural identity and by 1900, Gould's city directory for St Louis recorded the continuing prosperity of the movement noting that there were nine subordinate branches within the city limits.⁹³

Owing primarily to the fact that the Irish community in Fort Wayne was significantly smaller than many of its Midwestern counterparts, the Irish in Fort Wayne remain one of the

⁸⁹ Faherty, *St Louis Irish*, p. 111.

⁹⁰ *Missouri Democrat*, 16 Mar. 1872.

⁹¹ *Missouri Democrat*, 18 Mar. 1880.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Gould & Co., *Gould's city directory of St Louis 1900*, p. 2477.

best examples of how assimilation was achieved. The fortunes of the AOH in the city exemplify this. A chapter of the AOH was formed in Fort Wayne during the 1880s, but as Logan writes, ‘the largest fraternal organisation in the United States, was only short-lived in Fort Wayne’.⁹⁴ Yet, the establishment of a chapter of the AOH in the city does confirm the existence of a relatively significant settlement of Irish immigrants, aware of their cultural identity and desiring to publicly acknowledge their origins. Given the size of the immigrant community in Fort Wayne, the order acted as a shield from external forces, while its members simultaneously found their positions within the broader Fort Wayne community. Both German and Irish scholars have noted the importance of ethnic societies in the process of assimilation. Thus, when Irish assimilation in Fort Wayne had been achieved, the need for the protection the Order offered became redundant and thus, its existence superfluous. As Logan writes, ‘perhaps because the Irish were more welcome in Fort Wayne, than elsewhere and because they moved readily into industry and the professions, Irish-Americanism tended to fade earlier than in most large cities’.⁹⁵ That is not to suggest that Irish-American identity was lost, but rather its need for acceptance within the wider community was.

As the end of the century approached, the Irish community in Fort Wayne began to increase. With its expansion there was a renewed desire for cultural security as the newly arrived immigrants acculturated to the city. Accordingly, a reunion of the original division of the AOH in Fort Wayne was held at Library Hall in April 1890.⁹⁶ This reunion, coupled with the increasing Irish immigrant population, began the resurgence of the organisation in the city. In 1895 the city directory recorded that Allen County, Division Number 1 of the Ancient Order of Hibernians met every second Thursday and fourth Sunday of the month. John H. Rohan, a foreman at the Fort Wayne Organ company was the division’s president and Daniel

⁹⁴ Thomas Logan, ‘The Irish in Fort Wayne’ in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, IN, 2005), i, 723-30; p. 729.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

⁹⁶ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, 17 Apr. 1890.

McKendry, a civil engineer was the association's secretary.⁹⁷ The organisation enjoyed an extended period of prosperity in the city with the division continuing to exist into the twentieth century.

As the organisation grew, the AOH in Fort Wayne also developed a Ladies Auxiliary. This group was known as the Daughters of Erin and 'met' as Griffin notes, 'the Irish immigrant's need for companionship with others who shared their immigrant experiences and cultural heritage',⁹⁸ just as the order did for their male counterparts. The Ladies Auxiliary was responsible for organising fundraising events and outings such as picnics. When the Order held special events like a ball, not only did the Daughters of Erin attend, they played an integral role in the organisation of the event. In this way, both Irish and German women fulfilled similar supplementary roles in the societal lives of their communities.

5.8 '*a reputation of respectability*'

Fraternalities like the AOH were only one example of the type of social and cultural opportunities that were available to Irish immigrants. Temperance movements were another popular social organisation and Irish immigrants not only formed their own associations, they also constituted a significant portion of the movement as a whole. Dolan comments that 'the new type of Irish emigrant who arrived in the mid-century straddled the Atlantic with one foot solidly in Irish traditions and the other seeking a foothold in the strange and hostile new world'.⁹⁹ Some of the societies available to the Irish immigrant were simply replicas of Irish societies that had migrated with the Irish in the same way the *Turnvereine* did with German emigrants. Although other societies did emerge as a direct response to the immigrant's needs,

⁹⁷ R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1895-6* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1895), p. 56, 390, 561.

⁹⁸ William Griffin, 'Irish', p. 261.

⁹⁹ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, p. 59.

for example the Irish Emigrant Society in St Louis, ‘all were based’, as Emmons writes, ‘on Irish townland notions of sociability and friendliness’.¹⁰⁰ In this sense, temperance movements like the Knights of Fr Mathew in St Louis offered the security of an ‘old world’ simulation but in ‘new world’ circumstances. Thus, in the first instance they provided a good platform for acculturation as well as offering cultural security to the immigrant.

Moloney notes that ‘for a population of immigrants and their children, temperance became an important point of continuity with Ireland.’¹⁰¹ In St Louis, there were two temperance movements of note. The first was Father Mathew’s Young Men’s Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society formed in 1870. In its initial years, the organisation grew and by 1873 there were 1,300 members subscribed.¹⁰² By 1900, Gould’s city directory recorded that there was twenty-two subordinate branches of the organisation in the city.¹⁰³ Like many other organisations, Fr Mathew’s abstainers regularly took part in St Patrick’s Day parades. As with many organisations, parades and other formal events were powerful recruitment aids as they enabled immigrants to publicly acknowledge their cultural heritage. The establishment of abstinence societies at parish level was also a common occurrence and in the 1872 St Patrick’s Day parade, as well as the Father Mathew organisation, there were also abstinence groups from St Bridget’s and St Malachy’s parishes who were marshalled by Patrick Grady and James Hardy respectively.

Organisations such as these enticed members by using sports teams, billiard tables, libraries and reading rooms ‘and other manly amusements as an inducement in order to increase membership’.¹⁰⁴ This again mirrored the wider cultural influence of fraternal organisations and American norms during the nineteenth century. A second temperance

¹⁰⁰ Emmons, *Beyond the American pale*, p. 282.

¹⁰¹ Deirdre M. Moloney, ‘Combatting ‘Whiskey’s Work’: the Catholic temperance movement in late nineteenth century America’ in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, xvi (1998), pp 1-23; p. 7.

¹⁰² Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 111.

¹⁰³ Gould & Co., *Gould’s city directory of St Louis, 1900*, p. 2476.

¹⁰⁴ Moloney, ‘Whiskey’s work’, p. 17.

movement was formed on 9 May 1872 and was simply called the Knights of Fr Mathew. The organisation remained independent of the earlier one and Fr P.F. O'Reilly was its spiritual director. Like its counterparts, the group focused stringently on total abstinence and also had a customised uniform, drilled regularly and took part in annual events like the St Patrick's Day celebrations.¹⁰⁵ Picnics and outings were also regular features of society life. They provided the opportunity not only to embrace cultural traditions, but social events such as these enabled participants to meet perspective marriage partners with similar values in the same way as singing society outings did for the German-American community.

The origins of both of these societies were overtly Irish and they prided their establishment on the legacy of Fr Mathew in Ireland. However, there were also other examples of abstinence organisations that the Irish subscribed to. On the last Sunday of the month, the Roman Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society of the city of St Louis met at St Lawrence O'Toole's church in the Kerry Patch. The popularity of this association peaked during the 1870s and like many of its counterparts it too formed part of the St Patrick's Day procession.¹⁰⁶ As with other organisations, temperance movements became centralised in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The Catholic Temperance Abstinence Union (CTAU) was formed in 1872 and as Moloney notes, 'by the early twentieth century, almost 90,000 members and over 1000 societies were affiliates throughout the country, especially in the Northeast and Midwest.'¹⁰⁷ Many of these members were of Irish descent and were eager to dispel the negative stereotype that surrounded Irish alcohol consumption. One of the primary reasons for this was to 'achieve a reputation of respectability among Americans as a whole'.¹⁰⁸ However, while this may have been the

¹⁰⁵ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁶ *Missouri Democrat*, 16 Mar. 1872.

¹⁰⁷ Moloney, 'Whiskeys work', p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

short-term aim of many temperance movements, McNickle claims this goal was only achieved after the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960.¹⁰⁹

Many Americans disliked the German and Irish traditions of alcohol consumption on the Sabbath. Coupled with this was the negative stereotype given to Irish alcohol abuse. However, of the two communities, the Irish embraced the temperance movement more readily. The German Catholics were generally more suspicious of the motives of temperance movements fearing as Moloney writes, ‘that if carried too far, [temperance movements] would impinge upon their rights to continue certain cultural traditions in the United States, including the Sunday beer garden.’¹¹⁰

5.9 ‘old time hilarity and solemnity’¹¹¹

One of the most significant differences in the social and cultural traditions of the German and Irish immigrant groups was the fact that the Irish had a selected day each year on which they celebrated their cultural heritage. Although the German community regularly held gatherings and events where their German culture was celebrated, the lack of a unified identity within the group as a whole meant that a celebration comparable with St Patrick’s Day was almost impossible. It is perhaps a tribute to the strength of the Irish immigrant communities in both locations that a St Patrick’s Day parade was held in each city.

Moss maintains that St Patrick’s Day celebrations had a dual purpose for the Irish immigrant community. Given ‘nativist animosity’ many Irish-American communities experienced, he argues that they needed to both prove and exhibit their solidity as an ethnic

¹⁰⁹ Chris McNickle, ‘When New York was Irish and after’ in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 337-57; p. 347.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹¹ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, 17 Mar. 1890.

entity, while simultaneously demonstrating their allegiance to the host community.¹¹² In St Louis, St Patrick's Day was celebrated annually. A parade was held which started at St Patrick's Hall on Seventh St and marched to the near north side to St Patrick's Church and in later years also visited St Lawrence O'Toole's church. The parade was attended by the majority of community organisations like the AOH, various benevolent societies, abstinence societies and local schools would participate in the procession also. The Knights of Fr Mathew paraded in their uniforms along with many of the militant associations. There was a particularly festive atmosphere in the city on those days and in St Louis, Dr R. Emmet Kane's poem would even suggest that St Patrick's Day was a multi-cultural affair:

'Bandmaster Daniel O'Connell O'Shea,
Passing St Bridget's, play 'St Patrick's Day'
This Herman Schmaltz will be your order too
Have your Dutch band play 'O Donnell Aboo',¹¹³

A band, such as Hermann Schmaltz's Dutch band or the Mitchell Field band would lead the procession and upon its arrival at the church, a service was celebrated with special music chosen to commemorate the day. In the evening, a banquet was generally held, toasts made to Mother Ireland and lectures and sermons given on the importance of St Patrick and the political situation of the homeland. In St Louis, the Knights of St Patrick held a banquet at the Southern Hotel which was attended by hundreds of people, although it regularly ended in controversy. There were also other social functions in the evening. In 1880, the Shamrock Society also hosted a ball and various religious services took place throughout the day.¹¹⁴ Cronin maintains that, 'St Patrick's day was used by Irish-Americans as a way of focusing attention on the Irish back home ... and the on-going political battle against British presence

¹¹² Kenneth Moss, 'St Patrick's Day celebrations and the formation of an Irish-American identity, 1845-1875' in *Journal of Social History*, xxix (1995), pp 125-48; p. 137.

¹¹³ Dr R Emmet Kane 'Let Erin Remember' in Ellen Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, (St Louis, MO, 1967), p. 56.

¹¹⁴ *Missouri Democrat*, 18 Mar. 1880.

in Ireland.’¹¹⁵ These sentiments were reinforced by the presence of John Dillon in St Louis for the St Patrick’s Day celebrations in the city in 1880.¹¹⁶

Fort Wayne held its first St Patrick’s Day parade in 1859. Mather comments that, ‘it marked the culmination by the immigrant Irish to win a modicum of acceptance’ following years of anti-Irish sentiment.¹¹⁷ Similar to St Louis, a procession comprising of ‘hundreds of the faithful’ proceeded to the St Augustine’s Cathedral where a mass was celebrated. On the procession, banners and flags representing Irish and American co-operation were shown and there was a distinct emphasis not only on Irish-ness but Irish-American-ness as well. As Moss writes, ‘the parade was a public demand for respectability by Irish Catholics who found themselves in a materially promising but hostile environment’.¹¹⁸ Children from the local St Augustine’s school, which was also attended by French and German children, wore ‘a large green satin badge bound with gilt wire plaited as an American eagle with a representation of the Roman pontiff underneath’.¹¹⁹

There is little doubt that the Irish did discover their ethnicity in America and this was perhaps never as pronounced as it was on St Patrick’s Day. Yet even in 1859 before immigration reaches its peak, the presence of the ‘American eagle’ on a St Patrick’s Day badge nonetheless represents this ‘process of becoming American’ that Kenny alludes to. The parade tradition continued until well into the twentieth century and gradually became a significant festival in Fort Wayne’s social calendar. On 16 March 1896, the *Fort Wayne Sentential* printed the programme for the following day and provided extensive coverage of the celebrations on the day itself.

¹¹⁵ Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The wearing of the green: a history of St Patrick’s Day* (New York, 2002), p. 65.

¹¹⁶ *Missouri Democrat*, 18 Mar. 1880

¹¹⁷ George R. Mather, ‘Fort Wayne’s first St Patrick’s Day celebration’ in *Old Fort News*, lv (1992), pp 1-4; p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Moss, ‘St Patrick’s Day celebrations’, p. 137.

¹¹⁹ Mather, ‘Fort Wayne’s first St Patrick’s Day’, p. 3.

For the most part the celebration of St Patrick's Day achieved the dual purpose that Moss alluded to. Certainly, the celebration forced the public affirmation of a unified ethnic identity, a shared origin, a shared religion and a shared immigrant experience. In fulfilling Moss' second purpose, the parades also confirmed Irish allegiance to the United States. This was achieved by the part adoption of aspects of nineteenth century American culture more generally, for example the militant and veteran organisations that marched in the parades and also, the sheer number of fraternal organisations epitomised the fraternal nature of nineteenth century America. Although the German-American community regularly held events celebrating their ethnicity, whether in the form of an inter-state singing competition or a *Turnfest*, they did not command the same sense of unity as the Irish celebration of St Patrick's Day. Perhaps this was due to the fragmented composition of the German-American community. Despite this at regular intervals, the German community did publicly acknowledge its heritage to the wider community. In April 1899, a German village was opened under the auspices of the Fort Wayne *Turnverein*. This exhibition ran for ten days and 'an exact facsimile of a village of the fatherland, showing the methods of doing business, their different amusements etc. and quaint German costumes' was created.¹²⁰ Similarly, in St Louis, organisations like *Bayern Verein*, performed native Bavarian dances and celebrated other aspects of their cultures.¹²¹ Whereas the Irish community shared a common religion, language and generally speaking a common motivation for emigration, the German community encompassed a variety of religions, a variety of dialects and a variety of motivations for leaving. So perhaps a celebration of German ethnicity was not only absent but conceptually impossible due to the composition of the group as a whole?

¹²⁰ *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, 17 Apr. 1899.

¹²¹ *Missouri Republic*, 20 Aug. 1895.

5.10 'Pioneers and shamrocks'

Despite the diverse range of social and cultural activities pursued by each immigrant group, there were some examples of similar, although ethnically separate, associations which enjoyed German and Irish memberships. Aside from the singing societies and *Turnvereine*, shooting societies and *Landsmans* [countrymen] clubs were also places for ethnic Germans to socialise. These countrymen clubs were orchestrated along the same premise as the Irish county societies that had emerged on the east coast, but had not yet made their way to the Midwest. In Fort Wayne, *Plattdeutscher Verein* [low German club] from the area of Stolzenau in the German lowlands was formed and from the 1880s onwards there was also the Saxonia Aid Society which held monthly meetings on the third Sunday of the month.¹²² Similarly, in St Louis there were countrymen clubs for Swabian and Bavarian immigrants as well as a German hunting club which was established in 1863 and met fortnightly.¹²³

Likewise the Irish community also had a variety of clubs and societies that functioned outside the realms of temperance movements and fraternities like the AOH. The Shamrock Society in St Louis was one such example. The society was established in the aftermath of the nativist Know Nothing riots in 1854. Founded in the home of Patrick Moran, it was a popular and necessary society for the Irish community in St Louis during the 1860s.¹²⁴ From 1870 onwards, the society met at St Lawrence O'Toole's church on the first Sunday of the month.¹²⁵ Initially the society had only seven members, but it grew to over three hundred.¹²⁶ Significantly, however, the society did not develop as a political entity in response to Know Nothingism, but rather remained thoroughly focused on its benevolent function.

¹²² R. L. Polk, *Fort Wayne city directory, 1895*, p. 60.

¹²³ Edwards & Co., *Edwards directory for the city of St Louis for 1870* (St Louis, MO, 1870), p. 88.

¹²⁴ McLoughlin, *Missouri Irish*, p. 98.

¹²⁵ Edwards & Co., *Edwards directory for the city of St Louis for 1870*, p. 85.

¹²⁶ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, p. 28.

Other ethnically Irish organisations included the Erin Benevolent Society, the Knights of St Patrick, the United Sons of Erin and the Order of United Irishmen. Yet despite such a wide variety of fraternal organisations, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Knights of Father Mathew were the most popular. The Erin Benevolent Society was formed at the home of retired sheriff Jeremiah Connor in 1818.¹²⁷ It consisted of Irish men from both the Catholic and Protestant traditions and its purpose was to aid immigrants upon their arrival and help them to secure employment and accommodation. This was followed in the 1840s by the Irish Emigrant Society to meet the needs of the famine immigrants who arrived from Ireland. John O'Fallon was its first president. The United Sons of Erin was an exclusively local organisation and was set up in the aftermath of the Civil War to help the families of Irish soldiers. Formed in 1866, it was essentially a mutual assistance organisation and followed the German principal of an 'insurance' society.¹²⁸ In Fort Wayne there were also examples of locally motivated organisations, yet as Griffin writes, 'the Irish in Indiana did not form great ghettos like those found in Boston. In Indiana, the urban Irish were generally dispersed'¹²⁹ and so because of this, the focus of some local organisations varied. In 1863, some of the Irish community in Fort Wayne founded the Irish Catholic Benefit Association which held regular meetings in Cody's Hall.¹³⁰ The initiation fee was two dollars and members were required to pay a weekly subscription of twenty-three cents thereafter.¹³¹ Despite the wide and diverse range, all of these societies and organisations were as Emmons notes, 'friendly societies, Celtic brotherhoods and were central to the maintenance and social vibrancy' of

¹²⁷ McLoughlin, *Missouri Irish*, p. 112.

¹²⁸ Faherty, *St Louis Irish*, p. 111.

¹²⁹ Griffin, 'Irish', p. 256.

¹³⁰ *Fort Wayne Weekly Democrat*, 24 Feb. 1869.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

Irish immigrant communities.¹³² Ultimately they fulfilled the same role for the Irish as singing societies and gymnastic unions did for the German populace.

Despite this, there were also members of each group who participated in ‘American’ social activities. As early as 1860, John Kelly and Justin Spicht were involved in the administration of the Blacksmith and Wagonmakers Benevolent Association in St Louis.¹³³ Many became involved in organisations that concerned their employment. These societies also held a variety of social gathering and functions (see Fig. 5.6).

Fig. 5.6 Ticket to the second annual ball of the Coachmen’s Union League Society, April, 1887¹³⁴



Others became involved in religious organisations like the Catholic Knights of America. By 1900 there were five individual branches of the Catholic Knights in Fort Wayne and the St Vincent de Paul Society was also popular in both cities. Not only does this emphasise their assimilation, but also a sense of co-operation and integration between the two immigrant communities. Significantly, immigrant involvement in these organisations in the

¹³² Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale*, p. 276.

¹³³ Kennedy & Co., *Kennedy's St Louis directory for 1860* (St Louis, MO, 1860), p. 14.

¹³⁴ Ticket to the second annual ball of the Coachmen’s Union League Society, Apr. 1887 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis MO, St Louis History Papers A1322/1/1/2).

late nineteenth century emphasises the affect every day American life was having on these culturally distinct immigrant populations.

5.11 Conclusion

In looking for something familiar in a strange land, social and cultural organisations often offered the security and familiarity many immigrants sought and longed for. Their role in the immigrant experience cannot and should not be overlooked. Initially offering a haven against the strangeness of this new world, gradually these social and cultural organisations offered immigrants the possibility of emerging as diligent, enthusiastic and purposeful German and Irish-Americans. The distinct comparisons in the social and cultural pursuits enjoyed by both immigrant groups highlights the fundamental differences in their national characters as well as their cultural priorities. For the German community there is little doubt that the preservation of the German language was a primary concern. Conversely, given the nature of Irish-American social associations, religion was the facet of their identity that required the most stringent protection. This diversification in priorities further emphasises the inherent contrasts in the way each community perceived themselves, and more importantly how they wished to be perceived by others. While there were examples of similar interest groups in each community, a parallel cannot be drawn between the social and cultural endeavours of these immigrant populations.

That is not to say however, that these organisations did not fulfil similar roles. In both communities, these associations acted initially as a safeguard against the unfamiliar, preserved cultural exclusivity and upheld the norms of the homeland. Gradually, however, as each community became more comfortable with their circumstances, the focus of their social and cultural organisations also shifted. Much like their members, many organisations also

became Americanised and so ultimately, although the culture of the homeland was still preserved, these organisations began to assist the assimilation process more generally.

The structures behind the social movements of each group are also comparable. In the German community there was a clear definition between the role of secular organisations like the *Turnverein* and the role played by both the Lutheran and Catholic churches. In the Irish community, although there appeared on the surface to be a clear distinction, the lines were blurred as religious influences played an integral role in most facets of Irish immigrant life. Another worthy observation is the role women played in the wider social and cultural context of the immigrant experience. Although women established many associations and organisations to benefit their own social needs, they nonetheless seemed to fulfil a supplementary role in the wider context of immigrant social life. Female influences on the AOH or the *Turnverein* movement exemplify the role women played in the cultural structures of their communities.

Ultimately, whether the pursuit of choice was a temperance association, a *Turnverein*, a national fraternity or a singing union, the purpose of each was clear. By providing a realm within which immigrants could socialise proved almost as important as finding employment. In establishing this environment, old world values coupled with new world practices resulted in a culturally aware, yet assimilated community conscious of its traditions, conscious of their communities and conscious of their responsibility within the wider context of their cities. As Kenny writes, ‘the development of an ethnic identity expressed through a rich institutional and associational life was the primary means through which the American Irish [and German] became assimilated’.¹³⁵ Importantly however, one of the most important agents in promoting this ‘institutional and associational life’ was the immigrant church.

¹³⁵ Kenny, *American Irish*, pp 148-9.

sacrosanct. By establishing national parishes, the clergy were able to preserve both the faith and culture of Old Ireland, while simultaneously creating a cohesive cultural coalition, which spoke with a strong voice on matters of secular importance.

Moreover, religion in the Midwest in the second half of the nineteenth century provided immigrants with an opportunity to acculturate. Whether Lutheran or Catholic, German and Irish immigrants were able to establish new lives, aware that their church and the community around them could provide support and nurture their immigrant experience. Were it not for the immigrant church, the formation and emergence of these communities would have been far more difficult to construct and identify. The immigrant church was particularly beneficial for the German immigrant community as a whole. Since division and fragmentation were salient characteristics of the German immigrant experience, an immigrant who was able to identify with a Catholic parish or Lutheran congregation was able to experience the solidarity felt more readily by the cohesive and largely united Irish immigrant group. That is not to overlook the importance of the Catholic parish in the Irish immigrant experience. Here too, the immigrants were able to replicate the familiarity of the homeland, and since the group as a whole was more consolidated than their German counterparts, the emergence of a formidable ethnic bloc was apparent. The divided nature of the German immigrant church had telling consequences on the influence of the German immigrant group as a whole. Compared with the Irish immigrant group, where the majority conformed to the Catholic ethos, and consequently spoke with one voice on matters of a more secular nature, the German community was so obviously fragmented that it became hard to establish a sense of overall unity within the group. As Peterson writes, ‘Divisions between churches kept

German-Americans from speaking with one voice and from wielding political power commensurate with their numbers'.⁴

Religion in immigrant America during the second half of the nineteenth century was not defined by spirituality alone. Religion was the vehicle through which communal infrastructure, ethnic preservation and cultural distinctiveness were achieved. Fraternity, language and tradition were all fostered under the auspices of the immigrant's chosen faith. As Meyer writes, 'this new environment led to high social self-consciousness among the immigrant church bodies and to emphasis on characteristics peculiar to each church.'⁵ The immigrant's experience of religion differed depending on their settlement patterns. On the east coast, religion and all its respective connotations was an exclusive entity relative only to each particular immigrant group. The experience in the Midwest however, stood in stark contrast to the religious separation evident on the east coast. Writing of German and Irish immigrant's in Fort Wayne, Logan comments that, 'both [Germans and Irish] accepted members of other religions and ethnic backgrounds, with a unique sense of warmth and openness not experienced in other communities in America'.⁶

6.2 Early Lutheranism in the United States

Whereas the Irish immigrant population adhered almost exclusively to the Catholic ethos, the German community as a whole were overwhelmingly diverse in their religious affiliation. As well as Catholics, the German community also consisted of many Protestant sects and independent churches. Among those evident in the Midwest in the nineteenth

⁴ David Peterson, 'From bone depth' – German American communities in rural Minnesota before the Great War' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xi (1992), pp 27-55; p. 45.

⁵ Judith W. Meyer, 'Ethnicity, theology and immigrant church expansion' in *Geographical Review*, lxxv (1975), pp 180- 97; p. 180.

⁶ Thomas Logan, 'The Irish in Fort Wayne' in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, 2005), i, pp 723-30; p. 728.

century were Evangelical Lutherans, Methodists and Presbyterians. Olson explains that German Protestants in St Louis can be divided into five distinct groups, ‘German Evangelical, German Evangelical Lutheran and German branches of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists.’⁷ She continues by characterising the Evangelicals as ‘liberal in comparison to the Lutherans’, who were ‘the most conservative in their doctrinal beliefs and codes of conduct’.⁸ However, Lutheranism was by far the most prominent of these churches. Significantly however, even within the Lutheran church itself, there were many sects some of which were more liberal in their beliefs and others which were known for their conservatism.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Lutheranism in America faced many challenges. Lack of unity, conservatism, a fear of Americanisation and an overwhelming desire to retain their cultural exclusivity were just some of the issues that warranted debate in popular Lutheran discourse. Aside from these concerns, there was also a more practical problem which emerged during the early days of the Lutheran church in America. From the 1830s through to the 1850s there was an extreme shortage of ministers to preach to remote congregations in the Midwest and on the frontier. Although many congregations were formed, there were too few pastors to cater to their spiritual needs on a regular basis. Edmund Wolf’s 1890 treatise on Lutheranism in America suggested that there were only 850 pastors in the whole of the United States in 1853. At this time, the Lutheran church consisted of approximately 200,000 communicants from various nationalities.⁹ Moreover, at this time there were only six theological seminaries, the largest of which was situated in St Louis. These seminaries were complemented by five theological colleges, the majority of which were also located in the Midwest. Lutheranism in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana and Minnesota was particularly

⁷ Audrey L. Olson, ‘St Louis Germans, 1850-1920: the nature of an immigrant community and its relation to the assimilation process’ (Ph.D dissertation, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 1970), p. 117.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Edmund Jacob Wolf, *The Lutherans in America: a story of struggle, progress, influence and marvellous growth* (New York, NY, 1890), p. 524.

popular, yet by contrast it was not until 1885 that a Lutheran theological college was opened in New York.¹⁰ Yet, as the century progressed, the Lutheran church gradually began producing suitably qualified ministers and in the period from 1853 to 1885, the number of Lutheran preachers in the United States more than quadrupled.

6.3 The formation of the Lutheran-Church Missouri Synod (LC-MS)

From the mid-century onwards, the Lutheran community themselves began to take an active role in the development of their church, perhaps, because as Peterson writes, ‘the German Lutheran church constituted the social superstructure of German ethnicity ... it governed life’s major transitions’.¹¹ Many immigrants were reluctant to forgo their affiliation to the church, because this essentially constituted their effective Americanisation and subsequently the loss of their cultural distinctiveness. Accordingly, internal developments and external structuring both on the part of pastors and their congregations resulted in the formation of new congregations, districts and synods throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1889 Wolf estimated that there were five individual synodical groupings. Of these, the Synodical Conference, the General Synod and the General Council were the most popular. Wolf also recorded an unspecified number of independent synods which consisted of 2,562 congregations and over 250,000 members by the end of the nineteenth century.¹²

One of these independent synods was the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod which was formed in St Paul’s Lutheran Church in Chicago in April 1847. The formation of a governing organisation such as this had many purposes, not least the acknowledgement and

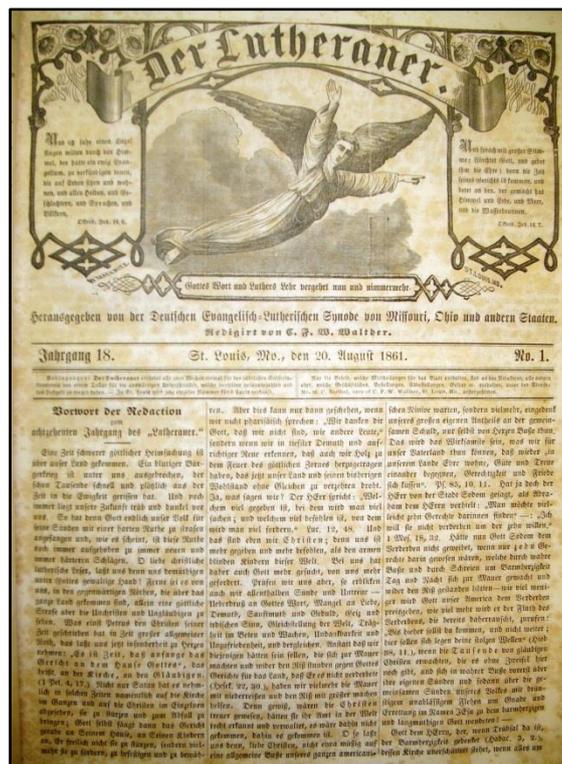
¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Peterson, ‘From bone depth’, p. 43.

¹² Wolf, *The Lutherans in America*, p. 523.

preservation of a distinct cultural identity. Throughout the 1840s many pastors in Missouri, Ohio and Indiana endorsed the establishment of an independent synod in the Midwest. This proposal was propagated through the publication of Rev. C. F. W. Walther's newspaper, *Der Lutheraner*, and eventually in 1847 twelve pastors representing fourteen Midwestern congregations came together and formed the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states (see Fig. 6.1). This synod was popularly known as the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (LC-MS) and Rev. C. F. W. Walther, one of the pastors who had travelled as part of the Saxon immigration in 1839, became its first president.

Fig. 6.1 *Der Lutheraner*, the German language newspaper that promoted the establishment of the LC-MS¹³



The Synod was organised in a three tier system. At the bottom, and most importantly, were the various congregations. These congregations were distributed into districts, which in turn formed components of the Synod or the upper tier. However, the LC-MS was not only a

¹³ *Der Lutheraner*, 20 Aug. 1861.

celebration of the unity of German Lutherans in the Midwest, it became one of the primary vehicles through which German Lutherans were identified as a distinct cultural entity. The Synod had its own doctrinal beliefs and its cultural affiliations were clearly acknowledged. Meyer, in her study of the LC-MS, notes how its German language and customs, as well as its doctrinal conservatism, did in part influence settlement patterns within the wider Lutheran community. The Synod, she argues, played an integral role in enticing new immigrants to the Midwest where they could be part of a unified church which shared their beliefs.¹⁴ Initially, the LC-MS adopted a particularly conservative stance and emphasised the importance of scripture, basing all of its decisions on doctrinal beliefs. Yet, despite its conservatism, it did nonetheless offer a safe and secure place for German immigrants to acculturate. Significantly, the way in which the Synod aimed to preserve the language and ethnic identity mirrored the familiarity of the old country, but also acknowledged that the parameters of this identity had changed.

In the same way as Catholic parishes offered support to their members, so too did the Lutheran congregations of the LC-MS. Furthermore, the idea of a preaching and teaching station was very important to the development of Lutheranism in the Midwest. Therefore, alongside every German Lutheran church was a German Lutheran school. To coincide with the formation of the church or even sometimes before its establishment, a parochial school was formed. Although many Lutherans were not as antagonistic towards the Protestant ethos of the public school, compared with their Catholic counterparts, attendance at these schools was nonetheless abhorred as it signified the loss of cultural identity and pointedly, the loss of the language. Therefore, the parochial school and the church went hand in hand and once the school and the church had been established, other community amenities such as hospitals, orphanages and community halls were developed.

¹⁴ Meyer, 'Ethnicity', pp 180-97.

Despite this organisation, it was not the Synod that was responsible for the development of these communities. Unlike their Catholic contemporaries, the formation of a Lutheran community was most dynamic on the ground. Rarely did the Synod assign a pastor to a community as was the norm in the Catholic tradition. Rather, a group of immigrants formed a congregation themselves and once this had been established, a pastor, provided there was one available, was assigned to their congregation to serve among them. This was not only a significant deviation from the Catholic ethos, but also from other Protestant factions in the United States. As Todd comments, ‘The ‘bottom-up’ structure based on the autonomy of the local congregation and the advisory nature of the synod made it very different from previously established synods in American Lutheranism’.¹⁵

In effect, the LC-MS became the governing authority to which all Lutheran communities in the Midwest were expected to subscribe. Recruitment began even before the immigrant had settled and the Synod’s newspaper *Der Lutheraner* and as well as the German language *Kirchliche Mitteilungen* provided information to immigrants regarding the location of Lutheran parishes. By the 1860s, many of the earlier settlers had established themselves in the Midwest and the Synod’s membership grew significantly in the years immediately succeeding its formation. Yet, as all these congregations were developing, one problem persisted. The continual shortage of Lutheran pastors required to cater to the spiritual needs of the emerging congregations was a recurring feature of Lutheran life in the Midwest. Todd writes that, ‘the Missouri Synod adopted the principle that pastors should not spread their efforts too thin, they should reside, if possible, within their own congregations, where they might be able to serve two or three neighbouring congregations, but not more.’¹⁶ As a result the Missouri Synod, among others, adopted the use of colporteurship, in a bid to make

¹⁵ Mary Todd, *Authority vested: a story of identity and change in the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000), p. 77.

¹⁶ Carl S. Meyer, ‘Lutheran immigrant churches face problems on the frontier’ in *Church history*, xxix (1960), pp 440-62; p. 446.

scriptures available to communities in the rural Midwest. Yet, the problem remained. There was a distinct shortage of Lutheran ministers and although some, like C.F.W. Walther, were imported from the homeland, they were not fully able to breach the gap. As a means of addressing the problem, the Concordia Seminary was established by Rev. Wilhelm Sihler in Fort Wayne in the same year as the LC-MS was founded. The primary function of this seminary was to provide training for ministers who had come from Germany before they were made available to congregations in the LC-MS, although it also accepted German-American Lutherans as well. As the century progressed, Walther made numerous trips to Germany in a bid to recruit potential pastors. During a visit in 1860, Walther met Rev. Freidrich Brunn. Brunn began his ministry in 1842 and established a congregation in Steeden in the German state of Nassau. After Walther's visit, Brunn instigated the opening of a preliminary institution that prepared Lutheran pastors for emigration and their subsequent missions in the LC-MS. In all, the institution was responsible for recruiting 235 men for the LC-MS.¹⁷

6.4 *'consistent and untiring action'*¹⁸

There is little doubt that the early accomplishments of the LC-MS were largely attributable to two men, namely Rev. C. F. W. Walther in St Louis and his counterpart in Fort Wayne, Rev. Wilhelm Sihler (see Fig. 6.2). Walther was born in 1811, in a small town in Saxony. Both Carl Ferdinand and his brother Otto followed in their father's footsteps and became pastors. Having studied theology at the University of Leipzig, the two brothers accepted Martin Stephan's call to immigrate to the United States to preach to immigrants in

¹⁷ 'Friedrich Augustus Brunn' in Erwin L. Lueker, Luther Poellot, Paul Jackson (eds), *Christian cyclopaedia*, available at: Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (<http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=b&word=BRUNN.FRIEDRICHAUGUST>) (4 July 2013).

¹⁸ Elizabeth Sihler, 'Dr Wilhelm Sihler – memories', 1832 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, Wilhelm Sihler Collection, 1801-1937, M-0019/1/36/2).

the Midwest.¹⁹ When the group of Saxon immigrants arrived in Missouri in 1839, C.F.W. Walther was stationed in Perry County, while his brother Otto served at the Trinity Lutheran Church in St Louis.²⁰ After initially sharing a church building with the Episcopal Christ Church on the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Sts, it was decided in 1842 that the congregation should erect its own place of worship.²¹ The original Trinity Lutheran Church was located on Lombard St and although small, it nonetheless served the community for twenty-three years. Thereafter, a new building was established at Lafayette Ave which allowed the church to serve the community more comfortably.²²

When Otto Walther died in 1841, his brother Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm (C.F.W.) was called from the settlement in Perry County and asked to serve as pastor at Trinity Lutheran. He agreed and attended the congregation there until his death in 1887. It was from here that he began to spread Lutheran ideals throughout Missouri and further afield. A vibrant community emerged around the church and gradually it became clear that the church could only serve Lutherans in the southern part of the city. Walther's efforts to promote the Lutheran doctrine were aided substantially by the publication of his newspaper *Der Lutheraner*. As editor of the German language newspaper, Walther could spread the Lutheran message to congregations and preachers alike. As a result of these publications, Walther met likeminded Lutherans such as Friedrich Wyneken and Rev. Wilhelm Sihler who both served at St Paul's Lutheran parish in Fort Wayne. In meeting these acquaintances the process of establishing a synod to regulate Lutheran churches in the Midwest began. As Todd writes, 'Trinity in St Louis set a pattern for likeminded German Lutheran congregations to follow, so

¹⁹ C. F. W. Walther, biographical note (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887) papers c. 1828-1887, M-0004/1/1/3).

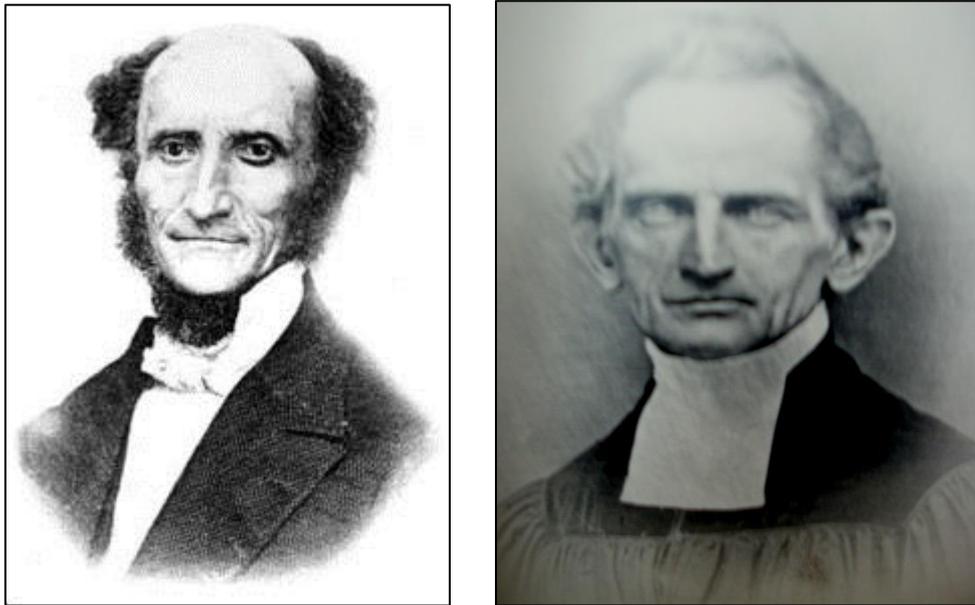
²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 202.

²² Ibid.

too its pastor set a pattern of leadership that would not only prevail during his lifetime, but would be upheld forever after by the church body he helped to organise'.²³

Fig. 6.2 C.F.W. Walther (1811-87) and Rev. Wilhelm Sihler (1801-85)²⁴



Further north in Fort Wayne, Rev. Wilhelm Sihler became the fourth pastor of St Paul's Lutheran congregation in 1845. The community was originally founded by Rev. Fredrick Wyneken in 1838, although he subsequently became the second president of the LC– MS. In 1845, Wyneken recommended that Sihler should assume the pastorship at St Paul's while he continued travelling throughout the Midwest preaching to Lutheran congregations who did not have a permanent pastor

Sihler was born in Bernstadt in Lower Silesia in 1801. He studied in Berlin and became an academic specialising in modern literature. Immigrating to New York in 1843, Sihler make his way to the Midwest serving as a pastor in the Ohio Synod at Columbus,

²³ Todd, *Authority vested*, p. 75.

²⁴ C. F. W. Walther, available at Trinity Lutheran Church, St Louis, (<http://trinitystlouis.com/who-we-are/history-and-today>) (12 Feb. 2012). Rev. Wilhelm Sihler 1801-85 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, Wilhelm Sihler Collection 1801-1937, M-0016/1/38/1).

Lancaster and Zanesville.²⁵ In 1845, Sihler broke from the Ohio Synod and assumed his post at St Paul's in Fort Wayne, a congregation of the LC-MS (see Fig. 6.3).

In Fort Wayne, Sihler pursued a conservative form of Lutheranism which promoted the importance of ethnicity within the German community. As Sack writes, 'his [Sihler's] determination that German, the tongue of Luther, was to be the language of his churches and schools was probably the strongest factor in the continued flourishing of the language.'²⁶ Sihler had large expectations of his congregation and was undoubtedly conservative in his views. With respect to the congregation's female cohort, Sihler ardently endorsed the *Kinder, Kirche, Kuche* [Children, Kitchen, Church] belief and required his male and female parishioners to sit on opposite sides of the church. As Sack comments 'Sihler was the personification of the stiff Prussian stereotype, harsh with his subordinates, uncompromising in his doctrine, reticent towards change'.²⁷ Yet, he always had the welfare of his congregation at heart as evidenced by the management of St Paul's school during the 1840s and the establishment of the Concordia Seminary in 1847. Sihler acknowledged that in order to preserve the cultural uniqueness of his congregation, a strong community infrastructure must be instituted. Accordingly, community facilities, social enterprises and networking systems were an integral feature of Sihler's pastorship in Fort Wayne. Similar to Trinity Lutheran in St Louis, St Paul's in Fort Wayne represented a place where a unique German-ness could be preserved. Here, customs, traditions and most importantly, ethnicities could be maintained under the watchful eye of a close community. No doubt foremost in the sub-conscious of St Paul's was the conservation of the language, for as Hoyt comments, 'the church represented

²⁵ Elizabeth Sihler, 'Dr Wilhelm Sihler – memories', 1832 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, Wilhelm Sihler Collection, 1801-1937, M-0019/1/36/4).

²⁶ Jim Sack, 'The Germans in Fort Wayne' in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, 2005), i, pp 676-99; p. 688.

²⁷ Ibid.

the strongest factor in the preservation of the German language over a number of generations'.²⁸

Fig. 6.3 St Paul's Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne²⁹



As part of Sihler's work in Fort Wayne and his desire to maintain and develop the LC-MS, he sought the establishment of a Lutheran seminary in northern Indiana. Consequently, in 1847, the Concordia Seminary was established at Fort Wayne. Originally, the seminary was Wyneken's concept, although after his arrival in the city, Sihler continued the enterprise with as much determination. Although originally a seminary, the institution gradually metamorphosed into a Lutheran college responsible for the pedagogical training of young men.³⁰ Sihler's own sons attended the college and also served in the LC-MS. Wyneken had in the meantime travelled to Germany to recruit German ministers who would be willing to immigrate. Once these ministers had arrived, some were sent to a seminary in St Louis, while others were stationed at the Concordia College in Fort Wayne, where they received two

²⁸ Giles Hoyt, 'Germans', in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), pp 146-81, p. 164.

²⁹ St Paul's Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne (R. Donlon personal collection).

³⁰ Sack, 'The Germans', p. 681.

years preparation before being offered to congregations in the Synod as pastors and teachers (see Fig. 6.4).

Fig. 6.4 Concordia College Fort Wayne as depicted on a 1908 postcard ³¹



6.5 Catholicism in immigrant America

The Lutheran Church was not the only church to experience a transformation as a result of the Great Migration. From 1840-60, the number of Catholics in the United States increased from 663,000 to 3,103,000.³² This growth was, as Kenny commented, ‘in line with mass emigration from Ireland and Germany’.³³ Similar to the shortage of German Lutheran ministers, the Catholic clergy also faced a shortage of priests as a result of the rapid increase in the Catholic population of America. Many new recruits were enticed to the United States and Dolan records how more than 600 graduates from All Hallows College in Dublin left Ireland to serve immigrant communities in the United States. Kenny however, argues this could be as many as 1,500.³⁴

³¹ Concordia College, Fort Wayne, c. 1908 available at: ([http://www.moodycollectibles.com/store/index.php? a=viewProd&productId=2221](http://www.moodycollectibles.com/store/index.php?a=viewProd&productId=2221)) (12 Feb. 2012).

³² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (Essex, 2000), p. 113.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: a history* (New York, NY, 2008), p. 116; Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 113.

One such priest was Fr William Walsh, a native of Abington, Co. Limerick. Walsh was born in Abington in 1829 and educated in the local school. In 1851, Walsh approached his parish priest, Rev. John Maher of Abington, seeking a letter of introduction to the archbishop of St Louis, Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick. A native of Dublin, Kenrick and Maher had studied together at St Patrick's College, Maynooth and maintained a relatively close friendship thereafter. In a letter to Kenrick, Maher noted how Walsh was 'anxious to become a subject of your grace' and that he had 'known this young man a long-time and may safely pledge [his] word as a priest that he [Walsh] richly deserves the high commendation given of him'.³⁵ Leaving Ireland later that year Walsh arrived in America and made his way to Chicago and later to St Louis where he completed his theological training. After his ordination on 10 June 1854, Walsh was assigned to the archdiocese of St Louis and assumed the pastorate of St Peter's Church in Jefferson City, Missouri. After ten years in Jefferson City, Walsh was recalled to St Louis where he became the fourth pastor of St Bridget of Erin's parish in northern St Louis.³⁶

In the same way that the Lutheran church became the centre of the community for its members, so too did the Catholic Church. Its influence in preserving cultures and maintaining ethnic distinctiveness was part of the reason why many immigrant communities were able to cling to their cultural identity so successfully. The immigrant church became one of the most important features of immigrant life. As Dolan writes, 'it was the functional and symbolic heart of the immigrant community, the centre of organised resistance to social assimilation with the American society and the centre of organised efforts to transplant and maintain the social order of the parent community in Europe'.³⁷ Whether Catholic or Lutheran, the immigrant church represented each of these things to their members. Yet, despite the fact that

³⁵ Letter from Rev. John Maher to Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, 21 Oct. 1851 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/2/3).

³⁶ Parish history of St Bridget of Erin, (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/4/2).

³⁷ Dolan, *The Irish Americans*, p. 212.

many German and Irish immigrants pursued the Roman tradition, Dolan notes that, 'their distinct cultures fashioned different versions of this tradition'.³⁸ As in Lutheran congregations, the local church was the first symbol that signified the emergence and development of a vibrant immigrant community. Thereafter followed the parochial school and other communal amenities. The establishment of the church represented the growth and evolution of each community, yet the 'distinct cultures' that Dolan refers to ensured that the organisation of these churches was reflective of the traditions of the homeland.

6.6 The Irish immigrant church

The exponential increase in the number of Catholics in America during the second half of the nineteenth century directly and simultaneously paralleled a period of Irish domination of the American Catholic Church. Throughout the period from 1850-1900 Irish immigrants or their descendants controlled the majority of Catholic dioceses throughout America. As early as 1842, Rev. John Hughes was appointed as the fourth bishop of New York and became the city's first archbishop in 1850. Hughes' influence was instrumental in urging Irish Catholics to form parishes and to practice their faith regularly. In forming these parishes, Irish Catholics consolidated their ethnic identity. Thus, the emergence of the national parish as a distinctive entity, combined with the hierarchical push to acquaint Catholics more intimately with the doctrine, led to the emergence of a strong ethnic unit, which benefited both the immigrant and the Catholic Church. This model was also propagated among other immigrant groups and often Catholics of Irish, German and Bohemian descent passed each other on Sunday mornings on their way to their respective national churches. As Dolan writes, 'they [Catholic hierarchy] recognised the importance of

³⁸ Jay P. Dolan, *The immigrant church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore, MD, 1975), p. 67.

the parish in the lives of the people and to renew their fervour, they urged the revival of parochial life', which in turn constituted the revival of their cultural heritage.³⁹

Upon Hughes' death in 1864, a second generation Irish-American named John McCloskey ensured the governance of the Catholic Church in New York remained an Irish interest. Similarly in Boston, Archbishop John J. Williams, a second generation Irish-American oversaw the governance of the church in that city. This trend was not isolated to the east coast however. In Chicago, there were three successive bishops of Irish descent, Rev. Anthony O'Regan, Rev. James Duggan and Rev. Patrick Feehan and it was not until 1915 that an archbishop of German descent, Cardinal George Mundelein, was appointed. In San Francisco, a Canadian-Irish prelate called Patrick Riordan took charge of Catholics in that city during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Even in smaller dioceses like St Louis and St Paul, Minnesota members of the Irish clergy dominated the Catholic hierarchy.

In both the German and Irish examples, many of the traditions of the Catholic Church in the homeland had migrated with the people. In the Irish instance subordination was just one characteristic that had travelled with the immigrants. As Dolan comments, 'rare was the case, so common among the Germans, of an Irish community organising, buying land, and building a church on their own initiative without input of the clergy'.⁴⁰ Whereas many German communities often organised their own parish and then sought the placement of a pastor from the bishop, the Irish priest, by contrast, often received an assignment from the bishop and then began the process of recruiting parishioners.⁴¹ The way the parish was administered also mirrored the practice adhered to in the homeland. In German parishes, lay people usually played an active role in the management of the parish and this practice was

³⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁰ Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic experience: a history from colonial times to the present* (Notre Dame, IN, 1992), p. 165.

⁴¹ William Barnaby Faherty, *St Louis Irish: an unmatched Celtic community* (St Louis, MO, 2001), p. 27.

transplanted to the national parishes on the east coast and later in the Midwest. Conversely, in Ireland the pastor was the sole decision maker for the parish and this too became a feature of parochial life in Irish parishes in America. The dominance of the local priest in rural Irish parishes had undoubtedly migrated with the immigrants, but had this not happened, Irish influence on American Catholicism would not have been as prominent. This became particularly evident towards the end of the century when the character of the Irish immigrant church adopted a communal as well as a religious tone. As Dolan noted, ‘by the 1880s a new type of Irish parish was emerging ... the parish was transformed into a community institution, not just a religious one,⁴² a concept borrowed and even developed from the German-American parochial model.

6.7 The German immigrant church

A salient characteristic of all immigrant churches was the objective to preserve the cultural exclusivity of the group while simultaneously fostering this distinctiveness in a familiar environment. In so doing, this created separateness from the wider community. The preservation of the German language was a significant concern for both the Lutheran and Catholic churches in German-America. The formation of a parish or congregation enabled the German community to forge close relationships with fellow immigrants, while simultaneously preserving the familiarity of the parent community. Neils-Conzen notes that, by 1870, almost one sixth of all American Catholics belonged to German-speaking parishes,

⁴² Dolan, *The Irish Americans*, pp 111-2.

and one third of all American priests were German.⁴³ Thus, the force of German Catholicism in America in the nineteenth century could be paralleled only with that of their Irish counterparts.

The establishment of the German parish varied greatly from that of their Irish neighbours. Dolan notes that, ‘compared with the Irish, the German parish clearly had a more elaborate organisational network’.⁴⁴ There is little doubt that the organisational structure of German parishes was also imported from the homeland. Whereas the Irish did not necessarily have the added concern of language preservation, the establishment of a German parish placed the cultural distinctiveness of its members to the fore. Meyer agrees with this statement commenting that, ‘initially most foreign language immigrant churches used cultural rather than doctrinal grounds to maintain their individuality’.⁴⁵ There is little doubt that the cultural individuality of German-American Catholics was a significant concern for German church officials. Perhaps one of the primary reasons for this was as Schütz writes, ‘most of the German clergy reasoned that, since Americanization was the cause for the loss of faith, the process of Americanization had to be obstructed’.⁴⁶

Thus, it seemed that the German churches, both Catholic and Lutheran desired a further degree of separation from American society than their Irish brethren. That is not to imply that the Irish community assimilated readily and willingly, they too wished to retain their cultural distinctiveness and preserve their ethnicity. Yet, there was an added incentive for the German community. Ironically, however, that the obvious fragmentation within the German immigrant group as a whole ultimately accelerated their assimilative process. Although, as Peterson writes, ‘the ethnic church ... was apparently key to maintaining

⁴³ Kathleen Neils-Conzen, ‘Immigrant religion and the republic: German Catholics in nineteenth century America’, Edmund Spevack Memorial Lecture, Harvard University, 7 Nov. 2003 in *GHI bulletin*, xxxv (2004), pp 43-56; p. 45 available at (<http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu/035/35.43.pdf>) (1 Feb. 2012).

⁴⁴ Dolan, *American Catholic*, p. 169.

⁴⁵ Meyer, ‘Ethnicity’, p. 181.

⁴⁶ Oliver M. Schütz, ‘German Catholics in California: the German origins of St Elizabeth’s parish, Oakland and the early move to a multicultural parish’ in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, xii (1994), pp 63-72; p. 65.

German-American separateness',⁴⁷ this separateness was extended to each denomination as well as other national groups. As a result, the German-American Catholic community witnessed the development of a 'political culture at odds with that of other German-Americans'.⁴⁸ Whereas as the Irish community, overwhelmingly Catholic and by extension politically united, represented a solid voting bloc which could have their influence noted, the German community was so diverse in their political allegiance as a result of their stratified religious beliefs, that it was more difficult for them to influence the political arena as forcefully as they might have otherwise done. Nonetheless, Conzen does note however, that the German Catholics nurtured, 'a set of conservative, communal values that acquired significant influence within American public life'.⁴⁹

Yet, for all the individuality, there were some similarities between Irish and German Catholics. As Peterson suggests, 'to be sure, the churches segregated Germans from each other as well as from their host culture and society. But divisiveness did not equal disintegration.'⁵⁰ Both communities took pride in their ability to erect formidable churches, schools and communal amenities. Each group acknowledged, as Dolan comments, that 'large churches, like private mansions, were prestigious symbols. For an immigrant church in an alien culture, such monuments enhanced the image of the community',⁵¹ and certainly, image was a very important feature of national individuality in a melting pot of cultures. Furthermore, each community was devoted not only to their religions, but also to their cultural uniqueness and noticeably, both communities 'showed great respect for their pastors and followed their directions, it would seem, without question'.⁵² Yet, despite their common beliefs, aspirations and intentions, 'they were' as Dolan concludes 'all Catholic, though they

⁴⁷ Peterson, 'From bone depth', p. 28.

⁴⁸ Neils-Conzen, 'Immigrant religion', p. 46.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Peterson, 'From bone depth', p. 49.

⁵¹ Dolan, *Immigrant church*, p. 65.

⁵² Thomas W. Spalding, 'German parishes east and west' in *US Catholic Historian*, xiv (1996), pp 37-52; p. 41.

seldom intermingled, staying within their own cultural enclaves, [and] marrying their own kind'.⁵³

6.8 *'The Irish gave enthusiasm, the Germans gave stability'*⁵⁴

In St Louis, German and Irish national parishes were easily identifiable. In the Irish instance, parishes like St Patrick's (1843), St Bridget of Erin's (1853) and St Lawrence O'Tooles (1855) emphasised the strong connection between the immigrants and the homeland and significantly, were all located in the Kerry Patch. This was also the case for many German parishes, some of which were named after St Liborius (1855), SS Peter and Paul (1848) and St Francis de Sales (1867) (see map 5). St Liborius was located in the northern part of the city at the edge of the Kerry Patch and was just one of a number of parishes in northern St Louis that served the German Catholic community. Conversely, in the south of the city, SS Peter and Paul's parish, located in the heart of the Souldard district was only two streets away from Trinity Lutheran, emphasising both the density and diversity of the German population in that part of the city.

The pastors in each of these communities were equally as important to their parishioners as Walther and Sihler were to their Lutheran congregations. Fr Franz Gollar, born in Westphalia in 1831, was appointed to SS Peter and Paul's in 1857 and remained there until his death in 1910 (see Fig. 6.5).⁵⁵ The parish had been established in 1848 and was one of the largest German Catholic parishes founded in the city. The initial structure was made from wood, but due to the development and enlargement of the parish, a new church was built in 1854. Gollar's contribution to the parish was immense, prompting Rothensteiner to

⁵³ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, p. 112.

⁵⁴ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 49.

⁵⁵ Appointment card of Fr Franz Gollar (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Peter and Paul's collection, RG7B/78/3/1).

comment that, ‘Fr Gollar’s life was so intimately and inseparably connected with the parish of SS Peter and Paul that one cannot think of one without thinking of the other’.⁵⁶ Similar to Irish Catholic parishes, SS Peter and Paul’s established a parochial school to educate its younger parishioners. The school was run by the Sisters of Notre Dame, a German order of sisters who immigrated to St Louis from Bavaria in the late 1840s. The Sisters’ primary responsibility was the education of German immigrant children, and according to Rothensteiner, ‘the schools of the parish had an average attendance of 1,300 pupils’.⁵⁷ By the time of Gollar’s death in 1910, the parochial infrastructure that had been developed by him and his parochial assistants was renowned among German Catholics in St Louis. As Kargau commented, ‘the church, together with the parsonage, and school of SS Peter and Paul congregation occupy nearly the entire south half of the block between Seventh and Eighth Sts and Geyer and Allen Avenues.’⁵⁸

Due to the continued growth of the parish, the building of a larger church was initiated by Gollar in 1873. The new church was dedicated by Coadjutor Bishop Patrick Ryan, a native of Thurles in Co. Tipperary in 1875. Ryan, who later became the Archbishop of Philadelphia, was only one of a plethora of Irish clerics who enjoyed prominent positions within the Catholic hierarchy in the Midwest.⁵⁹

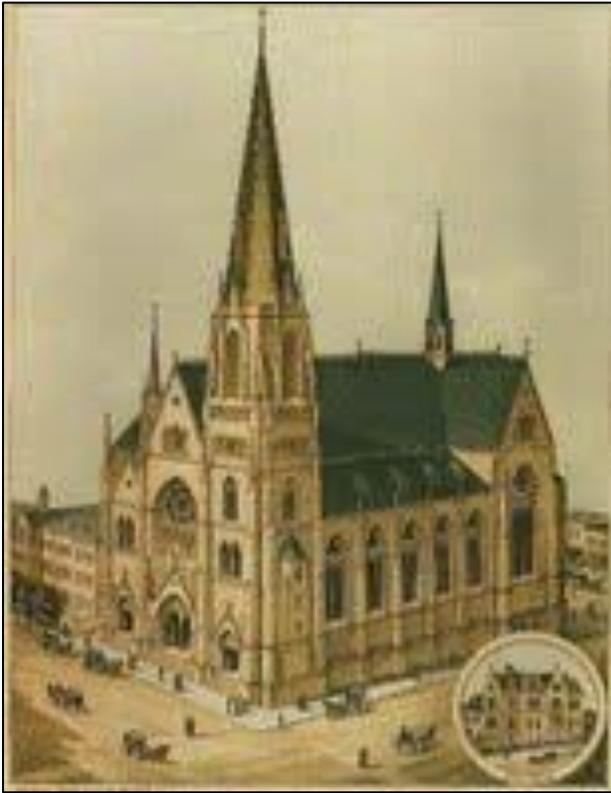
⁵⁶ Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis* (2 vols, St Louis, MO, 1923), ii, p. 107.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵⁸ Kargau, *The German Element*, p. 205.

⁵⁹ Patrick Ryan, *Archbishop Patrick John Ryan, his life and times – Ireland, St Louis and Philadelphia, 1831-1911* (Milton Keynes, 2010), pp 97-101.

Fig. 6.5 SS Peter and Paul's Church, St Louis and Fr Franz Gollar, pastor at SS Peter and Paul's 1857-1910 ⁶⁰



In the north of the city, the majority of Ryan's countrymen attended one of the many Catholic parishes that fell within the boundaries of the Kerry Patch. St Patrick's was perhaps one of the first, being founded in 1843. As the parish developed and grew in size there was a need for the establishment of other Catholic communities within the Patch. As a result, the parishes of St Bridget of Erin and St Lawrence O'Toole's were founded. St Bridget's was established in the western part of the Patch in 1853, while St Lawrence O'Toole's, located to the north of the Patch, was established in 1855.

⁶⁰ Portrait of SS Peter and Paul's church, St Louis, available at: History of SS Peter and Paul's, available at (<http://www.stspeterandpaulchurch-stlouis.net/Home/History>) (12 Feb. 2012), Memorial card of Fr Franz Gollar, 1931-1910 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, SS Peter and Paul's Collection, RG7B/78/3/4).

Both of these Irish parishes became central to the immigrant communities they served. Upon arrival at St Bridget's in 1863, Walsh inherited a parish steeped in debt (see section 6.5). Although his predecessor, Fr Lillis, had gained a popular reputation for his work in aiding the wounded during the Camp Jackson affair in 1861 (see section 7.10), he had accrued a debt of \$35,000 during the construction of St Bridget of Erin Church.⁶¹ However, after honouring the debt, Walsh proceeded to erect a parochial residence and two schools, one for boys and the other for girls in the following years. Together, these schools catered for 700 students.⁶² Like numerous other schools in St Louis, the girl's school was under the charge of the Sisters of St Joseph. Similarly, the Christian Brothers also supplied many teachers to the Irish community as they were renowned, as Dolan comments, 'for their reputation of providing scholastic excellence' to the community.⁶³ Since the church played a central role in the everyday lives of the parishioners, it became central to nurturing the cultural preservation of the group as a whole. As McLoughlin notes, the Patch had a 'rich cultural flavour ... and the private Catholic school system helped maintain the values of the community'.⁶⁴

Despite the 'rich cultural flavour' that McLoughlin alludes to, not everyone was enamoured by the presence of the Irish. In 1852 St Patrick's was attacked by a 'Know-Nothing' mob, a group which promoted anti-immigrant and more importantly, nativist sentiment (see section 7.2). By virtue of the fact that the Irish were Catholics in a Protestant land, this made their places of worship vulnerable to attack. On that night in 1852, the usually timid and quietly spoken Fr James Henry of St Patrick's defended the church by calling

⁶¹ Parish history of St Bridget of Erin (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/4/2).

⁶² Newspaper extract from *St Louis Register*, undated (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/4/1), St Bridget of Erin Parish account of parochial school, 1879 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/3/7).

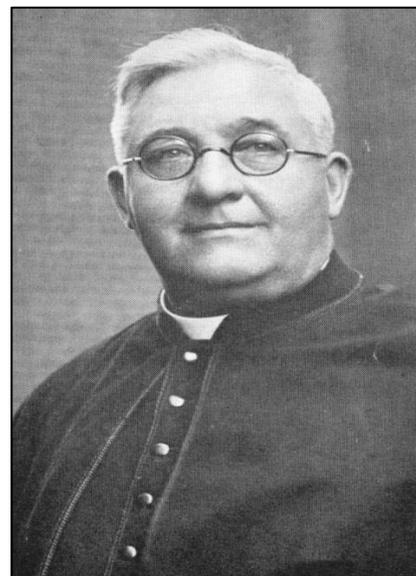
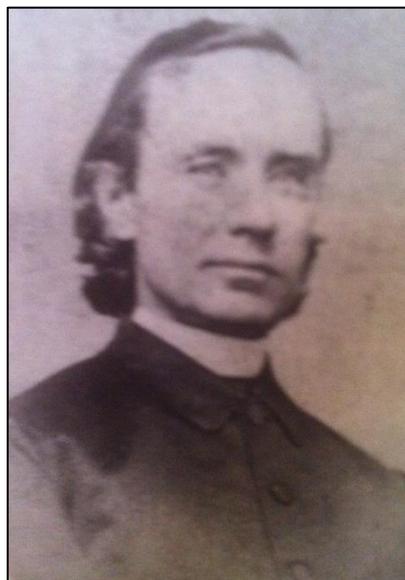
⁶³ Ellen M. Dolan, *The St Louis Irish*, (St Louis, MO, 1967), p. 34.

⁶⁴ Michael McLoughlin, *Missouri Irish: the original history of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City, MO, 2007), p. 106.

together all the men and boys of the parish to help protect the church. (see Fig. 6.6).⁶⁵ After the mob had been defeated and the church saved, Fr Henry became known to the Irish as the ‘warrior priest’. The number of attacks against German churches was significantly less than their Irish counterparts, which suggests that it was not only the Irish community’s religion that caused anguish for the Know-Nothings, possibly, it had more to do with the general reputation the Irish community was assuming during this time?

Further unrest following another Know-Nothing disturbance in 1854 led to a mob descending on St Francis Xavier’s Church. In this instance, both German and Irish parishioners rallied to defend their church.⁶⁶ By the 1850s, there were as relatively equal number of Irish and German Catholics living in St Louis and as Faherty notes, this ‘gave the Catholic Church in St Louis a breadth of development unknown in most American cities’.⁶⁷

Fig. 6.6 Fr James Henry and Fr Timothy Dempsey, pastors of St Patrick’s church, St Louis⁶⁸



⁶⁵ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, p. 27.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ William B. Faherty, *The St Louis German Catholics* (St Louis, MO, 2004), p. 27.

⁶⁸ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 49; Commemoration booklet of old St Patrick’s picnic, 18 June 1938 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Old St Patrick’s Collection, RG4B/76/7/5).

Fr Henry was not the only influential pastor at St Patrick's however. In 1898, Fr Timothy Dempsey, born in Cadamstown, Co. Offaly was appointed to the parish.⁶⁹ However, by the time of his arrival at St Patrick's the number of Irish immigrants in the area had decreased significantly and had been replaced by Italian and Slavic immigrants. There is little doubt that Fr Dempsey was a social reformer and throughout his pastorship at St Patrick's he was responsible for the development of a hotel for working women, a free day nursery, free lunch rooms and a hotel for working men.⁷⁰ He was also instrumental in securing a plot in Calvary Cemetery for destitute immigrants who could not afford to purchase land in the cemetery. This burial plot became known as the 'exile's rest' and was where Fr Tim was also buried upon his death in 1936.

Although each community developed their own national parishes, there were also some examples of co-operation between the two communities. As Faherty comments, 'the two groups complemented rather than opposed each other. The Irish gave enthusiasm, the Germans stood for stability'.⁷¹ In 1844 both the German and Irish Catholics helped in the construction of St Joseph's church.⁷² Fr Thomas Bonacum represents another example of co-operation. In 1883, the Holy Name parish was established by Bonacum a native of Thurles, Co Tipperary. Born in 1847, he emigrated in infancy with his parents and they settled at St Louis (see Fig. 6.7). He studied at St Vincent's College in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and later at the University of Würzburg, in Bavaria. He was ordained a priest in St Louis on 18 June 1870 and served the people of the Holy Name parish until 1887 when he was appointed as the first Bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska. Being bi-lingual, he celebrated religious services in

⁶⁹ Commemoration booklet of old St Patrick's picnic, 18 June 1938 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Old St Patrick's Collection, RG4B/76/7/5).

⁷⁰ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 49.

⁷¹ Faherty, *St Louis German Catholics*, p. 27.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

both English and German, and as a result the congregation comprised of both German and Irish immigrants.

Fig. 6.7 Fr Thomas Bonacum, Holy Name parish St Louis and first Bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska⁷³



As all these developments were taking place within the city, Irish clerics assumed the most influential roles. The formation of the Archdiocese of St Louis in 1847 foreshadowed a century of Irish dominance of the bishopric in the city. It was not until 1946 that a cleric of German heritage, Archbishop Joseph Ritter, was consecrated. Throughout this century, clerics of Irish descent were integral both in the development of the city and the preservation of the Catholic faith in the Midwest. The first Archbishop of St Louis, Rev. Peter Kenrick, became known as ‘Father of the immigrant’. Kenrick, a native of Dublin, was essential to making the diocese of St Louis financially stable and although his first years as archbishop were challenging, he witnessed the greatest era of Catholic development in the city. Under his leadership, priests who served both the Irish and German communities were ordained and numerous national parishes founded. Many of the priests who emigrated from Ireland and

⁷³ Portrait of Bishop Thomas Bonacum, Diocese of Lincoln, Nebraska available at: (http://www.dioceseoflincoln.org/Archives/about_lincoln-bishops.aspx) (13 Feb. 2012).

Germany brought with them skills which were immensely valuable to the Catholic Church. Rev. Patrick Donnelly from Co. Roscommon who had originally worked in outpost parishes in Missouri became one of Kenrick's canons and had the distinction of being the only priest in St Louis able to hear confessions in Irish. Other priests like Fr John O'Hanlon were instrumental in supporting immigrants and providing assistance to aid their acculturation. His *Irish Emigrant Guide to the United States* written in 1851 was widely read and he was a well-regarded scholar in the Midwest. Although many Irish priests were known as public figures, their German counterparts were highly regarded scholars. One example was Fr Henry Muehlsiepen, editor of the *St Louis Pastoral-Blatt* and other spiritual publications for the archdiocese. However, German involvement was not limited to scholastic endeavours and Muehlsiepen was also heavily involved in the Knights of Columbus organisation in the city.⁷⁴

No more than Muehlsiepen and his counterparts in St Louis, the German clerics of Fort Wayne were equally as dedicated to their flocks. Early German settlers in Fort Wayne, practiced at St Augustine's, which later became the Cathedral of Immaculate Conception. However, the Germans were not alone, as it was here that both the French and Irish Catholics practiced also. Accordingly, as more immigrants were arriving in the city, part of the German congregation began feeling increasingly ostracised. They subsequently formed the *Mutter-Gottes Kirche* [Mother of God church] in Fort Wayne in 1848. The parish, originally consisting of only thirty families, was established after five German farmers mortgaged their farms in a bid to secure the \$1,700 necessary to build a German church for German immigrants (see map 5).⁷⁵

The emergence of St Mary's was both as a result of the increasing inadequacy of St Augustine's physical building, but also, many Germans were becoming disgruntled due to

⁷⁴ Rothensteiner, *History of the archdiocese*, p. 223.

⁷⁵ History of St Mary's parish, Fort Wayne (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Mary's Parish collection, St Mary's FW/1/6/2).

what Grandos terms the ‘Irish dominated congregation of St Augustine’s’.⁷⁶ Given the central location of St Augustine’s it is of little surprise that it attracted Catholics of all nationalities. Coupled with this was the fact that the Irish did not establish a national parish of their own until the 1890s, when there was a resurgence in the number of Irish coming to Fort Wayne. Therefore, it became increasingly necessary for the German community to form their own national parish where they could maintain their ethnicity, practice their religion in a familiar setting and most importantly, preserve their language. Failure to do so would have constituted their effective assimilation and as a group, they were not ready to consider themselves American or even German-American. As the parish developed, *Mutter Gottes Kirche* became known as St Mary’s and gradually, as Ankenbruck and Lee write, ‘the world which greeted the new St Mary’s congregation was no longer an isolated place in the wilderness. It was the crux of change in education, transportation and industry and certainly spiritual and cultural life’.⁷⁷ This ‘spiritual and cultural life’ was no doubt aided by the presence of the parish’s two most prominent pastors, Fr Edward Faller and Fr John Oechtering who served the parish for forty-seven years. The first school in St Mary’s parish, a school for boys, was erected in 1853. In the same year, the girls of the parish ceased attending St Augustine’s and moved into a brick building on Lafayette St. Like many German schools for girls, the Sisters of Providence were in charge until 1865, after which time the Sisters of Notre Dame took over the running of the school.⁷⁸

Due to the continued growth of the parish, new churches were constructed in 1858, and later in 1886, at a cost of \$30,000 and \$75,000 respectively.⁷⁹ The construction of a new church in 1886 was necessitated after an explosion in the boiler-room of the church which

⁷⁶ Doris Grandos, ‘People and religion in early Fort Wayne, 1820-1860’ in *Allen County Lines*, xxi (1996), pp 18-21; p. 21.

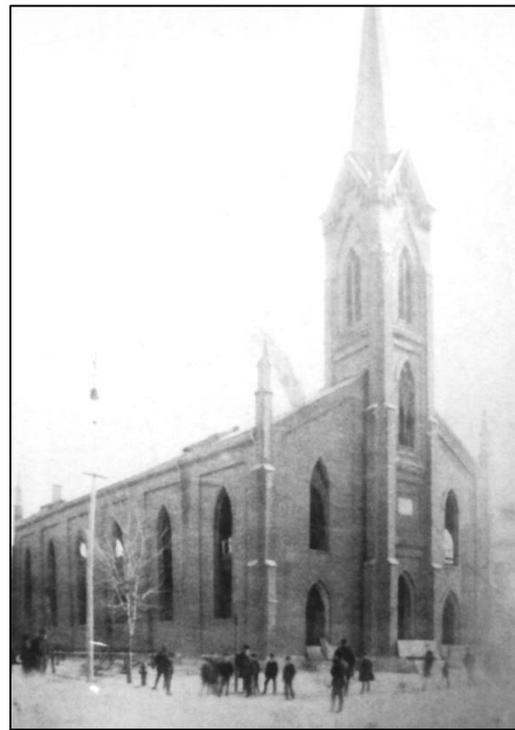
⁷⁷ John Ankenbruck and Catherine Lee, *St Mary’s Catholic Church: 150 years, 1848-1998* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1998), p. 14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 35-7.

⁷⁹ History of St Mary’s parish, Fort Wayne (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Mary’s Parish collection, St Mary’s FW/1/6/2).

killed the boiler-tender and a thirteen year old girl who was walking outside.⁸⁰ Having arrived in the parish in 1880, it was Fr Oechtering who was responsible for the building of the third structure. Oechtering was born near Hannover in Germany in 1845 and was educated in seminaries at Münster and Louvain (see Fig. 6.8).⁸¹ Upon ordination in Belgium, Oechtering immigrated to Indiana and served in smaller parishes before being appointed to St Mary's in 1880. Like his counterpart, Muehlsiepen in St Louis, Oechtering was also a scholar and compiled a catechism of the church as well as a hymn book and a number of dramas.⁸² However, Oechtering was also responsible for creating an extensive social fabric for the community and oversaw the management of two schools and numerous social and cultural organisations in the parish.

Fig. 6.8 Fr John Oechtering and Old St Mary's Church Fort Wayne c. 1900⁸³



⁸⁰ History of St Mary's parish, Fort Wayne (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Mary's Parish collection, St Mary's FW/1/6/5).

⁸¹ Appointment card of Fr John Oechtering (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Oechtering file/1/1).

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Portrait of Fr John Oechtering (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Oechtering file/1/7); Portrait of Old St Mary's Church, Fort Wayne, c. 1900 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Mary's Parish collection, St Mary's FW/3/2/2).

Oechtering's work continued throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the parish continued to prosper. However, south of the railway lines and the Pennsy shops another Catholic cleric, Fr Joseph Delaney, had been assigned to the newly formed St Patrick's parish, which became the epicentre of the Irish community in the city at the turn of the century. Joseph Delaney was a second generation Irish-American born in Thompsonville, Connecticut in January 1860.⁸⁴ His father was a baker by trade and came from Roscrea, Co. Tipperary. His mother was from Co. Cavan and emigrated at the age of nineteen.⁸⁵ Delaney, who had six siblings, attended his local parochial school in Thompsonville before progressing to the University Of Our Lady Of Angels at Niagara Falls, New York and seminaries in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.⁸⁶ Within two weeks of his ordination, Delaney was appointed as assistant pastor at the Cathedral of Immaculate Conception in Fort Wayne before being chosen to establish St Patrick's in 1889.⁸⁷ His influence on this parish and its people was unparalleled, and as Logan notes, 'under his leadership, St Patrick's church and school became a centre of worship and support for many of the city's Irish and Irish-American families' (see Fig. 6.9).⁸⁸

The arrival of the railroad and the employment opportunities that accompanied it led to swiftly expanding Irishtown and by the 1890s Bishop Dwenger realised the necessity of having an Irish national parish in the south of the city. Initially, two plots of land were bought on which to establish the church, one at Fairfield Ave and the other at DeWald and Harrison Sts. The latter site was eventually chosen and the construction of a church, school, academy,

⁸⁴ Appointment card of Fr Joseph Delaney (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Delaney file/1/2).

⁸⁵ Will Cumback and J. B. Maynard (eds), *Men of Progress, Indiana: a selected list of biographical sketches and portraits of the leaders in business, professional and official life* (Indianapolis, IN, 1899), pp 221-2.

⁸⁶ Appointment card of Fr Joseph Delaney (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Delaney file/1/2).

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Logan, 'The Irish in Fort Wayne', p. 728.

lyceum and rectory complex, ultimately costing \$510,000, began.⁸⁹ As Cumback and Maynard noted, the church was of Gothic style, ‘its length one hundred and sixty-three feet and its width sixty-seven feet ... its frontage ... is surmounted by a spire piercing heavenward one hundred and eighty-five feet.’⁹⁰ Ground was broken in April 1890 and the cornerstone was laid on 20 May that year. Recalling his first impressions of the site Fr Delaney noted,

my first thoughts were not very good ... at least not very encouraging. When I came, the streets around the block were not paved, and beyond Suttentfield there were only a few scattered houses, save for those on Fairfield Ave. On the corner where the church now stands, there was a frame house. A miniature pond was in the middle of the lot and there were some ducks swimming in it.⁹¹

However, within a decade the parish had developed substantially and in 1901, St Catherine’s Academy was built. It was named after Sr Mary Catherine McGrath and was essentially a four year high school intended to prepare young women for adulthood (see section 8.6). In its thirty-seven years, the academy educated more than 650 young women mostly of Irish descent, while St Patrick’s school catered to the educative needs of young Irish boys.⁹²

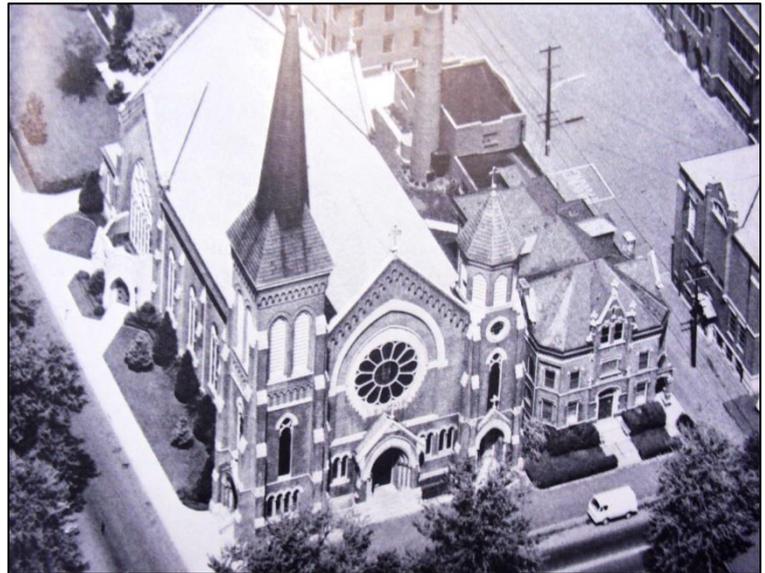
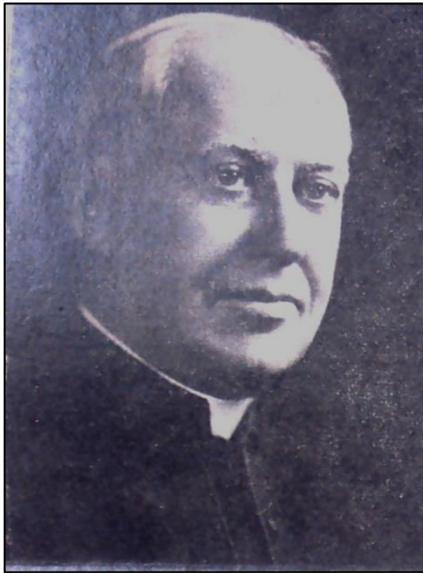
⁸⁹ Appointment card of Fr Joseph Delaney (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Delaney file/1/2).

⁹⁰ Cumback and Maynard (eds), *Men of Progress*, pp 221-2.

⁹¹ *St Catherine’s Academy News*, Jan. 1935 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Patrick’s Parish collection, St Patrick’s FW/1/2/9).

⁹² Jean Suelzer Streicher, ‘St Patrick’s Parish’, in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, 2005), ii, p. 200.

Fig. 6.9 Fr Joseph Delany and St Patrick's parish complex, Fort Wayne, c. 1950⁹³



6.9 Conflict in the church

Yet, despite the establishment of cohesive parishes with robust memberships and a highly developed social infrastructure, there was one source of constant conflict for the Catholic Church in America during this time. Antagonism over language between German-speaking clerics and their Irish counterparts, who held many of the dominant positions, was an almost permanent feature of clerical life. This was clearly evident in Fort Wayne after the formation of St Mary's parish in 1848. However, this antipathy was not confined to small rural settlements in the Midwest. In St Louis as well, many German clerics were aggravated by Kenrick's governance of the church in Missouri. In his study of Catholics in California, Schütz claims that many of the German-Catholics converted to Protestantism to avoid interaction with members from non-German speaking parishes.⁹⁴ He further notes that the 'interaction' they were trying to avoid was primarily with their Irish-Catholic counterparts. However, the validity of this assertion is questionable and certainly not confirmed by the

⁹³ Portrait of Fr Joseph Delaney (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Priests collection, Fr Delaney file/1/5); Portrait of St Patrick's parish complex, Fort Wayne, c. 1950 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Patrick's Parish collection, St Patrick's FW/2/1/5).

⁹⁴ Schütz, 'German Catholics in California', p. 63.

interaction of German and Irish Catholics in either Fort Wayne or St Louis. Contrary to Schütz's argument, the majority of German-Catholics did feel a closer sense of unity with other Catholics, rather than their fellow Lutheran émigré. Yet for many the apparent paltriness of the language question irritated both German clerics and immigrants alike.

Notably, Gjerde comments on the fact that religious conflict among various ethnic groups was virtually inevitable, because he argues, immigrants were forced to forge religious communities in order to preserve their collective identity. Yet this, he notes, had to be achieved 'in a society which had consciously separated church and state.'⁹⁵ Another source of dissatisfaction within the wider structure of the nineteenth century Catholic Church in America was the nationality of the dominant hierarchy. In Fort Wayne, the Irish were initially disgruntled by the fact that Bishop Rademacher seemed to address the needs of German Catholics in the city rather than members of their community. The opposite was true in St Louis, where although Bishop Kenrick was regarded as a fair patriarch, some German parishes felt neglected by what they perceived as his American stance. One of the reasons for this was, as Dolan writes, 'each group desired its own particular brand of religion and if the needs of one group were neglected in favour of the other, then bitter conflict erupted'.⁹⁶ Certainly, this appeared to be the case in urbanised, industrialised cities along the east coast, and although evident in the Midwest, it was less pronounced.

The German-American Catholic community was perhaps more aggrieved than any other nationality. This was primarily because of the fact that aside from the Irish-American Catholics, the Germans constituted the largest national grouping of Catholics in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. In St Louis, Tillinger estimates that by 1880, Germans represented over fifty-one percent of the foreign born population in the

⁹⁵ Jon Gjerde, 'Conflict and community as a case study of the immigrant church in the United States' in *Journal of Social History*, xix (1986), pp 681-87; p. 681.

⁹⁶ Dolan, *Immigrant church*, p. 86.

city, of which more than half were Catholic.⁹⁷ Coupled with this, was the fact that much of the Catholic hierarchy in America was governed by clerics of Irish extraction. Thus, as Dolan notes, many Germans ‘saw such secondary status not only as an obstacle to preserving their language and culture, but also as a means of forced Americanization’.⁹⁸

Herein lies the source of the principal cause of conflict. German priests wrote to Rome in the 1880s declaring that they would be better able to practice their faith if they had their own parishes which served their own people. However, Bishop Ireland of St Paul, Minnesota along with other influential members of the Catholic hierarchy launched a counter attack, claiming that this would only lead to disunity and fragmentation within the wider church body. Rome responded by legitimising the practise of succursal churches, which was essentially the formation of national parishes to serve members of specific language groups. Ironically, this had little effect as this practise had been undertaken in the United States for many decades already. Furthermore, Rome did agree to a certain extent with Bishop Ireland and the other bishops, declaring that no separate hierarchy would be instituted and essentially left the conflict resolution to local bishops. However, much of these controversies were academic in the context of the parishioner who continued in his devotion, for the most part unaware of the hierarchical politics that prevailed.

The ‘secondary status’ that Dolan refers to, and the subsequent approval from Rome, were two of the primary reasons for the emergence and consequent success of the national parish. Since various ethnic groups felt that sharing religious amenities was a form of ‘forced Americanisation’, the solace offered by a national parish, where the customs and traditions of the old country could be practised, without fear of contamination from external Americanising forces seemed to suit both the immigrant community and the clerical

⁹⁷ Elaine C. Tillinger, ‘German church, Irish church: late nineteenth-century inter-ethnic rivalry in St Louis’ Catholic community’ in *Gateway Heritage*, x (1990), pp 44-55; p. 44.

⁹⁸ Dolan, *American Catholic*, p. 297.

hierarchy. As Dolan writes, ‘the national parish ... became the principal institution the immigrants established to preserve the religious life of the old country’.⁹⁹ Thus, the immigrants could practice their religion in a familiar environment and the Catholic hierarchy rested easy knowing that the faith was being practiced.

Although the national parish benefited the linguistic aspirations of the German community, the Irish immigrant group also benefited from their establishment. Whereas the primary concern for the German immigrant was undoubtedly the cultural preservation of the language and secondary benefits like the formation of communal bonds, the Irish community used the national parish model to form a cohesive territorial community, united in religion, economic status and political orientation. While all these elements were also evident in the German national parish, they were not as refined as perhaps they were in the Irish parishes. Writing on Irish and German Catholics in New York, Dolan commented that, ‘Irish and German parishes were located within walking distance of one another but they were as distinctive as German beer and Irish whiskey’.¹⁰⁰

Not only did German Catholics wish to be segregated from their Irish-Catholic or German-Lutheran counterparts, but there were also instances of divisions within the wider German-American Catholic community. These emerged because of regional divisions in the homeland. One significant example was the parish of St Liborius in St Louis. St Liborius, formed in 1855, was the eighth German parish in St Louis at the time. It was built when a community of immigrants from Paderborn in Westphalia immigrated to St Louis and decided to erect a church in honour of St Liborius, whose namesake was also the German bishop of Paderborn.¹⁰¹ The church served as the epicentre of their national parish and a vibrant

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁰⁰ Dolan, *Immigrant church*, p. 44.

¹⁰¹ Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis* (2 vols, St Louis, MO, 1923), ii, p. 197.

community emerged around it. As Dolan commented, ‘the national parish ... strengthened their sense of ethnicity and fenced them off from the Americans and Irish around them’.¹⁰²

6.10 ‘a protest against American exclusivity’

Despite this, an ethnic parish did not just refer to spirituality alone, and as an entity it was more identifiable with community rather than religion. Although the church was the first visible sign of the emergence of this community, it was soon followed by schools, hospitals, asylums, lyceums, libraries and graveyards. Walch notes how the religious experience on the east coast differed greatly from that in the Middle West.¹⁰³ Specifically, church institutions on the east coast, such as hospitals and asylums, were used almost exclusively by members of a single faith group. In the Midwest, primarily due to the lack of developed infrastructure, schools, hospitals and orphanages benefited the community as a whole. Significantly, it was the organisational superstructure of religious bodies that organised essential communal institutions because fledgling civic entities did not have sufficient resources. However, church bodies also relied on donations from generous philanthropists. In St Louis, John Mullanphy was one such benefactor. Mullanphy was also responsible for the establishment of St Louis’ first hospital in 1828 which was also the first Catholic hospital in the United States. Not only did Mullanphy donate the site on Third St to Bishop Rosati, he also provided \$350 for furnishing the hospital and gave a donation of \$150 to cover the travel expenses of the four Sisters of Charity who had agreed to manage the hospital.

Accordingly, on the morning of 5 November 1828, four nuns from the Sisters of Charity of St Joseph, an order established twenty years earlier in Emmetsburg, Maryland,

¹⁰² Dolan, *Immigrant church*, p. 71.

¹⁰³ Timothy Walch, ‘Catholic social institutions and social development: the view from nineteenth century Chicago and Milwaukee’ in *The Catholic Historical Review*, lxiv (1978), pp 16-32; pp 16-7.

arrived in St Louis and reported to Bishop Rosati. Three weeks later the nuns began working in the hospital on Third St where they cared for the poor without any charge. However, the hospital was at best, rudimentary, recorded as being ‘a log cabin that consisted of only two rooms and a kitchen’.¹⁰⁴ In 1831, the Sisters left the log cabin structure on Third St and moved to a two storey brick building on nearby Spruce St near the corner of Fourth St. They subsequently became renowned for treating many of the sick during the cholera outbreak in the city in 1832 a very dangerous undertaking given the sanitary standards of the day. By the 1840s, the arrival of more immigrants to the city required the hospital to modernise. In 1840, a large wing was erected overlooking Fourth St and provision was made for a chapel and patient rooms. The hospital remained at this site until 1874 when it relocated to a new residence on Montgomery St, at which time it became officially known as Mullanphy Hospital.¹⁰⁵

The establishment of a social infrastructure in Fort Wayne was also the responsibility of philanthropists and religious institutions. Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, the church’s role in establishing all the characteristics that were associated with community was even more important. As Walch writes, ‘[this] dramatized the difference between the Catholic experience in the East and that in the Middle West’.¹⁰⁶ The first hospital in Fort Wayne was established by the Catholic Church under the leadership of Bishop Luers and the management of a German order of nuns known as the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ. In 1869, Luers purchased a small hotel, formerly known as Rockhill Place for \$20,000.¹⁰⁷ Situated on the

¹⁰⁴ *Sunday Watchman*, 17 Aug. 1930

¹⁰⁵ Walter Barlow Stevens, *St Louis: history of the fourth city, 1763-1909* (St Louis, MO, 1909), p. 493.

¹⁰⁶ Walch, ‘Catholic social institutions and social development’, p. 17.

¹⁰⁷ *Indiana Gazette*, 25 Apr. 1982.

corner of Main and Broadway Sts, the hotel was remodelled as a twenty-room hospital and opened on 9 May 1869.¹⁰⁸

However, it was not only hospitals that the respective churches were influential in creating. One of the most compelling examples of the German Catholic community's foresight was the construction of St Vincent's orphanage in north St Louis (see Fig. 6.10). St Vincent's was established in 1850 by a group of German-Americans with the aim of providing care to orphans of German descent, many of whom had lost their parents as a result of the cholera epidemic of 1849. Faden comments, 'as in Germany, Catholics consciously constructed their own institutions as a protest against American exclusivity'.¹⁰⁹ The project was largely financed by John Mullanphy, a prominent Irish-American in St Louis. Within two months of opening, the orphanage under the auspices of the German St Vincent Orphanage Society had accepted thirty children into the home. After the first year, a new wing had to be built and the capacity was increased to 100. Gradually a distinction between full orphan and half orphan was made and children from both categories were accepted to the home. In some cases the orphanage re-homed the children if a suitable home could be found and where the language and culture could be preserved. A condition of a child's leaving the orphanage was that it went to a German speaking family and attended a Catholic school. Many children, as noted by Faden, remained in the home because those families who wished to foster them did not live in the vicinity of a Catholic school.¹¹⁰ 'The home', as Faden writes, 'was not a correction centre or dumping ground for troubled children but an opportunity for

¹⁰⁸ Joseph M D'Arcy, *Worthy of the gospel of Christ: a history of the Catholic diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend* (Fort Wayne, IN, 2007), p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ Regina Faden, 'The German St Vincent orphan home: the institution and its role in the German immigrant community of St Louis, 1850-1960' (Ph.D thesis, St Louis University, 2000), p. 139.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 104-13.

the Church and community to provide a healthy, Catholic atmosphere in which to raise the children and their acceptance to the home was a privilege.’¹¹¹

The Sisters of St Joseph were a German speaking order and were one of the greatest benefactors to the orphanage. They ran the school attached to the orphanage and instructed the children in German, until German speaking nuns within the order decreased significantly. The home was funded by charitable donations at first from the German community in St Louis, but later from the wider St Louis community more generally. The children also partook in fairs and festivals throughout the year and this raised local awareness about the orphanage. The facility was opened once a year for the Orphanage’s annual fair in which the children performed in plays and pageants in an attempt to raise funds. As Faden comments, ‘rather than being treated as members of the undeserving poor, the orphans were considered as members of the family, the extended German Catholic family’.¹¹² Although the archdiocese did not provide any funding for the orphanage, bi-annual collections were taken at German churches in aid of the orphanage. However, it was not just the German Catholics of St Louis that erected communal amenities. In 1858, the German Protestant Orphans Home was established in St Louis and further north in Fort Wayne.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 111.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 127.

Fig. 6.10 St Vincent's Home for children, Normandy, St Louis ¹¹³



*6.11 'a basement operation in a city church'*¹¹⁴

Despite the fact that immigrant churches were integral in creating social infrastructures for their communities, there is little doubt that the most significant construction was the parochial school. Faherty, writing of St Louis, comments that by 1898 there were twenty-one English language parochial schools in the city. Accordingly, these schools employed 148 teachers and taught 6,534 pupils. He notes also that, 159 teachers taught 8,118 pupils in German language schools.¹¹⁵ The concept of the parochial school travelled from Europe with the emigrants over the course of the nineteenth century. Dolan records that there were three types of Catholic school; the elementary school was the most significant, followed by the female academy and the male college.¹¹⁶ The same model was adopted by Lutheran communities although only limited historical data has survived. In all of

¹¹³ St Vincent's Home for children, Normandy, St Louis available at: (http://www.romeofthewest.com/2009/04/normandy-missouri-little-rome-of-west_22.html) (14 Feb. 2012)

¹¹⁴ Dolan, *American Catholics*, p. 251.

¹¹⁵ Faherty, *St Louis German Catholics*, p. 21.

¹¹⁶ Dolan, *American Catholic*, p. 249.

the parishes considered here, a parochial school accompanied the church and its role in preserving the ethnic image of the migrant group was overriding (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Number of pupils enrolled in Catholic parochial schools in St Louis and Fort Wayne 1890-5

Parochial school	No. of boys	No. of girls	Teaching order
St Louis (1892-5)			
<i>St Lawrence O'Toole's</i> [∞]	200	250	Sisters of St Joseph / Christian Brothers
<i>SS Peter and Paul's</i> [¥]	640	630	School Sisters of Notre Dame
<i>St Francis de Sales'</i> ^µ	358	284	Order of Divine Providence
<i>St Bridget of Erin's</i> ^ç	835		Sisters of St Joseph / Christian Brothers
<i>St Patrick's</i> ^õ	330		Sisters of St Joseph / Christian Brothers
Fort Wayne (1890)			
<i>St Mary's</i> ^ø	283	238	School Sisters of Notre Dame
<i>St Patrick's</i> ^Γ	104		Sisters of Providence

∞ Church Census of St Lawrence O'Toole's parish, 1892 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Lawrence O'Toole's collection, RG4B/63/4/1).

¥ Church Census of SS Peter and Paul's parish, 1892 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, SS Peter and Paul's collection, RG7B/78/5/1).

µ Church Census of St Francis de Sales parish, 1892 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Francis de Sales collection, RG4B/50/3/1).

ç School enrolment of St Bridget of Erin parish, St Louis 1895 in Hoffman & Co., *Hoffman's Catholic directory, almanac and clergy list* (Milwaukee, WI, 1895), p. 72.

õ School enrolment of St Patrick's parish, St Louis, 1895 in *Ibid*, p. 79.

ø Ankenbruck and Lee, *St Mary's Catholic Church*, p. 37

Γ *St Catherine's Academy news*, Jan. 1935 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Patrick's Parish collection, St Patrick's FW/1/2/9).

Such was the importance of establishing a school, they were very often constructed in tandem with the church building itself. At SS Peter and Paul's in St Louis, the upper story of the rectory was used initially while the school structure itself was constructed.¹¹⁷ After the first school structure was completed in 1859, the enrolment consisted of 200 girls and 100 boys. However, within four years of its establishment the number of German-American Catholic children attending the parochial school had risen to 700.¹¹⁸ However, SS Peter and Paul's was not unique. In Fort Wayne, a similar fate befell St Patrick's. The building of a parochial school was given the same priority as the church and within a few months of the parish's establishment, a school was operating out of six small rooms. Within five years, the popularity of the school had increased to such an extent that a new building was required. This was followed six years later by the establishment of St Catherine's Academy for girls. Fr Delaney recalls that, 'The second floor of the building was set aside for high school and commercial courses. The Academy opened with exactly fifteen pupils. The first class of graduates had two commercial and two classical students' (see Fig. 6.11).¹¹⁹

Fig. 6.11 First graduates of St Catherine's Academy, Fort Wayne, c. 1902¹²⁰



¹¹⁷ *Centennial booklet of SS Peter and Paul's parish*, (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, SS Peter and Paul's collection, RG7B/78/5/5).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹¹⁹ *St Catherine's Academy News*, Jan. 1935 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Patrick's Parish collection, St Patrick's FW/1/2/9).

¹²⁰ *Ibid*.

Yet, while these schools did undoubtedly bolster religious presence in immigrant neighbourhoods, they were also costly endeavours. In 1872, the parochial schools at St Bridget's were \$8,851.84 in debt.¹²¹ Although some of this was attributable to the original debt accrued by Fr Lillis a decade earlier, annual expenses like school books, gas, fuel and janitorial expenses meant that the parish was forced to organise fundraising festivals in April and October. In 1872, these festivals raised over \$4,200 for the school.¹²² At these festivals, the school children would sing or perform short plays and benefactors would donate accordingly. Aside from fundraising, parochial school incomes were also dependant on donations from other Catholic organisations and 'loans from sundry persons'.¹²³

Although as Dolan comments, 'they [schools] were very modest enterprises; a small log cabin in a rural town or a basement operation in a city church',¹²⁴ they nonetheless reinforced the continued preservation of the ethnic identity and particularly in the case of German speaking schools, they prolonged the assimilative process. Significantly, the Catholic Church's involvement in the education of its parishioners from the elementary school level through to the college and university level ensured that it was able to promote its values during the most formative period of an individual's life. However, although this strengthened both the churches and the immigrant communities, it did result in the exposure of immigrants to what Kenny describes as 'accusations of rejecting not just Protestantism but America itself',¹²⁵ and since American schools were not good enough for the immigrant's children, how then could the rest of American society satisfy the immigrant's needs?

¹²¹ Annual statement of the temporal affairs of St Bridget's church and parochial school, 1872 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/3/1).

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Dolan, *American Catholics*, p. 251.

¹²⁵ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 115.

6.12 *'the lynchpin to ethnic identity'*¹²⁶

Although nativists were irritated by the existence of these culturally exclusive communities, the answer was that American society, did not, as yet, have to satisfy the immigrant's needs. The church provided all of the emotional, spiritual and sometimes economic support that the immigrants required. Once the spiritual and communal infrastructure of the parish had been established, the social development of the community took precedence. It was through social pursuits associated with the church that vital cultural preservation could be implemented. As Dolan writes, 'the manifest purpose of the parish was clearly religious, but it had also become a key social institution that enabled its parishioners to establish some semblance of a community life'.¹²⁷

St Mary's in Fort Wayne is perhaps one of the most illustrative examples of how the immigrant church created an extensive social fabric which catered for the immigrants social needs (see Table 6.2). One of the most popular organisations in St Mary's was the Charles Borromeo Mutual Benefit Society. The society was established by Henry Pranger in 1860. He sought to organise an association which would take care of the sick, bury the dead and take care of widows and orphans. Upon its organisation, the society had forty members and obtained dues to the value of twenty-eight dollars.¹²⁸ By the time of its golden jubilee in 1910, the organisation had grown to over 250 affiliates. Membership was divided into two classes, A and B. Class A paid twenty-five cents per month, while Class B paid fifty cents. The amount of aid received in times of difficulty was dependant on which class the member's family belonged to. During the first fifty years of the society's existence it paid over \$50,000 in sick benefit and over \$12,000 of 'widow money'.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Peterson, 'From bone depth', p. 49.

¹²⁷ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, p. 112.

¹²⁸ *Golden Jubilee Booklet – St Carolous Barromaeus Unterschutungs Verein von St Mary's Church, 1860-1910* (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Mary's Church Collection, St Mary's FW/2/3/19).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

Table 6.2 Sample organisations of selected Catholic parishes in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850-1900¹³⁰

Church	Sample organisations
<i>St Louis</i>	
St Francis de Sales	Liturgical choir, Usher's guild, The Men's Sodality, St Vincent de Paul Society, Christian Mother's Society, Young Men's Sodality, St Aloysius Society, The Young Ladies Sodality, St Francis de Sales Benevolent Society, the Orphan Society, Benton Dramatic Club, Western Catholics Union, St Vincent de Paul branch of the German Orphan's Society
St Bridget of Erin	Society of the Sacred Heart, The Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Society of the Living Rosary, The St Vincent de Paul Society, St Bridget's Library Association, Catholic Knights - St Bridget's branch, Knights of Fr Mathew, Council No. 8, Sodality of the Holy Angels for girls, Pugatorian society, Mary and Martha Society, Altar and Sanctuary Society, the Walsh Zouaves and the St Ann's and St Joseph's Sodalities for Married People.
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	
Mutter Gottes Kirche (St Mary's)	St Charles Borromeo Mutual Benefit Society, Catholic Knights of America, the Benevolent Legion, St Aloysius Society, St Stanislaus Society for Boys, St Rose's Young Ladies Society, Children of Mary Society, Holy Rosary Society for Married Women, the Altar Society, the Society of the Holy Childhood, Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Men's and Women's School Societies
St Patrick's	League of the Sacred Heart, Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, Living Rosary Society, Catholic Benevolent Legion, St Joseph Benevolent Association, Ladies Catholic Benevolent Society, Married Men's Sodality, Young Men's Sodality, Boys and Girl's Sodalities, St Patrick's Council No. 4 of the B.L. of Indiana, Ladies Auxiliary of the AOH

¹³⁰ List of organisations of St Francis de Sales Parish in *Diamond Jubilee Booklet – St Francis de Sales, 1867-1942* (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Francis de Sales Collection, RG4B/50/5/11); The Principal Rules of St Bridget's Church, undated (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/4/1); Ankenbruck and Lee, *St Mary's Catholic Church*, pp 30-1; List of church societies of St Patrick's Church Fort Wayne in *Official Guide Book St Patrick's Church, 1904* (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, St Patrick's Collection, St Patrick's FW/2/2/1).

As well as the St Charles Borromeo society, Ankenbruck and Lee also record that there was a branch of the Catholic Knights of America with forty-one members. Clubs and societies for young people and married women were also evident. The Altar Society and the Holy Rosary Society catered to the social needs of married women, while the St Stanislaus and Children of Mary societies were made available to young boys and girls up to their sixteenth birthday respectively.¹³¹ The social life of the parish was integral to the preservation of a German cultural identity, and while the primary function of these may have been religious, there is little doubt that their secondary functions were both social and cultural. Similarly, the Irish community in Fort Wayne formed the Irish Catholic Benefit Association in the 1870s, but this later became known as St Patrick's Benefit Association. Like the St Charles Borromeo Society, its primary function was to provide fellowship and aid fellow countrymen when the association met regularly at Library Hall. Logan notes how there were also branches of the Catholic Knights of America and the St Vincent de Paul organisations in Fort Wayne, although membership of these organisations most likely included members from both communities.¹³²

Griffin comments that, 'a great deal of the social life of the Irish ... was related to the Catholic church ... the Irish joined Catholic associations ... in the late nineteenth century.'¹³³ The Irish, even more so than their German counterparts, were dependant on the church for social interaction. The Irish immigrant community had an equally voluminous array of social organisations (see Table 6.2). Similar to the German community, the majority were religious in character, yet the function of each was undoubtedly social. At St Bridget of Erin parish in St Louis, Fr Walsh instituted a Purgatorian society in 1869. The function of the society was to 'pray for the souls in purgatory and lessen and shorten their sufferings' in a bid to 'open the

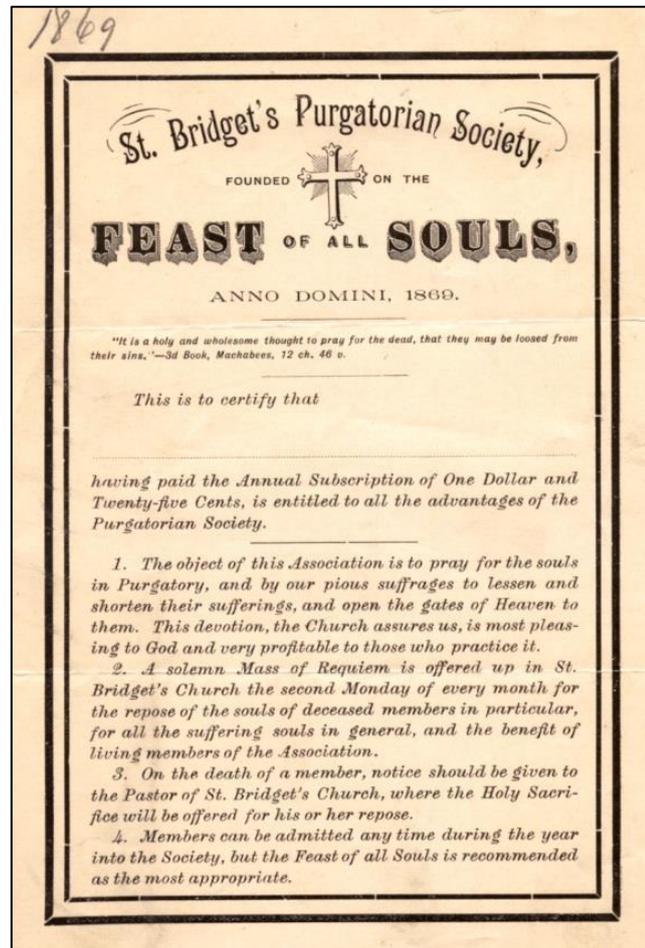
¹³¹ Ankenbruck and Lee, *St Mary's Catholic Church*, pp 30-1.

¹³² Logan, 'The Irish in Fort Wayne', p. 729.

¹³³ Griffin, 'Irish', p. 262.

gates of Heaven to them'.¹³⁴ However, the society, which was open to both men and women, also required an annual subscription of \$1.25 so that members would be 'entitled to all the advantages of the society' (see Fig. 6.12).¹³⁵

Fig. 6.12 Membership certificate of St Bridget of Erin's Purgatorian Society, 1869¹³⁶



The scope and range of church societies for both the German and Irish immigrant groups were extremely diverse. Temperance societies, devotional groups, mutual aid societies, fraternities, and charitable organisations are just some examples of the array of social activities that developed around the communal life of the church. Fraternities like the

¹³⁴ St Bridget's Purgatorian Society membership certificate, 1869 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin collection, RG4B/41/6/2).

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America were popular. Immigrants had the opportunity of meeting members of other branches associated with neighbouring churches at regular intervals. The Catholic Knights of America was a fraternal society organised by an Irish-American from Nashville, Tennessee. A branch of the organisation was established in St Patrick's parish in St Louis in 1879, becoming the first parish in Missouri to establish a division of the organisation. After this initial branch was formed, many more parishes began taking an active interest although it was primarily German parishes who instigated the establishment of a branch of the Knights. Fraternal in nature, the Catholic Knights was a multinational organisation which encouraged vocations, organised spiritual outings and cultural activities and offered insurance plans to members. Temperance movements were also a popular social pursuit for the immigrant Irish. Aside from frequent meetings, temperance societies were also visible on St Patrick's Day when they participated in the annual parade and some groups even wore customised uniforms. However, membership of these temperance organisations was far more popular among Irish immigrants than their German counterparts. Yet, the emergence of these groups and societies was significant because, as Dolan notes, 'the multiplication of a vast and diverse array of societies transformed the immigrant parish into a major social and cultural institution in the neighbourhood'.¹³⁷

German parishes were equally as diverse in providing social outlets for their members. The communal life which surrounded German churches, both Lutheran and Catholic was termed *Vereinswesen*. The type of *Vereinswesen* available to immigrants was similar to that organised by Irish parishes. Devotional societies, fraternities, mutual aid and charitable organisations were also a feature of German communal life for both Catholic and Lutheran immigrants. The Ladies Aid Society was established in Fort Wayne at St Paul's Lutheran church and although primarily a social organisation, its practical function was to sew

¹³⁷ Dolan, *American Catholic*, p. 205.

vestments for Lutheran seminarians at the Concordia College in Fort Wayne (see section 8.4). In St Louis, the German Catholic Union or *Central-Verein* was established for the Catholic community and organised activities and outings for its members. In 1846, the German Catholic Benevolent Society was formed and the organisation, made its first public appearance at the cornerstone ceremony for SS Peter and Paul's church.¹³⁸ Other organisations included examples that were not necessarily associated with the Irish social traditions. Some of these groups promoted intellectual and artistic enrichment, sports, drama societies and altar societies. However, the importance of solidarities and confraternities within the Catholic parish was unquestionable. As Dolan notes, '[They] not only nourished the culture of Catholic piety, but as a social organisation [they] bound Catholics together, giving them an increased sense of identity in an ethnically diverse environment.'¹³⁹

Fig. 6.13 Invitation to German-Americans to attend the third German-American Catholic Day in Cleveland Ohio, 4 September 1889¹⁴⁰



¹³⁸ Faherty, *St Louis German Catholics*, p. 15.

¹³⁹ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, p. 116.

¹⁴⁰ Invitation to German-Americans to attend the third German-American Catholic Day in Cleveland, Ohio, 4 Sept. 1889 in *St Louis Pastoral-Blatt*, undated (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, *Central-Verein* St Louis Collection, RGVII/1/2).

6.13 Conclusion

The role of the immigrant church in the second half of the nineteenth century is virtually impossible to measure. Yet, as Peterson comments, ‘churches appeared to be the linchpin to ... ethnic identity. They both censured social interaction and provided a variety of contexts for intra-ethnic socializing.’¹⁴¹ Not only was the immigrant church the ‘linchpin’ that Peterson alludes to, it was also the driving force behind the formation of ethnically distinct groups, the preservation of the culture and traditions of the homeland and the emergence of culturally aware émigrés. It was also integral in forming communal infrastructures and social networks. As Peterson comments, ‘true social communities gelled only around the old social networks maintained through the church’.¹⁴² The German churches, whether Catholic or Lutheran, provided a haven where the most exclusive elements of German culture could be maintained and preserved, language and tradition being perhaps the two most important examples. Conversely, the Irish immigrant church succeeded in protecting its primary interest, the faith. The devotion of Irish-American Catholics to their church, not only led to their dominance of the hierarchical positions, but it also resulted in the ultimate acceptance of their faith in American society.

The immigrant church permeated all aspects of immigrant life; spirituality, education, communal enterprises and social networks all exuded religious undertones. Without its influence, it is likely that the emergence of immigrant communities would not only have been a slower process, they would have been more isolated and certainly not as unified. The church, through its pastoral obligations moulded cohesive communities and ingrained in them a sense of cultural awareness and a loyalty to their heritage. Without its dominant presence on the immigrant landscape, not only could the respective faiths have been lost, so too would the ethnic distinctiveness that characterised immigrant America.

¹⁴¹ Peterson, ‘From bone depth’, p. 49.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Chapter 7

From discrimination to domination: immigrant political involvement

7.1 Introduction

It was not only the immigrant church that aided the creation of specific ethnic identities. Political involvement also played a fundamental role in the legacy of an immigrant group. As Kenny notes, the American Irish ‘built an urban power base that would endure until the Second World War and beyond’.¹ However, the Irish were not the only immigrant group constructing an urban power base; their German counterparts were also establishing a smaller, yet analogous, political structure. Nineteenth century immigrant politics was a complicated phenomenon and displayed characteristics specific to each immigrant group. Burton notes that ‘Irish Catholics for a variety of reasons, strongly opposed abolition, held contrary views on the nature of the Union and frequently gave Irish nationalism a higher political priority than defending a threatened national government headed by the Republicans’.² Their German counterparts, by contrast, strongly supported abolition, admired the structure of the Union and regularly overlooked political affairs in the homeland, in favour of the political issues affecting their new environment. Yet, when examining the origins of this contrast, it seems almost inevitable that both groups would be characterised by political disparity. Significantly, the political legacies of the homeland formed the basis of political opinions in the United States. Many Germans had enjoyed a degree of political independence and freedom in the homeland, whereas their Irish counterparts had not and ultimately, this concept of pseudo-political exile influenced their political attitudes in America.

Yet, there were also some striking similarities and significantly, religion was an important component in nineteenth century immigrant politics. Irish-Catholics, German-Catholics and German Lutherans traditionally voted a straight Democratic ticket, both groups mobilised their communities, dominated local politics and rejected the nativist attitudes of the

¹ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, NY, 2000), p. 163.

² William L. Burton, *Melting pot soldiers: the union's ethnic regiments* (Fordham, NY, 1998), p. 29.

Know-Nothing movement. Immigrant involvement in American politics was necessary on many levels. Firstly, political involvement was necessary to ensure communal preservation. Secondly, engagement in the political process facilitated the acculturation and assimilation of immigrants and thirdly, political involvement promoted a sense of democratic individualism that complimented the ideals of American political ideology, while simultaneously enabling the immigrant community to remain culturally distinct. This third motivation perhaps best expresses the political ideology which migrated with the German Forty-Eighters.

7.2 Nativism and the Know-Nothings

It is widely acknowledged that German and Irish involvement in the American political arena was both influential and substantial. The influx of immigrants from the mid-century onwards propelled the emergence of politically mobilised immigrant groups and this gradually led not only to their acceptance as valued American citizens, but also, to the consolidation of their ethnic identity. However, from the 1830s through to the 1850s, the sudden increase in immigrant populations led to the emergence of nativist attitudes and in the first instance, the immigrants were subjected to taunts, attacks and the prejudicial judgements of native-born xenophobes. So popular were these attitudes that anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant groups were formed. One of the most popular was the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, which later became known popularly as the Know-Nothing Party, or, in official circles, as the American Party. Although Anbinder identifies six basic beliefs around which the Know-Nothing party revolved, perhaps the two most significant were the belief that

Protestantism defined American political culture and that Catholicism was fundamentally incompatible with the value systems of American politics.³

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the Know-Nothing movement gained rapid popularity and quickly spread from the east coast to the Midwestern states. Nativist attacks on Irish Catholic Churches and German *Turner* halls alike, became a regular occurrence in many immigrant communities. Yet despite attacks on German immigrants and their ethnic institutions, it was the Irish community who experienced the extent of Know-Nothingism in its harshest form. The Irish, characterised as deprived, uncivilized and uncouth presented a far greater challenge to the American ideal of purity than their comparatively well-educated, diligent and productive counterparts from the German states. As Burton notes, ‘Native Americans saw the Germans, despite the language differences, as industrious, kindly, hard-working and quiet, - models of good citizenship compared to the Irish’.⁴

Kenny argues that the Know-Nothings ‘became a national political party because the mass immigration from famine-stricken Ireland coincided with an escalating national crisis over the question of slavery’ and perhaps there is some truth in this.⁵ During the 1850s there was escalating apprehension over the increasing influence of Irish and German Catholics in American political affairs. The Know-Nothing Party aimed to curtail immigrant involvement in politics and in so doing, they promoted a nativist ideology which limited the political influence of immigrants. Simultaneously, they also sought to reinforce republican values and curb immigration and naturalization practises. By the mid-1840s, the Know-Nothing movement had already begun to take force in St Louis. The movement voiced its public opinion through a newspaper called the *St Louis New Era*, a self-proclaimed anti-foreigner newspaper. As was the norm all over America, the Know-Nothings in St Louis aligned

³ Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and slavery: the northern Know-Nothings and the politics of the 1850s* (New York, NY, 1992), pp 104-6.

⁴ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 23.

⁵ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 116.

themselves closely with the Whig party which dominated local politics until the end of the 1840s. Despite this, in 1842, George Maguire, born in Omagh, Co. Tyrone in 1796 became the first foreigner to be elected to the office of mayor in St Louis (see Fig. 7.1). This historic Democratic victory was short lived however, as he was replaced the following year by John Wimer, an emancipationist.⁶

Fig. 7.1 George Maguire (Democrat), 8th Mayor of St Louis, (1842-3)⁷



Not only did the influx of Irish immigrants compromise the dogmatic principles of American nativists, the slavery question also threatened these republican values by presenting assimilative challenges. Many nativists, including Lyman Beecher, were guarded about increasing Catholic influences, particularly at a time when the prospect of westward expansion offered nativists the opportunity to simulate a society in the west that was being compromised by immigration in the east. As Beecher commented, ‘their [Catholic] faith ... requires them to extend the Catholic religion the world over, by persuasion if they can and by force if they must and are able.’⁸ Accordingly, many nativists felt that this extension of Catholic influence should, at the very least, be impeded. Combined with this anti-Catholic

⁶ Ellen M. Dolan, *The St Louis Irish*, (St Louis, MO, 1967), p. 26.

⁷ George Maguire, St Louis Mayors exhibition, available at: St Louis Public Library (<http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/default.asp>) (19 May 2013).

⁸ Lyman Beecher, *A plea for the west* (Cincinnati, OH, 1835), p. 116.

sentiment was the increasing anti-slavery rhetoric which many felt was a consequence of increasing Catholic influences on American political affairs. This too compromised the nativist ideology and so, by the mid-century, the apparent disintegration of the quintessential nativist definition of America was severely threatened by the presence of the other, whether its guise was slave, Catholic or foreigner, was irrelevant.

Aside from political dominance, rioting had also become a feature of nativist activity during the 1840s and into the next decade as well. Significantly however, this was one aspect of the political arena that many Irish immigrants had experience of. Prior to immigration, violence and agitation had characterised many electoral encounters in the homeland.⁹ Accordingly, when this also became a feature of their political experience in America, the Irish community responded with characteristic fortitude. In 1852, a Know-Nothing riot broke out at St Patrick's church in St Louis (see section 6.8), but it was in 1854 that the city saw most civil unrest. On 7 August 1854, a riot broke out during the city's municipal elections. As a result of nativist dominance in the city, many immigrants, particularly the Irish, were disqualified from voting on the grounds of their foreign birth. Tensions rose throughout the city which ultimately resulted in the death of a young boy. This effectively signalled the beginning of two days of rioting and an extended period of civil unrest in the city. Irish homes, groceries and drinking houses were attacked and rumours abounded about possible attacks on St Patrick's and St Francis Xavier's churches. These rumours were, however, false although significantly, this incident did result in the apparent cooperation of German and Irish Catholics in the city. Dolan records that, 'a priest asserted that there was nearly as many German and Irish parishioners [1000 in total] ready to answer the summons of the church bell if the need arose'.¹⁰ By the time the riot ended two days later, six lives had been lost and thousands of dollars worth of damage to homes and businesses had been accrued. In order to

⁹ For an extended account of political agitation in Ireland during the post-famine era, see K. Theodore Hoppen, *The mid-Victorian generation: 1846-1886* (New York, 1998), pp 572-81.

¹⁰ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, p. 27.

quell the rioting, many of the city's militia units including the St Louis Greys, the predominately German Pioneer Corps and the mostly Irish Washington Guards, were required to join the police force in a bid to restore law and order. Shortly after the riot, the Shamrock Society was established. This was a benevolent organisation whose stated aim was to aid those whose property had been damaged in the riots.

News of the riot spread all over the country. *The Perrysburg Journal*, a regional newspaper in Ohio recorded that, 'there was a terrible riot between Irish Catholics and the Know-Nothings ... the city for a time was under the control of the mob.'¹¹ In Washington DC the *Daily Evening Star* reported that 'the recent riot in St Louis took from life ... a native of our city, Mr Edwin R. Violett, a universal favourite [whose] death excites general sorrow among his wider circle of acquaintances.'¹² However, it was perhaps *The Jeffersonian* newspaper of Stoudsburg, Pennsylvania which captured the effects of the riot most succinctly commenting,

On Tuesday of last week, a bloody riot occurred at St Louis between a portion of the Irish and the native population. It commenced by a fight between an Irishman and an American, in which the latter was stabbed. Some fifty groceries and groceries kept by Irishmen were destroyed and several lives were lost. A large military force had to be called out before the riot could be suppressed. About \$30,000 worth of property was destroyed in the brief space of three hours.¹³

Further north in Fort Wayne, despite its smaller size, nativism also emerged as a political force during this time. By the 1850s, many of the canal workers who had arrived in the 1830s were moving on, and although some remained, the size of the Irish population decreased rapidly. Those who remained faced many problems, not least, the growing animosity made popular by the increasing emergence of nativist dispositions. Writing in the *Fort Wayne Times* in 1855, the editor John Dawson, speaking of the poor Irish in Fort

¹¹ *The Perrysburg Journal*, 19 Aug. 1854.

¹² *Daily Evening Star*, 16 Aug. 1854.

¹³ *The Jeffersonian*, 31 Aug. 1854.

Wayne, commented, ‘This is the class of men, who in warm weather live by little exertion &c and are driven to the polls like cattle to a market, disenfranchise Americans virtually by their vote, [and] pay no taxes. This is one of the beauties of Catholicism.’¹⁴ In this sense, the Irish, not only as foreigners, but also, perhaps more importantly as Catholics, fell victim to much of the nativist criticism. Yet, the Catholic church was quick to defend its position arguing as Kenny notes, ‘that they [Irish Catholics] made ideal Americans because they had fled Ireland in search of religious and political toleration’ in the same way as the Puritans had, and subsequently, ‘they [the Irish] could fit themselves neatly into a quintessentially American story’.¹⁵ However, this was not always the case and this tact had more success for German-Americans than for Irish-Americans, since the stereotypical perception of German-Americans was more palatable to nativists than the more disagreeable Irish persona.

As the 1850s progressed, the Know-Nothing party gradually began to decline, primarily due to a split in the party over slavery. Although it did enjoy electoral success in some Midwestern states, when the debate on the slavery question began to dominate the political arena, the Know-Nothing party were indecisive. As Steinhardt writes, ‘issues such as anti-Catholicism and anti-foreignism paled in importance compared to the apparent disintegration of the United States’.¹⁶ This, combined with the continual emergence of politically active immigrants and the growing opposition to the Know-Nothing movement itself, meant that the party gradually found itself imploding. Simultaneously, in many locations throughout the Midwest, particularly in Ohio where Know-Nothingism was strong, members of the German community formed their own secret society which became known as *Sag Nicht* [say nothing]. This collective movement was, as Bennett notes, ‘intended to use the

¹⁴ *Fort Wayne Times*, 11 Jan. 1855.

¹⁵ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 114.

¹⁶ Jenifer C. Steinhardt, ‘Formation of a new identity: German-American response to the Know-Nothing movement in Cincinnati’ (M.A. thesis, Simmons College, Boston, MA, 2001), p. 87.

Know-Nothing [own] tactics against them',¹⁷ and although not a particularly influential association, it did nonetheless stifle the existence of the Know-Nothing movement in the Midwest.

7.3 A politically active émigré emerges

The *Sag Nicht* movement was perhaps one of the earliest examples of German involvement in American political affairs. However, as the century progressed, immigrant involvement in partisan politics became one of the cornerstones around which each immigrant community operated. Both German and Irish immigrants were politically active and both made use of political educations gained in the homeland. The Irish community, and to an extent their German counterparts as well, identified the realms of religion and politics as one and the same. Yet, as Burton claims, 'not all the Irish were Democrats ... and certainly not all Germans were Republicans ... ethnic voters ... seldom voted as ethnics ... Religion was more important than ethnicity in shaping voter behaviour'.¹⁸ However, although both German Catholics and German Lutherans were influenced by the political predilections of their churches, the political exiles of 1848 were not.

Jensen notes that, 'religion shaped the issues and the rhetoric of politics and played the critical role in determining the party alignments of voters'.¹⁹ This is perhaps best illustrated by the devotion of Irish immigrants to the Democratic Party, an affiliation supported, if not advocated by their religious leaders. Churches provided already organised groups, as well as dominant leaders who could influence their congregations. Traditionally, theological beliefs, whether pietistic or liturgical essentially determined which side of the

¹⁷ David H. Bennett, *The party of fear: from nativist movements to the new right in American history* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988), p. 143.

¹⁸ Burton, *Melting pot*, pp 16-7.

¹⁹ Richard J. Jensen, *The winning of the Midwest: social and political conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago, IL, 1971), p. 58.

political spectrum an immigrant gravitated towards. Jensen and Bergquist, among others, examine this gravitation suggesting that liturgical faiths such as Catholicism and German Lutheranism subscribed to the political ideologies of the Democratic Party, while the Republican Party attracted pietistic churches such as the German Methodists, as well as the politically engaged Forty-Eighters.²⁰

7.4 *The German vote*

Burton maintains that ‘the two major parties ... courted the immigrant, seeking to recruit him both as voter and party activist’.²¹ Customarily, German immigrants were Democratic voters. However, after the arrival of the Forty-Eighters, there was a split in German political allegiances. Many of these more liberally orientated immigrants began to empathise with the ideals of the Republican Party, while the old guard remained loyal to the Democratic Party. Kamphoefner argues that many of the Forty-Eighters joined the Republican Party because they ‘view[ed] the crusade against slavery as a continuation of their revolutionary struggles in Germany.’²² However, many of the earlier immigrants could not identify with this ‘crusade’ and this resulted in the first of many political divisions within the community. These divisions heralded the emergence of the Grays and Greens, a term used within the German community to determine the old Germans from the new. The Grays were the older immigrants who subscribed to the Democratic Party, while the newly arrived liberals were termed Greens. As Bergquist notes, ‘Older German communities, especially those with more Catholics and Lutherans, showed their traditional fear of nativism and remained more closely tied to the Democratic Party’.²³ Yet, nativism was not the only

²⁰ Ibid., p. 434; James M. Bergquist, *Daily life in immigrant America, 1820-70* (Westport, CT, 2008), p. 229.

²¹ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 16.

²² Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War: the letters they wrote home* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), p. 2.

²³ Bergquist, *Daily life*, p. 229.

motivation for aligning oneself with the Democratic Party. Many working class German immigrants, particularly Catholic immigrants, who arrived post-1850 also subscribed to the Democratic Party, primarily because of its pro-immigrant orientation.

Yet despite this, as the century progressed, the party-political antagonisms within the German immigrant community as a whole became more apparent. Writing of the German community in South Bend, Indiana, Robinson argues that although many German immigrants prior to 1850 pledged their allegiance to the Democratic Party, prominent German immigrants, such as Carl Schurz for example, were influential in changing this trend among the German émigrés.²⁴ Many Germans were impressed by Lincoln's efforts to learn German and slowly, the Republican Party gained popularity among the wider German community. In St Louis, membership of the Republican Party increased to such an extent that it was one of Lincoln's two strongholds in the state in 1860. Membership of the party increased, partially due to the way in which the Republican Party developed in the city immediately prior to the Civil War. In St Louis, the Republican Party was viewed not as a direct successor to the Whig Party, but as what was effectively viewed as a faction of the Democratic Party in the aftermath of that party's regional split in 1860. Accordingly, this perception eased partisan transitions and resulted in a large number of St Louis' German community joining the Republican Party. As Kamphoefner notes, 'even though Germans across the North were less likely to vote Republican than were Anglo-Americans ... they were still probably the social group that made the largest net shift away from the Democratic Party during the decade of the 1850s'.²⁵

Thus, whereas the Irish community subscribed almost exclusively to the ideals of the Democratic Party, in the eastern and Midwestern states there was a defined political division in the partisan allegiance of German émigrés. Germans in states like Wisconsin, Iowa and

²⁴ Gabrielle Robinson, *German settlers of South Bend* (Chicago, IL, 2003), p. 72.

²⁵ Kamphoefner and Helbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War*, pp 4-5.

Indiana as well as in cities like New York, Hoboken and Philadelphia retained large Democratic membership. Significantly, due to the location of these states Germans there could perhaps not as readily identify with the slavery question as well as Germans in Missouri who were predominately Republican and felt strongly on the issue given their close proximity to the realities of slavery. Other Republican strongholds within the German community were the states of Illinois and Minnesota as well as German hubs like Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. However, in these instances, membership was not defined by the importance of the slavery question alone. Given the political background experienced by many Germans in the homeland, and considering that many immigrants of the antebellum era were politically motivated, the abolitionist ideals of the Republican Party swayed many of the more educated German migrants. Yet, despite the fact that Germans were attracted to the Republican Party prior to and including the Civil War era, the Democratic Party did nonetheless reclaim some of its decreasing German vote as the century progressed. This was primarily due to the fact that Germans opposed prohibition and were doubtful of many Republican economic strategies which they felt impacted negatively on small businesses.

Unlike the Irish immigrant community in the second half of the nineteenth century, the political unity of the German immigrant group dissipated and the ethnic vote was divided. Burton attributes this to the fact that, ‘their ethnic unity broke down as their political power and political maturity grew.’²⁶ In many instances however, this depended on the location of immigrant communities. Contrastingly, while the Irish political vote also grew and matured, the overwhelming majority adhered to the Democratic Party, as promoted by the Catholic Church, and so ethnic unity did not falter as in the German case, but rather strengthened as a result.

²⁶ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 18.

7.5 *The Irish vote*

Examining Irish immigrant involvement in politics, Dolan has asked, ‘Why were the Irish more so than other immigrant groups, so attracted to politics?’ Answering the question he suggests that ‘a major reason was their experience in Ireland’.²⁷ Undoubtedly, the political education received by Irish immigrants in the homeland, was integral to their political success in the United States. Through their involvement in the Catholic emancipation movement of the 1820s and 1830s and latterly during the Land Wars of the 1870s and 1880s, Irish immigrants were frequently both politicised and radicalised before their arrival in the United States. Accordingly, they brought with them a range of organisational and logistical skills which enabled them to advance within the American political system, particularly at ward and local level, relatively quickly and effectively. These traits were also particularly suited to the manipulation of the political machine, which as Dolan notes, ‘operated outside of, but often controlled, the legally established government.’²⁸ One of the most successful political machines was the Irish dominated Tammany Hall in New York. In return for political loyalty to the Democratic Party, the machine often provided employment, accommodation and food to those who were willing to support the party. Significantly, the composition of the machine was strikingly similar to the organisational structure of the Catholic Church. Beginning at block level, it organised partisan politics at precinct, ward and ultimately city and state level. However, New York was not the only city where the Irish immigrant community dominated local politics. In other cities throughout the Midwest and West, specifically, Chicago and San Francisco and to a lesser extent, St Louis, political machines were the means by which the Irish immigrant community rose to prominence. The Democrats realised that the Irish vote was a bloc vote and ‘the leaders’ as Burton writes, ‘had to retain [it] with patronage and

²⁷ Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: a history* (New York, 2008), p. 136.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

spoils'.²⁹ Stein records that in St Louis, this practice was referred to as 'boddle', an arrangement whereby votes were pledged in exchange for communal services or jobs or whatever suitable reparation was agreed on. This system was not unique to St Louis however, and was already visible in many Irish neighbourhoods on the east coast, the sixth ward in New York City being just one example.³⁰ However, as Stein continues, 'these networks of personal obligation frequently spawned corruption'. Despite this, they were nonetheless beneficial as they 'enriched party treasuries and the purses of various party functionaries'.³¹ Hence, Irish political tactics contrasted significantly with those of their German counterparts. Although many German liberals had been radicalised before emigration, the average working class immigrant was not as politically astute as their Irish counterparts. As Kamphoefner notes, 'the economic burdens of the German lower class were related to their political impotence and their lack of a voice in village self-administration'.³² Therefore, while the Irish arrived with an understanding of the effectiveness of mass politics, the German immigrant group did not fully appreciate its value. Furthermore, as Burton notes, '[the Germans] had few political interests that untied them'.³³

By contrast, the Irish vote was the most unified ethnic vote in America during the nineteenth century. The two primary reasons for this were economic and religious. The overwhelming majority of the Irish community were more closely aligned to the Democratic Party, most likely at the suggestion of their religious leaders. Although there was certainly an economic motivation for this Democratic alignment, there was also an equally more shrewd religious motivation. The Irish, as well as a certain proportion of German immigrants, constituted the bulk of unskilled workers. Accordingly, the abolition of slavery would surely

²⁹ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 20.

³⁰ Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: the nineteenth century New York city neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001), pp 145-75.

³¹ Lana Stein, *St Louis politics: the triumph of tradition* (St Louis, MO, 2002), p. 5.

³² Kamphoefner and Helbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War*, p. 2.

³³ Burton, *Melting Pot*, p. 76.

over saturate the labour market. By pledging their allegiance to the Democratic Party, they were, in a sense protecting their economic status. Furthermore, although the Catholic Church, which provided a significant, if not the most important, point of reference for Catholic immigrants, criticised the slave trade, it did nonetheless acknowledge the merits of slavery. Since, as Kenny writes, ‘this point of view fit perfectly with the ideology of the Democratic Party’,³⁴ there was a logical association between the Catholic Church and the Democrats. However, it was not the Democratic attitude to slavery that cemented Irish and German immigrant support; more significantly, it was their anti-nativist stance that ensured immigrant patronage. As Logan concludes, ‘[The Democratic Party] platform was consistent with Irish national sympathies for open immigration, lower trade barriers, and more liberal social welfare benefits’.³⁵

7.6 Local politics – patronage and spoils

In a letter to General George Smith in St Louis in January 1856, J.S. Rollins commented that, ‘it might be quite hard to get the Irish and Germans to vote for a Know-Nothing – my suspicion is that if an American be elected, he ought to withdraw’.³⁶ Given the fact that Smith, a Know-Nothing supporter and member of the Whig party was standing as a congressional candidate in 1856, just two years after the riots in St Louis, Rollins’ observation seems particularly astute. There is little doubt it would have been difficult to convince German and Irish voters to endorse Smith’s platform, primarily because it was at local level where both the German and Irish vote was most influential.

³⁴ Kenny, *American Irish*, p. 119.

³⁵ Thomas Logan, ‘The Irish in Fort Wayne’ in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, IN, 2005), i, pp 723-30; p. 729.

³⁶ J. S. Rollins to General George R. Smith, 30 Jan. 1856 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, George R. Smith papers (1844-1879), A1526/1/5/1).

Immigrant involvement in the local political sphere was a significant component in the acculturation process. It provided communal security for the members of both groups, while perhaps paradoxically it also led to a heightened sense of ethnic awareness. Writing of the Irish community resident at Five Points in New York, Anbinder notes how involvement with volunteer fire companies or the police department was a significant first step for many who had political aspirations and in St Louis and Fort Wayne, this system of political jobbery was also evident.³⁷ Dolan further contextualises the process by noting that, ‘from their neighbourhood base, they [immigrant politicians] acquired access to political power’ and gradually, ‘they took control of city and state governments’.³⁸

Importantly however, this process depended upon immigrant access to the vote, which was determined by state constitutions. Within months of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, legislators in the state began the process of creating a constitution for Missouri. Accordingly, in June 1820, taking only thirty-eight days to draft, the State Constitution of Missouri gave the right to ‘every free white male citizen of the United States, who shall have attained to the age of twenty-one years, and who shall have resided in this state one year before an election’ the right to vote.³⁹ Thus, naturalisation became the only obstacle prohibiting immigrants from exercising their democratic right. In Indiana, naturalised immigrants could also vote without restriction and in 1851 the state also conferred specific voting rights on non-citizen immigrants. During the Democratically controlled state convention of 1850-1, the *Indiana State Constitution of 1851* was adopted. This ensured that voting requirements for aliens were eased and stated, in Article Two Sections Two and Five that non-naturalised immigrants could vote once they fulfilled certain criteria. The constitution declared that,

³⁷ Anbinder, *Five Points*, pp 146-7.

³⁸ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, p. 136.

³⁹ Article 2, Section 10, *Missouri Constitution of 1820*.

every white male, of foreign birth, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in the United States one year, and shall have resided in the State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and shall have declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization; shall be entitled to vote, in the township or precinct where he may reside.⁴⁰

For many immigrants, obtaining and exercising the right to vote in this manner was a significant accomplishment, which not only emphasised the democratic ideals of their new homeland, but also personified the evolution of the American political landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century.

7.7 Zepp and Noonan – two cogs in the political machine

Having obtained the right to vote in a given jurisdiction, it was not long before immigrant involvement in political affairs became noticeable. Writing about the political situation in St Louis, Stein comments that, ‘city governance moved from a system of elite dominated committees to ward-based political entities led by members of a political immigrant group ... most often, the Irish and the Germans’.⁴¹ From 1850-1900 both Irish and German immigrants in St Louis held pivotal public positions such as aldermen, street inspectors and ward delegates. City directories for St Louis record that names like Holmes, McKenna and O’Brien represented the traditionally Irish wards in the city from 1850-1870. Similarly, areas of German settlement were also represented by members of that ethnic group, Blennerhasset, Cratz and Kriekhaus being just some examples.⁴² This trend continued until the turn of the century when John Schnettler was elected as a ward delegate for ward eight and his counterpart, John P. Sweeney was elected as the representative for ward three.⁴³

⁴⁰ Article 2, Sections 2 and 5, *State Constitution of Indiana, 1851*.

⁴¹ Stein, *St Louis politics*, p. 5.

⁴² List of city representatives in the following publications, Green & Co., *Green’s St Louis directory, 1850* (St Louis, MO, 1850), p. xx; Kennedy & Co., *Kennedy’s City Directory of St Louis, 1860* (St Louis, MO, 1860), p. 2; Edwards & Co., *Edwards’ City Directory of St Louis, 1870* (St Louis, 1870), pp 45-6.

⁴³ City officers for St Louis, 1900 in Gauld & Co., *Gauld’s St Louis Directory for 1900* (St Louis, MO, 1900), p. 2439.

While city governance and local representation might have been goals for some immigrants, others, like Louis Zepp for example, played supplementary roles in the political process. Commenting on political practices in St Louis, Stein notes that, ‘a frontier atmosphere still pervaded municipal governance, and political life was centred, more often than not, in saloons.’⁴⁴ Zepp was the proprietor of one such saloon located at 3407 Carondelet Ave in the south of the city.⁴⁵ The saloon had, as Kargau recalled, ‘a large room for ward meetings on the second storey’.⁴⁶ Born in Bavaria, Zepp was an ardent supporter of the Republican Party and like many other neighbourhoods, his saloon was a central establishment where deals were done and votes secured. As Dolan comments, ‘the saloon was more than a watering hole. It often became the base for the political machine, a gathering place where jobs were brokered and voters mobilized’.⁴⁷ By 1900 however, the Zepp family, now headed by Mary Zepp, had moved to South Twelfth St presumably since the death of Louis Sr in 1885 from pneumonia.⁴⁸ Interestingly, Louis’ two sons Louis Jr and Martin both became city clerks; Louis Jr at the City Circuit Court office and Martin at the City Treasurer’s Office, yet another confirmation of the efficiency of the political machine.⁴⁹

However, while the representation of immigrant groups at local government level was clearly defined in St Louis, there was a contrasting situation in Fort Wayne. Although neither group dominated local political affairs in the larger city, in Fort Wayne the political influence of the German community was undeniable. This was attributable to two factors. Firstly, the larger size of the German immigrant group in the city, particularly when compared to their

⁴⁴ Stein, *St Louis politics*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ 1880 US Federal Census record for Louis Zepp and family, 1880 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, Ward 11, ED 205, p. 12 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (14 June 2012).

⁴⁶ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don H. Tolzman (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 141.

⁴⁷ Dolan, *Irish Americans*, p. 137.

⁴⁸ Death Record for Louis Zepp, 4 Apr. 1885, Missouri Death Records, 1834-1910 [database online] available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (14 June 2012).

⁴⁹ 1900 US Federal Census record for Mary Zepp and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, Ward 7, ED 110, p. 13 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (14 June 2012); 1900 US Federal Census record for Louis Zepp (Jr) and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, Ward 6, ED 95, p. 8 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (14 June 2012).

Irish counterparts, would seem to suggest that their political dominance was a natural consequence, even allowing for the disjointed political unity characteristic of the German immigrant group. Secondly however, perhaps it was more likely due to the smaller size of the Irish immigrant group in the city. Given the sparse Irish population in Fort Wayne, it is likely that assimilation occurred more rapidly than it did for their German equivalents. This might suggest that the political needs of the Irish community could be addressed by candidates outside of their ethnic group. German political dominance in the city was particularly obvious during the decade of the 1880s. Throughout the decade German-Americans held twelve of the eighteen seats on the city council, as well as prominent positions such as fire chiefs, police commissioners, judges and the city treasurer.⁵⁰ Similar to Anbinder's argument that members of local fire companies in New York could easily progress to positions of public importance, the same appears to be true of the German community in Fort Wayne. Frank B. Vogel, a merchant tailor in Fort Wayne was recorded as being the president of the Fort Wayne *Turnverein* in 1870. By 1880, Vogel, still a merchant tailor by trade, also held the position of Chief Engineer in the Fort Wayne fire department, a post arguably gained at least in part, through his involvement with the *Turnverein* which ensured his visibility to the wider German community.⁵¹

By 1900, local governance in Fort Wayne was dominated by German surnames. Significantly, twenty of the thirty names listed as holding public office in the city were of Germanic origin, while only three names denoted Irish extraction.⁵² Members of the German community regularly held positions like city comptroller, city auditor and weighmaster. In stark contrast to St Louis, the German community in Fort Wayne successively elected three German mayors between 1870 and 1900. Significantly, these three mayors, Charles

⁵⁰ Jim Sack, 'The Germans in Fort Wayne' in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, IN, 2005), i, pp 676-99; p. 688.

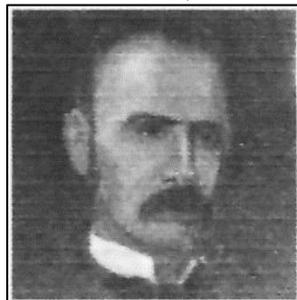
⁵¹ R. L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County directory, 1870*, (Fort Wayne, IN, 1870), p. 39; R.L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County directory, 1880* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1880), p. 24.

⁵² R. L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County directory, 1900* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1900), p. 31.

Zollinger, Charles F. Muhler and Henry P. Scherer held this public office for twenty-one of the thirty years in question. Despite this German dominance however, the Irish community were also represented at local level. In 1870, John McCarthy was elected as the Allen County Sherriff, while other members of the community like Michael Connors and John O’Ryan held important positions in the fire department and on the city council respectively.⁵³ However, unlike the Irish in St Louis, the Irish community of Fort Wayne were unable to elect a mayor of Irish descent.

Despite the nativist sentiment that prevailed in St Louis during the 1840s, the election of George Maguire as mayor in 1842, followed by the election of three further mayors of Irish extraction by the end of the century, illustrated the dominance of the Irish community on political affairs in the city. Maguire was followed by John Mullanphy’s son, Bryan, in 1847 and in 1849, James G. Barry, born in Ireland in 1800, was also elected on a Democratic ticket. The fourth and final mayor of Irish descent elected in St Louis in the nineteenth century was Edward A. Noonan, the son of Irish immigrants born in Reading, Pennsylvania in 1852 (see Fig. 7.2). In 1870 he graduated from law school and moved to St Louis where he married Margaret Brennan in 1876. During Noonan’s reign as mayor, he oversaw the construction of the new City Hall, implemented the first Smoke Ordinance and instigated the transition of street lighting from gas to electric generation.⁵⁴

Fig. 7.2 Edward A. Noonan (Democrat), 31st Mayor of St Louis, (1889-93) ⁵⁵



⁵³ Ibid., pp 31-2.

⁵⁴ Edward A. Noonan, St Louis Mayors, available at: St Louis Public Library, (<http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/>) (13 June 2012).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

By contrast, the German community, despite their numerical dominance, only secured the election of two candidates, Henry Overstolz, an independent, in 1876 and Henry Ziegenheim, a second generation German who was elected in 1897 on a Republican ticket (see Fig. 7.3).

Fig. 7.3 Henry Overstolz (Independent), 28th Mayor of St Louis, (1876-81) ⁵⁶



The fact that the mayors of Irish descent were elected during the 1840s in such a hostile environment, stands in stark contrast to the political fortunes of other Irish communities throughout the United States. Within the context of other Irish immigrant communities, the first Irish-born mayor of San Francisco, Frank McCoppin was not elected until 1867. Even in the Midwest itself, the electoral success of the Irish in St Louis is notable. In Chicago, John P. Hopkins, the first of nine Irish-American mayors in the city, was not elected until 1893. Similarly on the east coast, it was 1880 before William R. Grace was elected as the first Irish-born mayor of New York.⁵⁷ This demonstrates that it was easier for immigrants in frontier cities like St Louis to enter the political system earlier than their counterparts on the east coast. It also illustrates the effectiveness of a unified ethnic vote and contrasts significantly to the political success of their German counterparts, who did not

⁵⁶ Henry Overstolz, St Louis Mayors exhibition, available at: St Louis Public Library (<http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/default.asp>) (19 May 2013).

⁵⁷ John Garvey and Karen Hanning, *Irish San Francisco* (San Francisco, CA, 2008), p. 16; Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'Alroy Jones, *Ethnic Chicago: a multicultural portrait* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), p. 67; James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason F. King (eds), *Ireland and the Americas: culture, politics and history* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2008), p. 377.

achieve such a victory until 1876. Comparatively however, the election of Overstolz in 1876 was also relatively early when considering the mayoral electoral successes of the German community as a whole. In Milwaukee, despite its large German population, it was not until 1884 that Emil Wallber was elected on the Republican ticket, perhaps illustrating the fragmented political composition of the German immigrant group there. In the south, Godfrey Weitzel, a major general for the Union army was chosen as acting mayor of New Orleans in 1862 after the federal occupation of the city during the Civil War. However, this appointment was one of necessity rather than popular consensus. Comparatively, in New York, no German-born mayor was elected, although William F. Havemeyer, the son of German immigrants did secure the post in 1845.⁵⁸

The fact that Irish immigrants were visible on the American political spectrum at a time when nativism was the prevailing ideology was a testament to the political unity of the Irish immigrant community. Yet, although the political representation of both groups increased as the century progressed, the political dominance of the Irish and German immigrant groups was limited during the antebellum era. Despite this, after the Civil War many of the older immigrant communities became more politically engaged. Added to this was the continuing inward flow of immigrants which bolstered the political strength of the ethnic vote. However, despite this influx, the secret to political triumph ultimately lay in ethnic unity, which perhaps explains both the political success of the Irish community and the corresponding political asphyxiation of their German counterparts.

⁵⁸ William J. Reese, *Power and the promise of school reform: grassroots movements during the progressive era* (New York, NY, 2002), p. 84; Christopher G. Peña, *General Butler, beast or patriot: New Orleans occupation May-December, 1862* (Bloomington, IN, 2003), p. 154; Alan J. Singer, *New York and slavery: time to teach the truth* (Albany, NY, 2008), p. 93.

7.8 Immigrant statesmen

Writing of the Irish in Wisconsin, Burton claims that, ‘unlike the Germans, the Irish exercised an influence disproportionate to their numbers’.⁵⁹ This was perhaps most likely attributable to their perceptive understanding of the political process and their successful manipulation of the political machine, which led not only to their competitive presence at local level, but also contributed to their electoral success at state and congressional levels as well. The unified ethnic vote that characterised Irish immigrant politics benefitted both the Democratic Party and the Irish immigrant community alike.

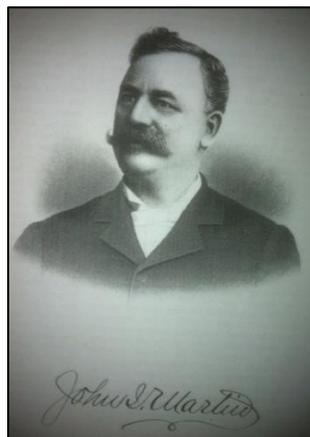
One such example was the St Louis-born Democrat, John J. Martin. J.J. Martin was the son of William and Frances Martin who emigrated from the north of Ireland in the years preceding the famine. Their son, John, was born on 24 May 1848 and was educated in public schools until his fourteenth birthday. Thereafter, he worked with his father by driving a team in the drayage business. During this time he also attended a commercial college in St Louis and later became a shipping clerk. In time, Martin became an independent merchant and gradually gained notoriety in political circles. Martin, a natural orator, was elected to the Missouri House of Representatives three times and in 1874 was unanimously elected speaker (see Fig. 7.4). Martin, having impressed his colleagues so much, at the end of his term as speaker was presented with ‘a handsome gold watch, chain and gavel’.⁶⁰ Within two years of being elected as speaker, Martin decided to read law under the guidance of Colonel Robert S. McDonald. In 1876, J.J. Martin was admitted to the bar of the Circuit Court in St Louis. In the same year, he was also instrumental in the ultimately unsuccessful presidential campaign of the Democrat candidate, Samuel J. Tilden. Three years later he was elected to the Supreme Court where he continued to practice law. In 1888, Martin was appointed the grand marshal

⁵⁹ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 20.

⁶⁰ William Hyde and Howard Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis: a compendium of history and biography for ready reference* (St Louis, MO, 1899), p. 1367.

at the Democratic National Convention in St Louis. He led 50,000 men who were present at the convention through the streets of St Louis for the Grand Civic and Military Parade. The event was no doubt prestigious and in a letter to his aide on 31 May 1888 Martin requested him to ‘report in dark clothes, light coloured high hat and blue and white sash with red rosette’.⁶¹ The parade took place on Tuesday evening, 5 June 1888, and was reported in the *St Louis Globe Democrat* the following day as ‘a splendid spectacle’.⁶² His civic involvement continued throughout the 1890s and in 1899, Martin was selected as one of the delegates to represent Missouri at the World Fair Convention held in St Louis. J.J. Martin married Clara LaBarge, the daughter of a wealthy steamboat owner. They had two children and lived in the exclusive West End of St Louis. The way in which immigrant politicians were able to achieve social mobility and economic security through their involvement in politics, is evidence of the success of the political machine and perhaps also to the political parties and religious institutions that promoted ethnic political solidarity. When Martin began working in his father’s drayage business, few would have expected that he would later assume the role of speaker in the Missouri House of Representatives and become a distinguished member, not only of the Irish-American community in St Louis, but also a tireless ambassador for the city.

Fig. 7.4 John J. Martin, speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives, 1874 ⁶³



⁶¹ Letter to unknown recipient, 31 May 1888 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, John J. Martin papers, A2335/1/1).

⁶² *St Louis Globe Democrat*, 6 June 1888.

⁶³ Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 1366.

While the electoral success of Martin was most probably attributable to the effectiveness of the political machine in St Louis, and perhaps also to sympathetic German Catholic voters who remained loyal to the Democratic party, there is little doubt that the election of Thomas ‘Snake’ Kinney to the Missouri House of Representatives in 1904 was as a result of stringent voter intimidation. Like Martin, Kinney was also the son of Irish immigrants, and perhaps more importantly, was a prominent member of the criminal gang ‘Egan’s Rats’ (see Fig. 7.5). Kinney, a former saloon keeper, began his political career in 1890 when he was elected to the St Louis City Democratic Committee, although it was reported that dubious methods of voter persuasion had been used in his election. Kinney’s political career continued to prosper and in 1904 he decided to run for a seat in the state House of Representatives. Despite retaining his close ties to Egan’s Rats, Kinney enjoyed relative success as a legislator. In 1904, he introduced a bill endorsing compulsory school attendance for all children in either public, private or parochial schools, while also advocated reducing the number of hours worked by women.⁶⁴

Fig. 7.5 Thomas ‘Snake’ Kinney, Missouri State Senator, elected 1904⁶⁵

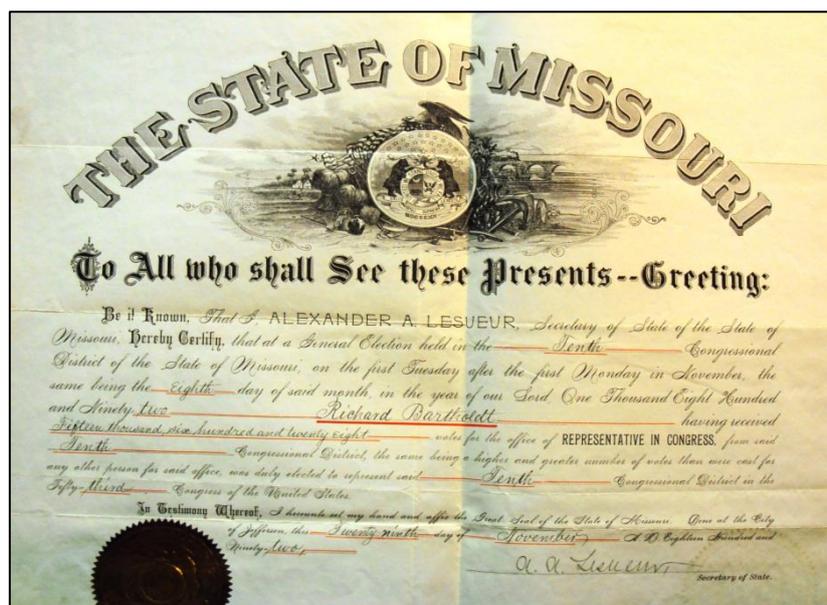


⁶⁴ Missouri General Assembly, *House of Representatives, Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri at the 1st session of the 40th general assembly* (Jefferson City, MO, 1905), p. 111.

⁶⁵ Daniel Waugh, *Egan’s Rats: the untold story of the prohibition-era gang that ruled St Louis* (Nashville, TN, 2007), p. 25.

Although most political careers remained local, a select number of immigrants persevered and were elected not only as state representatives but also as congressional members. Richard Bartholdt, a journalist, lawyer and Republican congressman was one such immigrant who represented voters at the highest level. Born in Schleiz near Erfurt in Germany in 1853, Bartholdt immigrated to the United States in 1870. After settling in New York where he was apprenticed as a printer, Bartholdt later decided to migrate west to St Louis. After arriving in the city he began working with German language newspapers in St Louis, specifically, *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Tribune*, which was published every evening. Bartholdt's political career began in 1890 when he stood as a candidate for the city school board. After securing election to the board he was proposed as a congressional candidate for the Republican Party for the Tenth Missouri District in 1892. Bartholdt was subsequently elected to Congress, receiving 15,628 votes (see Fig. 7.6).⁶⁶ He was re-elected in 1894, 1896 and 1898 where, as Hyde and Conard commented, '[he took] rank among the able and influential members of the American Congress'.⁶⁷

Fig. 7.6 Richard Bartholdt, Certificate of membership to the US Congress, 1892⁶⁸



⁶⁶ Richard Bartholdt's certificate confirming membership of Congress, 7 Nov. 1892 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, Richard Bartholdt papers (1855-1937), A0087/1/2/1).

⁶⁷ Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the history of St Louis*, p. 114.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Despite the fact that members of both the German and Irish immigrant communities in St Louis were able to achieve elevated electoral positions, the political successes of immigrants in St Louis contrasts starkly with their counterparts in Fort Wayne. In the smaller city, immigrants rarely advanced to higher electoral offices such as state or congressional representatives. This was primarily because the city formed only part of the twelfth congressional district of Indiana and the population of the Fort Wayne alone was not sufficient to secure political success at higher levels.⁶⁹ The city did, however, boast a number of politicians elected to high offices, including Hugh McCulloch, who served two terms as US Treasury Secretary. However, no immigrant of German or Irish extraction paralleled the political achievements of J.J. Martin or Richard Bartholdt. Perhaps the explanation for this is also attributable to assimilation and the size of both immigrant groups relative to the size of the city. Most probably, neither immigrant group possessed the political strength to source and ultimately elect a politician who could challenge at such a competitive level. Even with the support of the entire northern half of the state, the population density in the southern part of Indiana would have compromised most electoral ambitions.

7.9 Civil War

No analysis or comparison of immigrant involvement in political affairs during the nineteenth century can overlook the significance of the Civil War, which divided German and Irish immigrants just as it divided their native-born contemporaries. One important influence in mobilising immigrant support for the Union cause in the war was the influence of the Forty-Eighter revolutionaries who had arrived from Europe following failed revolts in Ireland and Germany at the end of the 1840s. Radicals like Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel or Thomas Francis Meagher from Ireland were instrumental in promoting the Union cause within both immigrant communities. However, as was the case with the population as a whole, settlement

⁶⁹ Alfred T. Andreas, *Congressional districts, judicial districts of Indiana* (Chicago, IL, 1876), p. 10.

was also an integral component in deciding immigrant affiliations, including whether they joined the Union or Confederate armies. By and large, Indiana, a predominantly Democratic state, and which because of its location was removed from the reality of the slavery question, subsequently provided many regiments which fought for the Union. Contrastingly however, Missouri was a slave state and aside from the city of St Louis, the state was largely in favour of the Confederacy. However, in St Louis, in contrast to the rest of the state of Missouri, a majority of German immigrants joined the ranks of the Union army because of their strong identification with the ideals of the Republican Party. As a result, German immigrants dominated the volunteer regiments in St Louis, thereby reaffirming both their own liberal ideals and their loyalty to the Union. The *Turner* movement (see section 5.5) was particularly influential in organising its members, many of whom were of military age and had military experience from the homeland which they brought with them. Another attractive attribute of German soldiers, unlike their Irish counterparts, was that many German immigrants had skills in using artillery and as well as engineering and other useful aptitudes such as cartographic abilities which became instrumental in times of war. There were also the financial benefits of joining the army as well as guaranteed citizenship after being discharged from service. In a letter to his wife from Camp Blair in Iron County, Missouri on 29 September 1862, Henry Kuck told his wife, Metta, that, ‘I have sent 45 dollars from PILOT KNOB, I entrusted it to the Adams Express Co. to send off ... 25 dollars of it were meant for you and 20 dollars for Wilhelm Schwarz’ wife HELENE.’⁷⁰ Thus, for many immigrants, fighting in the Civil War had an economic significance as well as the implementation of liberal ideals. Significantly, however although more Irish fought on the Union side than in the Confederate Army, their motivations for doing so were different than those of their German counterparts. For many Irish immigrants, enlisting in a Civil War regiment had more to do with gaining military

⁷⁰ Letter from Henry Kuck to his wife Metta, 29 Sept. 1862 (State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, Henry Kuck Letters (1861-1865), S0242/1/1/1).

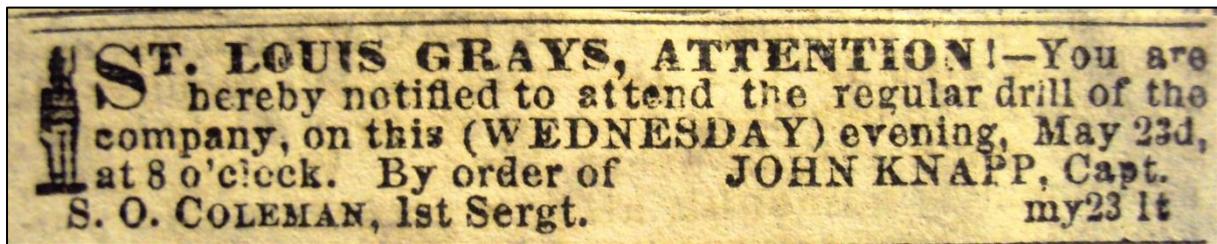
experience for Ireland's political cause, rather than a genuine support for the ideology of either competing side in the war.

Although the German and Irish communities of Fort Wayne and St Louis generally supported the Union, Irish immigrants joined the army less readily than their German counterparts. Perhaps this Irish indifference is again attributable to the pivotal role the church played in the lives of Irish immigrants. As Faherty notes, 'Archbishop Kenrick took a consistent policy of non-interference in political affairs. Unlike Archbishop John Hughes of New York and Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina, [Kenrick] ... made no public statement on the justice of either side',⁷¹ and perhaps many Irish immigrants were awaiting direction from their religious leaders. Another reason for the slower Irish involvement in the Civil War compared with their German counterparts was that if slavery was abolished the Irish and the newly freed slaves would be competing for the same employment opportunities and in St Louis, this had far more striking consequences than in Fort Wayne, Chicago or even New York.

Perhaps this was one of the reasons why a certain portion of the St Louis Irish decided to fight for the Confederacy. More likely however, their allegiance to the Confederacy was confirmed as a result of the Camp Jackson Affair which took place on 10 May 1861 when a predominately Irish Militia group, the St Louis Greys, were practising drills near the city arsenal (see Fig. 7.7 and section 7.10). Union forces, led by Captain Nathaniel Lyon suspected that the militia were trying to seize the arms for the Confederate army and a period of civil unrest followed. Significantly, however, these events convinced the St Louis Greys to join the Confederate side and they formed part of the First Missouri Volunteer Infantry (CSA).

⁷¹ William Barnaby Faherty, *The St Louis German Catholics* (St Louis, MO, 2004), p. 32.

Fig. 7.7 Newspaper notice informing members of the St Louis Greys Militia unit about drill practice c.1860⁷²



One such Irishman who joined the First Missouri Infantry (CSA) was Joseph Boyce, a volunteer member of the St Louis Greys since the age of seventeen. Boyce was captured during the Camp Jackson affair, although he later joined the Confederate army as a private. He was promoted to a full captain of D Company of the First Missouri Infantry (CSA). In 1864, in a letter to Captain Smith written at the headquarters of the First Missouri Infantry (CSA) in Mobile, Alabama, Boyce reported on the condition of the regiment noting that, ‘the regiment was consolidated with the 4th Mo. ... since the Battle of Corinth, the Regt. has been in the Battles of Grand Gulf, Bakers Creek & Vicksburg, it has lost heavily in officers and men & among the officers killed at Baker’s Creek was poor Carrington’.⁷³ After the war, Boyce became a tobacco manufacturer who later developed his business interests further by forming a realty company.⁷⁴ Forty years later, Boyce, a highly respected businessman and war veteran in St Louis was elected as a member of the city council during the World Fair. He was an active member in many Irish ethnic associations in St Louis including the Union Volunteer Fire Company, the Military Order of the Blues and Greys and the Knights of St Patrick.⁷⁵ By contrast, a proportionally smaller number of Germans fought for the Confederacy than for the Union. As Kamphoefner and Helbich note, ‘negligible as the 70,000

⁷² Extract from W. R. Babcock Scrapbook (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, W. R. Babcock Scrapbook, Journals and Diaries 1859-1860, A0072/f.7).

⁷³ Letter from Joseph Boyce to Capt. Smith, 18 Jan. 1864 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, Joseph Boyce Collection (1844-1913), A0161/1/2, f. 34).

⁷⁴ Civil War record for Joseph Boyce, available at American Civil War soldiers [database online], (www.ancestry.com/) (13 June 2012).

⁷⁵ Extract from *St Louis Globe Democrat*, undated, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, Joseph Boyce Collection (1844-1913), A0161/1/1).

Germans in the eleven confederate states were, nearly 20,000 of them resided in New Orleans, which was in Union hands from May 1862 onwards',⁷⁶ emphasising perhaps that the majority of Germans lived in and fought for the Union states.

Most of the Irish and German regiments were comprised of volunteers. The Thirtieth Indiana Infantry was established at Camp Allen in Fort Wayne, although many Irish fought in the Thirty-fifth Indiana, which was also known as the First Irish Regiment. Col. John C. Walker was the regiment's first colonel. The Thirty-second Indiana Infantry consisted mostly of German immigrants and was regarded as the ethnically German regiment. In September 1861, the *Indianapolis Journal* commented that, 'It [the thirty-second] was beyond question the finest regiment that has left our state, and we doubt if any state has sent out a body of volunteers their equal in all respects'.⁷⁷

In St Louis, the same was also true. Burnett and Luebbring claim that 'nine of the ten regiments of volunteers raised in St Louis were primarily German'.⁷⁸ Certainly, there was a significant number of Germans in the First through Fourth Missouri Volunteer Infantry regiments, with the Irish dominating only specific companies therein. As Kamphoenfer and Helbich note, 'Missouri Germans, the strongest Republican supporters, also had far and above the highest level of Union army participation. Though sixth in the size of its German population, Missouri was second only to New York in the number of German troops it furnished'.⁷⁹

Many of the Irish who did fight for the Union joined the First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and significantly, this was the only regiment of the first four Missouri Volunteer regiments not overwhelmingly dominated by Germans. In the First Missouri, the Irish could

⁷⁶ Kamphoenfer and Welbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War*, p. 2.

⁷⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, 30 Sept. 1861.

⁷⁸ Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbring, *German settlement in Missouri: new land old ways* (Columbia, MO, 1996), p. 69.

⁷⁹ Kamphoenfer and Helbich (eds), *Germans in the Civil War*, p. 8.

be found in companies K and I, under Capt. Patrick E. Burke and Capt. Miller and first Lieutenant David Murphy respectively.⁸⁰ The Seventh Missouri Infantry regiment became known as the 'Irish Seventh' given the large number of Irish that joined the regiment. Many Irish immigrants became officers in the Seventh with names like Curley, Coffee, Sullivan and O'Mara being recorded as such.⁸¹ This was the only regiment from St Louis that exhibited an Irish majority. Many of St Louis' Irish had joined volunteer militia such as the Washington Guards previously, and so when war was declared, many of these militia organised into formal companies such as the Emmet and Montgomery Guards and the aforementioned Washington Guards.

7.10 The Camp Jackson affair – 'a nest of traitors'⁸²

The Germans of St Louis played a very influential role in ensuring that St Louis fought for the Union. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Missouri remained divided. The Missouri State Governor, Claiborne Jackson, was pro-Southern. Yet, despite this, the state voted to remain part of the Union. When the war broke out, Jackson refused to send unionist troops to Lincoln's aid and was subsequently overthrown by members of the Missouri legislature.⁸³ Many anticipated the imminent outbreak of the war and so militia units and volunteer troops in St Louis began organising. Camp Jackson, named after Governor Jackson was subsequently established on the outskirts of the city and later played a significant role in St Louis' involvement in the conflict.

The Camp Jackson Affair was the most significant incident visited on St Louis by the Civil War. The St Louis arsenal was one of most strategic depositories in the Midwest and so

⁸⁰ William Barnaby Faherty, *The St Louis Irish: an unmatched Celtic community* (St Louis, MO, 2001), p. 73.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸² James W. Covington, 'The Camp Jackson Affair, 1861' in *Missouri Historical Review*, lv (1961), pp 197-212; p. 204.

⁸³ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, p. 35.

both sides wanted to acquire its bounty for their cause. Covington notes that there were ‘60,000 Springfield and Enfield rifles, 1,500,000 cartridges [and] 90,000 pounds of powder ... stored in the Federal arsenal at St Louis’.⁸⁴ In May 1861, militia troops in St Louis met at Camp Jackson to practise manoeuvres. Despite Kargau’s proud claims of German unionist fighters supplied by the *Turner* society, many of those inside Camp Jackson were members of St Louis’ *Turnverein* who had been at the camp pursuing drills in preparation of a possible conflict. Unionist Captain Nathaniel Lyon became suspicious that the pro-Confederate militia had set their sights on the arsenal to further the southern cause. Captain Lyon’s suspicions were confirmed during a disguised visit to the camp which was open to the public during the daytime. Subsequently, on 10 May Lyon led 6000 men into the arsenal and apprehended the 600 strong Missouri Volunteer Militia. What followed was the most significant episode of civil unrest seen in St Louis during the war. As the militia men were marched through the streets on the way from Camp Jackson to the arsenal, large crowds gathered and rioting commenced. Many innocent bystanders were wounded and some killed as the Union men fought back after having stones thrown at them by the crowd. After the initial unrest, peace was restored and thereafter, St Louis’ involvement in the war was primarily through its volunteers efforts on the battlefields both north and south. After the Camp Jackson affair, the city remained under martial law for the remainder of the Civil War and as Kargau noted, ‘neither before nor after those stirring days was it ever so lively within the walls that enclose the arsenal as during those times’(see Fig. 7.8).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Covington, ‘Camp Jackson’, p. 198.

⁸⁵ Kargau, *German element*, p. 140.

Fig. 7.8 ‘Terrible tragedy at St Louis’ *New York Illustrated News*, 25 May 1861⁸⁶



7.11 Volunteers and federal soldiers

However, despite the initial fervour with which German and Irish immigrants joined both armies, by 1863 there were growing worries about the possible shortage of men. Consequently, the Enrolment Act of 1863, which as Chambers claims, ‘implicitly redefine[ed] the traditional military obligations of citizenship in America’ was introduced.⁸⁷ Herein lies a significant observation between the political attitudes of both immigrant groups. There was a belief among Irish nationalists that ‘Fenians in America should continue to focus on Ireland and avoid anything that might diminish their ranks and weaken their potential military strength’.⁸⁸ The draft riots on the east coast were an example of this, but significantly, the German community, who did not necessarily retain the strong political affiliation to the homeland in the way the Irish did, and so did not resist the draft as fiercely. As Chambers writes, ‘many Irish immigrants opposed the draft and resisted conscription in a

⁸⁶ *New York Illustrated News*, 25 May 1861.

⁸⁷ John Whiteclay Chambers, *To raise an army: the draft comes to modern America* (New York, NY, 1987), p. 51.

⁸⁸ Susannah Ural Bruce, ‘“Remember your country and keep up its credit”: Irish volunteers and the union army, 1861-1865’ in *The Journal of Military History*, lxix (2005), pp 331-59; p. 336.

war they opposed, conducted by a political party they distrusted'.⁸⁹ Despite this, as Bruce maintains, 'approximately 144,000 Irish-Americans filled the ranks of the Union army', while Burton suggests that a further 200,000 German-Americans fought for the Blues as well.⁹⁰

One such volunteer was Peter P. Bailey. Despite the ethnic regiments of Indiana, many of Fort Wayne's residents enlisted in the Thirtieth Infantry Regiment which was based at Camp Allen in the city. Bailey was a retired editor of the weekly publication, *Fort Wayne Republican*, which he also owned and published. Born in New York, Bailey married Margaret, a first generation Irish immigrant and they had four children, three sons and a daughter. Bailey's eldest son Allen is recorded as being a teacher in the 1860 US Federal Census.⁹¹ In 1844, Bailey became a founding member of the Trinity Episcopal Church in Fort Wayne, with the first church structure being established three years later in 1847 at the corner of Berry and Harrison Sts.⁹² On 27 August 1861, at the age of forty-nine, Bailey enlisted as a First Lieutenant in the Thirtieth Infantry Regiment at Indianapolis and was promoted to Full First Lieutenant and Quartermaster on the same day. The regiment was mustered almost a month later on 24 September and immediately set out for Camp Nevin in Kentucky. The regiment fought in many battles including Munfordville, Bowling Green, Corinth, Nashville and Chickamauga. Significantly, the regiment also fought in the Battle of Stones River and only three weeks after this battle Bailey resigned from the army. The official record of the battle submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Orrin D. Hurd of the Thirtieth Regiment states that 108 men were wounded and a further thirty mortally wounded. It is likely given the correlation between the date of the battle and the resignation of Bailey that he was among the

⁸⁹ Chambers, *To raise an army*, p. 54.

⁹⁰ Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 110; Bruce, 'Remember your country', p. 332.

⁹¹ 1860 US Federal Census record for Peter P. Bailey and family, 1860 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, whole city, p.124 available at Ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (11 June 2012).

⁹² Trinity Episcopal Church, 611 West Berry St, available at WestCentralNeighbourhood.org (<http://www.westcentralneighborhood.org/hg-tour/tours-archive/2008-tour/611wberry>) (11 June 2012).

108 injured soldiers. The official account submitted by Hurd recalls how on 31 December 1862, the Union came under heavy fire from Confederate troops led by General Bragg. Although Hurd and his men ‘sustained the enemy’s fire for some time ... [they were] outflanked by a superior force of the enemy and being exposed to heavy crossfire, [they] ... were obliged to fall back ... having no support whatsoever’.⁹³ Bailey served in Company S of the Thirtieth Regiment until he resigned with a ‘disability’ on 28 January 1863 having fought in the Union army for seventeen months.⁹⁴ In an article published in the *Fort Wayne News* in 1899, Bailey is recorded as being a brave leader and strategic quartermaster who could assume a ‘pompous and dignified manner’ when negotiating with the enemy.⁹⁵ After the war, Bailey returned to Fort Wayne and became a judge. He died on 26 January 1899 and is buried in Lindenwood cemetery in the west of the city.⁹⁶ By April 1899, 232 Civil War veterans were buried there.⁹⁷ Bailey’s involvement in the Civil War was typical of many Irish immigrants who volunteered to fight for the union, which as O’ Loughlin writes, ‘helped to merge the new Irish immigrants into the melting pot of America’.⁹⁸ Significantly, in becoming involved in the war, Irish immigrants had shown that their allegiance between church and state was interchangeable and this undoubtedly made them more acceptable to the more critical members of the host community.

By and large, the Germans of Fort Wayne were equally, if perhaps not more devoted to the cause of the Union. Yet, this stance was by no means a given, for as Sack comments, ‘Fort Wayne’s Germans were as divided on the issue as the rest of the country ... Politically,

⁹³ Lieut. Col. Orrin D. Hurd, Official Record of the Stones River Campaign, xx (chap xxxii), pp 329-33 available at Ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com/) (13 June 2012).

⁹⁴ Civil War record for Peter P. Bailey, available at Indiana State Archives, (<http://www.indianadigitalarchives.org/ViewRecord.aspx?RID=CF1C72BB3020C6383FFD5935B704E6B0>) (11 June 2012).

⁹⁵ *Fort Wayne News*, 15 Apr. 1899.

⁹⁶ Civil War record for Peter P. Bailey, available at American Civil War soldiers [database online], (www.ancestry.com/) (11 June 2012).

⁹⁷ *Fort Wayne News*, 15 Apr. 1899

⁹⁸ Michael O’Loughlin, *Missouri Irish: the original history of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City, MO, 2007), p. 54.

many remained strongly Democratic, but a large minority supported the Republicans'.⁹⁹ Although many of the Germans in Fort Wayne did indeed fight for the Union, Rev. Sihler's congregation at St Paul's remained deeply fragmented (see section 6.4). Sihler's conservatism ensured that he adopted a strongly pro-slavery stance advocating its biblical merits. As a result, many of the German Lutherans in Fort Wayne were divided. However, irrespective of political party allegiance or spiritual arguments offered by religious leaders, the overwhelming majority of Germans in Fort Wayne, 'wrote and spoke forcefully of preserving the Union and for the abolition of slavery, and when war came they served in numbers far beyond their proportionate share of the population'.¹⁰⁰ Serving beyond their proportionate share meant that Indiana Germans could be found in most regiments. Like their Irish counterparts, many of Fort Wayne's Germans joined the Thirtieth Indiana although some did volunteer for the ethnically German Thirty-fifth. John Ake of Fort Wayne joined the Thirtieth Indiana on 19 March 1864 and served in Company A until being mustered out on 25 November 1865. Likewise, Sion Bass, from the prominent Bass family in Fort Wayne joined the war effort on 4 October 1861 and was ranked as Colonel. However, Bass died seven months later from injuries sustained at the Battle of Paducah in Kentucky.¹⁰¹ Ake and Bass were just two examples of German-Americans who shared the 'sense of patriotism and devotion to the Union ... of the German population of Fort Wayne ... [that made them] ardent defenders of the nation during the Civil War'.¹⁰²

The fact that German and Irish immigrants embraced the cause of the Union to the extent they did was a public demonstration of their desire to become assimilated American citizens. Although many Irish remained loyal to the political struggle in the homeland, they

⁹⁹ Sack, 'Germans in Fort Wayne', p. 685.

¹⁰⁰ Giles Hoyt, 'Germans', in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), p. 161.

¹⁰¹ Civil War record for John Ake, available at American Civil War soldiers [database online], (www.ancestry.com/) (11 June 2012). Civil War record for Sion Bass, available at American Civil War soldiers [database online], (www.ancestry.com/) (11 June 2012).

¹⁰² Charles R. Poinsette, *Fort Wayne during the Canal Era, 1828-1855* (Indianapolis, IN, 1969), p. 57.

were nonetheless eager to defend their political affiliations in their new societies as well. Undoubtedly, the German community adopted a similar stance. Bringing with them experience and expertise in warfare, as well as politically enlightened émigrés, ensured that their involvement in the Civil War confirmed their place as loyal citizens in American society. German leadership on the battlefield played a significant role in the Union's ultimate victory and were it not for immigrant involvement in the war, and the determination of both communities to prove their allegiance to their new homeland, the might of the Union side would not have been as forceful. In a report to the Sanitary Commission in 1869, Gould records that 144,211 Irish-born immigrants and 176,817 of their German counterparts fought for the Union army. Furthermore, both of these numbers exclude generational members of each community and so in truth, immigrant involvement in the war was significantly higher. Aside from native-born Americans, these two immigrant groups contributed the largest number of troops to the Union Army and were no doubt integral to the ultimate success of the Union. Comparatively, only 45,508 English-born soldiers and 53,532 recruits from British North America fought to defend the Union.¹⁰³ Significantly, it would also appear that after the war both German and Irish immigrants were more readily accepted within the host-society. This is particularly evident in Fort Wayne when considering the level of political involvement the German community experienced in the city in the decades after the Civil War. Also in St Louis, the acceptability of the German community was noticeable and popular lore acknowledged the German contribution to the war effort in the city, particularly in the aftermath of the Camp Jackson Affair in 1861. Contrastingly, the acceptability of the Irish community was more difficult to identify. There is little doubt their contribution was noted, yet compared with the German community, this was not acknowledged in the public sphere to the same degree as it was on the east coast or in other industrialised cities like

¹⁰³ B. A. Gould, *Investigations in the military and anthropological statistics of American soldiers* (New York, NY, 1869), p. 27.

Chicago. Perhaps the close ethnic unity experienced by the Irish community in St Louis compromised the extent to which their contribution was perceived by the St Louisian population as a whole. Furthermore, the dominance of the German legacy in the war perhaps over-shadowed the Irish contribution in St Louis.

7.12 The politics of the old country

Despite their involvement in American politics and their contribution during the Civil War, both German and Irish immigrant groups also retained an interest in the political affairs of the old country. When comparing both immigrant groups however, significant differences appear in the form such interest took. Certainly for the Irish, attentiveness to the nationalist cause in the homeland was far more pronounced than their German counterparts' interest in German unification and other political issues. Burton attributed this to the fact that the German community had adapted more readily to the norms of American society concluding that 'so thoroughly assimilated were they into the American political scene, that the Germans, unlike the Irish, paid almost no attention to German nationalism as a political issue'.¹⁰⁴ This comparison is particularly striking given the fact that statistically more Germans returned to the homeland than did their Irish counterparts in the period from 1880-1900. Wyman asserts that between 13-23% of Germans returned while only 10% of Irish immigrants left American shores for the homeland.¹⁰⁵

This is not to say that Germans in America were not interested in events in Germany. Jonathan Wolfe writing of the German community in Little Rock, Arkansas recalls how the community reacted once news of German unification reached them. 'German victories', he writes, 'brought out the zealous sons of the old country for torchlight parades and speeches

¹⁰⁴ Butron, *Melting pot*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Mark Wyman, *Round-trip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 10.

... the conclusion of peace signalled redoubled celebrations ... bands played and the night passed in singing, dancing and merrymaking'.¹⁰⁶ As the century progressed, those who immigrated as a result of unification in 1871, particularly Catholics who were intimidated by Bismark's *Kulturkampf*, were welcomed into the community. *Waffenvereine* or gun clubs were established for veterans of the Franco-Prussian war and *Landsmanschaften*, similar to the Irish county societies on the east coast were also established. However, by and large, German-American attitudes to political activities in the homeland were viewed with a passive nostalgia and little political activism took place on American soil for the German nationalist cause.

One possible explanation for the seeming lack of immigrant participation in German politics is that after German unification in 1871 many of the liberals who had emigrated in the mid-century felt their original goals had been achieved. This was particularly noted by German-American liberals at the fiftieth celebration of the 1848 revolution in Chicago, where as Townsend notes, 'they expressed even more emphatically satisfaction in the German Empire and a feeling that many of the principal aims of the forty-eighters had been accomplished'.¹⁰⁷

Significantly, given the size of St Louis and its large German population, there appears to be no record of any kind of celebration within the community once unification was achieved. Certainly, the end of the war was reported in the German language press but there is no record of a celebration similar to the one in Little Rock. Similarly, in 1888 when Emperor Friedrich III died, the *New York Times* reported his death, noting particularly how the German community in New York reacted to the news. 'The German steamship offices', it reports, 'sent orders to their docks to have steamers put in mourning ... and all along

¹⁰⁶ Jonathan James Wolfe, 'Background of German immigration' in *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, xxv (1966), pp 151-82; p. 169.

¹⁰⁷ Andrew J. Townsend, *The Germans of Chicago* (Toledo, OH, 1932), p. 59.

Broadway, flag after flag over the various buildings went up at half-mast'.¹⁰⁸ However, no record of the Emperor's death is reported in the St Louis press aside from the news of his actual death. Similarly in Fort Wayne, little attention is given to events of political interest in the homeland.

This German passivity might also perhaps be attributable to the fragmented ethnic identity that permeated the German immigrant group. In political allegiances as well as religious loyalties and economic fortunes, there were so many contrasts within the German immigrant group as a whole that this made the cause of German nationalism in America difficult to promote. There were also differences in the collective memory of the German group, and for many of the mid-century immigrants identification with the concept of an united country contradicted the ethnic identity many had brought with them from the homeland, where being Prussian or Bavarian was more highly regarded than being 'German'. An example of this can be seen in 1880 US Federal Census schedules where many of the earlier immigrants still recorded their place of birth as individual German states rather than 'Germany' despite the fact the unification was achieved almost a decade previously.¹⁰⁹

By contrast, the Irish community shared a common religious, economic and, for the most part, political identity in the decades after 1850. The collective memory of the Irish immigrant group also helped to create a unified identity and this shared sense of victimisation served only to promote the nationalist cause in Ireland among Irish immigrants in America. However, as Campbell notes, 'the diverse motivations and aspirations of Irish-Americans were reflected in the rampant divisions and mediocre achievements of so many of their nationalist groups'.¹¹⁰ Essentially, he argues that Irish nationalists were divided into militant

¹⁰⁸ *New York Times*, 16 June 1888.

¹⁰⁹ 1880 US Federal Census Records for St Louis, MO, Wards 2 & 9 and 1880 US Federal Census Records for Fort Wayne, IN, Wards 2 & 6.

¹¹⁰ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's new worlds: immigrants, politics, and society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (Madison, WI, 2007), p. 139.

nationalists like those who supported the Fenian Brotherhood and constitutional nationalists who preferred Parnell's partisan tactics and as a result of this fragmentation, neither achieved significant success. Yet despite these divisions, Kenny argues that, 'a diasporic sense of Irishness ... transcended any simple desire for acceptance in the host land',¹¹¹ and so, the cause of Irish nationalism was nonetheless a popular one in Irish-America and many Irish immigrants identified more readily with the cause of Irish nationalism, rather than the political issues affecting immigrant America.

Writing about Irish immigrant involvement in the politics of the homeland, Burton comments, 'unlike the Germans, the Indiana Irish backed the emotional cause of nationalism for the old country ... they committed themselves as thoroughly to Irish nationalism as their eastern countrymen'.¹¹² An example of this sympathy towards the homeland was seen when the Irish community of Fort Wayne raised \$1,200 for famine relief, which was subsequently sent to Ireland.¹¹³ Similarly, in St Louis Irish nationalists raised \$5,000 for Parnell and the Parliamentary Fund of the Irish Parliamentary Party in a bid to aid his attempts in the forthcoming general election in July 1886.¹¹⁴ Much of this fundraising was achieved in the form of social functions such as commemorative celebrations marking the birthday or anniversary of revered Irish nationalists such as Robert Emmet (see Fig 7.9).

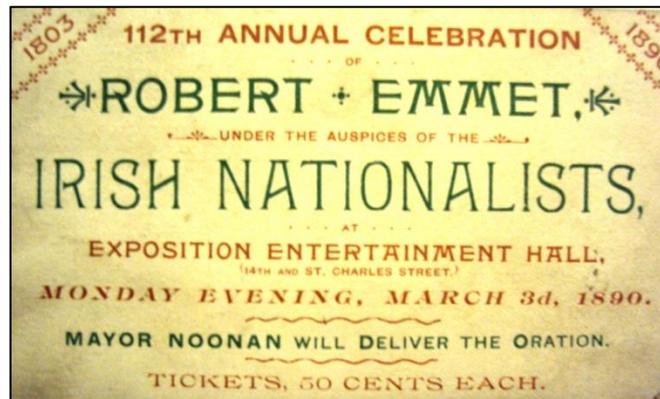
¹¹¹ Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora as comparison: the global Irish as a case study' in *Journal of American History*, xc (2003), pp 134–62; p. 159.

¹¹² Burton, *Melting pot*, p. 25.

¹¹³ William Griffin, 'Irish' in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), pp 243–73, p. 259.

¹¹⁴ Sir George Fottrell, *Dublin castle and the first home rule crisis: the political journal of Sir George Fottrell, 1884–1887*, ed. Stephen Ball (Cambridge, 2008), p. 260.

**Fig. 7.9 Ticket to the Robert Emmet Celebration hosted by the Irish nationalists,
3 Mar. 1890¹¹⁵**



As the century progressed, political organisations such as the IRB and AOH were established, and mobilised Irish-Americans for the nationalist cause in Ireland. As early as 1865, Kenny estimates that ‘the Fenians had attracted 250,000 followers, many of them Civil War veterans’.¹¹⁶ One such Civil War veteran was John O’Keefe born in Co. Kilkenny in 1847. A week after arriving in New York, O’Keefe joined the Union Army ‘to learn the soldier trade in the hope that the knowledge we acquired might in the future be of service to the old land’.¹¹⁷ This statement exemplifies Bruce’s observation that ‘many of them volunteered in order to acquire military experience that could be used to liberate Ireland in a future war, rather than to express any great loyalty to America.’¹¹⁸ After the failed Fenian invasion of Canada in 1866, O’Keefe became more involved in the organisation and was given the responsibility of developing the movement in the Midwest.

However, due to the demographic distribution of Irish immigrants in the United States, it was understandable that the Fenian Brotherhood in the Midwest was not as prominent in Irish communities as it was on the east coast. Despite this, its presence in territories such as Montana and Wyoming certainly exemplify the extent of its range. At the

¹¹⁵ Ticket to the Robert Emmet Celebration, 3 Mar. 1890 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, St Louis History Collection, A1437/2/5/7).

¹¹⁶ Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 128.

¹¹⁷ Reminiscences of John O’Keefe, (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, Fenian Brotherhood papers (1869-1922), A0481/1/9/2).

¹¹⁸ Susannah Ural Bruce, *The harp and the eagle: Irish-American volunteers and the Union army, 1861-1865* (New York, 2006), p. 236.

Sixth National Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood in Cleveland, Ohio in September 1867, twenty states and over 270 circles were present. Although not all states and circles were represented at the convention, the financial records, and an interpretation of the pledges made, nonetheless reflect the strength and scope of the organisation in respective states. Regional trends also emerge. As one might expect, the movement was most developed in the state of New York, which had a total of fifty-five circles represented at the convention. Surprisingly, however, only seven circles were recorded as lying within the city limits and operating as part of New York City. Interestingly, and perhaps as a testament to the popularity of the movement in upstate New York as a result of the invasion of Canada the previous year, the city of Buffalo had no fewer than five circles represented. During the year 1868, a total of \$216,621 was pledged to the Fenian Brotherhood in America.¹¹⁹ These pledges were made at State Conventions as well as the National Convention in Cleveland a few months previously. This money was intended to part fund the organisation and to assist in the purchasing of firearms. However, only 21% of this pledge was realised in actual payments amounting to \$45,952.80.¹²⁰ The fact that the organisation was able to raise this amount in the years immediately succeeding the American Civil War is in itself a notable feat. Relying on contributions from young, developing immigrant communities, while simultaneously establishing circles in remote territories like Montana and Wyoming, is a testament to the commitment of the organisation's members and the enthusiasm of Irish-Americans for the nationalist cause. However, the organisation offered more than national freedom for the homeland. Perhaps, part of the organisation's success was due to the fact that it was, as Burchell notes, 'most valuable in binding Irishmen together through weekly meetings',¹²¹ and so, while it did benefit the nationalist cause, it had the added advantage of

¹¹⁹ Fenian Brotherhood publication regarding pledges for the year 1868 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, Fenian Brotherhood papers (1869-1922), A0481/1/12/4).

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley, CA, 1980), p. 99.

enabling immigrants to meet fellow countrymen and acculturate to their new homes in a secure, welcoming environment.

Another source of immigrant engagement in the nationalist cause was the tendency of Irish nationalist politicians to visit Irish immigrant communities throughout the United States. Irish politicians toured eastern and Midwestern states seeking support, and all the while instilling a sense of yearning and melancholy for the motherland. Between January and March 1880, Charles Stewart Parnell visited sixty-two cities across the United States. Speaking at St Louis on 4 March 1880, Parnell reinforced the sense of victimisation among the crowd as a means of eliciting funds for the nationalist cause. ‘Emigration might be a temporary alleviation of the trouble in Ireland’ he cautioned, but,

it would be a cowardly step on our part; it would be running away from our difficulties in Ireland, and it would be acknowledgment of the complete conquest of Ireland by England, an acknowledgment which, please God, Ireland shall never make... In that case [eviction] we will use some of the money you are entrusting us with in this country for the purpose of finding happier homes in this far western land for those of our expatriated people, and it will place us in a position of great power, and give our people renewed confidence in their struggle...¹²²

These sentiments would seem to complement Burton’s suggestion that an affiliation with political activities in the homeland had more to do with the reasons motivating emigration in the first place. Given the fact that German immigrants fled the German states primarily for economic, political and religious reasons, their very motivations suggest they were seeking a more liberal society. Conversely, the Irish migration was in the first instance a migration of compulsion brought about by famine and economic necessity. Significantly, the memory of this, as well as the romanticised notion that they had been betrayed by the British colonial government, was undoubtedly influential in stirring passionate feelings of reprisal for Ireland.

¹²² Speech given by Charles Stewart Parnell at St Louis, Missouri, 4 Mar. 1880 in Charles Morris (ed.), *Famous orators of the world and their best orations* (Washington, DC, 1902), p. 558.

7.13 Conclusion

When assessing immigrant political engagement in nineteenth century America, it is essential to identify the parameters within which each community operated. Firstly, the migrants of the first half of the nineteenth century had a significantly different experience of American politics than their counterparts who followed in the Reconstruction era. Earlier migrants were compelled to address harsh nativist sentiments in order to achieve their political goals. However, those migrants which followed during the Reconstruction era were elected in a changed context in which immigrants were more frequently seen not as alien threats to American ideals, but as Irish or German-Americans who upheld and exemplified the value systems of the wider community. This prefix had many connotations which cannot be overlooked. The nativist movement of the 1840s and 1850s was the first challenge emerging ethnic communities had to overcome. In labelling immigrants as the other, the political success of immigrant communities from the 1850s onwards was inevitably perceived as an ethnic success rather than a democratic achievement. That said, the loyalty shown by German and Irish immigrants during the Civil War played a significant role in dissolving these perceptions.

Although the political landscapes of St Louis and Fort Wayne contrasted in size and party allegiances, German and Irish immigrants in both cities nonetheless influenced the political spectrum from local to national level. As evidenced by Edward Noonan and Louis Zepp immigrant involvement in the local political sphere could ensure both social mobility and economic security. However, not all immigrants were in a position to commit themselves so intensely to political parties, instead opting to become the most integral aspect of the machine, the bloc. The allegiance and loyalty shown by both German and Irish immigrants to their respective political parties was a verification of their desire to participate and assimilate to American norms. The fact that immigrant politicians were so successful in local political

arenas was also a phenomenon in itself and forced the host society to embrace not only immigrant involvement, but their own political xenophobia, which as the century progressed, also dissipated. The fact that immigrants like J.J. Martin and Richard Bartholdt were also politically active at state and federal levels confirms the transformation of immigrant involvement in political affairs by the turn of the century.

Undoubtedly, immigrant involvement in the political sphere was essential to the success of the acculturation and assimilation processes. By mobilising, engaging and embracing the political freedom of America, immigrants from both communities excelled not only in, and for, their respective immigrant groups, but they also affirmed the fundamental American belief systems of virtue and equality. Although immigrant political involvement was based on the principals of ethnic loyalty and communal preservation, it ultimately had the effect of creating a new ethnicity which encouraged active participation, awareness and a consciousness necessary to embrace the immigrant experience in its truest sense.

8.1 Introduction

Female immigrants had limited access to many of the spheres discussed here, most notably politics. Nonetheless, the role female immigrants played was fundamental to both immigrant groups. Writing of Irish immigrants in the United States, Hasia Diner comments, ‘Irish communities of the United States were predominately female ... most of the cities of the East and Middle West housed more Irish women than men’.¹ By examining the role of women in immigrant communities, and identifying their motivations for travelling, their employment opportunities and the factors that influenced their immigrant experience, an interpretation of their contribution to immigrant life can be established. Significantly, the role of women in immigrant communities extended far beyond that of a wife or mother and aside from their pastoral role in the family, they were also wage-earners, entrepreneurs, social reformers and in many instances, due to their employment experiences in the host societies, they were also agents for assimilation.

Diner comments that ‘among the Germans, a group that arrived over the same span of years as the Irish, the women made up 41 per-cent of the total immigrant population ... among the Irish, women accounted for 52.9 per-cent’.² Although both immigrant groups were faced with challenging social and political situations in the homeland, for many, the principal consideration in the decision to migrate was economic. The decline of traditional cottage industries in the German states, as well as the large family size and land transferral systems that operated in Ireland and Germany (see section 1.3), meant that many women left Europe in search of the more stable pecuniary prospects offered by the rapidly industrialising American economy. The majority of these women were young, single and optimistic about their migration, with many characterising it as a liberating and emancipating experience,

¹ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, MD, 1983), p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

which delivered them from a more indeterminable fate should they have remained at home.³ Furthermore, the prospect of migration offered not only gainful employment, but also marriage opportunities for many female immigrants.

Immigrant women fulfilled a variety of roles. As Weatherford notes, ‘the range of jobs that immigrant women found or created for themselves ran the gamut from the uniquely womanly to the heaviest of traditionally masculine labour.’⁴ Yet, as Diner concludes, ‘school teaching, domestic service, factory work, of various kinds, clerical occupations and nursing all provided Irish women with sources of livelihood’.⁵ The same was true for their German counterparts. Although ‘theirs was an economic migration’, immigrant life in America offered more than economic stability.⁶ Sassler notes how, ‘for unmarried immigrant women in particular, employment in the paid labour force, school attendance, and leisure pursuits often introduced new ‘modern’ ways of life and outlooks on women's opportunities that influenced both attitudes and activities’.⁷ For other women, life in a religious order provided both challenges and fulfilment. Furthermore, both German and Irish women religious were integral in aiding the acculturation and assimilation processes of their fellow immigrants and also in instituting a social infrastructure that benefitted both the immigrant communities and the host community alike. Thus, by assessing the employment trends, marriage tendencies and social opportunities available to female immigrants, an understanding of the ‘new “modern” ways of life’ that Sassler alludes to, can benefit an interpretation of female immigrant life in the nineteenth century.

³ For a more thorough discussion of emigrant motivations see Diner, *Erin's Daughters*, pp 7-16; Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish immigrant women in domestic service in America, 1840-1930* (Syracuse, NY, 2009), pp 5-19 and Silke Wehner-Franco, *Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika, 1850-1914* (New York, 1994), pp 14-26.

⁴ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995), p. 219.

⁵ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁷ Sharon L. Sassler, ‘Women’s marital timing at the turn of the century: generational and ethnic differences’ in *The Sociological Quarterly*, xxxviii (1997), pp 567-85; p. 569.

8.2 'Wanted – a good girl to do general housework'⁸

Louisa Kaiser and Margaret O'Connor were two such 'good girls'. They both worked at residences in Fort Wayne and appear in the 1886 city directory for the city.⁹ Louisa and Margaret were typical of the many German and Irish immigrant women who found employment as domestic servants. However, housework was not the only type of employment available to migrant women. Mary, Catherine and Anna Jacob were three sisters who lived at 2820 South Ninth St in St Louis in 1900. Having arrived in the United States from Germany in 1891, Frederick Jacob and his family settled in St Louis where he found employment as a shoemaker. His three daughters, aged twenty-two, eighteen and sixteen respectively, became engaged in St Louis' highly competitive tobacco industry, where they worked as tobacco wrappers.¹⁰

Writing of immigrant women, Silke Wehner-Franco comments that, 'the prevailing characterisation of women has been as dependants, migrants' wives or mothers, unproductive, illiterate, isolated, secluded from the outside world and the bearers of many children.'¹¹ Yet, for many immigrant women, this stereotype grossly misrepresents their immigrant experience. This nonchalant categorisation of female immigration was applied to many immigrant groups, until studies like Barton's investigation of Scandinavian women in the United States, as well as research by Harzig, Weatherford and by Ross and Brown in their

⁸ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, 8 June 1887.

⁹ R. L. Polk, *Fort Wayne city directory, 1885-6* (Fort Wayne, IN, 1885), p. 234, 315.

¹⁰ 1900 US Federal Census record for Frederick Jacob and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 8, ED 128, p. 6 available at ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (11 Apr. 2013).

¹¹ Silke Wehner-Franco, 'German domestic servants in America, 1850-1914: a new look at German women's immigrant experiences' in Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler (eds), *People in transit: German migrations in comparative perspective, 1820-1930* (New York, 1995), pp 267-95; p. 267.

examination of female immigration from Finland, slowly began to challenge existing interpretations of the female migrant experience.¹²

One of the most significant ways in which this stereotype was challenged was through an examination of female employment trends. Adopting a broad North American approach, both Diner and Weatherford assert the existence of various trends. Specifically, they argue that the types of employment pursued by women from various ethnic groups differed depending on regional settlement. Diner contends that ‘Irish women comprised the single largest group of foreign born female workers in Massachusetts ... as late as 1889’, a claim also made by Doris Weatherford in her discussion of domestic servants.¹³ Weatherford further argues that by 1900, Irish immigrant women were 2.2 times more likely to work as domestic servants in Massachusetts than their German counterparts.¹⁴ Similarly, on the west coast, Burchell argues that as many as sixty percent of Irish women worked as domestic servants in San Francisco in 1880.¹⁵ However, while this might well have been the norm on either coast, census records for the Midwest suggest that the opposite was in fact the case.

In St Louis, the 1900 US Federal Census returns for wards three and eight record that German immigrant women were more than twice as likely to find employment as domestic servants when compared with their Irish counterparts. Census records for these wards highlight that only 0.6% of the total number of Irish women in 1900 were employed in domestic service. This is compared with 1.4% of their German counterparts. Irish female employment trends in St Louis highlight a transition from the traditional domestic industries many women engaged in before 1900. Extending the analogy further, in St Louis, 14% of Irish women were employed in the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits sector. This is a

¹² H. Arnold Barton, ‘Scandinavian immigrant women’s experience with America’ in *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, xxv (1974), pp 37-42; Christiane Harzig, ‘The role of German women in the German-American working class movement in late nineteenth century New York’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, viii (1989), pp 87-107; see also Weatherford, *Foreign and female*; Carl Ross and K. Marianne Brown, *Women who dared: the history of Finnish American women* (St Paul, MN, 1986).

¹³ Diner, *Erin’s daughters*, p. 74; Weatherford, *Foreign and female*, pp 242-52.

¹⁴ Weatherford, *Foreign and female*, p. 248.

¹⁵ R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1800* (Berkeley, CA, 1980), pp 54-60.

higher average than their German counterparts whose engagement with this sector constitutes only 12% of the female workforce. Industries such as shoe-making, cotton and paper milling as well as the manufacturing and processing of tobacco were popular among women in both immigrant communities. The fact that Irish women in the Midwest were more likely to engage in industrial employment compliments Diner's observation that, 'in many instances more Irish women tended the machinery and performed the various operations to produce goods than any other females born outside the United States'.¹⁶ This trend can be explained by a variety of reasons. Firstly, many German and Irish immigrants who migrated to the Midwest formed part of the more prosperous contingent in each immigrant group. This enabled them to forego the menial tasks characterised by domestic service. Secondly, finding a position in a mill or factory provided employment for females who were not yet old enough to enter domestic service or for those women who had become deserted or widowed. Industrial employment in this sense not only reflected demographic trends, but also familial structure and economic necessity.

Income potential was also an important question. Corbett maintains that in St Louis, domestic servants could earn between eight and ten dollars per week.¹⁷ For this, they endured long hours, with little time off and limited personal space, both of which restricted them from entertaining friends and pursuing other social outlets. Yet, the work did involve familiar tasks and the opportunity of living with a family. By contrast, for women like the three Jacob sisters, industrial employment provided an alternative lifestyle for many immigrant women. Industrial workers were also expected to endure long hours, but had an earning potential of between two and eighteen dollars per week. Tobacco wrappers like Mary, Catherine and Anna Jacob could expect a weekly wage of at least ten dollars, while younger girls who were responsible for stemming and stripping the tobacco earned about five dollars per week.¹⁸

¹⁶ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 74.

¹⁷ Katherine T. Corbett, *In her place: a guide to St Louis women's history* (St Louis, MO, 1999), p. 119.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Industrial employment provided women with many social outlets and their disposable income, like that of their domestically employed contemporaries, was mostly spent on entertainment. Accordingly, membership of Working Girls Clubs which organised classes, social functions and other events that facilitated the acculturation and assimilation of their members were common.¹⁹

Despite the varying attitudes to both domestic service and industrial employment in the Midwest, both types of employment did nonetheless provide for a more prosperous and lucrative lifestyle. Compared with the east coast, women in the Midwest could earn more than twice what their contemporaries in New York earned, partly due to the higher value for wages and partly because of the types of employment available. Weatherford notes that a German domestic servant in New York earned fourteen dollars a month, while in St Louis, a domestic servant could expect to earn at least thirty dollars per month.²⁰ Yet, despite these regional discrepancies and overheads incurred from social outgoings and living expenses, there was one further important disbursement for many immigrant women irrespective of their earning ability. The sending home of remittances by single women of German and Irish extraction was, as Diner notes, ‘further testimony to the possibility of earning a good living in America’.²¹ Significantly, these remittances also promoted the desire among many parents for their daughters to immigrate and continue the cycle thus improving living standards for their families at home and while crucially, also maintaining the link with the fatherland.

Throughout the census returns for both St Louis and Fort Wayne during the period from 1850 to 1900, immigrant women from both communities are represented across most of

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 118.

²⁰ Weatherford, *Foreign and female*, p. 250; Corbett, *In her place*, p. 119.

²¹ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 71; see also Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: the people of Minnesota* (St Paul, MN, 2003), p. 10.

the Census Bureau's occupational classifications.²² Not surprisingly, the most common category was 'domestic and personal service'. This category was assigned to members of the community who engaged in household tasks. In Fort Wayne in 1850, 36% of German women compared with 30% of Irish women are recorded in this sector (see Fig. 8.1). Education is the next category which records a high percentage of female involvement. Again, the correlations between each group are evident. A slightly lower number of German female children were involved in education recording only 15% of the female population compared with 18% of their Irish counterparts. This can perhaps be explained by two factors. The desire to preserve the German language, coupled with the lack of German language schooling, in the form of suitable parochial or public schools in part, explains the lower involvement of German immigrant girls in the education sector. The language question is not an issue for Irish immigrant children and perhaps this explains why 18% of the Irish female representation in Fort Wayne is involved in this sector.

A similar trend emerges in St Louis in 1850 (see Fig. 8.2). In both instances, almost half of the female population for each group is recorded as part of the domestic and personal service category. This accounts for those who stated their occupation as wives, nurses, midwives, servants and hairdressers among others. 48% of German women compared with 44% of their Irish counterparts were involved in this sector. Surprisingly, only 5% and 8% of German and Irish immigrant girls respectively were involved in education. This again highlights the lack of a coherent public school system in St Louis in 1850 and portrays a parochial school system in its infancy. The representation of women religious in St Louis is already apparent in 1850 with 2% of Irish women and a significantly lower number of German women, only 0.01% of the German female population recorded, participating in the

²² All information for this analysis is derived from US Federal Census returns for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850-1900. US Federal Census St Louis MO 1850, wards 1 and 6, US Federal Census St Louis, MO 1860-80, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne 1850-60, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1870-1900, wards 2 and 6, available at: ancestry.com, (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013). Hereafter referred to as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN 1850-1900, personal database.

Fig. 8.1 German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne 1850

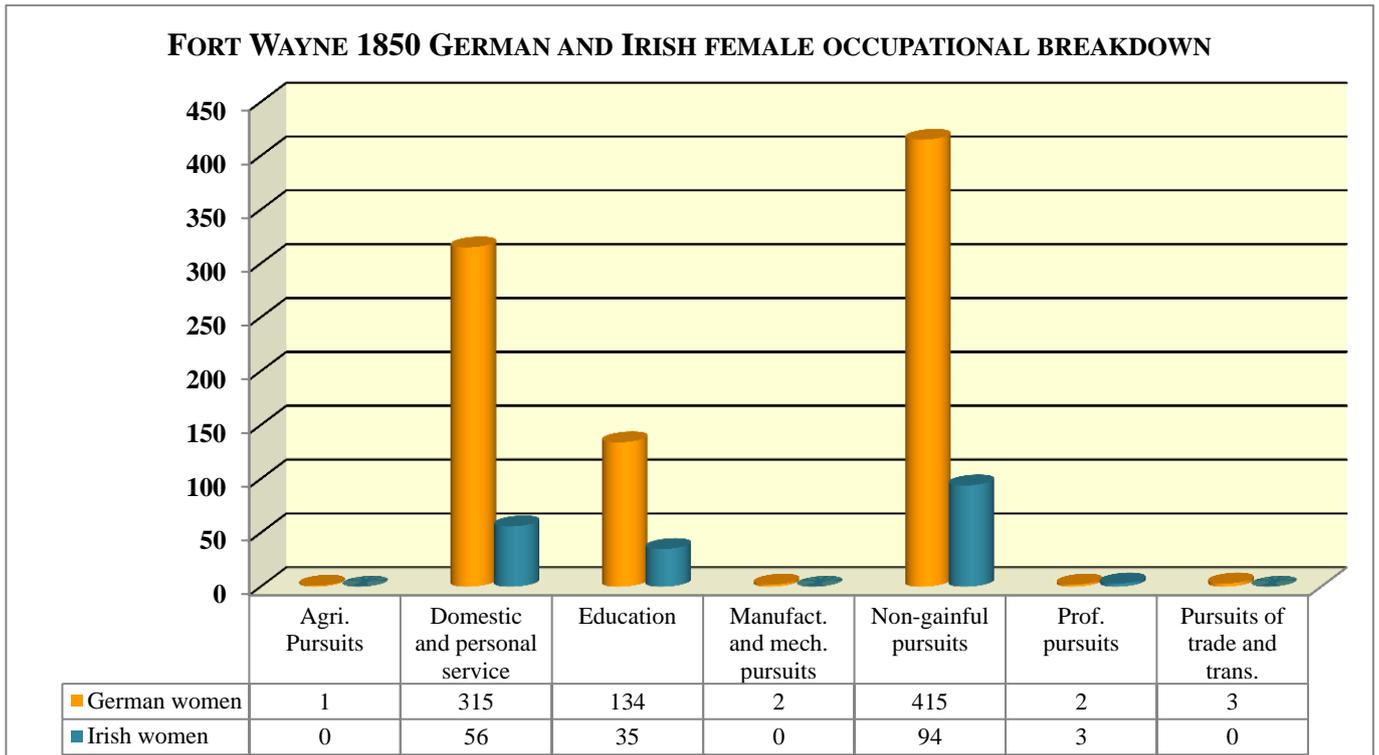
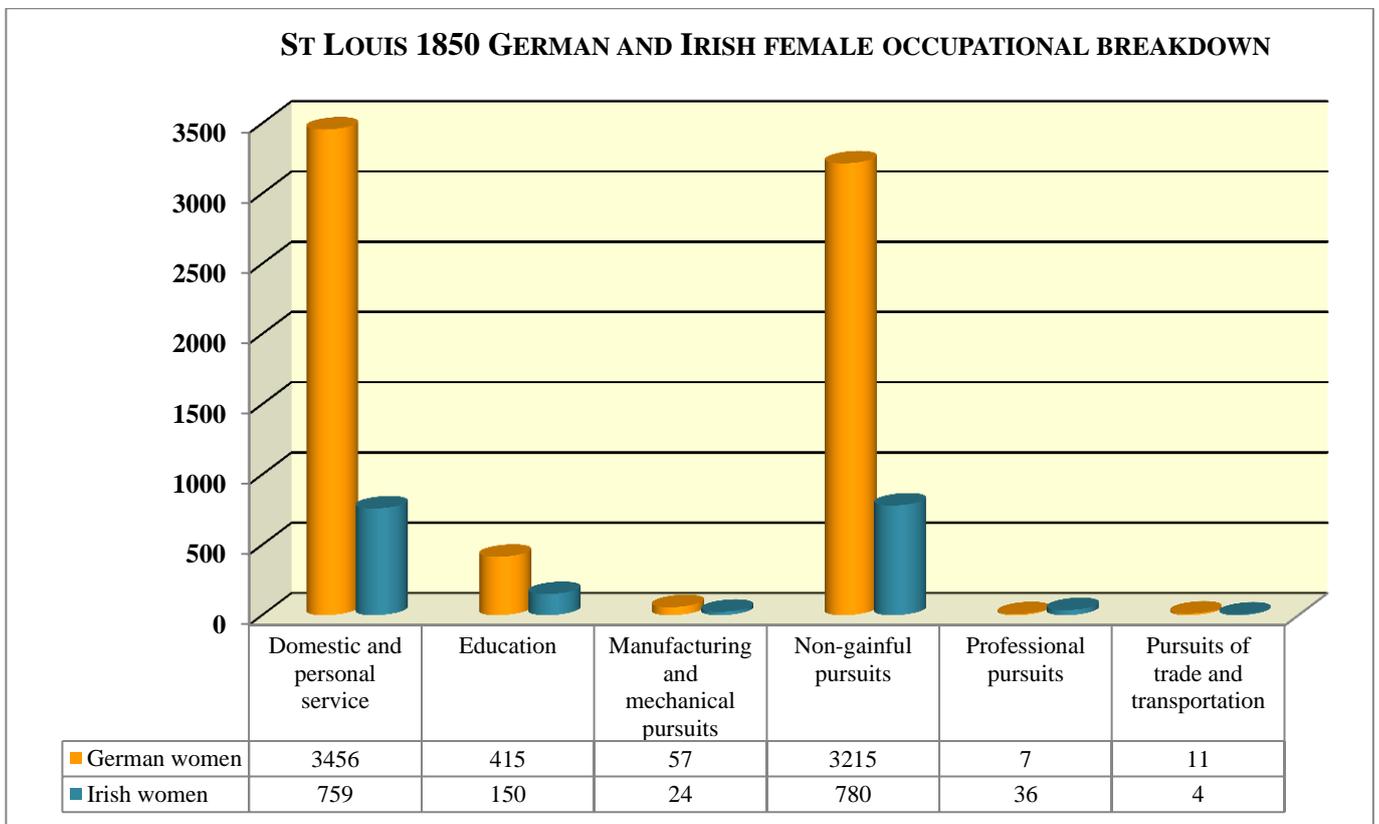


Fig. 8.2 German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis 1850



professional pursuits category. Interestingly, the contrasting size of the two cities, and the employment opportunities they offered is already apparent in the data for 1850. In St Louis, by 1850 approximately 1% of each immigrant community was engaged in the manufacturing sector. More likely than not, this 1% constituted dressmakers, seamstresses and milliners. In Fort Wayne for the same period, only two German women out of a total of 873 were recorded as dressmakers, while there were no Irish representatives in this sector.

By 1900, trends in female employment had changed drastically in both cities (see Fig. 8.3 and 8.4). In Fort Wayne, despite increasing female involvement in both the manufacturing and trade and transportation sectors, there was also an increase of approximately 10% in the number of women involved in the domestic and personal service category in both groups. The census returns also illustrate a slight increase in the number of girls attending schools, a growth of approximately 2% in each group. However, the most significant developments are visible in the manufacturing and trade and transportation sectors. In both classifications, the contribution of Irish women surpassed that of their German counterparts. 7% of German female workers were involved in manufacturing, compared with 10% of women of Irish descent. Similarly, in the trade and transportation sector, Irish women were twice as likely to work as store clerks or ‘salesladies’. Only 2.5% of the German immigrant group participated in this sector compared with 5% in the Irish cohort. Thus, in analysing the census data and forming an interpretation of female employment trends in Fort Wayne, a relatively obvious cultural division emerges. More German women are focused on occupations that reinforced the German cultural ideology of ‘*Kinder, Kirche, Kuche*’ [Children, Church and Kitchen], a phenomenon which placed significant emphasis on the role of the woman as a home maker. This observation might also be strengthened by the fact that German immigrants in Fort Wayne were more economically secure than their Irish counterparts. In an analysis of male employment trends (see sections 4.2, 4.3), the number of independent merchants, tradesmen and artisan craftsmen in the German community was

Fig. 8.3 German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne 1900

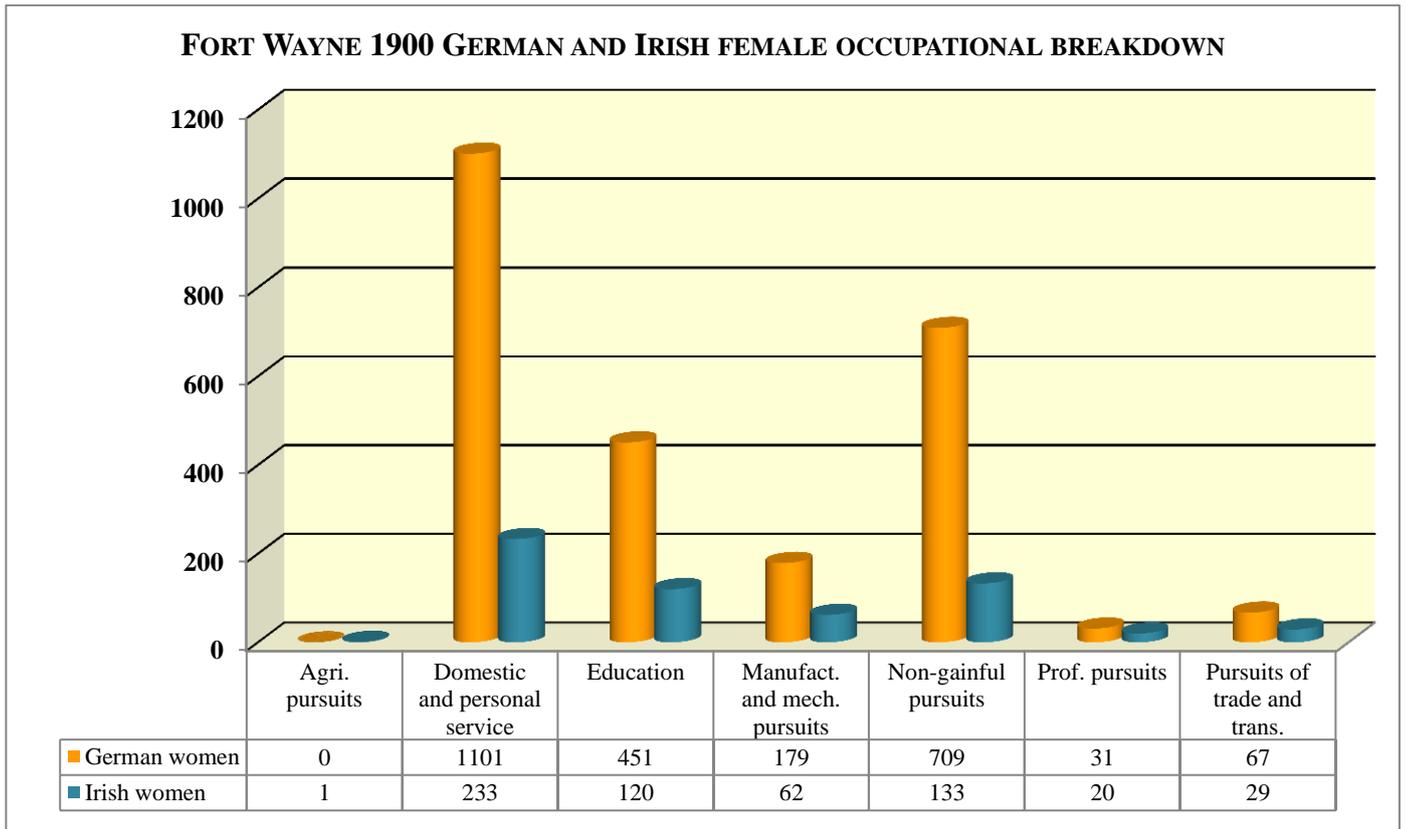
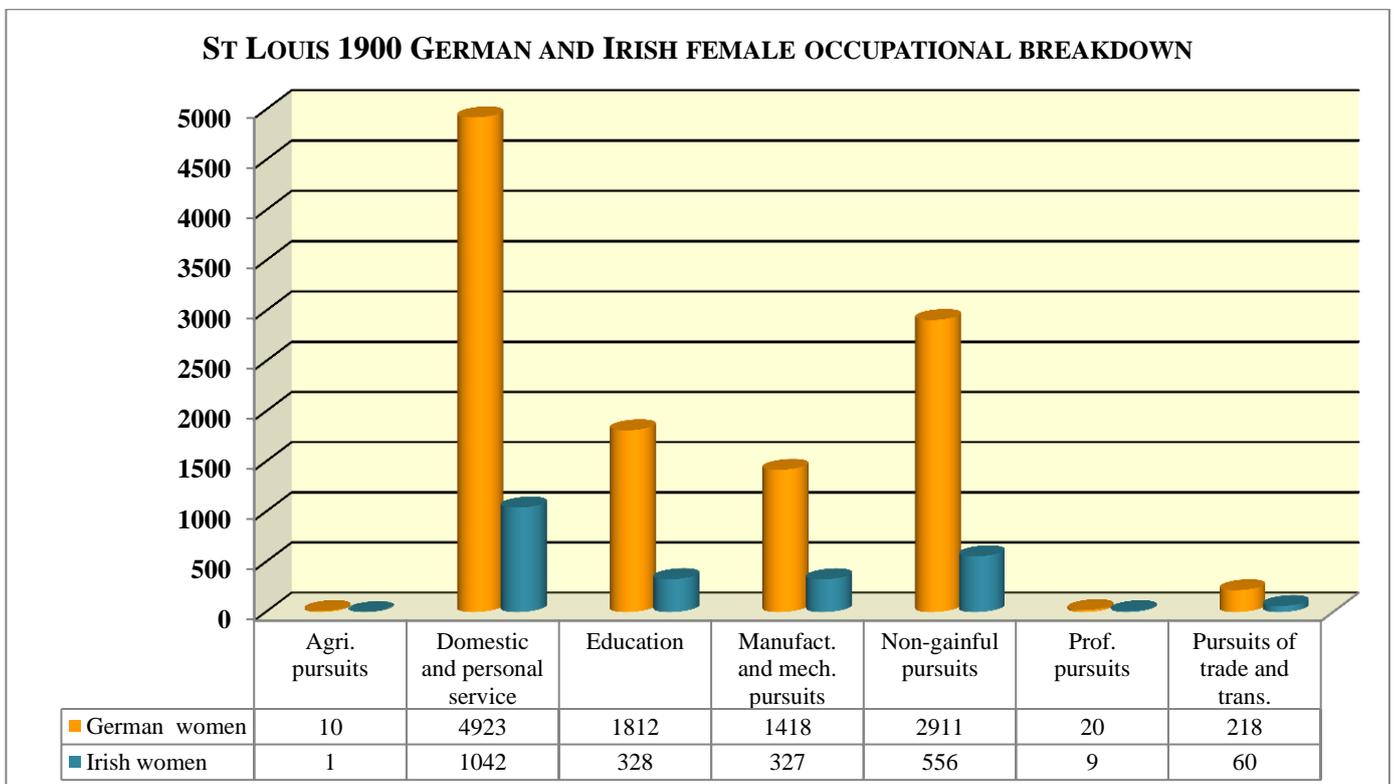


Fig. 8.4 German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis 1900



significantly higher than their Irish counterparts. Coupled with this, is the fact that Irish men in Fort Wayne were largely involved in the transportation sector, which provided less economic security than the employment pursued by their German counterparts. The significant observation to be made here has less to do with the cultural ideology which migrated with the German immigrant group, and more to do with the economic necessity of Irish women to enter the world of work and contribute to the household income.

Conversely in St Louis, those Germans involved in the domestic and personal service category in St Louis decreased slightly over the fifty year period. Both communities retained a representation in this sector of approximately 44%, but when the generational aspect of each community is considered, the increasing role of immigrant women in education, manufacturing and trade becomes apparent. In the German group, female participation in education more than tripled over the fifty year period. Similarly, Irish involvement in this sector doubled. These figures highlight the significant developments that took place in education throughout the period and exemplify the growth of St Louis as a frontier city. Aside from this, female involvement in manufacturing increased exponentially, from approximately 1% for each group in 1850 to a 12% and 14% representation for German and Irish immigrant women respectively by 1900. The trade and transportation sector demonstrated a modest increase also, and again in this category Irish involvement exceeded that of their German counterparts.

Thus, from this analysis, both German and Irish women would seem to confirm Diner's assertions about female employment trends. Certainly, immigrant women from both communities pursued employment as domestic servants, but by the turn of the century, this was the concern of more German immigrant women than their Irish counterparts. Conversely, as suggested by Diner, and confirmed by this analysis, more Irish women were employed in industrial settings by 1900 than were Germans. These trends are further reinforced when a

consideration of Irish domestic servants in New York is addressed. Anbinder claims that as many as 25% of the women in Five Points were employed as domestic servants in the antebellum era.²³ Yet in St Louis in 1850, only seventy-nine Irish women stated this as their occupation, a number almost doubled by their German counterparts, illustrating that significant numbers of Irish famine immigrants had not yet reached the Midwest (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2). By 1860, the number of domestic servants in St Louis had increased to 247, and although exceeding the German number by 27, this still only represented 5% of the Irish female workforce. Anbinder also claims that women in Five Points did not gain access to employment in ‘fields such as paper-box making, type founding and book folding and binding’ until the 1890s.²⁴ Yet, immigrant women in the Midwest gained admission to this type of employment much earlier.

Table 8.1 Sample female occupations Fort Wayne and St Louis 1850²⁵

Fort Wayne 1850		
Profession	German	Irish
Keeping house	315	56
Non-productive	414	94
School	132	35
Novice	0	2
Nun	1	1
Dressmaker	2	0
Servant	20	0
Student	2	0

St Louis 1850		
Profession	German	Irish
Keeping house	3361	638
Non-productive	3106	736
School	415	150
Seamstress	21	13
Dressmaker	3	2
Servant	139	79
Washerwoman	5	14
Nun	6	31

²³ Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: the nineteenth century New York city neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, 2002), p. 126.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁵ Extracted from the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN, 1850-1900, personal database. For an extensive list of male and female occupations, see appendix C and D.

Table 8.2 Sample female occupations Fort Wayne and St Louis 1900

Fort Wayne 1900		
Profession	German	Irish
Keeping house	893	186
School	448	120
Servant	87	6
Dressmaker	36	8
Seamstress	27	14
School teacher	22	15
Landlady	22	2
Washerwoman	15	3
Stenographer	10	8
Sewing	9	4
Shirt waist maker	9	10
Nurse	8	2
Knitter of hosiery	1	0
Knitter of mittens	1	0
Knitting mill folder	2	0
Knitting mill forelady	1	0
Knitting mill worker	11	0

St Louis 1900		
Profession	German	Irish
Keeping house	4332	914
School	1806	325
Servant	157	14
Dressmaker	106	26
Seamstress	292	56
School teacher	10	5
Landlady	16	1
Washerwoman	65	20
Stenographer	11	8
Sewing	21	1
Shirt waist maker	3	0
Nurse	14	1
Shoe factory worker	34	20
Tobacco factory worker	60	12
Cotton mill spinner	17	1
Box maker	55	18
Laundress	60	16

For those women who remained single, dressmaking often provided the only source of income (see Fig. 8.5). The McGee sisters, second generation Irish-Americans born in Indiana are just one example. These four sisters, Myrah, Martha, Catherine and Elizabeth lived at 175 Clinton St, Fort Wayne in 1900. Myrah is recorded as being a dressmaker, while her younger sister Martha was a millinery saleswoman. Elizabeth worked as a dry goods clerk while Catherine took care of the daily running of the house.²⁶ Independent employment for each of these women was essential to the family's economic survival in the Midwest. Given that their ages ranged from thirty-six to forty-eight years of age, they were too old to find employment as domestic servants and so participation in both the manufacturing and trade sectors became a viable alternative. The Magee sisters provide an excellent example of the importance of familial structure in economic terms. Very often, sibling migration and the pooling of resources in this manner was essential to social mobility for many families.

²⁶1900 US Federal Census record for Myrah McGee and family, 1900 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne IN, Ward 2, ED 27, pp 12-3 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

Fig. 8.5 Special order form for William Barr and Sons, St Louis²⁷

No. F 1383... **Wm. Barr Dry Goods Co.**
ST. LOUIS, MO.
SPECIAL ORDER

DIRECTIONS FOR MEASUREMENT

WAIST

1. Around bust and back
 2 to 6. Length sleeve, inside seam
 7 to 8. Under arm seam
 8. Around the waist
 9 to 10. Length of waist, back
 1 to 2. " " front

11 to 12. Across back
 Arm-hole
SKIRT

13. Around hips
 14 to 15. Length of front
 16 to 17. Length of side
 18 to 19. Length of back

REMARKS

Date *July 17*
 Number of garment ordered *2*
 Shade of garment ordered *White*
 From *Wm. Barr Dry Goods Co.*
 When to be delivered *As soon as possible*

RETURN THIS ORDER WITH GARMENT

Although census enumerators recorded the occupation of a significant majority of married women as ‘keeping house’, in some instances, this was not strictly true. Married women were often expected to complement the family income by engaging in part-time employment that could be performed in the home. Similar to many unmarried women, sewing, needle-work and dressmaking often provided the means by which this supplementary income could be acquired. Mrs D.S. Kelsey, a resident of Fort Wayne in 1875 is one example of a wife who tried to enhance the family income by advertising her skills in the city directory (see Fig. 8.6).

Fig. 8.6 Advertisement for Mrs D. S. Kelsey, Fort Wayne²⁸

MRS. D. S. KELSEY,
 FASHIONABLE
DRESS MAKING
 A SPECIALTY.
 Ladies, Please Give Me a Trial.
169 Clinton St., Fort Wayne, Ind.

²⁷ Ladies special order garment form, William Barr Dry Goods Co., St Louis, c. 1900 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, St Louis Business Collection, 1877-1976, A1389/2).

²⁸ Advertisement for Mrs D. S. Kelsey, R. L. Polk, *Fort Wayne Directory, 1875-6* (Detroit, MI, 1875), p. 59.

Similarly, women whose husbands were engaged in the operation of boarding houses and taverns were also expected to assist in the running of the business, as well as maintaining the household. Elizabeth Ploehu, wife of Fred Ploehu who kept a boarding house at 2401 DeKalb St in St Louis, was not only expected to tend to her own duties as a wife and mother, but also to assist in the daily management of the boarding house.²⁹ Augusta Boss, the wife of Frank Boss, who owned a saloon at 801 Cass Ave, was also expected to assist in the daily management of the saloon. Not only did her husband and two sons, Frank Jr and William tend the bar, but Augusta and her oldest daughter, Edith, also assisted in the running of the business. Interestingly, her second daughter Clasa earned money as a dressmaker, exemplifying how all members of the family were expected to contribute to the family's income.³⁰ Many women also opened up their homes and kept lodgers as a means of supplementing the family income. One example was Mary Murphy who operated a boarding house at 515 Carr St in St Louis.³¹ In wards three and eight in St Louis in 1900, only fifteen female boarding house keepers were recorded.³² Significantly, fourteen of these women were of German descent, with Mary Murphy being the only Irish women.

There is also evidence of widows retaining, and successfully operating, the businesses of their deceased husbands. Two examples include the Widow Knecht, who according to Kargau, continued to run a boarding house on Twenty-First St after the death of her husband. Similarly, Widow Winkelmeyer, with the aid of her brother and son-in-law continued to oversee the operation of the Union Brewery in St Louis after the death of her husband, Julius Winkelmeyer in 1867.³³ Although this was not the case for all widowed immigrant women, this phenomenon occurred more regularly among the German community given the rate of

²⁹ 1900 US Federal Census record for Fred Ploehu and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 8, ED 114, p. 7 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

³⁰ 1900 US Federal Census record for Frank Boss and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 45, p. 20 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

³¹ 1900 US Federal Census record for Mary Murphy, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 36, p. 3 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

³² German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis MO and Fort Wayne IN 1850-1900, personal database; see also Anbinder, *Five points*, pp 77-80; Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 96.

³³ Ernst D. Kargau, *The German element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman, (Baltimore, MD, 2000), p. 128.

that group's social mobility compared with that of their Irish counterparts. Although some Irish widows did successfully continue their deceased husband's enterprise, far more faced destitution after the loss of the main breadwinner and became reliant on communal amenities like the Mullanphy Widows Homes on Tenth St.

Gamber writes that, '[many] scholars ... have overlooked a variety of entrepreneurial folk – hucksters, laundresses, boarding house keepers, dancing teachers ...but ignoring them has many consequences ... the exclusion of women, and perhaps of racial and ethnic minorities as well'.³⁴ Many women from each immigrant community resident in both cities formed part of this entrepreneurial folk. Kargau also recorded isolated examples of female entrepreneurship among the German female immigrant group in St Louis. In the Soulard neighbourhood, near Fifth St and Choteau Ave., a millinery was operated by four German women, namely, Julia Adler, Caroline Schwarz, Lena Magnus and Josephine Fuerth.³⁵

Immigrant women faced many challenges in acquiring secure employment. Yet, as Diner asserts, 'America offered them [Irish women] a chance to earn money and the respect that money brought'.³⁶ In a sense this was also the primary motivation for many German women to emigrate and seek employment. Both sets of female immigrants were willing to work at the lowest levels of the employment spectrum, whether as entrepreneurs that straddled both the public and private spheres, as factory workers, or perhaps more universally as domestic servants. Many were forced into situations where they 'laboured long hours and endured all of the dangers and discomforts associated with the lowest rank of the workforce'.³⁷ Yet the independence, financial or otherwise, that this employment afforded them was equally as valuable as the material wage, until such time as many of these working women decided to marry and assume their more traditional societal role.

³⁴ Wendy Gamber, 'A gendered enterprise: placing nineteenth century businesswomen in history' in *The Business History Review*, lxxii (1998), pp 188-217; p. 193. See also Alison C. Kay, *The foundations of female entrepreneurship: enterprise, home and household in London, c. 1800-1870* (New York, 2009).

³⁵ Kargau, *German Element*, p. 127.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³⁷ Diner, *Erin's Daughters*, p. 72.

8.3 An assembly of curious women, girls and children³⁸

On 10 April 1901, Adolph Lipp married Mathilda Studt at St Andrew's Evangelical Congregation in St Louis (see Fig. 8.7). Adolph had immigrated to the United States eleven years earlier, (see Introduction), while Mathilda, the daughter of German immigrant parents had been born in St Louis. It is likely that on the morning of the 10 April 1901, Mathilda had visited a local woman like Marie Boulanger, who as Kargau recalled, 'dressed the hair of ladies for weddings, balls and other extraordinary occasions'.³⁹ Another important tradition on the day was the wedding portrait. In this respect, many newly married German couples visited Mr Seattle, because as Kargau also recorded, 'it was the custom [for] bridal couples [to have] themselves photographed on their wedding day'.⁴⁰ Such an occasion, he notes, was greeted by 'an assembly of curious women, girls and children ... when a few carriages drove up, from which emerged the bride, dressed in white with a long veil, and the bridesmaids with their escorts'.⁴¹

Fig. 8.7 Marriage certificate of Adolph Lipp and Mathilda Studt, St Louis, 1901⁴²



³⁸ Ibid., p. 130.

³⁹ Kargau, *German element*, p. 128.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Marriage certificate of Adolph Lipp and Mathilda Studt, 10 Apr. 1901 (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, Lipp family papers, 1840-1944, S0046/1/9/1).

In the 1900 US Federal Census, Mathilda and her sisters are recorded as being at home, suggesting that the income from her father's bookbinding business was sufficient to support the family.⁴³ Yet, although many females from both groups worked in a variety of jobs before they got married, they almost invariably forfeited their financial independence once they became wives. Corbett notes that of the 201 females working in St Louis' tobacco factories in 1890, only eight were married.⁴⁴ One woman who ceased employment in the tobacco industry upon her marriage was Mary Nooney (nee Dalton). Mary Dalton was the daughter of an Irish-born father and a mother of Irish descent. In 1900, Mary Dalton, who lived with her mother, also named Mary, is recorded as working as a tobacco worker in one of St Louis' tobacco factories.⁴⁵ Within a couple of months, Mary married John Nooney, a second generation Irish-American, born to Irish immigrant parents (see Fig. 8.8).⁴⁶ John was a policeman who worked in the sixth precinct of the city from 1899-1926, after which time he was promoted to the rank of sergeant in the same precinct (see section 4.8).⁴⁷ In her analysis of ethnic and generational marriage trends among various ethnic groups, Sassler asserts that 'substantial proportions of German and Irish immigrants living in the United States married late or never married'.⁴⁸ Yet, Matilda Studt was only twenty-one years old when she got married, placing her firmly within the range of the average marrying age in 1900. By contrast, Mary Dalton was twenty-six years of age and while outside the range, she was still relatively young upon her marriage.⁴⁹

⁴³ 1900 US Federal Census record for Henry Studt and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 10, ED 152, p. 5 available at [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

⁴⁴ Corbett, *In her place*, p. 117.

⁴⁵ 1900 US Federal Census record for Mary Dalton and mother, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 23, ED 351, p. 8 available at [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (11 Apr. 2013).

⁴⁶ 1910 US Federal Census record John Nooney and family, 1910 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 2, ED 22, p. 28 available at [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (www.ancestry.com) (11 Apr. 2013).

⁴⁷ Collection description (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers 1871-1935, SL166/1/1).

⁴⁸ Sassler, 'Women's marital timing at the turn of the century', p. 569; Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 51.

⁴⁹ Average marrying age for women in 1900, according to King and Ruggles, ranged from 21-24 years, see Miriam King and Steven Ruggles, 'American immigration, fertility and race suicide at the turn of the century' in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xx (1990), pp 347-69; p. 358.

This later marrying trend, Sassler notes, might in part be explained by the dependence of the family on the wages of the American-born children,⁵⁰ a fact which would seem to be confirmed by Mary Dalton whose mother was widowed. Mary's employment was the only source of income available to the family who lived in rented accommodation on Compton Ave. Accordingly, perhaps Mary's wage from the tobacco factory was a factor in her decision to wait until her mid-twenties to get married.⁵¹ Alternatively, although Sassler's argument has a certain validity, it must also be argued that marriage was oftentimes a means of survival for many immigrant women. Upon, marrying John Nooney in 1900 the couple bought a home on Harper St in the north of the city, and interestingly, Mary Dalton Sr lived with the couple and their children until her death in 1936.⁵² There were also however, an unidentifiable number of both German and Irish immigrant women who immigrated solely with the intention of earning a dowry before returning to the homeland to marry. Although this number cannot be ascertained through an interpretation of census schedules, Wyman's research on return migration to Europe suggests that this was a more prevalent feature among German immigrants than their Irish counterparts with approximately 3% more Germans returning to the homeland than their Irish counterparts during the period from 1880-1900.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 570, Nancy S. Landsdale, 'Generation, ethnicity, and marriage: historical patterns in the Northern United States' in *Demography*, xxx (1993), pp 103-26; Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Wage-earning women: industrial work and family life in the United States, 1900-1930* (New York, 1979).

⁵¹ 1900 US Federal Census record for Mary Dalton and mother, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 23, ED 351, p. 8 available at Ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (11 Apr. 2013).

⁵² Record for Mary Nooney in Calvary Cemetery, St Louis available at: findagrave.com (www.findagrave.com) (11Apr. 2013).

⁵³ Mark Wyman, *Round-trip to America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 10.

Fig. 8.8 John and Mary Nooney (nee Dalton), who got married in St Louis in 1900 ⁵⁴



In analysing the US Federal Census data for St Louis and Fort Wayne for the years 1850 and 1900, it would appear that many German and Irish immigrants did indeed embrace marriage and what Diner terms as the ‘economic hardship and the burden of a growing and hungry family’.⁵⁵ Significantly, as Meagher, writing of the Irish in Worcester notes, ‘if Irish immigrants ... delayed their marriages, almost all of them did marry, nonetheless’,⁵⁶ a trend also evident in the Midwest.

Yet, despite sharing this negative perception and reluctance to marry, marriage patterns for both German and Irish immigrants contrasted significantly (see tables 8.3-8.6). In analysing the census data, four specific types of marriages may be identified. Firstly, an emigrant generation marriage, that is, a marriage in which both partners were born in either Ireland or Germany respectively. Secondly, an intra-ethnic marriage whereby a first generation immigrant born in either Ireland or Germany married a member of the same ethnic

⁵⁴ Photograph of John and Mary Nooney c. 1900 (State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO, John Nooney papers 1871-1935, SL166/1/4).

⁵⁵ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: generation, class and ethnic identity in a New England city, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), p. 53.

group, born in America or elsewhere, that is, a generational member of the group. Type three corresponds to all marriages which were recorded as mixed ethnicity marriages, excluding those specifically involving marriage to German and Irish partners only. Significantly, in a 'type three' marriage only one partner is of German or Irish descent. Finally, type four recorded those marriages which included only ethnically German and Irish partners, specifically, an inter-marriage between the two ethnic groups under investigation. In St Louis in 1850, a total of 3,747 marriages were recorded. Of these marriages, 83% correspond to the German ethnic group and the remaining 17% constitute marriages involving members of the Irish ethnic community. Within the German community in St Louis in 1850, a convincing 98% of marriages were recorded as type one, where a German-born man married a German-born woman. Only 1.8% of German immigrants married outside the ethnic group indicating that the exclusivity of the German immigrant group in 1850 was significantly high. By contrast, the Irish community in St Louis in 1850 display a slightly more assimilative characteristic with approximately 11% of the group marrying outside of the ethnic group and 89% choosing to marry partners who were also born in Ireland. The high number of emigrant generation marriages among the German immigrant group can be explained by the desire to preserve the language and, in the case of German Lutherans religion as well. Undoubtedly a primary concern for the German immigrant group was the distinctiveness and preservation of the ethnic character. Conversely, language was not an issue for Irish immigrants and perhaps this also explains why they married American-born spouses more regularly than their German-born counterparts. Furthermore, only six marriages out of a total of 3,747 recorded illustrated intermarriage between the German and Irish immigrant groups. Perhaps, this might suggest a slight form of religious interaction between both groups, but given that the number accounts for only 0.2% of the total marriages of both groups suggests that ethnic exclusivity was promoted rather than religious interaction.

Table 8.3 Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups in St Louis, 1850-1900⁵⁷

City	Number of marriages								
St Louis	1850				1900				
Ethnic group	German		Irish		German			Irish	
	No.*	%‡	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
Emigrant generation marriage [Type 1]	3069	98%	542	88.5%	1176	29%	} 73% 49% <i>Marriage within the ethnic group</i>	181	21%
Intra-ethnic group marriage [Type 2] ^μ	0	0%	0	0%	1783	44%		237	28%
Inter-ethnic group marriage [Type 3]	59	1.8%	65	10.5%	878	22%	} 27% 51% <i>Marriage outside the ethnic group</i>	234	27%
German and Irish inter-marriage [Type 4]	6	.2%	6	1%	209	5%		209	24%
Total marriages /ethnic group	3134	100%	613	100%	4046	100%		861	100%

* Collation of the number of marriages per ethnic group

‡ Percentage of total number of marriages for the group

μ Intra ethnic marriages (marriages between immigrants and generational members are unidentifiable in the 1850 US Federal Census as parental origin was not recorded)

Table 8.4 Analysis of those who married outside of the ethnic group and the most popular origins of spouses, St Louis 1900

<i>St Louis 1900</i>	<i>No. of those who married outside the group</i>	<i>No. of those who married ethnically American spouses</i>	<i>No. of those who married into other ethnic groups</i>	<i>Most popular spouse origins [USA]</i>	<i>Most popular spouse origins [other ethnic groups]</i>
Ethnically German women	453	220	233	Missouri, Illinois, Ohio	Switzerland, England, Bohemia, Russia
Ethnically German men	419	258	161	Missouri, Illinois, Ohio	Switzerland, England, France
Ethnically Irish women	117	60	52	Missouri, Illinois, Pennsylvania	England, Scotland, France
Ethnically Irish men	116	85	31	Missouri, Illinois,	England, Scotland, France

⁵⁷ All information for this analysis, tables 8.3-8.6 inclusive, is derived from US Federal Census returns for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850-1900. US Federal Census St Louis MO 1850, wards 1 and 6, US Federal Census St Louis, MO, 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN, 1850, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1900, wards 2 and 6, available at: ancestry.com, (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

It is important to note that in analysing the 1850 US Federal Census data, the number of marriages where members of the German and Irish immigrant groups married generational members within the ethnic group cannot be accounted for, as parentage was only recorded for the first time in the 1880 US Federal Census. Thus, perhaps the number of German and Irish marriages recorded as inter-ethnic marriages are in fact lower, yet this cannot be verified. By 1900, however, a much more concise interpretation of the marriage trends within the group can be constructed. In the German community, the number of type one marriages has fallen substantially. Those marriages where both partners are born in Germany now account for only 29% of the total marriages for the group. Despite this, marriage within the ethnic group is still more common among the German community than their Irish counterparts. 44% of German marriages at this time involved intra-ethnic couples compared with only 28% for the Irish community. Significantly, 73% of German marriages still involved only members of the German ethnic group, compared with only 49% of Irish couples. This trend highlights two important observations. Firstly, it suggests that the Irish immigrant group assimilated at a faster rate than their German counterparts and secondly, it emphasises the continued inclination among the German community to remain ethnically and culturally exclusive. This is surprising given that the German immigrant group were financially more secure than their Irish counterparts and so assimilation might have been achieved at a swifter pace. Despite this, the Irish immigrant community have assimilated at a more significant rate.

The number of type four marriages, those which recorded marriage between the two immigrant groups, increased substantially by 1900, rising to 209. Proportionally, this accounted for only 5% of German marriages, but almost a quarter of Irish marriages. This might perhaps reinforce the belief that inter-marriage between German and Irish immigrants had a religious connotation, a trend that is more evident in 1900 than in 1850. However, when considering Burchell's study of the Irish in San Francisco, it would seem that the availability of suitable marriage partners is a more likely explanation. Burchell records that in

1880, there were 432 examples of inter-marriage between the German and Irish immigrant groups. This accounts for 2.3% of the total marriages of the Irish group in San Francisco in 1880.⁵⁸ Even allowing for the twenty year discrepancy in this comparison, the fact that by 1900 inter-marriage between the two groups in St Louis accounted for 25% of marriages within the Irish group suggests that this trend might be more attributable to the high number of Germans resident in St Louis rather than any kind of religious solidarity with the German immigrant group, an argument which might also be applied to San Francisco. Yet, equally in both cities, St Louis and San Francisco, the reciprocal effect of German and Irish marriages confirms that for those who married outside the group, this was the most frequent combination, barring marriage to American-born spouses.

For those whose marriage was classified as a type three marriage, that is, those who married outside the group, distinct trends emerge. In the German instance, 453 ethnically German women married outside the group. Of these, 220 married American-born men of American parentage and the remaining 233 ethnically German women married men from other ethnic groups. The most regular ethnic group that German women married into was the Swiss immigrant community with almost 25% of women who married men of other ethnic groups marrying ethnically Swiss men. However, despite this, men from other ethnic groups like England, France and Bohemia were regularly chosen as marriage partners. Similarly, 419 ethnically German men also married outside the immigrant group. However, whereas German women were equally divided between American-born men and men from other ethnic groups, German men married American-born women more regularly. Similar to their female counterparts, women from Switzerland, England and France were the most common marriage partners for ethnically German men who decided to marry outside the ethnic group.

In an examination of Irish immigrants who married outside the group an interesting trend emerges. According to Diner, 'Irish-born women married non-Irish men more

⁵⁸ Burchell, *Irish in San Francisco*, pp 79-85.

frequently than Irish-born men married non-Irish women.⁵⁹ However, the trends that emerge from Irish marital compositions in St Louis would seem to contradict this. Almost an even number of Irish men and women married outside the group, thus challenging Diner's theory. However, within this context, Irish men and women expressed different preferences. Women of Irish descent were more likely to marry men from other immigrant groups than their male counterparts, while, ethnically Irish men tended to marry women of American ethnicity more regularly. Of those males and females who married into other ethnic groups, England, Scotland and France were the most popular.

The trends relative to each immigrant group with respect to those who married into other immigrant communities are in themselves worthy of analysis. Distinct European trends emerge in this sense. Ethnically German men and women were more likely to marry partners who were ethnically Swiss, thus reinforcing the more universal Germanic identity. Conversely, those of Irish descent, both male and female who married outside the group, more regularly married ethnically English or Scottish partners perhaps reflecting previous migratory patterns of the Irish immigrant group.

Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, a naturally fewer number of marriages were recorded. In Fort Wayne in 1850 a total of 1,177 marriages involving German and Irish couples were recorded. Of these a broad correlation with the trends in St Louis can be observed. In 1850, both immigrant groups exhibited high numbers of emigrant-generation marriages. In the German community, this number was 92% while the Irish community, again perhaps attributable to the identity and language questions, showed a lower rate of emigrant-generation marriages at 73%. In essence, this highlights the small size of Fort Wayne, as well as the low number of Irish immigrants in the city at the time. A shortage of suitable marriage partners from the desired immigrant group might, in part, explain why over 25% of the Irish immigrant community were already showing signs of assimilation by 1850

⁵⁹ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 50.

and marrying outside the ethnic group. Simultaneously, however, the tendency of the German immigrant community to maintain its ethnic distinctiveness is also highlighted by its low rate of inter-ethnic marriages.

By 1900, the assimilation of the Irish community in Fort Wayne is clear. At this time more than half of the Irish immigrant community were married to spouses born outside of the Irish ethnic group. Almost 60% of the marriages recorded demonstrate that Irish men and women were no longer exclusively within the boundary of the ethnic community. Given the size of the Irish ethnic community in Fort Wayne, Irish assimilation is clearly visible by 1900. Similarly, and in comparison to St Louis, German assimilation is also evident by examining the marriage trends. By 1900, 35% of the German immigrant group were marrying spouses of other ethnicities, emphasising how this group acculturated at a faster rate than their counterparts in the larger city further south. However, despite this, a significant majority of the German immigrant group married within the ethnic community. Undoubtedly, a trend such as this highlights the need to examine smaller immigrant communities more thoroughly.

Interestingly, in 1850, no inter-marriage between the German and Irish immigrant communities is recorded, but by 1900 there are twenty-two marriages of this kind. This is perhaps best explained, not in terms of religious toleration, but is more likely attributable to the availability of marriage partners, as in St Louis, but also to the necessity of both groups to assimilate more rapidly in a smaller city. Furthermore, Diner's assertion that more Irish women married outside the group more regularly than Irish men is completely disproved in Fort Wayne, perhaps suggesting that an alternative rubric should be applied to the examination of immigrant communities in smaller towns and cities.

Table 8.5 Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups in Fort Wayne, 1850-1900

City	Number of marriages								
	1850				1900				
Fort Wayne	German		Irish		German		Irish		
	No.*	% [‡]	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Emigrant generation marriage [Type 1]	389	92%	44	73%	196	20%	} 65% 42% <i>Marriage within the ethnic group</i>	29	14%
Intra-ethnic group marriage [Type 2] ^μ	0	0	0	0%	435	45%		55	28%
Inter-ethnic group marriage [Type 3]	35	8%	16	27%	326	33%	} 35% 58% <i>Marriage outside the ethnic group</i>	93	47%
German and Irish inter-marriage [Type 4]	0	0	0	0	22	2%		22	11%
Total marriages /ethnic group	424	100%	60	100%	979	100%		199	100%

* Collation of the number of marriages per ethnic group

‡ Percentage of total number of marriages for the group

μ Intra ethnic marriages (marriages between immigrants and generational members are unidentifiable in the 1850 US Federal Census as parental origin was not recorded)

Table 8.6 Analysis of those who married outside of the ethnic group and the most popular origins of spouses, Fort Wayne, 1900

<i>Fort Wayne 1900</i>	<i>No. of those who married outside the group</i>	<i>No. of those who married ethnically American spouses</i>	<i>No. of those who married into other ethnic groups</i>	<i>Most popular spouse origins [USA]</i>	<i>Most popular spouse origins [other ethnic groups]</i>
Ethnically German women	151	111	40	Indiana, Ohio	England, Switzerland, France
Ethnically German men	173	140	33	Indiana, Ohio	England, Switzerland, France
Ethnically Irish women	35	25	10	Indiana, Ohio	England, Sweden, France
Ethnically Irish men	58	47	11	Indiana, Ohio, New York	France, England,

Marriage trends among both immigrant groups highlight many of the subtle and intricate contrasts in each group. In both cities, in 1850, the preferred spouse was an immigrant of the same origin and although applicable to all four communities, it appears to have been a more urgent concern for the German immigrant group. This tendency to marry within the immigrant group reflects the importance of cultural identity to the German community. In the Irish instance, marrying within the group was certainly a priority for the majority in 1850, but examples of assimilation are already visible given the proportionally larger number of inter-ethnic marriages. By 1900, this trend had continued to increase in both cities and among both groups. However, marriage within the German immigrant community remained a priority for the majority of German immigrants and their descendants. By contrast, Irish marriage patterns continued to exhibit a more assimilative trend. By 1900 the marriage patterns of the Irish in Fort Wayne highlight the impact of assimilation on that community with almost an even distribution of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic marriages. Thus there are two important observations to be addressed here. Firstly, the dynamics of immigrant groups in largely industrialised cities and their desire to remain culturally exclusive and secondly, both the necessity and impact of acculturation on immigrant groups in smaller, less industrialised cities as well as the ethnic agendas of immigrant groups in both of these situations.

8.4 *'visited Mrs Wandell in the evening'*⁶⁰

On 13 March 1890, Bertha Mann recorded that she had spent that afternoon at the guild. The following day, Bertha noted that the weather on that Friday had been cold and windy. Later in the afternoon she travelled downtown with Mrs Wilbur and purchased some silk, cashmere, lining and sugar.⁶¹ Aside from employment and marriage, another aspect crucial to the female immigrant identity was the establishment of social networks and

⁶⁰ Bertha B. Mann Journals, 13-14 Mar. 1890 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, Bertha B. Mann Journals A0975/2/13).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

communal facilities, where immigrant women could meet, socialise and converse about their experiences.

Two primary types of social opportunities were available to women. Firstly, there were secular clubs and societies like the Ladies Auxiliaries to the AOH for Irish women or alternatively, Ladies' *Turner* clubs for German women. Working Girls Clubs like the one established by the female workers in the Liggett and Meyers factory were also popular among women who pursued industrial employment. Secondly, there were church societies and religious organisations like the St Ann's Society for Married Women established in St Bridget of Erin's parish in St Louis. Alternatively, branches of organisations like the Christian Mother's Guild which was organised in St Francis de Sales parish, a German national parish in St Louis, also provided social outlets for many immigrant women.⁶² These are just two examples of the nature of organisations instituted by the Catholic Church. Conversely, the Lutheran church also created social opportunities for their members. In 1862, Mrs Foehlinger, the wife of the assistant pastor at St Paul's in Fort Wayne, and Mrs Wolf, the wife of one of the teachers in the parochial school, established the Ladies Aid Society of St Paul's Congregation in Fort Wayne.⁶³ This society met one afternoon per week to sew vestments for the students in the Lutheran seminary situated on the outskirts of Fort Wayne. Aside from these outlets, there was very little opportunity for immigrant women to meet and socialise. Yet, as Pickle notes, immigrant churches, often 'could not have functioned or ... survived without the on-going work women performed'.⁶⁴ Women were particularly responsible for organising fundraising events and preparing food and drink for special

⁶² Report of St Bridget of Erin's Parish, St Louis (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin church RG4B/41/6/2); Extract from *Diamond Jubilee – St Francis de Sales, 1867-1942* (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Francis de Sales national German church 1867, RG4B/50/5/b/unpaginated).

⁶³ Newspaper clipping from *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, 6 May 1962 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, St Paul's Lutheran Church Fort Wayne 1846-1962, 1/3/6).

⁶⁴ Linda Pickle, *Contented among strangers: rural German speaking women and their families in the nineteenth century Midwest* (Illinois, 1996), p. 80.

communal occasions, and it was in this sphere that their contribution was most obviously exemplified.

Many of the social activities of Lutheran women were focused primarily around secular organisations such as the German Women's Union or in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the *Turner* organisations. The primary reason for this was the conservatism that characterised the Lutheran church. An example of this was visible in Fort Wayne, when the influential Rev. Sihler (see section 6.4) decreed that at religious services, women and men should remain segregated.⁶⁵ In Irene Häderle's study of Lutheran women in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the same tradition emerged. 'The Lutheran women' she writes, 'must keep silent in church, which not only meant they had no voting rights in the parish assembly but also that they were banned from holding influential positions such as teacher or minister.'⁶⁶ The same was true for women in the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod which contained a large number of affiliate congregations throughout the Midwest. Brunett and Luebbring record that, 'in Protestant German churches, women were not generally allowed to serve directly. In early LC-MS communities, women were not even allowed to teach school, although this prohibition was gradually relaxed'.⁶⁷ Ironically, Sihler's own daughter Elizabeth was one of the few women who confronted the conservative expectations of her father's generation, ultimately becoming a highly regarded teacher at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts.⁶⁸ As Sack noted, 'she found being a single woman preferable to that of a pastor's wife'.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Jim Sack, 'The Germans in Fort Wayne' in John Beatty and Phylis Robb (eds), *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2005* (2 vols, Fort Wayne, 2005), i, pp 676-99; p. 688.

⁶⁶ Irene Häderle, 'Women and lay activism: aspects of acculturation in the German Lutheran churches of Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1870-1917' in *Michigan Historical Review*, xxv (1999), pp 25-43; p. 30.

⁶⁷ Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbring, *Immigrant women in the settlement of Missouri* (Columbia, MO, 2005), p. 62.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Sihler, 'Life in St Paul's parsonage, Fort Wayne', 1886 (Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, William Sihler collection, 1801-1937 M0019/1/3/unpaginated).

⁶⁹ Sack, 'The Germans', p. 689.

Yet, despite this conservative predisposition, the Lutheran Ladies Aid society in Fort Wayne was relatively prolific in its involvement with the church, although a general wariness among the church hierarchy in condoning such structured female participation remained prevalent throughout the Midwest. As Häderle writes ‘Even in the United States, the German clergy had in mind the prevailing patriarchal, estate-based social order in Europe, a twofold social system ... in which the population was divided into superiors and inferiors, into sovereigns and subjects.’⁷⁰ In this sense, women were clearly ‘subjects’ who were encouraged to adhere to the *Kinder, Kirche, Kuche* model, another European phenomenon. However, perhaps taking their cue from fellow women in the Anglo-American churches, German Lutheran women gradually became an integral component in the expansion and preservation of the ethnic church, which as well as its members, was also forced to acculturate. Much to the alarm of German clerics who viewed the increasingly prominent role of women in American churches as abhorrent, German immigrant women emphasised their own assimilation by striving to acquire this elevated status also.

Although Lutheran women could not participate in any kind of official way in the running of their church, women did nonetheless, ‘set up rooms for prayer assemblies [and] prepared meals and celebrations ... women thus made sporadic contributions to establishing the church and the school in their roles as wives, mothers, and daughters.’⁷¹ However, although this catered in the most basic sense to their social needs, they were still not permitted by the church to establish social organisations for themselves. Significantly, however, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, many of the Lutheran synods on the east coast and Midwest began to adopt a more liberal attitude and the disdain with which women’s organisations once held began to dwindle. However, in contrast to the ladies societies of the Catholic Church which were given the freedom to operate without the

⁷⁰ Häderle, ‘Women and lay activism’, pp 34-5; see also Sidney E. Mead, *The lively experiment: the shaping of Christianity in America* (2nd ed., New York, 2007); Ian Graebner, *Uncertain saints: the laity in the Lutheran Church: Missouri Synod, 1900-1970* (Westport, CT, 1975).

⁷¹ Häderle, ‘Women and lay activism’, p. 31.

presence of a priest, the Lutheran women's organisations were usually supervised by the pastor. It was not until 1942 that the women of the LC-MS were 'allow[ed] to form an organisation by and for themselves.'⁷²

Although more embracing than their Lutheran counterparts, the Catholic Church also failed initially to address the social needs of women. As Diner comments, 'despite the cry of the clergy on both sides of the Atlantic, as to the great dangers innocent Irish girls faced as migrants ... it instituted hardly any projects and services to counteract the negative side effects of migration'.⁷³ However, perhaps this was merely a feature of the Irish psyche, for as Nolan argues, 'Irish women lagged behind other female immigrants in forming women's organisations, [yet] this lack of formal organisation did not prevent them from restoring the tradition of banding together for communal self-help'.⁷⁴ This is certainly evident in comparing the number of societies recorded for both St Peter and Paul's and St Patrick's churches in St Louis. The number of organisations catering to the parishioners of Irish parishes was exceeded quite substantially by that of their German counterparts. In St Bridget of Erin parish however, Fr Walsh was more cognisant to the needs of his female parishioners. Aside from the Married Women's Society, there was also a Young Girl's Sodality and a Legion of Mary prayer group.⁷⁵ Yet, what is striking when considering the availability of social outlets for immigrant women, is the fact that the immigrant poor, and those widowed or abandoned, had little communal support available to them save for any charitable assistance they acquired, usually through the church. In this instance, as Diner writes, 'much of female socializing involved visiting and talking, exchanging information, seeking advice in hallways and back yards while performing domestic functions'.⁷⁶ Very little evidence exists to confirm this theory, yet the journals of Bertha Mann do nonetheless endorse Diner's

⁷² Weatherford, *Foreign and female*, p. 71.

⁷³ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 129.

⁷⁴ Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves alone: women's emigration from Ireland, 1885-1920* (Lexington, KY, 1989), p. 87.

⁷⁵ Report of St Bridget of Erin's Parish, St Louis (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin church RG4B/41/6/2).

⁷⁶ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 126.

assertion. Regularly throughout the journals, Mann records either visiting or being visited by other women from her ethnic group.

For working women the situation was slightly different. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, they were financially independent and so could afford subscriptions to clubs and societies. Secondly, by virtue of the fact they were in gainful employment meant that they were almost exclusively single and therefore social interaction was integral in their pursuit of a husband. As Peiss notes, ‘among working women, leisure came to be seen as a separate sphere of life to be consciously protected’,⁷⁷ because ultimately, it was in this sphere that prospective marriage partners were identified. This, however, is not to suggest that once a woman got married her social opportunities became extinct, it merely emphasises the fact that a different rubric applied to the social life of a married woman, especially those who found that their place in society was among the immigrant poor, a position many Irish immigrant women – and to a lesser extent German immigrant women – found themselves in.

In the secular realm, there were many opportunities for immigrant women to socialise. Akin to male socialising habits, women also remained firmly within the ethnic boundary. As Burnett and Luebbring comment ‘many German women had little direct contact with American culture, because they conducted all their business within a few blocks of their homes and never needed to speak English’.⁷⁸ Similarly, the majority of social pursuits were also executed in this manner. In both cities, the social opportunities for German immigrant women were as diverse as their male counterparts. In St Louis, the South St Louis Turner Society, founded in 1869 held a ladies class, as well as an old folks class (see Fig. 8.9).⁷⁹ Likewise in the northern part of the city, the North St Louis *Turnerbund* had a ladies’ auxiliary and according to Kargau, this had a subscription of thirty members in 1899, while

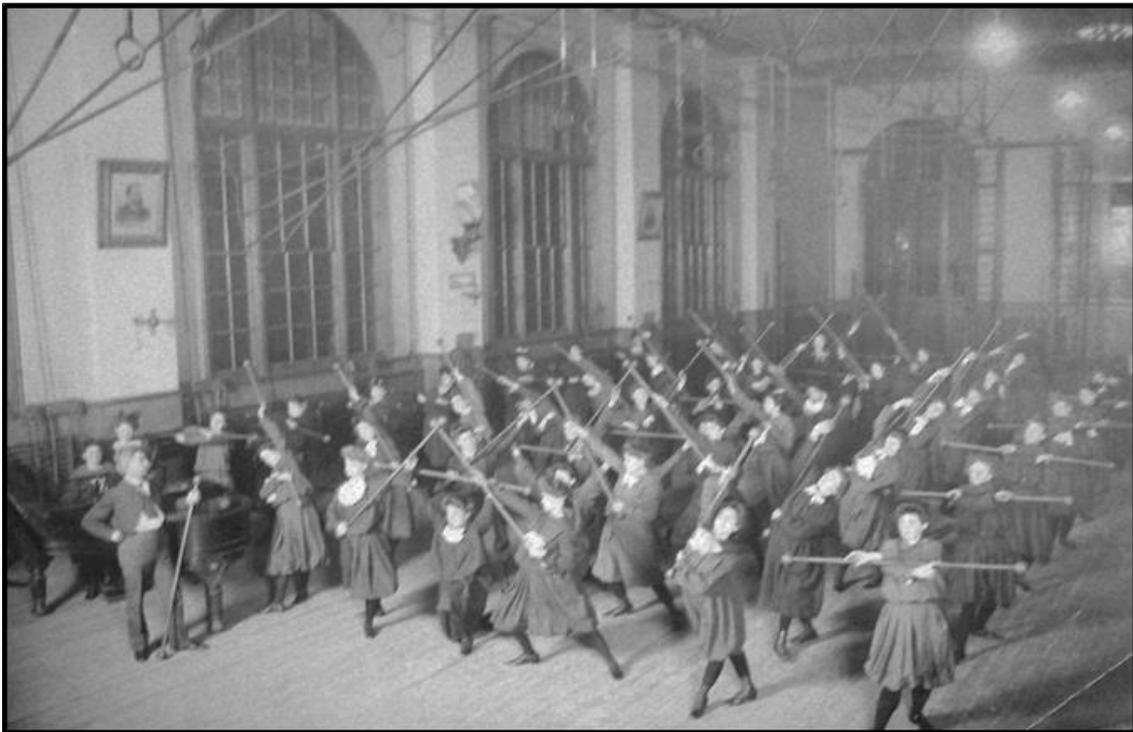
⁷⁷ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap amusements: working women and leisure in turn-of-the-century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 40.

⁷⁸ Burnett and Luebbring, *Immigrant women*, p. 50.

⁷⁹ Kargau, *German element*, p. 222.

the *Turner* school adjacent to the society had an enrolment of 130 girls.⁸⁰ In 1856, the Philodramatic Society of St Louis donated some of the money it raised to the German Women's Club in St Louis,⁸¹ appropriate given the fact that the society was controlled by German immigrants.

Fig. 8.9 South St Louis *Turnverein* Young Ladies Class, c.1900⁸²



Immigrant women provided an ancillary role in the main social organisations established, for the most part, by their male counterparts. On many occasions women and girls whose husbands, fathers and brothers were associated with various associations like *Turner* societies and singing clubs often presented the club or society with a flag or banner marking the foundation of the club or a significant anniversary. This practice was also evident in St Louis, when in May 1851, German women presented the St Louis *Turner*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁸² South St Louis *Turnverein*, Young Ladies Class – Bar drill, c. 1900 (Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO, St Louis *Turnverein* FM90-003249/4).

Society with ‘a beautifully embroidered white silk banner’ to mark the organisation’s first anniversary.⁸³

Conversely, despite Nolan’s observation about the hesitancy of Irish women to establish social organisations, there were branches of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Ancient Order of Hibernians in most cities throughout the Midwest. Even Fort Wayne, a relatively small city with a modest Irish community had a Ladies Auxiliary. The fact that this organisation outlived its male counterpart in the city is a testimony to the resolve of the Irish women in Fort Wayne and its existence was important to the social fabric of the city.⁸⁴ As Nolan writes, ‘Although the Ladies Auxiliary [of the AOH] was dependant on the larger male organisation, participation in its many activities brought housebound wives, widows and servant girls into the wider world of public Irish America.’⁸⁵

8.5 ‘she shall be addressed as ‘Reverend Mother’⁸⁶

In early May 1853, four nuns from the convent of the Sisters of Charity in Emmetsburg, Maryland began a 700 mile journey west travelling by both railroad and steamboat. By the 18 May 1853, the four nuns, Sr Felicitia Dillon, Sr Eustasia Hickey, Sr Agnes O’Connor and Sr Mary Patrick Loughran had reached St Louis, Missouri where they were subsequently received by the Dublin-born Archbishop of St Louis, Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick.⁸⁷ These four women had been charged with the task of establishing and managing an abandoned infant asylum. This refuge, the first of its kind west of the Mississippi River, received no fewer than fourteen infants during its first day of operation

⁸³ Kargau, *German element*, p. 217.

⁸⁴ William Griffin, ‘Irish’ in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (eds), *Peopling Indiana: the ethnic experience* (Indianapolis, IN, 1996), pp 243-73; p. 262.

⁸⁵ Nolan, *Ourselves alone*, p. 87.

⁸⁶ ‘Minutes of the corporation, preamble and constitution and by-laws etc. of the St Joseph’s Convent of Mercy in St Louis, 6 July 1860’ (Archdiocese of St Louis archives, St Louis, Mercy Sister RSM (1856) RG06/D/37/4/50).

⁸⁷ Document recording the history of St Ann’s Infant Asylum, St Louis, c.1932 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, RGVI/D/14/2/3).

alone.⁸⁸ Within five years, the asylum expanded to include a home for aged widows, and a lying-in or maternity hospital as well. The institution continued to grow and prosper and by the 1890s, the asylum had received over 11,500 abandoned children, cared for 200 widows and tended to over 4,000 women in the maternity hospital.⁸⁹

Significantly, not all women chose the conventional life of the laity. Although initially a product of Catholic emigrant societies in Europe, the role of women religious in the emergence, development and sustention of immigrant communities cannot be understated. For both German and Irish immigrant groups, religious orders like the Sisters of the Good Shepard, the Sisters of Mercy, the Ursulines and the Sisters of Providence were essential in the development of communal facilities such as schools and hospitals. Commenting on the social situation in St Louis during the mid-nineteenth century, Rothensteiner concluded that, ‘the hard struggle for life during the years when immigration from Ireland and Germany was at its high tide brought about in many a dangerous relaxation of moral principles’.⁹⁰ As a result, these women religious were also required to address many of the social problems that afflicted the community. Nuns became particularly involved with their lay female counterparts who succumbed to poverty, desertion, domestic abuse and alcoholism. As Hasia Diner notes, ‘it was from the nuns representing female religious orders that the Irish women, faced with poverty, alcoholism, domestic violence and illness could expect aid and support’.⁹¹

Metress contends that ‘nuns were strong women who worked and held positions of importance when women were not involved in lay businesses’.⁹² Yet, although this statement has some credibility, in many instances, these religious orders were as unfortunate as the poor they served, with ‘nuns in some city neighbourhoods ... hardly better off than the poor they

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis* (2 vols, St Louis, MO, 1923), ii, p. 31.

⁹¹ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 130.

⁹² Seamus Metress and Molly Schiever (eds), *The Irish in Toledo* (Toledo, 2005), p. 52.

served',⁹³ a fact evident on the east coast as well as in the Midwest.⁹⁴ Women religious also had very little independence from the presiding bishop or, more usually, the parish priest. Faced likewise with increasing challenges as they went about their missions, whether teaching, nursing or aiding delinquent women, the challenges confronting these women in their daily work were as stark as the plight of the people they served. However, were it not for their motivation, caring and dedication to their community, it is likely that the development of communal infrastructures would have taken much longer and the abundance of the social problems they dealt with may have had further distressing consequences on each community.

Female religious orders were responsible for the establishment of schools, hospitals, refuges, convalescence homes and orphanages. Writing of the Sisters of Mercy, Diner comments that, 'wherever they went, they established ... mercy houses where women in distress could seek refuge ... employment agencies, training schools for young women looking to move into clerical and nursing work ... and day nurseries for working women'.⁹⁵ Women religious also visited prisons and made house-calls identifying members of their community who could benefit from their work. As Nolan contends, 'although nuns represented only a tiny minority of all women in ... Irish America, their activities were crucial to the social welfare of Irish immigrants in the United States'.⁹⁶ Many of the religious orders were filled with women of German or Irish decent. Irish women became members of a wide range of religious orders. In St Louis alone, Irish immigrant women were members of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of St Joseph of Carondelet, the Daughters of Charity, the Visitation Sisters, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity of the Virgin Mary to name but a few. German descendants could also be found in these convents, or more

⁹³ Brunett and Luebbring, *Immigrant women*, p. 78.

⁹⁴ For an extended discussion of female religious orders in the nineteenth century see Maureen Fitzgerald, *Habits of compassion: Irish Catholic nuns and the origins of New York's welfare system, 1830-1920* (Champaign, IL, 2006); Suellen M. Hoy, *Good hearts: Catholic sisters in Chicago's past* (Urbana, IL, 2006).

⁹⁵ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 134.

⁹⁶ Nolan, *Ourselves alone*, p. 88.

prominently in orders such as the Sisters of the Good Shepard or the Ursulines which traditionally had more Germanic roots.

For many German and Irish women, perhaps more often in the case of Irish women, a life of religious devotion and the execution of charitable works provided many with opportunities they would not ordinarily have had, had they chosen to remain on the family farm. Here, they faced what Faherty terms, ‘grim prospects [and] ... no meaningful roles for them’,⁹⁷ and thus a life as part of a religious order offered many immigrant women the possibility of becoming nurses and teachers in a time when women from both immigrant groups were expected to marry, keep house and raise children. Recruitment to religious orders during the second half of the nineteenth century took place both in America and in the homeland. Religious orders sent delegations, usually consisting of a priest and a small group of nuns to both Ireland and Germany in a bid to entice young women to join the order.⁹⁸ Hoy, in her study of nuns in Chicago records how Mother Teresa Comerford, a nun in San Francisco, returned to Ireland on three occasions during the 1860s to recruit novices willing to emigrate and pursue their vocation in America.⁹⁹ The perception of this emigration by the local community contrasted starkly with the practised norm. Instead of the melancholy which was typical upon the departure of a young single girl from the locality, the emigration of nuns was celebrated and a shared sense of pride was evident among the community. On 26 April 1872, the *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* noted how eleven nuns from the Sisters of the Order of Mercy departed Ennis for New York in order to ‘establish a convent at Newtown, United States.’ The eleven, who hailed from Limerick, Ennis, Burren and Corofin were escorted to the train station where ‘all respectable Catholic ladies ...and hundreds of all classes were assembled to demonstrate the respect in which they [the nuns]

⁹⁷ William Barnaby Faherty, *St Louis Irish: an unmatched Celtic community* (St Louis, 2001), p. 99.

⁹⁸ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, pp 28-9.

⁹⁹ Hoy, *Good hearts*, p. 21.

were held.¹⁰⁰ The nuns were conveyed to the train station in carriages preceded by a brass band and were subsequently escorted to Queenstown by the reverend mother.¹⁰¹

8.6 *'the solemnity of religious engagement'*¹⁰²

Upon arrival, the social work undertaken by women religious took many guises. One of the most popular and easily recognisable was their role in the education of each immigrant group's offspring. Usually invited by the local priest to establish and teach in the parish school, many Irish and German women served their communities in this way. The Ursulines, the Sisters of Providence, the School Sisters of Notre Dame and the Sisters of Mercy were popular orders in this regard and many parochial schools were established under their tutelage.

In Fort Wayne, two religious orders, namely the Sisters of Providence and the School Sisters of Notre Dame, were dominant in the educational sector. The School Sisters of Notre Dame emphasised the role played by German nuns in this respect. Reflecting the similar educational culture in Milwaukee, by 1897 the order was responsible for the management of eight schools in northern Indiana, two of which were in Fort Wayne.¹⁰³ The Sisters of Providence was a religious order founded by the French-born Mother Theodore. In America, the order established its headquarters at St Mary of the Woods near Terre Haute in Indiana in 1840. It consisted of both German and Irish sisters. A mission came to Fort Wayne in 1846, and they opened St Augustine Academy later that year.¹⁰⁴ This school was attended by most

¹⁰⁰ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 26 Apr. 1872.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Archbishop Richard Kenrick, 'Pastoral letter to the Catholic clergy, and beloved children of the laity', 16 Feb. 1842 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Pastoral Letters of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick, RG01/C/03/1/10).

¹⁰³ St Mary's and St Peter's Schools in Fort Wayne were managed by the School sisters of Notre Dame, see Joseph M. White, *Worthy of the gospel of Christ: a history of the Catholic diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend* (Fort Wayne, IN, 2007), pp 152-3.

¹⁰⁴ Nick Heiny, 'Sisters of Providence: 150 years in Fort Wayne, Indiana' in *AC Lines*, xxi (1996), pp 17-8; p. 17.

Catholic immigrant children and St Augustine's had high proportions of German, Irish and French Catholic children. Given the size of Fort Wayne, ethnicity in this sense posed few problems. The requirement of Catholic schools for each immigrant group did not become a prominent issue until the latter decades of the nineteenth century and many Irish and Irish-Americans sent their children to St Augustine's until the 1870s when national parishes became more popular in the city.

In 1890 St Patrick's parish, an Irish national parish was founded by Fr Delaney (see section 6.8) in the south of the city. Once the church had been established, Fr Delaney turned his attention to the development of a parochial school. In this endeavour, Sr Mary Catherine McGrath played an integral role. In her honour, St Catherine's Academy for girls was named in 1901.¹⁰⁵ Catherine McGrath was born in Castleblaney, Co Monaghan in February 1854. She immigrated to the United States from Liverpool in December 1869 on board the *SS Pennsylvania*.¹⁰⁶ Upon her arrival in New York she acquired employment as a domestic servant in a boarding house operated by Sarah Warter.¹⁰⁷ Having worked in this boarding house with a fellow Irish woman named Catherine Halloran for some time, Catherine gradually made her way to the Midwest. On 23 January 1877, Catherine McGrath entered the convent of the Sisters of Providence of St Mary of the Woods near Terre Haute, Indiana. Three years later, in August 1880, Catherine McGrath took her first vows. However, it was eleven years before the young Irish emigrant, now thirty-seven years of age took her perpetual vows and became Sr Mary Catherine McGrath.¹⁰⁸ In 1893, Sr Mary Catherine was sent to Fort Wayne, Indiana, a distance of 200 miles from the convent where she had spent

¹⁰⁵ *St Patrick's Catholic Church, Fort Wayne Indiana, 1890-1990*, Centennial Booklet (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Indiana, St Patrick's Church 1/2/11).

¹⁰⁶ 'Catherine McGrath assignment card, 1877-1901'(Archives of the Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana); Passenger list entry for Catherine McGrath on *SS Pennsylvania* 15 Dec. 1869, New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957, *SS Pennsylvania* (1869), p. 5, available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

¹⁰⁷ 1870 US Federal Census record for Catherine McGrath, 1870 US Federal Census, New York City (Independent city), NY, Ward 7, ED 7, p. 3 available at: ancestry.com (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

¹⁰⁸ 'Catherine McGrath assignment card, 1877-1901'(Archives of the Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana).

most of the previous fifteen years. Here, she was assigned as local superior and school principal of St Patrick's school in Fort Wayne, a position she held for nine years until her death in 1902.¹⁰⁹ In the 1900 US Federal Census, Sr Mary Catherine, living at 71 Webster St in the south of the city is recorded as being the head of household, where she lives with ten other teachers who worked at St Patrick's. Significantly, Sr Mary Catherine is the only Irish immigrant, but emphasising the composition of the ethnically Irish neighborhood, seven of the ten teachers in the school are of Irish descent.¹¹⁰ Sr Mary Catherine died in 1902 as a result of a nine month illness from tuberculosis.¹¹¹ In 1901, an academy was built in association with the elementary school and named in her honour (see Fig. 8.10). The academy cost \$20,000 to build and was intended to 'enable the girls of the parish to secure a complete academic and commercial education'.¹¹² During its first semester only fifteen students enrolled, but by the time of its closure in 1938 over 650 girls had graduated from the academy (see section 6.8).

Fig. 8.10 St Catherine's Academy, Fort Wayne est. 1901¹¹³



¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ 1900 US Federal Census record for Sr Mary Catherine McGrath, 1900 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 6, ED 39, p. 3 available at: ancestry.com. (www.ancestry.com) (10 Apr. 2013).

¹¹¹ 'Catherine McGrath assignment card, 1877-1901' (Archives of the Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana).

¹¹² 'History of St Patrick's parish, Fort Wayne, Indiana, Dec. 1896-Dec. 1926' (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, Indiana, St Patrick Church, 1/4/3).

¹¹³ St Catherine's Academy, Fort Wayne, Indiana, c. 1910 (Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, IN, St Patrick's Church, 1/5/1).

Many female religious orders were also resident in St Louis. One example was the Sisters of Mercy who established a convent in St Louis after Rev. Mother Agnes O'Connor, the Mother Superior at the convent in New York, was approached by Archbishop Kenrick to send a mission of nuns to St Xavier's parish in St Louis. Mother O'Connor elected Sr Mary de Pazzi Bentley, a native of Dublin, to lead the delegation of six who would travel to St Louis and serve the poor of St Xavier's parish.¹¹⁴ The order arrived in the city in June 1856 after a meeting with Fr Patrick Ryan (see section 6.8) in New York.¹¹⁵ The sisters became instantly involved with the fabric of immigrant life in St Louis by visiting hospitals and prisons. Within a year, the mission had established a free school for the children of poorer immigrants and a Sunday school for Negro women,¹¹⁶ while simultaneously opening a private academy in a bid to compensate for the cost of establishing the free institution.¹¹⁷ In 1871, the Sisters of Mercy turned this school into an infirmary and subsequently opened three more parish schools throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ Education was just one example of how these women aided the immigrant experience and their involvement in this respect excellently emphasises the role played by women in societies not traditionally accustomed to female participation in the public sphere. Yet, as Dries writes, 'a number of these external roles provided a civic and public dimension to their lives and were acknowledged as such.'¹¹⁹ However Fort Wayne and St Louis were by no means unique and the influence of women religious can be seen in cities across the Midwest as well as on the east coast as studies like Hoy's, Fitzgerald's and Deggs' illustrate.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, p. 33.

¹¹⁷ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 52.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹⁹ Angelyn Dries, 'The Americanization of religious life: women religious, 1872-1922' in *U.S Catholic Historian*, x (1991/2), pp 13-24; p. 15.

¹²⁰ Hoy, *Good hearts*, Fitzgerald, *Habits of compassion*, Sr Mary Bernard Deggs, *No cross, no crown: black nuns in nineteenth century New Orleans* (Bloomington, IN, 2001).

8.7 'a vast field of neglected humanity'¹²¹

Not only did women religious take an active role in education, they were also prominent in other aspects of civic life and their role in the integration and assimilation processes of German and Irish immigrants was substantial. Nursing was one such example. Rothensteiner comments that, 'in seeking out the sick and the poor in their homes and attending both temporal and spiritual needs, a vast field of neglected humanity spread out before them on every hand'.¹²² Upon her arrival in St Louis, Sr Mary de Pazzi Bently and her nuns not only established a free school, they were also integral in establishing and managing St John's Hospital in the city (see Fig. 8.11). The hospital, founded in 1871 was a converted school house which initially had twenty-five rooms and was situated at Morgan and Twenty-Second Sts.¹²³ The hospital expanded and although caring only for women and children initially, it gradually extended its services to male patients as well. Mildred Fitzgibbons, in her *Historical sketch of St John's Hospital* notes that, 'From the beginning the infirmary was conducted without distinction of creed or nationality, and on the broadest plans of charity, despite the large debt on it'.¹²⁴ Throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the hospital grew in strength and influence. In 1891, a second hospital was opened which consisted of fifty beds and three years later in 1894, a wing containing 100 additional beds was constructed.¹²⁵ Confirming the necessity of the hospital, in 1882, a medical school was built at a cost of \$14,000 and further extensions were made to the first hospital the same year.¹²⁶ Mother de Pazzi Bently and the Sisters of Mercy continued their work in the hospitals into the twentieth century and even with the death of Mother de Pazzi Bently in 1910, the Sisters of Mercy continued their mission in St Louis. As Siobhan Nelson writes, 'they spent

¹²¹ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, p. 32.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Newspaper clipping from *St Louis Post Dispatch*, undated, (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St John's Hospital, RGVE/1/1).

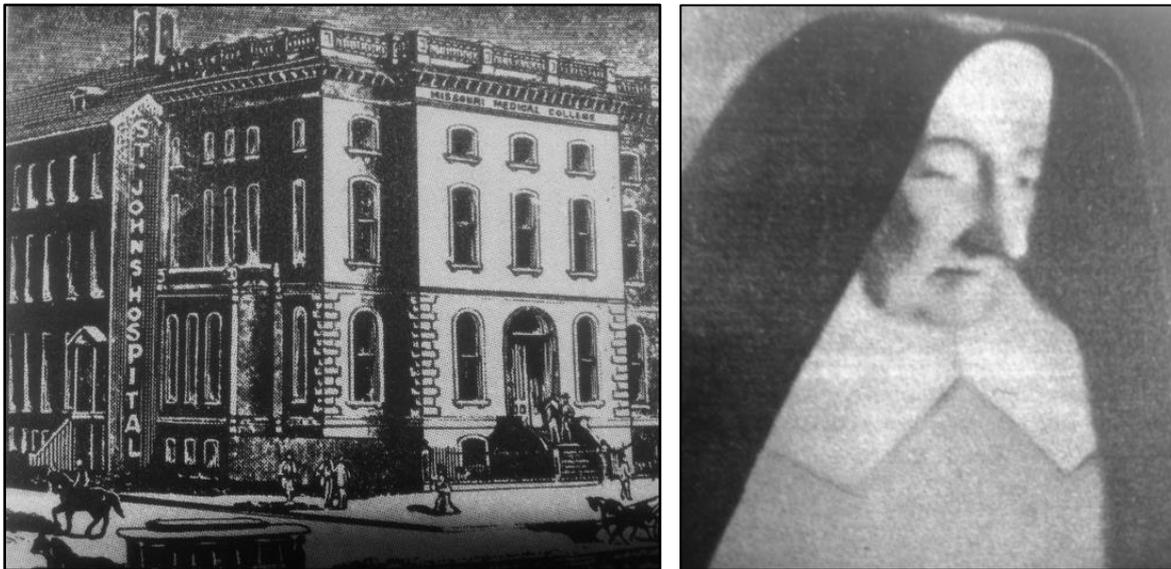
¹²⁴ Mildred A. Fitzgibbons, *Historical sketch of St John's Hospital, 1871-1956 – 75th Anniversary booklet*, (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives St Louis, St John's hospital, RGVE/1/2/3).

¹²⁵ Newspaper clipping from *St Louis Post Dispatch*, undated, (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St John's Hospital, RGVE/1/1).

¹²⁶ Fitzgibbons, *Historical sketch of St John's hospital, 1871-1956*, unpaginated

their lives establishing the social institutions that were to become critical to nineteenth and twentieth century society'.¹²⁷

Fig. 8.11 'First' St John's Hospital, St Louis est. 1871 with Mother Mary de Pazzi Bently (founder)¹²⁸



8.8 'bringing back to the fold the strayed sheep'¹²⁹

Not all religious orders concerned themselves with teaching and nursing. There were many other aspects to their missions. The Sisters of the Good Shepard were an order established with the specific intention of 'reforming delinquent young women'.¹³⁰ These were essentially women, who as a result of poverty, desertion, alcoholism or prostitution had fallen on hard times. The order arrived in St Louis on 24 January 1849, just before the outbreak of the cholera epidemic in the city. Arriving by steamer, they were met by Archbishop Kenrick himself and instantly accommodated in 'a fine house already furnished, with a chapel nicely

¹²⁷ Siobhan Nelson, *Say little, do much: nursing, nuns and hospitals in the nineteenth century* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), p. 13.

¹²⁸ 'First' St John's Hospital, St Louis, Mother Mary de Pazzi Bently, founder of St John's Hospital, *St Louis Review*, 26 Feb. 1971 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St John's Hospital, RGVE/1/3/4).

¹²⁹ Archbishop Richard Kenrick, 'Pastoral letter to the Catholic clergy, and beloved children of the laity', 16 Feb. 1842 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Pastoral Letters of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick, RG01/C/03/1/10).

¹³⁰ Brunett and Luebbring, *Immigrant women*, p. 72.

decorated and fitted up'.¹³¹ The Sisters' mission was to aid poor and destitute woman, particularly those who had succumbed to anti-social behaviour. Diner comments that, 'the Sisters of the Good Shepard perceived that poverty and prostitution were intimately linked together and that to redeem a woman from the latter, one also had to elevate her from the former.'¹³² The order established homes or reformatories for these women where they could be rehabilitated and according to Rothensteiner, '[they] usually sheltered about three hundred'.¹³³ Although the reformed women could not join the order, some of them formed a penitent branch called the Community of the Magdalens where they spent their time in prayer and penance.¹³⁴ The Sisters of Mercy also assumed this caring role. After arriving in St Louis in the 1850s they established a night refuge for women and children. Diner argues that during the 1890s, the refuge 'cared for over fifteen hundred girls a year'.¹³⁵ Thus, the contribution made by women religious to their adoptive societies is impossible to deny. Although faced with poverty themselves, they benefitted the immigrant experience in unfathomable ways. Crucially, they provided aid to their lay female counterparts in ways that otherwise would have been overlooked. Furthermore, women religious aided the plight of stricken immigrant women by providing health care, refuge and shelter when many women had nowhere else to turn. As Diner writes, 'the services that Irish women accepted from the Church reflect the convergence of cultural tradition with the realities of the new life in America'.¹³⁶ In education too, driven by a desire to preserve the faith, these women made possible the education of the immigrant poor and were integral in planting the first seeds of social mobility. Those whose vocation involved caring for the sick provided a service that was otherwise lacking in both the immigrant communities and in the host communities on the frontier. Were it not for their ingenuity and resourcefulness in establishing hospitals and care homes, vital communal

¹³¹ Letter from Archbishop Kenrick to Mark Anthony, quoted in Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archbishop of St Louis* (2 vols., St Louis, 1928), ii, p. 27.

¹³² Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 136.

¹³³ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, p. 29.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 132.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

infrastructures would have been incomplete. As Faherty writes, ‘Women religious were highly respected ... most chose the active ministries of teaching, healing, caring for destitute women and children and administering all types of social services’¹³⁷ and for many migrants, without these women the experience of immigrant America would have been far more challenging.

8.9 Conclusion

The role played by immigrant women in the evolution of the immigrant experience is of extreme importance when considering the rate of progression and ultimate success of each group’s acculturation and assimilation. In experiencing Anglo-American life through their work as domestic servants, immigrant women witnessed first-hand the ‘new modern ways’ Sessler speaks about. Consequently, they interpreted these standards and incorporated them into their interpretation of what it meant to be American. Simultaneously, they were both proud and protective of their ethnicity and ultimately, it was women who shaped the identities of the generational members of the community by encouraging them to embrace American life while concurrently instilling a sense of identity, not as being wholly German or Irish, but as being German and Irish-Americans. Not only did women play an integral role in the consolidation of familial identities, their unique role in the development and consolidation of the ethnic group, primarily through their involvement in church groups and charitable endeavours, served only to enhance the cultural bounds that underlined immigration.

In an economic sense, the role of immigrant women was also significant. While many women pursued traditional occupations such as servants and washerwomen, by the turn of the century there was a distinct representation of both German and Irish immigrant women in various manufacturing industries. However, upon marriage women from both groups

¹³⁷ Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, p. 52.

assumed their traditional role in the home. The marriage trends of both groups also highlight some significant comparisons. For both communities in 1850, the most popular spouse was one who shared the same ethnicity, yet by 1900 both communities married outside of their respective immigrant communities more regularly.

Although many immigrant societies, Italian and Scandinavian as well as German and Irish, expected women to influence only the home, their involvement in communal affairs, particularly through the work of women religious was responsible for the development of a communal infrastructure and services that the secular world was slow to develop.¹³⁸ Women had much to offer the immigrant experience, in the same way as it had much to offer them. As Diner concludes, ‘Irish women migrated not as depressed survivors of the famine, but in the main they made the journey with optimism ... in an assessment that in America they could achieve a status that they never could have at home’,¹³⁹ a paradigm symptomatic of the German experience as well.

¹³⁸ Donna R. Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth St: Housing and social change among Italian immigrants, 1880-1930* (Albany, NY 1984), p. 4; Joy K. Lintelman, *I go to America: Swedish American women and the life of Mina Anderson* (St Paul, MN, 2009), pp 135-76.

¹³⁹ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 42.

Conclusion

Introduction

Arrival in the United States offered the prospect of social and economic advancement, religious tolerance and political freedom. However, the degree to which each was achieved was entirely dependent on the determination of the immigrants themselves. The primary purpose of this research was to examine four individual immigrant communities and investigate their economic, social, political and religious development during the period from 1850 to 1900. As part of this analysis a variety of similarities and contrasts emerged, the most significant of which are discussed presently.

Criticism of the existing historiography

Noting its absence in the United States, Doyle has called for a ‘more imaginative cross- community’ approach to the study of the Irish diaspora.¹ In recent years, historians have embraced this call, and many researchers, including Campbell and Jenkins, have begun to employ a transnational approach in their examinations of the Irish diaspora.² However, in order to fully embrace the cross-community approach that Doyle alludes to, it is also necessary to consider the interactions between the Irish and other immigrant communities, not just in a contextual sense, but also in a more directly comparative way. The benefit of examining two communities not only contextually, but also compositionally, promotes and encourages fresh historical debates which focus on multi-ethnic experiences in multi-ethnic cities. This convergent approach personifies the immigrant experience and examines it heterogeneously rather than homogeneously as many historians have done in the past, by using both transnational and national methodologies.

¹ David N. Doyle, ‘Cohesion and diversity in the Irish diaspora’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxi (1999), pp 411-48; p. 424.

²William Jenkins, *Between raid and rebellion: the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montreal, 2013); Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's new worlds: immigrants, politics and society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (London, 2008).

Importantly however, in attempting to redefine the character of the Irish diaspora and identify new areas of debate, Doyle, like many other historians, has overlooked the importance of truly understanding Irish immigrant communities in terms of other ethnic groups. Furthermore, Kenny has also claimed that examining the Irish in a transnational context accentuates the fact that ‘the Irish fared poorly in the American Northeast and Midwest’.³ However, the findings of this thesis would certainly contradict this sentiment. What Kenny fails to acknowledge is the fact that the Irish immigrant experience in the Northeast and the Midwest are equally as diverse in character as comparing Irish communities in America and Australia. In examining Irish communities in the Midwest in relative terms, this thesis has shown that occupational advancement and social integration were both achieved more quickly than they were on the east coast. Moreover, the fact that smaller Irish communities characterised the immigrant experience in the Midwest and West, necessitates that the variables in their immigrant experience must be adjusted accordingly. Undoubtedly, more thorough examinations of Irish immigrant communities in America are required before attempting to analyse this experience in a transnational context.

Kenny continues by emphasising the importance of comparing and contrasting the interconnectedness of the Irish diaspora in terms of their interactions.⁴ However, in understanding the Irish immigrant experience in the Midwest, surely it is more useful to look closely at the interconnectedness and interactions pursued by the Irish in compact multi-ethnic communities before pursuing transnational studies like that of Campbell’s?⁵ Examining the interactions of the Irish immigrant group with the host community as well as

³ Kevin Kenny, ‘Twenty years of Irish American historiography’, in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xxviii (2009), pp 67-75; p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland’s new worlds: immigrants, politics and society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (London, 2008).

other ethnic entities also offers an effective way of interpreting Miller's Malthusian thesis.⁶ Yet, despite this, current trends in the study of the Irish diaspora are becoming increasingly transnational. Nolan has also called for women to form a larger part of the transatlantic historiography, while Brundage is acutely aware of the importance of transnational methodologies in analysing the political activities of the Irish diaspora'.⁷

Arguably, the true benefit of a transnational approach will only become evident after a thorough understanding of the immigrant experience in a comparative setting is fully realised. The value of emerging transnational methodologies is undoubted, yet care must be taken to ensure that an understanding of the Irish immigrant community in regional contexts is fully realised before identifying transnational trends.

Examining the Irish immigrant community in regional contexts is an obligation that any historian of this Irish diaspora must take seriously. Doyle has noted that, 'all practitioners of Irish-American studies are aware of the rural Irish; all are aware of regional variety' and yet, the Irish beyond the big cities remain a relatively under-investigated phenomenon in the historiography of the Irish diaspora.⁸ Much of the existing scholarship relating to Irish immigrants focuses on immigrant communities in larger cities like New York, Boston, Liverpool, London or Glasgow.⁹ However, these studies alone cannot be used to understand the Irish immigrant experience everywhere. There is a need to look beyond the interpretation of the Irish immigrant community in larger cities as a means of defining the Irish immigrant

⁶ Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985).

⁷ Janet Nolan, 'Women's place in the history of the Irish diaspora: a snapshot' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xxviii (2009), pp 76-81; p. 79. David Brundage, 'Recent directions in the history of Irish American nationalism' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xxvii (2009), pp 82-9; p. 89.

⁸ David N. Doyle, 'The Irish as urban pioneers in the United States, 1850-1870' in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, x (1990), pp 36-59; p. 48.

⁹ James R. Barrett, *The Irish way: becoming American in the multi-ethnic city* (New York, 2012); Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996); Stephen Thernstrom, *The other Bostonians: poverty and progress in the American metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge, MA, 1973); John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and scouse: the history of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800-1939* (Liverpool, 2007); Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: the local dimension* (Dublin, 1999); Terence McBride, 'Irishness in Glasgow 1863-70' in *Immigrants and minorities*, xxiv (2006), pp 1-21.

experience. It is in this sense that the value of this research is most visible. By moving beyond an analysis of larger cities, a more thorough understanding of the Irish immigrant experience is uncovered. Furthermore, this study also exposes innovative insights into the development of Irish immigrant communities, by comparing them with other ethnic groups, and thereby highlighting multi-ethnic interactions which remain largely overlooked in the existing historiography. This oversight is unfortunate given the fact that historians like Kenny and Meagher have recently highlighted the need to ‘talk about ethnic cultural legacies in more multi-ethnic places’.¹⁰

Although studies like those undertaken by Bayor, Meagher and Clark provide perceptive analyses of the development of Irish communities in New York and Philadelphia, they nonetheless fail to provide a contextual comparison of the Irish immigrant experience.¹¹ Although Wei Tchen’s essay in *The New York Irish* focuses specifically on Chinese – Irish interactions and Chinese distrust of the Fenian movement, this does not accurately reflect the character of the Irish immigrant community beyond the big cities.¹² In St Louis, for example there is little evidence to suggest that the Irish community competed with Chinese immigrants in economic terms as Wei Tchen found in New York. Similarly, there is hardly any indication of economic animosity between the Irish and African-Americans in St Louis, particularly in the aftermath of the American Civil War, as one might expect. Therefore, portraying the Irish immigrant experience through the lens of the big cities on the east coast simply results in the emergence of a false interpretation of the Irish immigrant experience as

¹⁰ Kevin Kenny, ‘Diaspora as comparison: the global Irish as a case study’ in *Journal of American History*, xc (2003), pp134-63; p. 135; Timothy Meagher, ‘From the world to the village and the beginning to the end and after: research opportunities in Irish American history’ in *Journal of American Ethnic History*, xxvii (2009), pp 118-35; p. 133.

¹¹ Bayor and Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish*; Denis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia, 1981).

¹² John Kuo Wei Tchen, ‘Quimbo Appo’s fear of Fenianism: Chinese-Irish-Anglo relations in New York City’ in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 125-53.

a whole. It is only when examples from remote contexts are considered that a more tangible understanding of the Irish immigrant community materialises.

Similarly, although Nilsen and Ridge's essays in *The New York Irish* both confirm the presence of Irish language and county societies respectively, there is little evidence of its preservation in either St Louis or Fort Wayne.¹³ For example, in St Louis, it was recorded that only one priest could speak Irish. Equally, minimal importance was placed on regional origins in either St Louis or Fort Wayne as it was in New York and Boston. This is due, most probably, to the fact that in cities where there was increased ethnic competition, a national identity was more important than a regional one. The absence of county societies was also an element in Emmons' analysis of the Irish in Butte, Montana, highlighting again the importance of examining the Irish immigrant community in regions and local contexts which exclude larger cities.¹⁴

However, an examination of Irish immigrant communities in larger cities is not a phenomenon unique to American historians. In the British context, many historians focus on areas when acquired larger immigrant communities. Belchem emphasises the importance of associational culture and although acknowledging the importance of examining immigrant communities at local level, his study nonetheless examines one of the largest Irish communities in the United Kingdom.¹⁵ One of the few publications which consider the Irish immigrant community through a regional lens is Swift and Gilley's 1999 collection, *The Irish in Victorian Britain*.¹⁶ This publication is unique because of its local context, and should

¹³ Kenneth E. Nilsen, 'The Irish language in New York, 1850-1900' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 252-74; John T. Ridge, 'Irish county societies in New York, 1880-1914' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 275-300.

¹⁴ David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Champaign, IL, 1990).

¹⁵ Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and scouse*.

¹⁶ Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in Victorian Britain*.

encourage researchers of the Irish in America to think about immigrants who settled in smaller urban centres and rural counties beyond the New England states.

David Gleeson is one historian of the Irish in America who has recognised the importance of looking beyond the larger cities in the north-east. His study of the Irish in the South contradicts the view that the Irish immigrant community was concentrated in the east.¹⁷ Using information extrapolated from census compendiums, Gleeson uses census data to illustrate the differences between the Irish in urban and rural contexts in the South, ranging from cities like Memphis and New Orleans to Richmond and Mobile. In so doing, Gleeson contrasts the immigrant experience in terms of its urban and rural character and highlights the shortcomings of using the big city paradigm to understand the immigrant experience.

By investigating the Irish in St Louis and Fort Wayne, this study complements previous investigations like those of Emmons and Gleeson, as well as many others referred to throughout this study. To understand the development of the Irish diaspora in a variety of regional contexts, it is essential to move beyond the confines of large urban centres. By focusing only on these larger communities, it becomes more difficult to place the immigrant experience in context. Examining only one ethnic group in isolation does not allow either the researcher or the reader to fully appreciate the conditions promoting or obstructing immigrant integration. Yet, when using the big city model, many historians are left with no choice but to examine one group in isolation purely because of its density. The size of each immigrant group in this study is a key factor in the analysis of each community and because of this, it is possible to provide a fresh comparison of two immigrant communities in a region that is regularly overlooked. By extension, this approach has enabled the research to inform emerging historical debates concerning the formation and maintenance of immigrant communities in the American Midwest.

¹⁷ David Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (London, 2001).

The context and process of emigration

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, European society witnessed a period of readjustment. In both the German Empire and Ireland, rural economics experienced recession and famine, which coincided with unprecedented demographic growth. For many, remaining in Europe constituted an uncertain future defined by economic hardship and political uncertainty. Thus, many Europeans considered emigration as a viable alternative, and although it also constituted an uncertain future, the prospects it offered outweighed the challenges of remaining in Europe. The attractiveness of the United States presented immigrants with an opportunity to establish themselves in a rapidly modernising, liberal and increasingly tolerant environment. The economic appeal of the American Midwest enticed immigrants to the region and provided them with the opportunity to purchase land and establish businesses, which in turn led to the formation of cohesive, distinct ethnic communities. Notably however, the Midwest consistently attracted more German immigrants than their Irish counterparts, primarily because of the contrasting economic statuses that characterised each group. Yet, despite this, in cities across the Midwest, including Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Indianapolis and St Louis, German and Irish immigrant communities were the two most prevalent ethnic groups in each city during the period from 1850 to 1900.¹⁸

Improving transportation networks aided this westward migration and by examining US Federal Census records, it was possible to propose migratory trends specific to each immigrant community. In 1900, the offspring of German immigrants in St Louis were born in thirty-six individual states, while the offspring of their Irish counterparts were born in no fewer than thirty-four states. In all forty states were represented ranging from New York and

¹⁸ US Federal Census Compendiums 1850-1900 available at: US Census Bureau (www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/) (20 Aug. 2013).

Massachusetts in the east to Washington and California in the west (see map 3). By comparison, given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, it stands to reason that a smaller number of states were represented. However, the generational element of the German community in 1900 was born in a variety of twenty-two states, while the Irish offspring were born across nineteen states (see map 4). Yet, in contrast to St Louis, it was primarily eastern states that were prevalent in the Fort Wayne analysis.

Immigration and settlement

Contrasts between the German and Irish immigrant communities may also be seen in the settlement models adopted by each group, again with variations arising from whether immigrants settled in St Louis, or in the smaller city of Fort Wayne. In both St Louis and Fort Wayne, the German communities settled in what Neils-Conzen terms 'ethnic communities'. Not only was the existence of an ethnic cluster apparent, so too were a variety of cultural amenities such as churches and schools (see maps 5 and 6). However, the Irish in St Louis settled according to Ward's model of the ethnic ghetto, a congested settlement of cheap housing usually characterised by a variety of social problems and low rates of economic stability. This type of ethnic cluster contrasts with the German settlement as there is very little evidence of Irish churches and other communal amenities (see map 5). Notably, each of the three Irish churches were situated outside the nucleus of the Irish immigrant cluster.

Yet, immigrant settlement in Fort Wayne portrays an alternative image, which is most likely attributable to the smaller size of the city. The German community in Fort Wayne established a vibrant ethnic community in the centre of the city, complete with both Catholic and Lutheran churches. By comparison, there is no evidence of an Irish ethnic ghetto in Fort Wayne, rather the Irish immigrant group have also established an ethnic community.

Significantly however, given the location of this settlement, in the sparsely populated area in the south of the city near the railroad tracks, it still suggests that the Irish community in Fort Wayne were of a lower economic and social standing than their German counterparts.

Broadly, the settlement models adopted by both immigrant communities would seem to correspond with the existing historiography. However, it is again necessary to highlight that regional variations are a significant factor in these settlement patterns. Writing about the Irish in Stafford, England, Herson has noted that the Irish were found in a variety of locations around the town. In assessing the census schedules, the Irish in Fort Wayne correspond to the settlement patterns that Herson alludes to.¹⁹ In both Stafford and Fort Wayne there are pockets of Irish settlement, yet it is not until the 1890s that a distinct Irish community emerges in Fort Wayne. Therefore, it is possible that the settlement patterns of Irish immigrant communities in smaller urban centres differ from the in larger cities. By contrast, the types of ethnic ghettos that Burchell, Anbinder and Clark refer to are also evident in St Louis which further highlights regional settlement trends and local variations within the Irish immigrant group.²⁰ Importantly, the contrasts in settlement patterns highlighted in this study are regularly overlooked by historians, primarily because the historiography has largely failed to compare the Irish in a developed urban centre with their counterparts in a developing urban centre.

One of the most obvious similarities in examining the four immigrant communities was the immigrant profile characteristic of each group. Both German and Irish immigrants were of similar ages, had broadly comparable aging patterns in both cities and had corresponding numbers of male and female immigrants. This confirms the widely

¹⁹ John Herson, 'Irish migration and settlement in Victorian England: a small town perspective' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage, MD, 1989), pp 84-102

²⁰ Robert A. Burchell, *The San Francisco, 1848-1880* (Berkeley, CA, 1980); Tyler Anbinder, *Five points: the nineteenth century neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, NY, 2001), Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, pp 166-70.

documented stereotype of European immigrants being young, single men and women who were attempting to exploit the American labour market.²¹ Interestingly, both cities generated a broadly comparable profile suggesting that the size of the city did not influence immigrant settlement, but rather that the availability of employment was more important.

In terms of immigrant employment, both groups recorded high representations in the manufacturing, trade and transportation and domestic and personal service categories. Again the contrasting size of St Louis and Fort Wayne does not appear to have affected the occupational trends of either group. Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, it might have been expected that a proportionally larger number of immigrants worked in the agricultural pursuits sector, but surprisingly, more immigrants were recorded in this category in St Louis. Comparing the occupational patterns of both groups, it would seem that men from both communities were more regularly employed in manufacturing than in any other category. However, in assessing the trade and transportation sector, it is important to note that more ethnically Irish immigrants worked in the transportation sector while German settlers were more regularly involved in trade. This observation was applicable to both cities. Similarly, in examining those German and Irish males employed in the largely 'unskilled' domestic and personal service category, a proportionally smaller number of German men are recorded than Irish men. Of those that are employed in this sector, a larger number of ethnically Irish men are employed in public service occupations like policing and fire-fighting. This highlights an important contrast about each community's interpretations of social mobility. In evaluating the census schedules, it seems plausible to suggest that employment in the public sector characterised social mobility for many within the Irish immigrant community. Conversely, for the German community, economic independence, and subsequently social mobility was achieved through small enterprises focusing on the artisanal trades brought from the

²¹ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history, 1607-2007* (Hampshire, 2008), p. 191.

homeland. In terms of the occupational trends of the generational components of both groups, the same conclusions broadly apply, with one significant exception however. Second and subsequent generations appear to have acquired access to the professions more readily than their parents, the immigrant generation. This observation is perhaps explained by educational facilities available to second and subsequent generations, but might also be influenced by the fact that the generational element straddled an advantageous position between cultural distinctiveness and assimilation.

By examining both immigrant communities in this way and applying the occupational categories utilised by the Census Bureau, this study provides a unique perspective which illuminates immigrant employment trends in a more concise way than many of its predecessors. Thernstorm, in his study of Boston has suggested that upward mobility was relatively constant among immigrant communities.²² This study broadly confirms Thernstorm's thesis but perhaps it also suggests that economic opportunities were more readily available to immigrants in the west, provided they had the means to travel there. This is seen in the varying types of employment pursued by immigrants in the Midwest and West. German and Irish women in particular gained faster entry to manufacturing industries in the Midwest than they did in the east. However, few studies succeed in constructing a concise economic profile in the way that Thernstorm did.

In his analysis of the Irish in San Francisco, Burchell classified Irish employment trends by identifying immigrant workers as blue or white collar workers, or as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Similarly, Vinyard and Meagher use comparable approaches in their studies of Detroit and Worcester respectively. However, in analysing German and Irish immigrants by using the criteria endorsed by the Census Bureau, a more thorough interpretation of the types of immigrant employment trends emerges and this, combined with

²² Thernstorm, *The other Bostonians*, pp 107-10.

a comparative approach, arguably highlights the importance of economic stability in the immigrant experience.

Furthermore, Clark's investigation of the Irish in Philadelphia is also problematic as it fails to establish a profile of the development of the Irish immigrant community.²³ Clark argues that in contrast to cities like Boston, New York and Chicago, the smaller size of Philadelphia helped to speed up occupational dispersal and diversification. However, Clark fails to provide direct analysis of census schedules or other sources which might confirm this assertion. Similarly, Pooley again uses aggregate data to support his economic argument but alas fails to provide a concise picture of the intergenerational development of immigrant communities.²⁴ Evidently, one of the most effective ways to examine the generational development of each group is to pursue a forensic analysis similar to the one developed in this study.

The cultural distinctiveness of both communities was an integral aspect of their ethnic identity and was equally important to both groups. This is one instance where the contrasting size of both cities appears to have had an impact. In Fort Wayne, the smaller city, two striking observations emerge. Firstly, with respect to the Irish immigrant community, there is very little evidence of ethnically exclusive cultural organisations like the AOH over a long period of time. Similarly, no evidence of *Clan na nGael*, the Gaelic League or even Land League clubs has emerged. There is however, evidence of organisations like the Knights of Labour or the Catholic Knights of America, associations which were not ethnically exclusive. This might suggest that the assimilation of the Irish was more swiftly achieved in the smaller city because of the size of the Irish community there. Yet, despite this, tenets of the Irish culture undoubtedly existed and the Irish in the city regularly held St Patrick's Day parades.

²³ Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, pp 61-87.

²⁴ Colin G. Pooley, 'Segregation or integration? The residential experience of the Irish in mid-Victorian Britain' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (Savage, MD, 1989), pp 60-83.

A recurring theme throughout this research is the ethnic divisions that characterised the German immigrant community. Yet, in considering the cultural preservation of the German identity in Fort Wayne, it would seem that the size of the city was also influential. Intermittently, there were events in the city that celebrated German culture, for example the opening of the German village during the 1890s. This practice broadly corresponds with the Irish celebration of St Patrick's Day and perhaps suggests that given the smaller size of the German community in the city, a greater level of ethnic unity was achievable.

Conversely, in St Louis, the contrasts between German secular and religious, social and cultural organisations were particularly pronounced. Associations like the *Turnverein* or the various singing organisations confirmed the existence of a vibrant ethnic community, yet for the most part underlying ideological divisions compromised ethnic unity. By contrast, the influence of religious institutions on the social and cultural practices of the Irish community ultimately led to the emergence of an ethnically unified immigrant identity. However, as in Fort Wayne, there was a distinct lack of Irish organisations that could be compared with the German singing unions or the gymnastic societies.

Gleeson has also noted the smaller number of social and cultural organisations developed by the Irish in areas like Mobile, Alabama.²⁵ This observation correlates with the findings of this thesis in that Irish associational life was also difficult to establish and sustain in Fort Wayne, a comparable developing urban centre. However, where these organisations did exist their value was difficult to underestimate. Foner notes how the Land League in America was not a 'transnational stage on the road to respectability ... but a strong oppositional working-class culture'. This sentiment is reflective of the types of social and cultural organisations examined in this thesis. Moreover, it is applicable to both communities and provides an intriguing insight into the development of ethnic identities.

²⁵ Gleeson, *The Irish in the South*, pp 55-73.

There is little doubt that the Catholic Church was one of the most significant forces in creating a unified Irish identity in the United States. This ultimately led to Irish dominance of the church much to the dismay of German Catholics in many parts of America. However, one significant distinction between both communities in terms of religious development was the contrasting priorities of the Irish Catholic Church in America and its German counterpart. For German priests and their parishes, the preservation of the German language and culture was an important priority. By contrast, the primary concern of Irish priests was their preservation of the faith itself. However, ethnic divisions, or lack thereof, were again an important factor influencing these varying priorities. Not only did German Catholics need to preserve their language and culture from assimilative influences, there was also a need to remain independent of other ethnically German churches. Within this context, the disunity of the German community is again highlighted. However, irrespective of the varying creeds, the role of religion in each community is difficult to overlook. The immigrant church, whether Catholic or Lutheran was responsible for the development of social institutions such as schools, orphanages, hospitals and asylums and there is little doubt that religion became the cornerstone of the ethnic identity of both communities.

However, this was not a feature unique to either the German or Irish communities in the Midwest. Belchem, writing about the importance of the church for the Irish community in Liverpool has also noted that, they [the Irish] formulated their ‘own versions of Irishness, an ethnic affiliation which performed at first protective and defensive functions against disadvantage, disability and discrimination, but they became increasingly assertive’.²⁶ Similarly, Dolan also notes how the church provided a nurturing environment for developing immigrant communities in New York.²⁷ Importantly, however, the role of the church in the

²⁶ Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and scouse*, p. 28.

²⁷ Jay P. Dolan, *The immigrant church: New York’s Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore, MD, 1975).

Midwest seems to have had a more philanthropic and missionary character than it did on the east coast. Although various contributors in *The New York Irish* emphasise the role played by Irish America in shaping the governing structures in the Catholic Church, in the Midwest, particularly in St Louis, it is the various religious denominations that are responsible for developing and instituting a variety of social infrastructures.²⁸ This contrast highlights the regional variations in the character of the church and illustrates how all denominations were compelled to adapt to the immigrant experience.

The characteristic unity of the Irish immigrant community is again a prevalent feature in assessing immigrant political involvement in both cities. Whereas, the Irish community obeyed the Catholic Church's endorsement of the Democratic Party, the German community was characterised by contrasting political allegiances to both the Republican and Democratic Parties. Yet, despite this, both communities were aware of the advantages of being part of the political machine and as a result, German and Irish immigrants were able to acquire political positions at ward, city and even state level. Similarly, during the outbreak of the Civil War both communities were aligned most prominently with the Union cause although some members of both communities fought with the Confederacy. Yet, it was in the importance of the political affairs of the homeland that the most significant political contrasts emerge. For many Irish immigrants and their descendants, political affairs in Ireland were equally as important as their political participation in the United States. Military organisations like the Fenian Brotherhood ensured that Ireland's political struggles were never far from the minds of Irish immigrants in America.

²⁸ Colleen McDannell, 'Going to the ladies fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 234-51; Alan M. Kraut, 'Illness and medical care among Irish immigrants in antebellum New York' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, MD, 1996), pp 153-68.

The fact that Irish-American nationalism was such a prominent feature of the Irish immigrant experience, not only in St Louis, but across Irish America complements existing studies by Ural-Bruce, Walsh and Gleeson among others. Ural Bruce argues that even though Irish involvement in the Civil War prepared the Irish for liberation at home, it also enabled them to integrate into American society, a point developed by Walsh and Gleeson.²⁹ Contrastingly, many German immigrants seemed unperturbed by the events surrounding the Franco-Prussian War during 1870 and 1871, nor did the death of the Kaiser seem to cause much concern for the German communities of either St Louis or Fort Wayne.

An examination of the lives of immigrant women from both communities also allows for an analysis of the immigrant experience. Again, the immigrant profiles are broadly comparable, as are the types of employment pursued by women from both communities. Domestic service, as well as factory work or employment as seamstresses, dressmakers and laundry women were the most popular sources of income for females in both communities. The marriage patterns of immigrant women were also broadly aligned. For the most part, women from the immigrant generation preferred to marry partners of the same ethnic group. Yet, the generational composition of the group was more open to marrying a spouse of a different ethnic background, a conclusion which challenges Diner's observations about immigrant marriage trends. Significantly, where marriage to a member of another ethnic group took place, the marriage trends reflected previous migratory patterns as well as marriages to those of a similar ethnic background. For example, Irish women were more likely to marry a Scotsman or an Englishman whereas German women often married Swiss or French immigrants. For German and Irish immigrant women who decided not to marry, there was the opportunity of entering a religious order. Again, in this respect the influence of

²⁹ Susannah Ural-Bruce, *The harp and the eagle: Irish American volunteers and the union army, 1861-65* (New York, 2006); p. 264-75; Victor Walsh, 'A fanatic heart: the cause of Irish-American nationalism in Pittsburgh during the gilded age' in *Journal of Social History*, xv (1981) pp 187-204; pp 187-90; David Gleeson, *The green and the grey: the Irish in the confederate States of America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), pp 46-50.

German and Irish immigrant women is apparent. As social innovators, many of these immigrants provided invaluable service to the wider communities in both cities. Working as teachers, nurses and often as social workers their role in defining the immigrant experience should not be underestimated.

However, although this thesis challenges some of Diner's conclusions, it is difficult to argue with Nolan's statement that, 'women were at the centre of the Irish adaptation to their new American homes.'³⁰ The role of women in the immigrant experience remains under-investigated, particularly in a comparative context. Furthermore, the fact that regional differences are apparent in female employment trends for example, highlights the need for historians to consider the role of women in the immigrant experience more seriously. Aside from historians like Diner, Nolan and Weatherford few scholars seem willing to assess female contributions to Irish-American life.³¹ Moreover, there is also a need to examine immigrant women in regional contexts, similar to what this study has done. Greater analysis of female immigration is needed in each of these areas in order to enhance both the interpretation and representation of women in the Irish immigrant experience.

Conclusion

The comparative approach utilised throughout this study places the immigrant experience of both communities in context. By exploring each community through a variety of lenses, an interpretation of how one community developed in relation to the other becomes apparent. Furthermore, the fact that immigrant settlement is also considered in a larger urban setting as well as a developing city further contextualises this comparison. In St Louis, the larger city, the constant influx of immigrants ensures the fluidity and longevity of both

³⁰ Nolan, 'Women's place', p. 79.

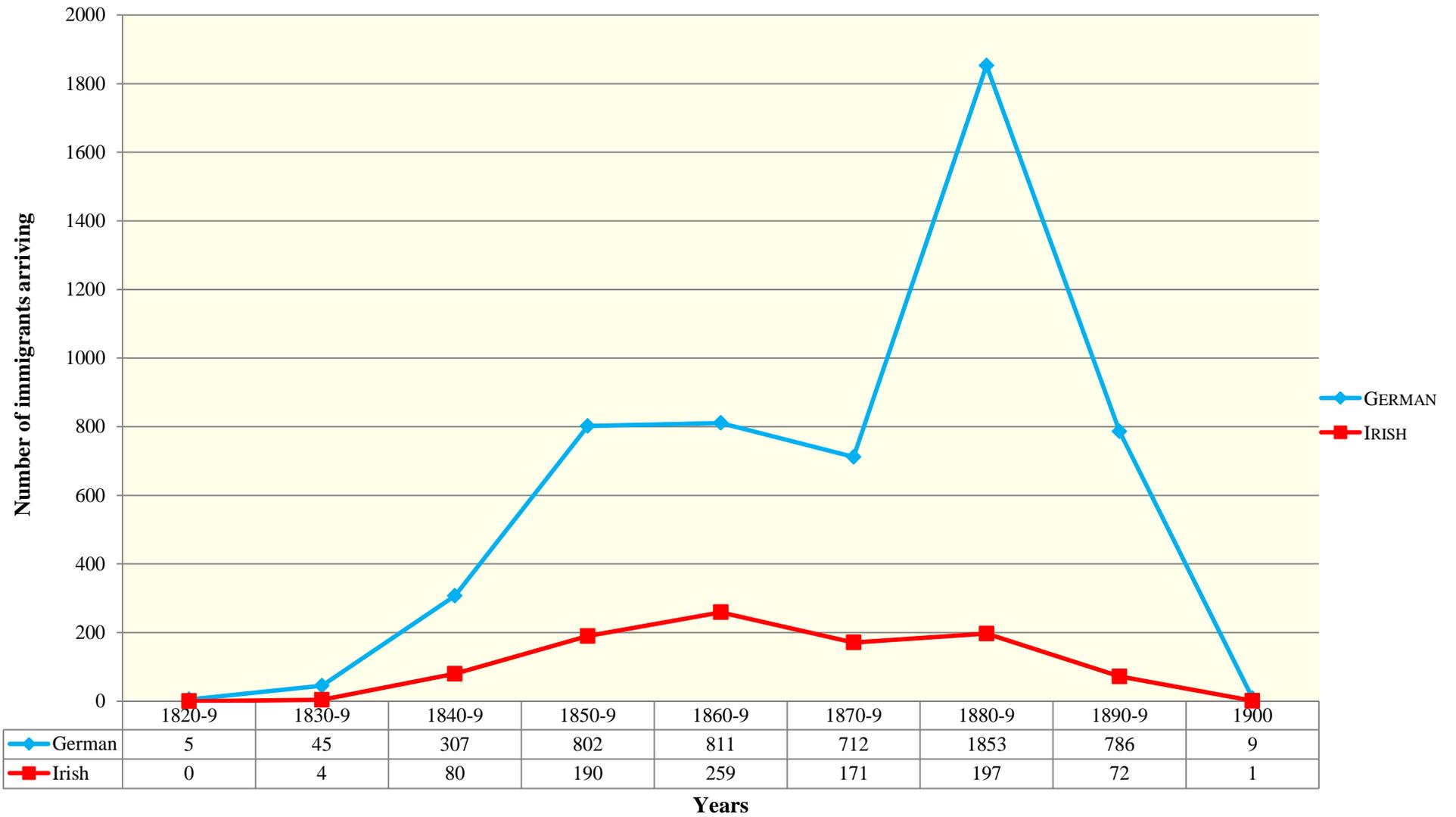
³¹ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, MD, 1983); Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: women's emigration from Ireland, 1885-1920* (Lexington, KY, 1989); Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995).

communities. However, in the smaller city, Fort Wayne, distinct immigration patterns emerge. This is evident not only in a consideration of settlement trends, but also in terms of the permanence of social and cultural organisations, the establishment of national parishes, dependence on certain types of employment and the political influence of immigrants at state level. Ultimately, it appears that assimilation is achieved more rapidly in the smaller city because of the smaller size of both immigrant communities. By contrast, however, both the German and Irish immigrant groups in St Louis were bolstered by the size of each community and this in turn ensured immigrant dominance in economic, religious and political spheres. Importantly, social and cultural organisations also benefitted from the significantly larger number of immigrants and all these factors combined meant that an ethnic identity was more difficult to diffuse and ultimately this elongated the assimilation process. Yet, despite the advantages of examining these communities in relative terms, this research ultimately reflects the lives of the immigrants themselves, their journeys, their successes, their failures and their American experience.

APPENDICES

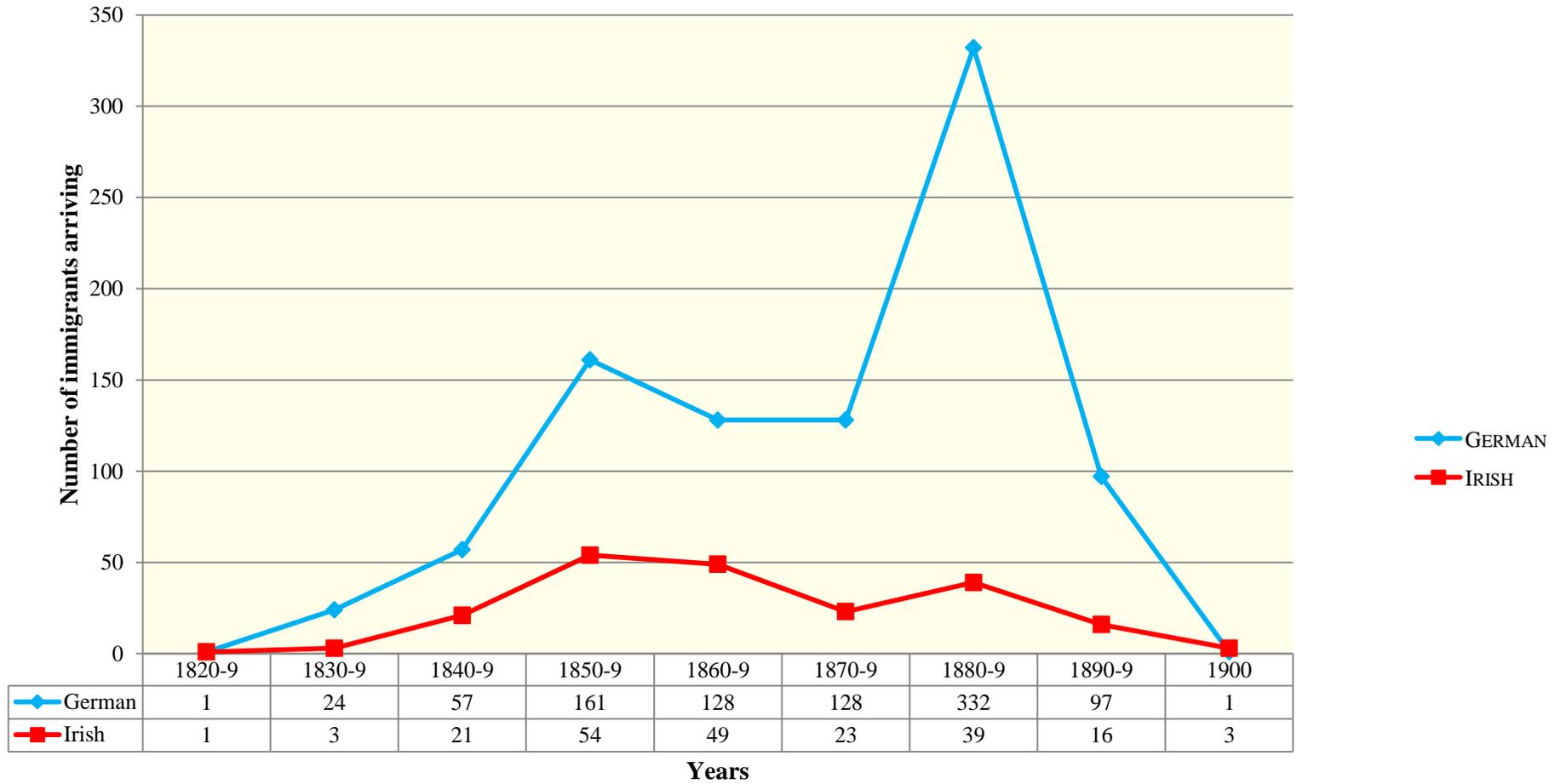
APPENDIX A

Number of German and Irish-born immigrants, living in Wards 3 and 8 in St Louis, 1900 who arrived in America between 1820 and 1900



Appendix B

Number of German and Irish-born immigrants, living in Wards 2 and 6 in Fort Wayne, 1900 who arrived in America between 1820 and 1900



APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
accountant	1		1
actor	2	4	6
agent	2		2
apprentice	1	1	2
apprentice baker	1		1
apprentice basket maker	1		1
apprentice boiler maker		1	1
apprentice bookbinder	1		1
apprentice bookkeeper	1		1
apprentice butcher	2		2
apprentice chemist	1		1
apprentice druggist	1		1
apprentice harness maker	1		1
apprentice house maker		1	1
apprentice machinist	4		4
apprentice milliner	4	2	6
apprentice moulder	1	1	2
apprentice paper hanger	1		1
apprentice plumber	2	1	3
apprentice polisher	1		1
apprentice printer	1		1
apprentice provision dealer	1		1
apprentice seamstress	1		1
apprentice sheet metal worker		1	1
apprentice shoemaker	3	2	5
apprentice surgical inst. maker	1		1
apprentice tailor	1		1
apprentice tinner	4		4

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
apprentice type moulder	1		1
apprentice upholsterer	2		2
architect	3		3
artist	4	1	5
artist's supplier	1		1
assessor's office clerk	1		1
assistant foreman		1	1
assistant pastor		1	1
assistant cashier	1		1
at home	103	11	114
attorney at law	1		1
auction house clerk	1		1
axel foreman	1		1
axel turner	1		1
baby-carriage factory porter	1		1
bag factory inspector	3		3
bag factory worker	11	1	12
bag fitter	1		1
bag folder	1		1
bag maker	19	1	20
bag packer	1		1
bag sewer	3	1	4
bag sorter	4		4
bag turner	1		1
bag weaver	4		4
baggage feeder		1	1
baggage man	1		1
bagging company foreman	1	1	2

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
baker	148	8	156
bakery driver	1		1
bakery keeper	2		2
bakery packer		1	1
bakery store clerk	5		5
bakery wagon owner	1		1
ball player	1	1	2
bank clerk	2		2
barber	65	8	73
barber chair maker	1		1
barber shop clerk	1		1
barber shop proprietor	1		1
barkeeper	17	2	19
barrel cooler	1		1
barrel tester	1		1
barrier manufacturer	1		1
bartender	64	13	77
basket maker	8	1	9
bath maker	1		1
beer bottler	41	2	43
beer brewer	45		45
beer labeller	4		4
beer packer	2		2
bell maker	2		2
belt blackener	1		1
belt maker	11		11
bicycle dealer	1		1
bicycle repairer	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
billing clerk	4	3	7
bindery girl	2		2
biscuit factory packer	5	1	6
blacksmith	82	27	109
blacksmith helper	8	3	11
blanket factory worker	1		1
boarding house keeper	17	3	20
boatman	3	4	7
boiler maker	17	53	70
boiler works fireman	1		1
bolt dealer		1	1
bolt maker	1		1
book agent	4	1	5
book binder	61	15	76
book canvasser		1	1
book finisher	1		1
book folder		1	1
book stitcher	3		3
book store clerk	2	1	3
book store proprietor	1		1
bookkeeper	65	16	81
boot and shoe maker	1		1
boot blacker	1		1
boot maker	1	1	2
bottle blower		1	1
bottle corker	2		2
bottle dealer	2		2
bottle filler	3		3

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
bottle labeller	5	1	6
bottle maker	16	1	17
bottle packer	5		5
bottle pedlar	1		1
bottle washer	12		12
bottle wrapper	1		1
box closer	1		1
box folder	2	1	3
box inspector	1		1
box labeller	2		2
box mailer	1		1
box maker	61	9	70
box nailer	13	1	14
box paster	1		1
box sawyer	2		2
brakeman	2		2
brass dealer	1		1
brass finisher	10	2	12
brass moulder	6	4	10
brass polisher	6	1	7
brass spinner	1		1
brass worker	3		3
brewer	65	2	67
brewery clerk	5		5
brewery corker	1		1
brewery driver	2	1	3
brewery fireman	4		4
brewery foreman	4		4

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
brewery porter	1		1
brewery storeman	1		1
brick builder	2		2
brick maker	1	1	2
bricklayer	54	16	70
brickyard fireman	1		1
bridge builder	1		1
bridge carpenter	1		1
bridge clerk		1	1
bridge contractor	1		1
broom pedlar	3	2	5
brush maker	20	5	25
brush manufacturer	1		1
bucket maker	8	1	9
buggy driver	1		1
buggy maker	3		3
builder	2	2	4
bundle boy	1		1
bundle wrapper	6	1	7
bus commissioner		1	1
butcher	103	2	105
butter company agent		1	1
butter maker	1		1
butter store keeper		1	1
button hole maker	1		1
buyer for millinery	1		1
cabinet maker	55	1	56
cable slotter	1		1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
can factory worker	1	1	2
can labeller	1	2	3
candle maker	2		2
candle packer	2		2
candy clerk	4	1	5
candy dipper	7		7
candy factory fireman		1	1
candy factory manager		1	1
candy factory worker	66	1	67
candy factory wrapper	9	1	10
candy forelady	1		1
candy packer	9		9
candy saleslady	1		1
candy salesman	2		2
candy store clerk	1		1
candy store errand boy	2		2
canvasser	2	1	3
capitalist	1	1	2
car builder	11	3	14
car cleaner	1		1
car factory labourer	9	7	16
car inspector		3	3
car moulder	1		1
car painter	3	3	6
car repairer	2	2	4
car wheel moulder	5	1	6
caramel wrapper	1		1
carpenter	204	25	229

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
carpet layer	2	1	3
carpet merchant	2		2
carpet salesman	1		1
carpet weaver	5	1	6
carriage blacksmith	1		1
carriage cleaner	2		2
carriage driver	13	3	16
carriage fireman	1		1
carriage maker	11		11
carriage operator	2		2
carriage painter	21	7	28
carriage polisher	1		1
carriage tinner		1	1
carriage trimmer	9	1	10
carriage varnisher	2		2
carriage wood worker	3	1	4
carrier	2		2
cash boy	7	2	9
cash girl	4	1	5
cashier	6	2	8
cattle dealer		1	1
cellar digger		2	2
cement labourer	3		3
chain caner	2	1	3
chain factory labourer		1	1
chain finisher	1		1
chain maker	13		13
chair carrier	1		1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
chair carver	1		1
chair maker	3		3
chair plainer	1		1
chair varnisher	2	1	3
chandelier manufacturer	1		1
charity helper		1	1
chemical clothes cleaner	2		2
chemical worker	2		2
chemist		1	1
china dealer	2		2
china packer	2		2
cider maker	1		1
cigar box maker	6		6
cigar company stripper	1		1
cigar dealer	2		2
cigar factory foreman	1		1
cigar maker	111		111
cigar manufacturer	2		2
cigar packer	1		1
cigar salesman	3	1	4
cigar store clerk	2		2
cigar weigher	1		1
cigar wrapper	1		1
circuit court clerk	2		2
city clerk	2		2
city directory clerk	1		1
city employee	3		3
city fumigator	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
city market master	1		1
city official	1		1
city registrar clerk	1		1
city sanitary officer	1		1
city street cleaner	2		2
civil engineer		1	1
cleaning peanuts	3		3
clergyman	7	1	8
clerk	147	52	199
cloak maker	2		2
cloth cutter	1		1
cloth presser	1		1
cloth sponger	2		2
clothing cash boy	1		1
clothing merchant	2		2
clothing packer	1		1
clothing salesman	3		3
clothing store clerk	3		3
clothing store stock clerk	1		1
coachman	2		2
coal and ice dealer	4	1	5
coal dealer	14		14
coal driver	3		3
coal salesman	1		1
coat dealer	1		1
cobbler	7		7
cocoa packer	1		1
coffee blender	2		2

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
coffee dealer	1		1
coffee dryer	1		1
coffee packer	1		1
coffee parlour keeper		1	1
coffee roaster		1	1
coffee salesman	2		2
coffee sorter	3		3
coffee trimmer	2		2
coffin maker	2		2
collar ironer	1		1
collector	12	4	16
college student	3		3
commission clerk	1		1
commission house porter	2		2
commission merchant	3		3
compositor	6	2	8
compounder	1		1
conductor	3	2	5
cone maker	1		1
confectioner	10		10
confectionery owner	1		1
contractor	5		5
cook	42	23	65
cooper	126	6	132
cooper foreman	1		1
core maker (foundry)	9	4	13
corn merchant		1	1
cornice maker	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
corset maker	1		1
cotton bagging worker	1		1
cotton braider	1		1
cotton company clerk		1	1
cotton mill fireman	1		1
cotton mill labourer	13	4	17
cotton mill speeder	1	2	3
cotton mill spooler	1		1
cotton mill weaver	3		3
cotton presser	1		1
cotton spinner	17	1	18
cotton weaver	3		3
councillor	1		1
court keeper	1		1
cracker baker	2		2
cracker factory packer	10	3	13
cracker factory worker	3	2	5
crate maker	1		1
cream maker	1		1
cutter	2		2
dairy driver	1		1
dairy keeper	6		6
dairy man	11		11
dealer	8	1	9
deck hand	1		1
decorator	3		3
delivery clerk	1		1
delivery driver	6	1	7

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
delft store clerk	1		1
dentist	3		3
deputy constable	1	1	2
deputy sheriff	1		1
detective		1	1
dishwasher	4	7	11
distiller	2		2
doctor	3		3
door keeper	1		1
drayman	18		18
dressmaker	106	27	133
dried fruit packer	1		1
drink maker	1		1
driver	65	10	75
drug packer	7		7
drug store clerk	6		6
drug store keeper	1		1
druggist	25		25
drum maker	1		1
dry goods buyer	1		1
dry goods merchant	5		5
dry goods saleslady	1	1	2
dry goods salesman	3		3
dry goods store clerk	31	4	35
dry goods store merchant		1	1
dry goods store porter	4		4
dry goods store stockman	1		1
dry goods wrapper	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
duster maker	1		1
duty clerk		1	1
dye maker	1		1
dyer	3		3
electric clerk		1	1
electrician	19	6	25
elevator conductor	3	4	7
embalmer	3		3
embosser	1		1
embroidery salesman	1		1
embroidery worker	2		2
engine worker	1		1
engineer	24	8	32
engraver	1		1
entry clerk	2	1	3
envelope addresser	1		1
envelope folder	1		1
envelope maker	2		2
envelope packer	1		1
errand boy	27	7	34
errand girl	2		2
express company clerk	1		1
express depot labourer	1		1
express driver	4		4
factory fireman	1		1
factory foreman	6		6
factory labeller	11	3	14
factory porter	1		1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
factory runner	1		1
factory watchman	2		2
factory winder	2		2
factory worker	57	10	67
farm labourer	3	3	6
farmer	5		5
feed dealer	2		2
feed wagon driver	1		1
fence maker	1		1
finisher	1		1
fire department	2		2
fireman	44	12	56
fireman engineer	2		2
fish dealer	4		4
fish packer	1		1
fish salesman	1		1
fisherman	3		3
florist	5	1	6
flour mill foreman		1	1
flour mill labourer	2	3	5
flour mill packer	3	4	7
flour shipper		1	1
folder and feeder	1		1
forelady	3	1	4
foreman	10	3	13
fortune teller	1	1	2
foundry owner	1		1
foundry foreman	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
foundry labourer	59	31	90
frame packer	1		1
freight handler	1	1	2
freight labourer	1		1
fruit grower	3		3
fruit packer	1	1	2
fur store worker	1		1
furnace builder	1		1
furniture business	1		1
furniture dealer	9		9
furniture designer		1	1
furniture driver	1		1
furniture finisher	2		2
furniture labourer	1		1
furniture maker	6	1	7
furniture polisher		2	2
furniture salesman	2		2
furniture saleswoman	1		1
furniture shaper	1		1
furniture store dealer	1		1
furniture turner	1		1
furniture varnisher	2		2
furniture wrapper		1	1
gardener	3		3
garment cutter	1		1
gas fitter	3	5	8
gas fitter foundry	1		1
gas works clerk		1	1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
gas works fireman	3	3	6
gas works labourer	6	4	10
glass blower	23	4	27
glass cutter	6	3	9
glass house cleaner	1	2	3
glass maker	2		2
glass packer	2	2	4
glass works labourer	13	3	16
glass works watchman	1		1
glove fitter		1	1
glove maker	1		1
grain elevator foreman	1		1
grain smith	5		5
graintoid cementer		1	1
graintoid finisher	2	1	3
granite paver	1		1
gravel labourer	1		1
gripman	2		2
grocer	87	12	99
grocery clerk	77	9	86
grocery driver	2	1	3
grocery porter	9		9
grocery proprietor	3	2	5
guilder	3		3
gunsmith	1		1
haberdasher	1		1
hackman	1		1
hairstresser	4	1	5

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
hall manager	1		1
hard wood worker	5	1	6
hardware clerk	4	2	6
hardware finisher	1		1
hardware labourer	1		1
hardware store buyer	1		1
harness dealer	1		1
harness dresser	1		1
harness maker	28	3	31
hat store clerk	1		1
hatter	2	1	3
hauler	1		1
hawker	2		2
helper	2		2
hemp factory worker	1		1
hemp mill labourer	2		2
hemp spinner	4		4
hemp weaver	9		9
hod carrier	8	2	10
horse clipper		1	1
horse collar maker	3		3
horseshoer	11	11	22
horse trader	12	4	16
hospital worker	2		2
hostler	18	10	28
hotel keeper	3	1	4
hotel porter	2	1	3
hotel waiter	2	2	4

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
hotel worker	1	4	5
house keeper	38	12	50
house man		1	1
house painter	45	3	48
house work	71	8	79
huckster	15	9	24
ice dealer	3	1	4
ice man	1		1
ice plant fireman		1	1
ice wagon helper		1	1
inmate	2	3	5
inmate insurer	1		1
inn bed maker	1		1
inspector	1		1
insurance agent	15	3	18
insurance clerk	4		4
invalid	6		6
iron chipper	2		2
iron cutter	1		1
iron driller	1		1
iron forger	1		1
iron foundry foreman		1	1
iron heater		2	2
iron moulder	101	19	120
iron painter	1		1
iron polisher	2		2
iron rail maker	1		1
iron roller	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
iron worker	43	5	48
iron works packer	1		1
jail builder	2		2
jail guard	2	1	3
janitor	15	9	24
janitress	6	6	12
japanner		1	1
jeweller	7	1	8
jeweller errand boy	1		1
jeweller proprietor	1		1
jewellery clerk	3	1	4
junk dealer	1		1
junk pedlar	4		4
keeping house	4384	932	5316
keg maker	13		13
kindergarden	12	5	17
label paster	2		2
label printer	1		1
labour organiser	1		1
labourer	1234	420	1654
ladies tailor	4		4
lamp factory spinner	2		2
lamp factory worker	1		1
lamp packer	1		1
landlady	5	1	6
landlord	38	1	39
last maker		1	1
latter	3		3

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
laundress	62	16	78
laundry driver	1		1
laundry forelady		1	1
laundry ironer	5		5
laundry starcher	2		2
laundry worker	22	4	26
lawn trimmer		1	1
leather assorter	1		1
leather worker	2		2
letter carrier	3		3
life insurance agent	3		3
life insurance clerk	1		1
lineman	1	5	6
linen works foreman		1	1
liquor dealer	1		1
liquor store clerk		1	1
liquor store porter	2		2
lithographer	9		9
livery stable keeper	3		3
loan agent	1		1
locksmith	14		14
locomotive driver	1		1
locomotive engineer	1	2	3
locomotive fireman	1	1	2
locomotive maker	1		1
lumber clerk	1		1
lumber dealer	1		1
lumber inspector	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
lumber piler	14		14
lumber wagon driver	1		1
lumberman	8		8
lumberyard foreman	1		1
lunch stand	1		1
machine moulder		1	1
machine oiler	3		3
machinery agent	1		1
machinist	200	42	242
mail carrier	1	1	2
mail clerk	2	2	4
maltster	10		10
manager	1		1
manufacturer	7	3	10
marble cutter	5		5
marble finisher	2		2
marble polisher	3		3
marble setter	3		3
marble worker	2		2
marine engineer		1	1
mat maker	3		3
mattress maker	12	1	13
meat cutter	2		2
meat vender	2		2
mechanic	1		1
medical instrument maker	1		1
medical student	1	1	2
medicine maker	2		2

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
medicine salesman	1		1
merchant	20	6	26
messenger	5	4	9
messenger boy	4	2	6
messenger manager	1		1
metal polisher	3	3	6
metal worker	1	1	2
midwife	19		19
milk maid	1		1
milk wagon driver	3		3
milkman	4		4
milk woman	1		1
mill fireman	1		1
mill foreman	1		1
mill labourer	16	1	17
mill manager	1		1
milliner	57	6	63
millinery store clerk	2		2
millwright	5		5
miner	2	1	3
minister	1		1
motor inspector		1	1
motor instructor	1		1
moulder	30	11	41
music teacher	9	2	11
musical instrument repairer	1		1
musician	14	2	16
nailer	3		3

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
news boy	5	5	10
news dealer	2	1	3
newspaper carrier	16		16
newspaper mailer	1		1
newspaper shop	1		1
nickel plater	6	2	8
night watchman	23	8	31
non-productive	4787	880	5667
notary public	1	2	3
nurse	11	1	12
nurse girl	3		3
office boy	23	8	31
office cleaner	1		1
office clerk	13	2	15
office errand boy	1	2	3
office work	1		1
oil merchant	2		2
oil works labourer	4		4
optic man	1		1
optical store clerk	1		1
optician	3		3
order clerk	1		1
ore maker	1		1
organ builder	1		1
organist	2		2
overalls maker	1		1
oyster dealer	2		2
oyster salesman	1		1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
P.O. clerk	6	3	9
P.O. messenger		1	1
packer	37	3	40
packer and porter	2		2
paint maker	1		1
paint mixer	8		8
paint store clerk		1	1
painter	106	18	124
pantry girl	1		1
paper assorter	8	6	14
paper bag labourer	1		1
paper bag sorter	1		1
paper box facer	3		3
paper box factory labourer	1		1
paper box labeller	1		1
paper box maker	62	1	63
paper box packer	1		1
paper boy	1		1
paper carrier	12		12
paper cutter	3		3
paper factory forelady	1		1
paper factory sorter	3	17	20
paper factory worker	4	2	6
paper hanger	42	4	46
paper maker	1		1
paper packer	2	1	3
paper picker	2	1	3
paper ruler	4		4

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
paper salesman	2		2
paper sorter	2	1	3
paper trimmer		1	1
paper worker	2	1	3
parasol maker	1		1
paste boy	1	1	2
pastor	2		2
pastry cook	2	2	4
pattern maker	10	3	13
peanut assorter	2		2
peanut picker	5		5
pedlar	27	12	39
pensioner	2		2
perfume bottler	3		3
perserver	1		1
pharmacist	1		1
photographer	8		8
physician	12		12
physician and surgeon	1		1
pianist	1		1
piano merchant	1		1
piano teacher	1		1
piano tuner	1		1
pickle packer	1		1
pickle works labourer	1		1
picture frame maker	1		1
picture framer	3		3
picture salesman	1		1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
pilot		1	1
pipe cutter	1		1
pipe maker	2	1	3
pipe moulder	2		2
place setter		1	1
plaining mill labourer	7	2	9
plasterer	7	2	9
plumber	25	15	40
plumber's labourer	1	3	4
police captain	1		1
policeman	12	20	32
polisher	3	1	4
pork house bookkeeper	1		1
pork packer	1		1
porter	73	30	103
poulterer	8		8
preacher	1		1
preserver		2	2
press feeder	20	6	26
press folder		1	1
pressman	21	6	27
pretzel maker	6	1	7
priest	5		5
printer	72	9	81
printer pressman	2	1	3
printer's errand boy		1	1
printer's folder	2		2
printing office clerk		3	3

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
private watchman	5		5
property owner	4	3	7
provision dealer	2		2
provision store	1		1
quilter	1	1	2
rag dealer	1		1
rag factory sorter		1	1
rag picker	3	4	7
range maker	1	5	6
ratton worker	14		14
razor grinder	1		1
real estate agent	1	1	2
receiving clerk	2	1	3
record clerk	1		1
reel feeder	2		2
reporter		2	2
restaurant cashier	1		1
restaurant cook	2	1	3
restaurant keeper	9	1	10
retired	263	74	337
revenue collector	1		1
rigging		1	1
river labourer		1	1
river pilot		1	1
river watchman		1	1
river man	2	2	4
rolling mill clerk	2		2
rolling mill fireman	3		3

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
rolling mill labourer	14		14
roof material manufacturer	1		1
roofer	7	6	13
rope maker	4		4
RR blacksmith	1		1
RR bookkeeper	1		1
RR brakeman	3		3
RR car builder		1	1
RR car inspector		4	4
RR car repairer	3	2	5
RR clerk	9	8	17
RR conductor	2		2
RR day caller	1		1
RR engineer	1	1	2
RR fireman	1		1
RR flagman	1		1
RR foreman	1	1	2
RR inspector	1		1
RR labourer	6	18	24
RR motorman	1	3	4
RR porter		1	1
RR section foreman		1	1
RR switchman	4	3	7
RR travelling agent	1		1
RR yard man	3		3
rubber stamp agent	1		1
rubber stamp maker	2		2
sack sewer	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
sacristan	1		1
saddler	13	1	14
safe hauler	1		1
sales clerk	1	1	2
saleslady	66	9	75
salesman	80	16	96
saloon keeper	83	12	95
saloon porter	4		4
saloon waiter	1		1
sander	1		1
sash and door maker		1	1
sausage dealer	2		2
sausage boxer	1		1
sausage maker	4		4
saw mill labourer	1		1
sawyer	5	1	6
school	3646	668	4314
school teacher	16	5	21
screw maker	1		1
scrubwoman		2	2
seamstress	294	57	351
seller		1	1
servant	162	16	178
sewer labourer		1	1
sewing	17		17
sewing coats	1		1
sewing machine agent	1		1
sewing pants	1	1	2

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
sewing umbrellas	1		1
sewing vests	2		2
shade hanger	1		1
sheet iron worker	14	9	23
ship carpenter	5		5
ship caulker	1		1
shipping clerk	33	9	42
shirt cutter	1		1
shirt finisher		1	1
shirt maker	2	3	5
shirt packer	2	1	3
shoe assorter	1	1	2
shoe baster	1	1	2
shoe cementer	2		2
shoe cutter	24	2	26
shoe dealer	5		5
shoe dresser	1		1
shoe dyer	1	2	3
shoe factory clerk		1	1
shoe factory cutter	1	3	4
shoe factory finisher	8	1	9
shoe factory fitter	4	9	13
shoe factory folder	2		2
shoe factory foreman	1		1
shoe factory founder	1		1
shoe factory heel inker	1		1
shoe factory heel stacker	3		3
shoe factory heeler	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
shoe factory laster	14	3	17
shoe factory liner	1		1
shoe factory machinist		2	2
shoe factory office boy	1		1
shoe factory oiler	1		1
shoe factory packer	7	3	10
shoe factory paster	2		2
shoe factory porter	1	1	2
shoe factory pounder	1		1
shoe factory seamer	1		1
shoe factory sewer	2		2
shoe factory stitcher	14	14	28
shoe factory tagger	1		1
shoe factory trimmer	5		5
shoe factory turner	2		2
shoe factory worker	77	28	105
shoe repairer	2		2
shoe shiner	1		1
shoe stocker	2		2
shoe store clerk	10	1	11
shoe string pedlar	1		1
shoemaker	127	22	149
shop fitter		1	1
show business	1		1
showcase dresser	1		1
shutter mounter	1		1
sign painter	5		5
sign writer		1	1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
silk weaver	1		1
silver plater	2		2
slate roofer	1		1
smith		1	1
soap and candle maker	1		1
soap factory labourer	6	1	7
soap factory watchman	1		1
soap packer		1	1
soap wrapper	3	1	4
soda factory labeller		1	1
soda water bottler	2		2
soda water maker	2		2
soldier	7	2	9
solicitor	4		4
spice company labourer	3		3
spice packer	1	1	2
spinner	2		2
splitting feathers		1	1
sprinkling contractor	1		1
stableman	3	1	4
stack painter		2	2
stage carpenter	1		1
stage hand	1		1
stage mechanic		1	1
stair builder	2		2
starch maker	4		4
station manager	1		1
stationary engineer	25	1	26

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
stationary fireman	11	1	12
stationary pedlar	1		1
steam fitter	3	5	8
steam forge worker	1		1
steam piper	1		1
steamboat captain	1		1
steamboat cook	1		1
steamboat deckhand	1		1
steamboat fireman		1	1
steamer	1	2	3
steel dye worker		1	1
steel finsiher	1		1
steel worker	3		3
stencil cutter	2		2
stenographer	17	9	26
stock clerk	4		4
stock dealer	1		1
stoker		1	1
stone contractor	1		1
stone cutter	5		5
stone mason	32	5	37
stone moulder	4		4
stone mounter	1		1
stone paver	1		1
stone wagon driver	1		1
stone worker	2		2
stone yard labourer	1		1
store clerk	6	3	9

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
store keeper	2		2
store merchant	1		1
stove carrier	1		1
stove dealer	1		1
stove maker	9	4	13
stove moulder	26	8	34
stove mounter	7		7
stove painter	2		2
stove piler	2	1	3
stove polisher	3	1	4
stove repairer	2		2
straw hat worker	1		1
street car builder	1		1
street car conductor	2		2
street car inspector	1		1
street car superintendent	1		1
street cleaner	13	1	14
street commissioner	1		1
street grader		2	2
street inspector	3	1	4
street paver		3	3
student	6	2	8
sugar works labourer	2		2
superintendent	1		1
surgical instrument maker	2		2
surveyor		1	1
switchman		2	2
table maker	3		3

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
tailor	135	4	139
tailoress	57	10	67
tailor's presser	1		1
tanner	23	1	24
tannery labourer	2		2
tar roofer	1	2	3
tea and coffee salesman	1		1
tea maker		1	1
tea packer	1	1	2
teamster	275	99	374
telegraph clerk		1	1
telegraph operator	7	6	13
telephone manufacturer	1		1
tie maker	2		2
tile setter	1	1	2
time keeper	2	2	4
tinker		1	1
tinner	58	8	66
tinner's helper	3		3
tinsmith	11		11
tobacco dealer	3		3
tobacco factory dipper		1	1
tobacco factory feeder	2		2
tobacco factory foreman		1	1
tobacco factory labeller	1		1
tobacco factory labourer	115	24	139
tobacco factory packer	8	3	11
tobacco factory picker	2		2

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
tobacco factory porter	2		2
tobacco factory pressman	9	3	12
tobacco factory roller	1		1
tobacco factory sack sewer	2		2
tobacco factory stemmer	51	26	77
tobacco factory stripper	25	1	26
tobacco factory sweeper	1		1
tobacco factory wrapper	11		11
towel maker		1	1
toy maker	1		1
toy salesman	1		1
tram driver	3		3
tram engineer	1		1
transformer worker	1		1
travelling salesman	4	1	5
tropical plant grower	1		1
truck driver	1		1
truck maker	2		2
truck painter	1		1
trunk maker	15	3	18
tuck pointer	4		4
turner	13	3	16
turnkey	1		1
type founder	1		1
type writer	5	3	8
typesetter	17	6	23
umbrella maker	4		4
undertaker	8		8

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
upholsterer	26	2	28
varnish maker	1	1	2
varnisher	4	1	5
vegetable dealer	5		5
vegetable hand	1		1
vegetable pedlar	16	8	24
vegetable saleslady	1		1
vegetable salesman	3	1	4
vest maker	11		11
vinegar maker	1		1
wagon blacksmith	3		3
wagon boy	9	2	11
wagon driver	8		8
wagon maker	20		20
wagon manufacturer	3		3
wagon painter	5		5
wagon pedlar	1		1
wagon wood worker	6		6
waiter	28	9	37
waitress	15	3	18
washerwoman	66	22	88
Washington University student	3		3
waste paper assorter	1		1
watch maker	6		6
watch polisher	1		1
watchman	24	7	31
water boy	1		1
water inspector		1	1

APPENDIX C – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 3 & 8 IN ST LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
weaver	10	1	11
weigher	2	2	4
wheel maker	2		2
wheel moulder	4	1	5
wheel stripper	1		1
wheelwright	1		1
whey sampler	1		1
whip maker	1		1
whiskey dealer	1		1
whitener	46	3	49
whitewasher	5		5
wholesale chemist	1		1
wholesale clothing store	1		1
wholesale crockery clerk	1		1
wholesale grocer	3		3
wholesale liquor dealer		1	1
willow worker	1		1
window cleaner	1		1
window trimmer		1	1
wine merchant		1	1
wire drawer	2		2
wire weaver	2		2
wire worker	5	1	6
wood and coal dealer	2		2
wood carver	5		5
wood cutter	2		2
wood engineer	1		1
wood finisher	2		2

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
wood grainer	1		1
wood turner	8	1	9
wood washer	1		1
wood worker	38	1	39
wool assorter	1		1
wool house porter	1		1
woollen goods dealer	1		1
writer		1	1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
abstractor of land tithes	1		1
action maker		1	1
action regulator	1		1
advertising clerk	1		1
agent	1		1
apprentice baker	2		2
apprentice blacksmith	1		1
apprentice boiler maker	3	1	4
apprentice cabinet maker	2		2
apprentice dressmaker	1		1
apprentice druggist		1	1
apprentice electrician	5	1	6
apprentice factory worker		1	1
apprentice jeweller	1		1
apprentice machinist	9	13	22
apprentice milliner	1		1
apprentice moulder	2	2	4
apprentice pattern maker	2		2
apprentice piano tuner	1		1
apprentice plumber	2	1	3
apprentice printer	1		1
apprentice RR labourer		1	1
apprentice stone cutter		1	1
apprentice tinner	1		1
apprentice wood turner	1		1
artist	1		1
attorney		1	1
baker	21		21

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
bakery packer	1		1
bakery saleslady	1		1
bank clerk	3		3
bank collector	1		1
bank janitor	1		1
banker	1		1
barber	13		13
bartender	20	3	23
beer agent	1		1
bell boy	1	2	3
bench hand	2		2
bicycle dealer	1		1
bicycle factory worker	2		2
bicycle manufacturer	1		1
bill clerk	2	1	3
billiard rooms keeper		1	1
blacksmith	26	7	33
blacksmith helper	2	2	4
boarder	2		2
boarding house keeper	4	1	5
boiler maker	18	9	27
boiler maker foreman	1		1
boiler maker helper	1	3	4
boiler repairer	1		1
book agent	2	1	3
book folder		1	1
book store keeper	3		3
bookkeeper	19	9	28

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
bottle factory fireman	1		1
bottler mineral water	1		1
box factory labourer	1		1
brakeman	5	10	15
brass finisher	2		2
brass moulder	1		1
brass worker	1	1	2
brass works labourer	1		1
brewery worker	1		1
brick maker	2		2
brick mason	11		11
brick setter	1		1
bricklayer	2	6	8
brickyard labourer	1		1
buggy maker	1		1
buggy top maker	1		1
building contractor	1		1
building material supplier		1	1
bundle wrapper	1		1
business student	1		1
butcher	8	1	9
button hole maker	4		4
cabinet maker	17		17
candy forelady		2	2
candy maker	8	4	12
capitalist	3	6	9
car builder	2		2
car repairer	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
car shop foreman	1		1
car wheel moulder	1		1
carpenter	69	5	74
carpet sewer		1	1
carpet weaver	3		3
carriage blacksmith	1		1
carriage finisher	1		1
carriage maker	5		5
carving hand	1		1
cash boy	5		5
cashier	1		1
catholic priest	4	1	5
chambermaid	1	1	2
chief fire dept	1		1
church janitor	2	1	3
cigar maker	31	3	34
cigar manufacturer		1	1
cigar salesman	1		1
circuit court judge		1	1
city clerk	1		1
city controller	2		2
city detective	1		1
city mailer	1		1
city policeman		2	2
claim collector	1		1
cleaner	1		1
clergyman	2	2	4
clerk	13	4	17

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
clothing merchant	1		1
clothing salesman	3		3
coach maker	1		1
coachman	6		6
coal miner		1	1
coat maker	4		4
coffee packer	1		1
coil builder	2		2
coil winder	3		3
collar maker	1	1	2
collector	2		2
college student	2	2	4
commercial salesman	5	1	6
commercial traveller	5	1	6
compositor	1		1
conductor	3	5	8
confectioner	1		1
contractor	11	2	13
cook	3	3	6
cooper	2		2
coppersmith	1	1	2
core maker	12		12
courier	1		1
cracker packer	1		1
dance teacher	1		1
dealer	2	1	3
delivery man	13	1	14
dentist	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
dishwasher		2	2
doctor	1		1
draftsman	2		2
drayman	1		1
dressmaker	37	8	45
driver	1		1
drug merchant	1		1
drug salesman	1		1
druggist	17	2	19
dry goods merchant	6		6
dry goods saleslady	13	7	20
dry goods salesman	15		15
editor		2	2
electric worker	5		5
electric works inspector	1		1
electric works manager		1	1
electric works winder	2		2
electrical contractor	1		1
electrical machinist	1		1
electrician	5	3	8
elevator boy	3		3
engine repairer	2		2
engineer	7	1	8
factory cutter	5		5
factory fireman		1	1
factory foreman		1	1
factory inspector	1	1	2
factory packer	1		1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
factory presser	1		1
factory worker	13	6	19
farm merchant	1		1
farmer	1	1	2
farming agent	1		1
feeble minded	1		1
finisher	5		5
fireman	13	5	18
fish stand keeper	1		1
florist	5	1	6
flouring mill	3		3
flue welder	1		1
foreman	3	3	6
foundry chipper	1		1
foundry helper	2	2	4
foundry labourer	3		3
foundry sheet inspector	1		1
foundry time keeper	1		1
furniture merchant	2		2
furniture salesman	2		2
furrier	1		1
gardener	1	1	2
gas clerk	1		1
gas inspector	2		2
glove cutter	1		1
glove maker	1	2	3
grain salesman	1		1
green house labourer	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
grocery cash boy	1	1	2
grocery delivery man	3	1	4
grocery merchant	30	2	32
grocery salesman	14	5	19
gun merchant	1		1
gun store salesman	1		1
hairdresser	2		2
hammersmith	1	1	2
hardware labourer	1		1
hardware salesman	4		4
hardware store keeper	1		1
hardwood dealer	1		1
hardwood finisher	1		1
harness maker	3		3
hat salesman	1		1
high school teacher	1		1
hod carrier	1		1
horse collar man	1		1
horseshoer	1	1	2
hospital clerk	1		1
hostler	7		7
hotel clerk		3	3
hotel cook		2	2
hotel keeper	2	1	3
hotel proprietor	2	1	3
hotel worker		1	1
house carpenter	4	1	5
house keeper	35	14	49

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
house painter	11	2	13
housework	6	1	7
ice cream maker	1		1
instrument maker	1		1
insurance agent	4		4
invalid	6		6
iron foundry foreman	1		1
iron moulder	12		12
iron smelter	1		1
iron worker	2		2
janitor	6	2	8
janitress		1	1
jeweller	3		3
joiner	1		1
journalist	1		1
junk dealer	1	1	2
keeping house	903	187	1090
kindergarden	1	2	3
knitter of hosiery	2		2
knitter of mittens	1		1
knitter of socks	1		1
knitting mill folder	2		2
knitting mill foreman	2		2
knitting mill spooler	1		1
knitting mill stamper	2		2
knitting mill worker	19		19
labeller patent medicine	1		1
labourer	152	54	206

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
lamp finisher		1	1
lamp maker	1	1	2
landlady	22	2	24
landlord	15	4	19
lathe hand	1		1
laundress	11	3	14
laundry owner	1		1
laundry worker	4	1	5
lawyer		3	3
leather collar maker	1		1
life insurance agent	1	1	2
lineman	1		1
liquor dealer	1		1
liquor store keeper	1		1
livery man	2		2
locomotive engine helper		1	1
locomotive engineer	5	22	27
locomotive fireman	3		3
locomotive foreman	1		1
locomotive hostler		1	1
lumber dealer	1	1	2
lumber piler		1	1
lumber yard foreman	2		2
lumberman	4		4
machine carver		1	1
machinist	48	17	65
machinist foreman	1	1	2
machinist helper	1		1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
makes sounding boards	1		1
manufacturer	1		1
market master	1		1
mason	4	1	5
meat dealer	6		6
meat salesman	2		2
medical clerk	1	1	2
medicine company foreman	1		1
medicine company helper	1		1
medicine dealer	1		1
medicine packer	2		2
medicine salesman	1		1
merchant	8		8
messenger boy	1	1	2
meter assembler	2		2
meter worker	1		1
milller	2		2
milliner	12	4	16
millinery saleswoman		1	1
mineral water maker	1		1
minister	3		3
motor man	1		1
moulder	3	1	4
moulder foreman	1		1
music student	1		1
music teacher	9	4	13
musician	1		1
news office clerk		1	1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
newspaper collector	1		1
newspaper courier	1		1
newspaper foreman	1		1
night clerk	1		1
night watchman	3	1	4
non-productive	1117	208	1325
notion store keeper	1		1
notion store saleslady	1		1
novelty store keeper	1		1
nurse	8	2	10
nurse girl	2		2
office boy		1	1
office clerk	1		1
office girl	1		1
order clerk	1		1
organ builder	1		1
organ carver	1		1
organ factory machinist	1		1
organ factory plainer	1		1
organ factory sander	2		2
organ factory tuner	3		3
organ finisher		1	1
organ maker	7	2	9
organ packer	1		1
organ polisher		1	1
organ regulator	1		1
P.O clerk		1	1
packer	1		1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
painter	15	1	16
painting teacher		1	1
paper dealer	1		1
paper folder	1		1
paper hanger	2		2
paper maker	1		1
park labourer	2		2
park superintendent	1		1
pattern maker	6		6
pattern maker foreman	1		1
pedlar	1	1	2
pensioner	5	1	6
pet contractor	1		1
photographer		1	1
physician	3	2	5
piano finisher	4	2	6
piano maker	1		1
piano polisher	3		3
piano stainer	1		1
piano stringer	1		1
piano tone regulator	1		1
piano tuner	3		3
piano veneerer	1		1
picture frame maker	1		1
plainer	1		1
plasterer	8		8
plumber	9	8	17
policeman	7	2	9

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
polisher		1	1
politician	1		1
porter	1		1
prescription clerk	1		1
president business college		1	1
presser	1		1
pressman	2		2
printer	1		1
printing foreman	1		1
produce buyer	1		1
professor of music	1		1
provision dealer	2		2
quarryman	1		1
rag pedlar	1		1
railroad engineer		1	1
real estate agent	3		3
reporter	1		1
restaurant cook	2		2
restaurant keeper	1	1	2
restaurant waiter		1	1
retired	46	11	57
rig shop clerk		1	1
rim bender	2		2
RR baggage master	3		3
RR blacksmith	9	1	10
RR boiler maker	1	1	2
RR brakeman	2	3	5
RR carpenter	5		5

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
RR carriage inspector	7		7
RR check man	1		1
RR clerk	9		9
RR clock man	1		1
RR conductor	3	3	6
RR dispatcher		1	1
RR driver	1		1
RR electrician	1		1
RR engine cleaner	2		2
RR engine painter	1		1
RR engineer	1	2	3
RR fine clerk		1	1
RR fireman	7	4	11
RR flagman	2		2
RR foreman	2		2
RR freight handler	12	1	13
RR inspector	3		3
RR janitor	1		1
RR labourer	13	9	22
RR lumber yard worker	1		1
RR machinist	11	6	17
RR messenger	1	1	2
RR night caller	1		1
RR night watchman		1	1
RR office clerk		1	1
RR painter	1		1
RR plumber	1		1
RR section worker	4	1	5

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
RR switchman	1	3	4
RR time keeper	3		3
RR tinsmith	1		1
RR watchman	2	5	7
RR yard clerk	1		1
RR yard man	1	1	2
rug maker	1		1
salesman	40	14	54
saleswoman	13		13
saloon keeper	31	8	39
sausage maker	1		1
saw mill worker	1		1
sawyer	3		3
school	938	223	1161
school principal	1	1	2
school teacher	32	18	50
seamstress	27	14	41
servant	90	6	96
sewing factory worker	9	4	13
sewing machine agent	1		1
sheet iron worker	4		4
shipping clerk	10	1	11
shirt waist maker	9	10	19
shoe dealer	3		3
shoe salesman	1		1
shoemaker	12		12
sign painter	1		1
sister superior	1		1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
skein setter	1		1
slate roofer	1	4	5
slater	1		1
soap maker	1		1
soldier	2	2	4
splitter	1		1
stack buyer	1		1
stationary company clerk	1		1
stationary engineer	2	3	5
steam engine hand	1		1
steer car driver	1		1
stenographer	17	9	26
steward	1		1
stock buyer		1	1
stock clerk	1	2	3
stone cutter	4		4
stone mason	3		3
store clerk	3	1	4
store keeper		2	2
street car conductor	2	1	3
street labourer	2		2
student	1	1	2
tailor	12		12
tailoress	5	2	7
tank work	1		1
taxidermist	1		1
teamster	14	4	18
telegraph clerk	1		1

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
telegraph operator	8	3	11
telephone lineman	2		2
timber buyer	1		1
timber cutter	2		2
tinner	6		6
tinsmith	2		2
tool maker	6		6
train dispatcher	2		2
train master		1	1
travelling salesman	3		3
treasurer		1	1
tropical fruit dealer	1		1
truck driver	2		2
truck man	2	1	3
trucking company clerk	1		1
trunk maker	1		1
type writer	1		1
typesetter	4	1	5
undertaker	4	2	6
upholsterer	2		2
varnisher	1		1
wagon driver	1		1
wagon maker	3		3
waiter	3	3	6
waitress	1	1	2
wall paper salesman	1		1
washerwoman	15	4	19
watch maker	1		1

APPENDIX D – LIST OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN WARDS 2 & 6 IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, 1900 (EXTRACTED FROM 1900 US FEDERAL CENSUS)

Occupation	German	Irish	Total
watchman	2	3	5
waterworks foreman	1		1
weaver	1		1
wholesale clerk	1		1
wholesale grocer	1		1
winder	1		1
wood carver	5		5
wood turner	4	2	6
wood work labourer		1	1
wood worker	2		2
yeast agent	1		1

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