

German & Irish
IMMIGRANTS
in the Midwestern
UNITED STATES

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Regina Donlon



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The legacy of heroes is the...inheritance of a good example
Benjamin Disraeli

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

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CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	An Uncertain Future: Ireland, Germany and the United States at the Turn of the Century	23
	<i>Introduction</i>	23
	<i>The Economic Effects of War and Modernization as Causes of Emigration</i>	26
	<i>The Demographic Cycle Model as a Cause of Emigration</i>	29
	<i>Political Affairs as a Cause of Emigration</i>	32
	<i>Conclusion</i>	35
3	Making the Transition: Irish and German Immigrants Arrive in the Midwest	37
	<i>Introduction: The Midwest as an Immigrant Destination</i>	37
	<i>Economic, Political and Religious Attractions</i>	40
	<i>'What Will Ye Do in the Wilds of America'</i>	42
	<i>'Bound for New York'</i>	44
	<i>'Do Not Foolishly Linger in the Cities'</i>	49
	<i>'To This Fine Country, I Would Direct the Attention of Emigrants'</i>	53
	<i>'Westward, Ho!'</i>	58
	<i>Conclusion</i>	63

4	A Peaceful Conquest: Immigrant Settlement in St Louis and Fort Wayne	65
	<i>Introduction</i>	65
	<i>'A New and Brighter Era'</i>	67
	<i>'A Peaceful Conquest'—St Louis</i>	70
	<i>'The People of the Kerry Patch Are Poor but Independent'</i>	74
	<i>Fort Wayne—'A Rich and Prosperous City'</i>	79
	<i>Who Were the Immigrants?</i>	80
	<i>Conclusion</i>	91
5	Production, Enterprise, and Innovation: The Economic Activity of German and Irish Immigrants	93
	<i>'Do Not Hurry'—A Guide for Enumerators</i>	94
	<i>The Generations Come of Age</i>	100
	<i>Securing 'Genteel Employment'</i>	104
	<i>A Job 'Executed with Neatness and Dispatch'</i>	107
	<i>'Creative, Progressive and Dependable'</i>	111
	<i>'There Are a Lot of Things Going on in This Neighborhood That Might Be of Interest to You'</i>	113
	<i>'Newsboys Hawked Their Wares at Every Intersection'</i>	115
	<i>Conclusion</i>	119
6	A Reputation of Respectability: Social and Cultural Aspects of Immigrant Life	121
	<i>Introduction</i>	121
	<i>'A Scene Seldom Equaled Anywhere'</i>	123
	<i>'Behind the Doors of the Turnhalle'</i>	128
	<i>'The Widest Possible Range of Clubs'</i>	132
	<i>'The Oldest Catholic Organization in the United States'</i>	134
	<i>'A Reputation of Respectability'</i>	137
	<i>'Old Time Hilarity and Solemnity'</i>	139
	<i>'Pioneers and Shamrocks'</i>	142
	<i>Conclusion</i>	144
7	The Church on the Hill: Religious Entities in the American Midwest	147
	<i>Introduction</i>	147
	<i>The Immigrant Church</i>	149

	<i>The Formation of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod</i>	154
	‘Consistent and Untiring Action’	156
	‘The Irish Gave Enthusiasm, the Germans Gave Stability’	159
	‘A Protest Against American Exclusivity’	166
	‘A Basement Operation in a City Church’	168
	‘The Lynchpin to Ethnic Identity’	171
	<i>Conclusion</i>	174
8	From Discrimination to Domination: Immigrant Political Participation	177
	<i>Introduction</i>	177
	<i>Nativism and the Know-Nothings</i>	181
	<i>Civil War</i>	184
	<i>Local Politics—Patronage and Spoils</i>	190
	<i>Zepp and Noonan—Two Cogs in the Political Machine</i>	192
	<i>Immigrant Statesmen</i>	196
	<i>The Politics of the Old Country</i>	199
	<i>Conclusion</i>	203
9	Piety, Poverty and Perseverance: The Experience of Immigrant Women	205
	<i>Introduction</i>	205
	‘Wanted—A Good Girl to Do General Housework’	207
	<i>An Assembly of Curious Women, Girls, and Children</i>	215
	‘Visited Mrs. Wandell in the Evening’	223
	‘The Solemnity of Religious Engagement’	226
	<i>Conclusion</i>	232
10	Conclusion	235
	<i>Introduction</i>	235
	<i>The Context and Process of Emigration</i>	235
	<i>The Immigrant Experience</i>	236
	<i>Conclusion</i>	244
	Bibliography	245
	Index	267

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 4.1	Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, St Louis 1850–1900	82
Fig. 4.2	Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, Fort Wayne 1850–1900	83
Fig. 4.3	Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration, St Louis 1850–1900	84
Fig. 4.4	Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration in Fort Wayne, 1850–1900	85
Fig. 5.1	German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850	101
Fig. 5.2	German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900	102
Fig. 5.3	German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1850	103
Fig. 5.4	German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1900	103
Fig. 9.1	German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850	208
Fig. 9.2	German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis, 1850	209
Fig. 9.3	German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900	210
Fig. 9.4	German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis, 1900	211

Map 3.1	Possible migration routes of German and Irish immigrants from eastern cities to the Midwest, 1850–1900	57
Map 3.2	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 Louis	61
Map 3.3	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	62
Map 4.1	Map of St Louis c.1870 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighborhoods	76
Map 4.2	Map of Fort Wayne c.1900 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighborhoods	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Passenger departure numbers from the ports of Dublin, Queenstown, and Bremen, 1857–1867	45
Table 3.2	Number of German- and Irish-born immigrants residing in major US cities, 1900	58
Table 4.1	Population increase in St Louis 1830–1900, including the number of German and Irish immigrants residing in the city where available	67
Table 4.2	Aggregate number of households (per generation) recorded in the Irish-dominated ward, St Louis 1880 and 1900	77
Table 4.3	Analysis of German and Irish immigrant communities by age and generation, St Louis and Fort Wayne 1850–1900	86
Table 4.4	Analysis of average household size of German and Irish immigrant communities, St Louis and Fort Wayne 1850–1900	87
Table 4.5	Origin of ethnically German immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850–1900	89
Table 4.6	Origin of ethnically Irish immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850–1900	90
Table 5.1	1900 US Federal Census Bureau instructions to enumerators regarding occupation, trade, or profession	95
Table 5.2	Adapted ethnic classification of public, transport, and trade sectors, including associated ratio as derived from original census classifications, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850–1900	98
Table 5.3	German and Irish occupational trends in the professional sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	105

Table 5.4	German and Irish occupational trends in the manufacturing and mechanical sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	108
Table 5.5	German and Irish occupational trends in the trade and transportation sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	112
Table 5.6	German and Irish occupational trends in the domestic and personal service sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	114
Table 5.7	German and Irish occupational trends in the education sector, Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	116
Table 5.8	Ethnically German and Irish children in employment and education, St Louis, 1900	117
Table 5.9	Number of children between the age of 5–12 years pursuing gainful employment	118
Table 7.1	Number of pupils enrolled in Catholic parochial schools in St Louis and Fort Wayne 1890–1895	169
Table 7.2	Sample organizations of selected Catholic parishes in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900	172
Table 9.1	Sample female occupations in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850	212
Table 9.2	Sample female occupations in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1900	213
Table 9.3	Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups in St Louis, 1850 and 1900	217
Table 9.4	Analysis of those women who married outside of the ethnic group and the most popular ethnicities of spouses, St Louis, 1900	218
Table 9.5	Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups, Fort Wayne, 1850–1900	221
Table 9.6	Analysis of those who married outside of the ethnic group and the most popular origins of spouses, Fort Wayne, 1900	222



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

On the morning of Saturday, June 22, 1889, the *SS Trave* docked in New York Harbor. On board was a young German immigrant named Gustav Adolph Lipp. Lipp was born in 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 Württemberg. Upon approval, the document enabled Adolph to renounce his Württemberger citizenship and entitled him to legally emigrate from the state within six months.²

Less than a month later the *SS Germanic* arrived from Liverpool and docked in the same harbor. On board was another young immigrant, Nicholas Taaffe, from the small village of Bohermeen, near Navan in Co Meath, Ireland. Taaffe was born in December 1866 and was the oldest of seven children born to James and Kate Taaffe (nee Callaghan). At the age of twenty-three years he decided to leave Ireland and try his luck in the United States.

By 1900, both men had made their way to St Louis, Missouri. Lipp found lodgings with Henry Eckhardt, a saloon keeper and his family who lived at 2624 Cherokee Street in south St Louis and obtained work as a

¹ *Entlassungs-Urkunde* of Gustav Adolf Lipp, December 17, 1888, Lipp Family Papers, 1840–1944, S0046/26/1, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO.

² *Ibid.*

brewery clerk at Otto Stiefel's Union Brewing Company in St Louis.³ In April 1901, Lipp married Mathilda Studt, a second-generation German-American woman who was born in St Louis.⁴ Taaffe on the other hand, found work in a blacksmith's workshop. He married Catherine (Kate) Finnegan, a fellow immigrant, in 1894 and their daughter Julia Catherine Taaffe was born on January 25, 1899 in St Louis. Both Taaffe and Lipp went on to live two very different lives, one marred by tragedy and the other blessed with a long life and prosperity.

The stories of Adolf Lipp and Nicholas Taaffe are by no means unique, and their immigrant experiences reflect 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 acknowledged to have taken place from 1790–1890, Ireland and the German states were the two largest contributors to the influx of immigrants in the US. Although both emigrations exhibited varying motivations, each group had a unique influence on their new homeland. Upon arriving in the United States, many immigrants initially settled in port cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Although many were content to establish themselves on the east coast, others decided to migrate west, where the rapidly industrializing cities of the Midwest and West offered the prospect of a better life. Archdeacon argued that the process of acculturation required an approximate seven-year period on the east coast before immigrants were in a position, both financially and socially, to migrate west.⁵ For others, kinship networks meant that arrival in the Midwestern states was almost immediate because relatives and friends had already settled in the Midwest and vouched for its employment opportunities and standard of living. Consequently, the states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri became popular destinations for immigrants. This former Northwest Territory formed the epicenter of German immigration during the latter part of

³1900 US Federal Census Record for Henry Eckhardt and Family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 10, ED 152, 31, *Ancestry.com*, accessed August 20, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁴Marriage Certificate of Adolf Lipp and Mathilda Studt, April 10, 1901, Lipp Family Papers, 1840–1944, S0046/26/1, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO.

⁵Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 45–48.

the nineteenth century, with approximately 47% of the German-born immigrant population settling in the region. According to Archdeacon, their Irish counterparts accounted for only 20% of the Midwest's foreign-born population because many Irish immigrants chose to remain in the New England states in the east.⁶

The purpose of this book is to profile and examine four German and Irish immigrant communities in two cities in the American Midwest, specifically those established in St Louis, Missouri and Fort Wayne, Indiana. Concentrating on the period from 1850 to 1900, this book surveys these communities through economic, social, religious, political, and gendered lenses.

The cities of St Louis and Fort Wayne provide the basis of this examination for a variety of reasons. First, by 1850, St Louis was a large, developing, industrial city and because of that, 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 that their birthplace was Ireland.⁷ Not only were those two communities the two largest immigrant groups in the city, but in conjunction they accounted for approximately 42% of the city's population. As the city continued to grow, so too did the influence of both the German and Irish immigrant communities and by 1900 those two immigrant communities continued to be the most dominant ethnic influences in the city.

Fort Wayne, by comparison, was a significantly smaller city and did not undergo industrial development on the same scale as St Louis. Despite that, Fort Wayne was established at the junction of three rivers and had sustained economic prosperity during the canal era in the 1830s and 1840s. However, it was the arrival of the railroad in the 1850s that established Fort Wayne as an immigrant destination to European settlers. In the 1850 US Federal Census, the city had a population of 4282, of which 1260 were of German birth and 190 immigrants had been born in Ireland.⁸ Like St Louis, both the German and Irish immigrant communities were the two largest foreign-born groups in the city, but

⁶Ibid.

⁷1860 US Federal Census Compendium, 1860a-15 (Washington, DC, 1864), 24, *US Census Bureau*, accessed July 15, 2013, www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial.

⁸1850 US Federal Census Returns, Fort Wayne, IN, whole city, *Ancestry.com*, accessed August 20, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

significantly, given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, assimilation appeared to be achieved in this city at a swifter pace than in St Louis.

Writing in the *Journal of American History*, Kevin Kenny 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.’⁹ Although 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 utilizing 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] background’ is also necessary.¹⁰ While, nineteenth century European migration to the United States has long been a pre-occupation for historians, existing historiography and contemporary discourse on this theme largely considers only one migrant group at a time. Such studies usually focus on the millions of transatlantic migrants who sailed west to the United States, their motivations, their journeys, and the acculturation and assimilation processes at their places of settlement. However, it is difficult to assess the apparent success or failure of such an assimilation when only one immigrant community in one specific location is considered.

Noting its absence in the United States, Doyle has called for a ‘more imaginative cross-community’ approach to the study of the Irish diaspora.¹¹ In recent years, historians have embraced that call, and many researchers, including Campbell and Jenkins, have begun to employ

⁹Kevin Kenny, “Diaspora as Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study,” *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 1 (2003): 135.

¹⁰Enda Delaney, “Our Island Story? Towards a Transnational History of Late Modern Ireland,” *Irish Historical Studies* 37, no. 148 (2011): 93; see also Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–39; Pierre Yves-Saunier, *Transnational History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Nancy L. Green, “The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, no. 4 (1994): 3–22; and Marcel van der Linden, *Transnational Labour History: Explorations* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

¹¹David N. Doyle, “Cohesion and Diversity in the Irish Diaspora,” *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1999): 424.

a transnational approach in their examinations of the Irish diaspora.¹² However, 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. The cohesive approach utilized here personifies the immigrant experience and examines it heterogeneously rather than homogeneously, as many historians have done in the past.

In attempting to redefine the character of the Irish diaspora and identify new areas of debate, historians have overlooked the importance of understanding Irish immigrant communities in terms of other ethnic groups. Furthermore, Kenny has also suggested that examining the Irish in a transnational context accentuates the fact that ‘the Irish fared poorly in the American Northeast and Midwest’.¹³ However, the findings from this study certainly contradict that sentiment. 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 research shows that occupational advancement and social integration were both achieved more quickly than they were on the east coast. Furthermore, the fact that smaller Irish communities characterized 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 smaller immigrant communities in America are required to fully understand the complexity of immigrant life in smaller settlements.

Historians also emphasize the importance of comparing and contrasting the interconnectedness of the Irish diaspora in terms of their

¹²William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867–1916* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2013); Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007).

¹³Kevin Kenny, “Twenty Years of Irish American Historiography,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (2009): 67.

interactions across time and within space.¹⁴ However, in understanding the Irish immigrant experience in a particular region, it is beneficial to look closely at the interconnectedness and interactions pursued by immigrants in compact multi-ethnic communities. Examining the interactions of the Irish immigrant group with the host community as well as with other ethnic entities also offers an effective way of interpreting Miller's Malthusian thesis.¹⁵ As current trends in the study of the Irish diaspora continue to be transnational in character, there is also a scope to embrace regional comparisons and place more emphasis on thematic evaluations of the immigrant experience. Nolan has called for women to form a larger part of the transatlantic discourse, while Brundage is also acutely aware of the importance of 'transnational methodologies in analyzing the political activities of the Irish diaspora', two elements which this study attempts to incorporate.¹⁶

In terms of pursuing a comparative approach, Nancy L. Green asked 'what is specific and what is general in the migration phenomenon?'¹⁷ One of the most effective ways of answering this question is undoubtedly the utilization of a comparative methodology which is mindful of transnational relationships between the immigrants and their host and donor societies. 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.¹⁸ In the 'linear model' an assessment of both the donor and host society is necessary, a method which perhaps pre-empted the transnational methodologies that are increasingly

¹⁴Ibid., 73.

¹⁵Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

¹⁶Janet Nolan, "Women's Place in the History of the Irish Diaspora: A Snapshot," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (2009): 79; David Brundage, "Recent Directions in the History of Irish American Nationalism," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (2009): 89.

¹⁷Green, "The Comparative Method," 7.

¹⁸Ibid., 13-16.

popular in contemporary historiography.¹⁹ The second approach, according to Green, is the ‘convergent model’, whereby a multi-ethnic group approach is utilized.²⁰ However, in her definition she limits the parameter to only one settlement 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’.²¹ This method is increasing popular among Irish diaspora historians such as William Jenkins, Malcolm Campbell, and J. Matthew Gallman and focuses on a comparison of the Irish diaspora in two specific locations, often on two distinct continents.²²

The purposeful use of a comparative method in Irish migration studies is a relatively recent phenomenon. Many of the existing analyses of Irish immigrant communities in nineteenth-century America almost invariably contextualize the destitution experienced by Irish immigrants in terms of their experience of famine in Ireland. In so doing, those studies inevitably highlight what Campbell terms the ‘disabling effect of the Irish famine to explain Irish subordination in the urban slums of the north-east’.²³ 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

¹⁹For example, see Donald H. Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922: An International Perspective* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1988).

²⁰Good 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* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975); and Donald H. Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great Migration, 1815–1914* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2011).

²¹Green, “The Comparative Method,” 15.

²²For examples of the ‘divergent model’ approach to migration, see Malcolm Campbell, “The Other Immigrants: Comparing the Irish in Australia and the United States,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14, no. 3 (1995): 3–22; Malcolm Campbell, “Ireland’s Furthest Shores: Irish Immigrant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century California and Eastern Australia,” *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (2002): 59–90; William Jenkins, “Deconstructing Diasporas: Networks and Identities Among the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1870–1910,” *Immigrants and Minorities* 23, nos. 2–3 (2005): 359–98; and J. Matthew Gallman, *Receiving Erin’s Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845–1855* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

²³Campbell, “The Other Immigrants,” 10.

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 such stereotypical analyses of the Irish immigrant community in America. Furthermore, because of considering only a single ethnic group in a single location, Irish-American historiography has embedded what Campbell terms ‘urban subordination and maladjustment’ into the historiography of Irish-American immigrant communities.²⁴ Ultimately, the failure to understand the Irish immigrant community comparatively has compromised the depiction and interpretation of that community in a variety of regional contexts in America throughout the nineteenth century.

Examining the Irish immigrant community in regional contexts is an obligation that any historian of the Irish diaspora must take seriously. Doyle 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 larger cities remain a relatively under-investigated phenomenon in the historiography of the Irish diaspora.²⁵ Much of the existing historiography relating to Irish immigrants focuses on immigrant communities in larger cities such as New York, Boston, Liverpool, London, or Glasgow.²⁶ However, those 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 experience. By moving beyond an analysis of larger cities predominantly on the east coast, 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

²⁴Ibid., 3.

²⁵David N. Doyle, “The Irish as Urban Pioneers in the United States, 1850–1870,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10, no. 3 (1990): 48.

²⁶James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multi-Ethnic City* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012); Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, eds., *The New York Irish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Stephen Thernstorm, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool Irish, 1800–1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, eds., *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999); and Terence McBride, “Irishness in Glasgow 1863–1870,” *Immigrants and Minorities*, 24, no. 1 (2006): 1–21.

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 such as Kenny and Meagher have recently highlighted the need to ‘talk about ethnic cultural legacies in more multi-ethnic places’.²⁷

Although studies such as those undertaken by Bayor, Meagher, and Clark provide perceptive analyses of the development of Irish communities in New York and Philadelphia, they provide limited contextual comparison with the other immigrant groups.²⁸ Wei Tchen’s essay in *The New York Irish* focuses specifically on Chinese–Irish interactions and Chinese distrust of the Fenian movement, but it does not accurately reflect the character of the Irish immigrant community beyond the big cities.²⁹ For example, there is little evidence to suggest that the Irish community in St Louis 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. It is only when examples from remote contexts are considered that a more tangible understanding of the Irish immigrant community materializes.

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.³⁰ For example, in St Louis, it was recorded that only one priest

²⁷Kenny, “Diaspora as Comparison,” 135; Timothy Meagher, “From the World to the Village and the Beginning to the End and After: Research Opportunities in Irish American history,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (2009): 133.

²⁸Bayor and Meagher, *The New York Irish*; Denis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

²⁹John Kuo Wei Tchen, “Quimbo Appo’s Fear of Fenianism: Chinese-Irish-Anglo Relations in New York City,” in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 125–53.

³⁰Kenneth E. Nilsen, “The Irish Language in New York, 1850–1900,” in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 252–74; John T. Ridge, “Irish County Societies in New York, 1880–1914,” in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 275–300.

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 most probably due 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, again highlighting the importance of examining the Irish immigrant community in regions and local contexts which exclude larger cities.³¹

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'.³² He argues that ultimately that results in an examination of 'Irishness' rather than the immigrant experience. Conversely, existing understanding on comparative methodologies in migration history tends to emphasize the importance of an international approach which examines both the characteristics and development of specific immigrant communities, which is evidenced in particular by the work of Campbell, Jenkins, and MacRaild who focused not only on the 'Irishness' of each community, but also the factors that influence the immigrant experience.³³ In the German example, comparative methodologies relating to the study of migration trends tend to focus on nineteenth century emigration and twentieth century immigration to Germany simultaneously, or indeed, intra-European migration from one nation state to another.³⁴

³¹David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875–1925* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

³²Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics, and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), vii.

³³Donald M. MacRaild, "Crossing Migrant Frontiers: Comparative Reflections on Irish Migrants in Britain and the United States During the Nineteenth Century," *Immigrants and Minorities* 18, nos. 2–3 (1999): 40–70; Campbell, "Ireland's Furthest Shores" and Jenkins, "Deconstructing Diasporas".

³⁴Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, eds., *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1997); Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka eds., *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Brian McCook, *The Borders of Integration—Polish Migrants in Germany and the United States, 1870–1924* (Athens: Ohio

However, what seems to be omitted by practitioners concerned with either ethnic group is a direct comparison of two ethnic communities in the same location. Much of the existing comprehension relating to both the Irish and German immigrant communities in North America, Australia, and Europe overlooks the importance of a multi-ethnic approach. This oversight has resulted in the emergence of two specific trends in the analysis of immigrant communities. On one hand, the historiography for both German and Irish immigrant communities focuses on one ethnic group in one or more locations, while on the other hand, although multiple ethnic communities are considered, those investigations adopt a survey-type examination at a national level.³⁵ Ultimately, historians consistently overlook the importance of multi-ethnic micro-studies which place the immigrant experience of numerous immigrant communities in direct comparison with each other.

Whether multi-locational or multi-ethnic, a comparative methodology is important and is a necessary development in discernment because it highlights the similarities and differences between immigrant communities while also providing further insights into the immigrant experience.³⁶ The effectiveness of a comparative approach to migration is substantial. It offers historians the opportunity to judiciously interpret ethnic communities and assesses the characteristics of the migration in relative terms rather than isolation. Bloch noted that 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

University Press, 2011); Hans P. Werner, “Integration in Two Cities: A Comparative History of Protestant, Ethnic German Immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada and Bielefeld, Germany, 1947–1989” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 2002).

³⁵R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 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: Shanty Pond Press, 1999); Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion and Class in New York City, 1845–1880* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); John F. Nau, *The German People of New Orleans* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958). For example, see, Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds or Akenson, Ireland, Sweden and the Great Migration*.

³⁶Malcolm Campbell, “The Other Immigrants,” 18.

contemporaneous and owing their existence in part at least to a common origin'.³⁷ Undoubtedly, a comparative analysis is essential in contextualizing the evolution of one ethnic group against another and immensely beneficial in attempting to understand the development of a particular immigrant group in a particular region.³⁸ Therefore, an analysis of two immigrant groups in at least two geographically similar locations is essential to understand how ethnic communities interacted with each other across space and time. Akenson noted that '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'.³⁹

In terms of the existing secondary literature, 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. That work chronicles the arrival of German and Irish immigrants and provides a context to the mass immigrations of both groups during the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Aside from Wokeck's contributions, other authors such as Jo Ellen Vinyard in her examination of the Irish in Detroit or Burchell's research on the Irish in San Francisco, use a multi-ethnic comparison model only for contextual purposes and do not examine both communities using uniform criteria.⁴¹

Historiography regarding the German immigrant community also overlooks the advantages of utilizing a multi-ethnic approach. The character of German immigration research also significantly 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* takes into consideration emigration from Germany during the nineteenth century, while also assessing

³⁷Marc Bloch, *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), 47.

³⁸MacRailld, "Crossing Migrant Frontiers," 43.

³⁹Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great Migration*, 1.

⁴⁰Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Immigration to North America* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

⁴¹Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the Urban Frontier, Detroit, 1850–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1976); Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*.

immigration to Germany during the twentieth century.⁴² Understanding of the German diaspora in America also does not correspond with its Irish counterpart. There are far more studies about Irish immigrant communities than there are of ethnically German settlements.

Aside from Burchell and Vinyard, Tyler Anbinder has analyzed the Irish community at Five Points in New York, Timothy Meagher and Joseph Blanchette have investigated Irish immigrant communities in Massachusetts, and David Emmons has examined and interpreted the existence of a significant Irish settlement in his study of the Irish in Butte, Montana.⁴³ Conversely, 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 southwest region respectively.⁴⁴ Much of the information relating to German settlements is older than its Irish counterpart, demonstrating a shift away from diaspora studies in the broader German context. Perhaps one of the reasons for that is a more concentrated focus on immigration trends within Germany, particularly regarding Turkish immigrants during the post World War II era. Although an interpretation and analysis of literature pertaining to specific immigrant communities in specific locations is necessary, it is also essential to understand 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

⁴²Bade and Weiner, *Migration Past, Migration Future*.

⁴³Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth Century Neighbourhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 72–105; Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Blanchette, *The View from Shanty Pond*; and Emmons, *The Butte Irish*.

⁴⁴Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: The People of Minnesota* (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2003); Nadel, *Little Germany*; Nau, *The German People of New Orleans*; and Thomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest, 1850–1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

of the returning emigrant very well.⁴⁵ 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 for promoting immigration and the challenges faced by the immigrants upon arrival.⁴⁶ In the example of German immigration, Walter Kamphoenfner and Carl Brinkmann both contextualize the necessity of German emigration in their individual investigations of the factors stimulating German migration and the failing German economy during the early decades of the nineteenth century, respectively.⁴⁷ A collection of immigrant letters edited by Wolfgang Helbich, Walter Kamphoenfner, and Ulrike Sommer is also integral in comprehending German migratory trends.⁴⁸

Other important bodies 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 Silke Wehner-Franco's analysis of German servant girls excellently investigated the concept of female immigration and provided stimulating insight into the experience of immigrant women.⁴⁹ Susannah Ural-Bruce's *The Harp and the Eagle* as well as

⁴⁵Archdeacon, *Becoming American*; Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Mark Wyman, *Round Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁴⁶Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: Dufour Editions, 1993); and Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁴⁷Walter D. Kamphoenfner, "At the Crossroads of Economic Development: Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth Century Germany," in *Migration Across Time and Nations*, ed. Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986); Carl Brinkmann, "The Place of Germany in the Economic History of the Nineteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 4, no. 2 (1933): 129–46.

⁴⁸Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoenfner, and Ulrike Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer Schreiben aus der Neuen Welt, 1830–1930* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988).

⁴⁹Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840–1930* (New York: Facts of File, 1995); Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); and Silke Wehner-Franco, *Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika, 1850–1914* (New York: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 1994).

Walter Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich's *Germans in the Civil War* critique German and Irish immigrant involvement in the American Civil War and contextualize their contribution to the war effort, while simultaneously demonstrating how their military service aided the German and Irish assimilation processes.⁵⁰

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' examined the dynamism of immigrant churches, while also highlighting how each church was forced to adapt and assimilate to American norms.⁵¹ Similarly, William Faherty's *St Louis German Catholics* includes an informative discussion of the impact of German Catholics on the city.⁵²

David Ward, Howard Chudacoff, and Kathleen Neils-Conzen have each written about the types of settlement models adopted by immigrant communities. However, although all three studies present contrasting interpretations and outline the varying characteristics of immigrant settlement, each model is applicable to the current study. All three analyses were written in the 1970s and there seems to be a discontinuity in the current literature regarding immigrant settlement patterns.⁵³

Another shortcoming of the secondary literature relates to the lack of research relating specifically to German and Irish social and cultural organizations. 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 pertaining to other German

⁵⁰Susannah Ural-Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York: New University Press, 2006); Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁵¹Dolan, *The Immigrant Church*; Carl S. Meyer, "Lutheran Immigrant Churches Face Problems on the Frontier," *Church History* 29 (1960): 440–62.

⁵²William B. Faherty, *The St Louis German Catholics* (St Louis: Reedy Press, 2004).

⁵³David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 105–25; Kathleen Neils-Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighbourhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (1979): 603–15; and Howard P. Chudacoff, "A New Look at Ethnic Neighbourhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium Sized City," *The Journal of American History* 60, no. 1 (1973): 76–93.

and Irish cultural organizations.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in providing an economic analysis of German and Irish immigrant communities, the terminology commonly used by researchers such as Robert Burchell, or even Timothy Meagher in his study of the Worcester Irish, focuses around groups of workers, specifically blue- and white-collar workers.⁵⁵ However, that leads to ambiguity because a white-collar worker might well be a professional or a store clerk. Furthermore, those terms do not accurately reflect the types of occupational classifications circulated by the Census Bureau. There appears to be no literature which utilizes the Census Bureau characteristics in the way this current study does.

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 scholarly information relating to the study of diaspora and immigrant settlement. Those works considered here are some of the most original and influential studies pertaining to the subject of nineteenth-century transatlantic immigration. Furthermore, they provide many valuable insights into the lives of nineteenth-century immigrants, but many overlook the importance of a comparative approach and the benefits of utilizing a transnational lens.

In compiling a study of two contrasting immigrant communities, the range of source material is as diverse as the immigrant communities themselves. A range of quantitative and qualitative sources has been used throughout this book to show the contrasting immigrant experience of both the German and Irish immigrant communities in St Louis and Fort Wayne. The quantitative data supporting this study were derived from a unique analysis of US Federal Census schedules during the period from 1850 to 1900. In deciding on the locations from which to base the micro-analysis of each community, electoral wards in each city which had a predominately German or Irish composition were chosen. Thus, the transcription of census material for the independent city of St Louis from

⁵⁴Annette R. Hofmann, *Turnen and Sport: Transatlantic Transfers* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 2004); Annette R. Hofmann, "Between Ethnic Separation and Assimilation: German Immigrants and Their Athletic Endeavours in Their New American Home Country," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 8 (2008): 993–1009; Annette R. Hofmann, "Lady Turners in the United States: German American Identity, Gender Concerns and Turnerism," *Journal of Sport History* 27, no. 3 (2000): 383–404.

⁵⁵Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*, 52–73; Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, 46–8, 100–12.

1850 to 1900 necessitated the extraction of data from wards one and six in 1850, wards two and nine from 1860 to 1880, and wards three and eight in 1900. Similarly, for Fort Wayne it was necessary to transcribe census data for the census years 1850 and 1860 for the whole city as electoral ward divisions were not introduced until 1870. The German and Irish ethnic clusters were situated in wards two and six from 1870 to 1900.

In 1850, the schedule recorded only basic information for each person, specifically, name, age, sex, color, 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 that basic information was still sought, but additional data regarding 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 naturalization was required. Additional details relating to property ownership were also sought.

The information extracted from those census schedules pertained only to 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 onward, not only second generation, but third and in some isolated instances, fourth generation immigrants were identifiable. The information was transcribed according to how 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 in addition to recording the place of birth. Thus, immigrant origins were denoted with a 'G' or an 'I' respectively. 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' and 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. However, they too

were modified to separately provide a more accurate account of German and Irish occupational patterns. Finally, in assessing immigrant marriage trends, additional classification categories were required. Accordingly, four types of immigrant marriages were identified. First, 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 characterized by one partner being of foreign birth, either in Ireland or Germany, and the other 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 other 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 those, a total of 122,436 were of German origin and 46,668 were of Irish descent.

There are 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 because information pertaining 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 noted that he undertook that responsibility with ‘Teutonic thoroughness’ because he recorded not only the country or state of birth, but he also recorded the village, town, or city of each entrant throughout the 355-page census schedule for the ward.⁵⁶ Accordingly, it is possible to identify that Mick

⁵⁶Walter D. Kamphoefner, “Uprooted or Transplanted? Reflections on Patterns of German Immigration to Missouri,” *Missouri Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (2009): 82.

Hanley, a 21-year-old bookkeeper was born in Headford, Co. Galway, while his neighbor, Michael Gorman a laborer, was born in Co. West Maid [Westmeath] in Ireland.⁵⁷ There was also the issue of forgeries and in 1880 a second enumeration of St Louis was completed because 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.⁵⁸

Aside from the analysis of census transcripts, a variety of primary source material was utilized. Manuscript sources in the form of family and business papers, records pertaining to social and cultural organizations, religious records pertaining to the establishment and management of various immigrant churches, and the personal papers and correspondence of prominent immigrant politicians were all beneficial. Civil War records compiled by Irish and German soldiers also provided valuable insights. One difficulty however, was that the primary source material pertaining to the immigrant experience of ethnically Irish women was largely unavailable. Many German women maintained diaries and journals which provided interesting insights into household management and the social lives of German women. Nonetheless, this illustrates the contrasting social positions of women from the German and Irish communities. That limitation also applies to records available for Irish social and cultural organizations. Whereas primary source data about German singing societies and gymnastic organizations are readily available, there is a consistent lack of information relating to Irish cultural organizations such as 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 those organisations.

Newspapers were also valuable sources for this research. Newspapers such as the *Missouri Republic*, the *Missouri Democrat* and the German language *Anzienger des Westens* as well as the *Fort Wayne Daily News*, the *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, and the *Fort Wayne Staatszeitung* provided valuable insight into the everyday lives of German and Irish immigrants in

⁵⁷1860 US Federal Census Records for Mick Hanley and Michael Gorman, 1860 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 2, 1, *Ancestry.com*, accessed July 25, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁵⁸Jeanette C. Lauer and Robert H. Lauer, "St Louis and the 1880 Census: The Shock of Collective Failure," *Missouri Historical Review* 76 (1982): 151–63.

both cities. Printed sources in the form of contemporary histories of each city, biographical encyclopaedias, and handbooks advising immigrants on westward migration also 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.⁵⁹ Hyde and Conard's *Encyclopaedia of the History of St Louis* was essential in identifying prominent citizens in St Louis from both communities.⁶⁰

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. Furthermore, 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 influential. Accordingly, that is reflected throughout the chapters in this book.

Chapter 2 establishes the context of European emigration during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. It introduces the reader to the plethora of reasons that 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 3 examines why immigration to the United States was an exciting prospect for European migrants. Focusing particularly on the

⁵⁹Bert 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: Robert O. Law Company, 1917); Thomas Scharf, *History of St Louis City and County, from the Earliest Periods to the Present Day 2* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1883); John Regan, *The Emigrants Guide to the Western States of America, or Backwoods and Prairies* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1852).

⁶⁰William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the History of St Louis: A Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference* (St Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899).

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 toward emigration in the homeland. The process of leaving and the initial impressions of the United States of some European immigrants upon arrival are also outlined. The chapter closes with an examination of why migration to the Midwest could provide immigrants with a higher standard of living 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 4. The 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 neighborhoods and interpreting data extracted from US Federal Census records from 1850 to 1900, an immigrant profile taking into consideration 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 5 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 the chapter are complemented by qualitative data from both communities and through using case studies, the immigrants' stories are told.

Chapter 6 takes into consideration the cultural legacies of both immigrant communities. Focusing exclusively on some of the social and cultural organizations to which German and Irish immigrants subscribed, significant contrasts between the social and cultural traditions of both communities are highlighted. Qualitative data highlights the multiplicity of German organizations, while simultaneously emphasizing the antipathy between secular and religious associations within the group. Conversely, the one-dimensional nature of Irish social pursuits is also discussed.

Chapter 7 discusses the role played by religious institutions in establishing and subsequently consolidating an ethnic identity. The church was an integral agent in creating a cultural identity for ethnic

communities in the nineteenth century. The chapter focuses particularly on the Catholic and Lutheran churches established by the German and Irish immigrant communities. It also 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 denominations. The disparities between both immigrant communities are again prevalent in the chapter, as the role of the church in unifying the Irish immigrant community contrasts significantly with its divisive nature in the German community.

Chapter 8 investigates immigrant involvement in political affairs at local, state, and national levels and takes into consideration the significance of immigrant participation in the American Civil War. Notably, ethnic unity was also a feature of that aspect of the Irish immigrant experience although, by contrast, the German community in both locations remained politically divided and members of the community comprised both political parties. Additionally, the chapter examines why the politics of the homeland remained a concern for Irish immigrants in both cities and why that was not an aspect of the German immigrant experience.

Chapter 9 examines the role of Irish and German immigrant women and evaluates their contributions 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 nuns and women in religion is also an important aspect of female involvement of the immigrant experience and is discussed in the 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 those comparisons becomes apparent.

The study of the four German and Irish immigrant communities that follows portrays each community in terms of their economic, social, religious, and political development. By interpreting each community in that way, the similarities and contrasts, as well as the dynamism, development, and legacies of each group become apparent. By using a comparative, transnational model to interpret the ethnic settlements, a more exacting insight into their acculturation and assimilation processes is achieved.



An Uncertain Future: Ireland, Germany and the United States at the Turn of the Century

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the eighteenth century, Ireland, the German states, and the American Midwest, were, in almost every sense, worlds apart. In central Europe, economic, social, political, and religious change characterized the first half of the nineteenth century as central Europe redefined its hegemony in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars.¹ Simultaneously, Ireland also experienced significant social change as it adapted to its union with Great Britain.² After the Vienna settlement, European leaders began to rebuild their economies and the continent benefitted not only from a transport and communications revolution, but also from a growing economy, with gross national product increasing by 120% between 1830 and 1913.³ The availability of capital and the subsequent industrialization of many European countries, coupled with a demographic

¹Walter D. Kamphoefner, “At the Crossroads of Economic Development: Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth Century Germany,” in *Migration Across Time and Nations*, ed. Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), 195; T. C. W. Blanning, “The End of the Old Regime,” in *The Nineteenth Century: Europe, 1789–1914*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.

²W. E. Vaughan, *A New History of Ireland*, vol. VI (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³Walter D. Kamphoefner, “At the Crossroads,” 1.

increase of more than 100% from 1800 to 1900, naturally had an impact on European economic activity.⁴ Religion also experienced a revolution of sorts, with churches emerging from the Napoleonic era as ‘leaner, fitter, more missionary, less aristocratic in their social composition and more populist.’⁵

Yet despite those innovations and new departures within European society, there was also growing poverty, increasing social unrest, and escalating dissatisfaction with political regimes. Coupled with these changes were increasing trends in European migration necessitated by growing populations, industrialization, economic isolation, and in some instances, political and religious persecution.⁶

One of the primary motivations influencing emigration from Germany during the nineteenth 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 agricultural practices and hereditary entitlement to land, coupled with the introduction of the *Zollverein* and increasing industrialization using modern technologies, led to an uncertain future for many Germans of the working class. The social tension and civil unrest that characterized the *Vormärz* period in Germany during the 1830s and 1840s also prompted many to contemplate emigration.⁷

Bade argues that between 1816 and 1914 as many as 5.5 million Germans immigrated to America.⁸ However, until the 1860s, the German immigrant group constituted only the second largest immigrant cohort to the New World. From 1860, German immigrants surpassed their Irish

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 2.

⁶Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner, and Ulrike Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer Schreiben aus der Neuen Welt, 1830–1930* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), 29.

⁷Günter Moltmann, “Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz?” in *Die Deutschen und die Revolution*, ed. Michael Salewski (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1984), 272–97; Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997), 5; Günter Moltmann, *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683–1983* (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1982), 10; and see also Franz Lorenz Müller, “Imperialist Ambitions in *Vormärz* and Revolutionary Germany: The Agitation for German Settlement Colonies Overseas, 1840–1849,” *German History* 17, no. 3 (1999): 346–68.

⁸Bade and Weiner, *Migration Past, Migration Future*, 5.

counterparts, whose emigration peaked in the aftermath of the famine during the period from 1845 to 1860. Kenny suggests that as many as 2.1 million emigrants left Ireland during the ten-year period from 1845 to 1855. Of those, he contends that up to 1.8 million settled in North America.⁹ Throughout the nineteenth century, the German states and Ireland were the two largest immigrant cohorts. Archdeacon notes that from 1860 to 1890 an additional 1.5 million emigrants left Ireland, while an additional 2.9 million left Germany during the same period.¹⁰

Migration to the United States was not a phenomenon unique to the middle and latter decades of the nineteenth century, however. Archdeacon suggests that as many as 20,000 German immigrants migrated to the United States in the immediate aftermath of the Napoleonic wars in 1816.¹¹ The migration of 15,000 Irish immigrants, mostly of Ulster Scots descent, between 1816 and 1818 also demonstrates that immigration to America was not a trend unique to the mid-century.

Industrialization was a key development in nineteenth-century America as it was in Europe.¹² Increasing technological developments and industrial productivity throughout the nineteenth century consequently necessitated a labor force which flocked to emerging cities as they too mushroomed throughout the north-eastern and mid-western states. 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 industrializing cities of the Midwest.¹³ Political and religious tolerance combined with relatively relaxed immigration

⁹Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 97.

¹⁰Thomas Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 45–48. Figures derived from Tables 11 and 14 in Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 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 that decade. Notably, this was the first decade after German unification.

¹¹Archdeacon, *Becoming American*, 30; Bade and Weiner, *Migration Past, Migration Future*, 4–6.

¹²Joseph R. Conlin, *The American Past: A Survey of American History*, 9th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth Publishing, 2009), 237.

¹³Mark Ellis, “A Tale of Five Cities? Trends in Immigrant and Native-Born Wages,” in *Strangers at the Gates: New Immigrants in Urban America*, ed. Roger Waldinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 117–59.

policies tempted many Europeans to migrate.¹⁴ That in turn led to an increase in chain migration, the growth of culturally distinct immigrant communities, and a way of life that contrasted starkly with the norm that European immigrants had left behind.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF WAR AND MODERNIZATION AS CAUSES OF EMIGRATION

When considering German emigration through the lens of economic necessity, it is obvious that the lack of proto-industry in rural, largely underdeveloped 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. As was the case in Ireland, seasonal migration of rural and working-class Germans was common in the north. Many provided for their families with supplementary incomes by working the fields and peat bogs of Holland. Yet by the mid nineteenth century, that too had ceased as a form of survival for unskilled laborers.¹⁵

Although the economic prospects of the German lower class were particularly grim during that period, they were not the only group of people displaced by the economic situation in Germany. Grape growers, like charcoal iron workers in Rhineland Prussia, experienced economic difficulty due to increasing industrialization. Therefore, any supplementary income that was provided by those ancillary occupations was severely eroded. Both enterprises were dependant on uncertain non-local markets and simultaneously fell victim to technological advances. Many middle-class entrepreneurs also became disillusioned. The decision to enforce freedom of trade within the German confederation, as well as the liberalization of customs policies, with the introduction of the *Zollverein*, were two such causes of their disillusionment. The disbanding of guilds meant that the production unit of the master craftsman fell in value, and those tradesmen and their families were unable to pay taxes or compete with the products of newly developed technological equivalents. Those

¹⁴Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 3–26.

¹⁵Kamphoefner, “At the Crossroads of Economic Development,” 192.

factors combined led to more unemployment and dissatisfaction with the newly formed confederacy.¹⁶ Many people within that group fell 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, but 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 because of the various economic challenges that emerged in the German states after the Napoleonic wars.

The conditions that challenged the rural poor in the German states were mirrored in Ireland, where the impact of the famine has long been seen as a watershed moment in Irish history. On closer examination, the conditions that both promoted and encouraged emigration were prevalent long before the onset of famine. D. George Boyce noted that between 1815 and 1845, over one million people had already left Ireland.¹⁷ The factors influencing Irish emigration during the nineteenth century were two-fold and incorporated both economic and political motivations.

Irish agricultural enterprises prospered during the Napoleonic wars. 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 the agricultural boom were the landlords.¹⁸

However, in the years following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, Irish agricultural exports experienced a downturn. There was no longer a high demand for Irish tillage crops in Great Britain, and it soon became more profitable to export livestock rather than crops. Simultaneously, landlords were calling for the consolidation of farms even as the population continued to expand. The growing lower classes gradually found it more difficult to pay their rents. Membership of secret agrarian societies such

¹⁶Helmut Böhme, *An Introduction to the Social and Economic History of Germany: Politics and Economic Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1978), 27.

¹⁷D. George Boyce, *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2005), 13.

¹⁸Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine, 1798–1848* (Dublin: Gill Books, 1990), 128.

as the Rockites was commonplace, as social unrest and poverty became prevalent features of rural living.¹⁹

Crop failures during the early nineteenth century, particularly those of 1817 and 1821, only pre-empted the hardship of successive crop failures in the 1840s. It is estimated that from 1845 to 1851, at least 800,000 people died as a direct result of the famine.²⁰ The small farmers and laboring classes constituted a considerable proportion of that number, although casualties were not only confined to rural Ireland. Many town and city dwellers also fell victim to the famine as disease spread throughout both towns and counties. Illnesses such as typhus and ‘recurring fever’ became the most common ailments afflicting the country and hospitals and county infirmaries were unable to cope with the number of those afflicted. Workhouses became overcrowded very quickly.

The virtual collapse of agriculture as the cornerstone of the Irish economy by the mid-nineteenth century, however, was not the only reason for such extensive emigration during the decades that followed. Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, small scale industries such as those that were focused on localized handicraft skills also experienced decline as they were overtaken by the technological advances of the industrial age, like their counterparts in the German states at that time. Changes in the silk and wool industries illustrated how industrialization aided in the impoverishment of the Irish lower class. Much of that handicraft was undertaken by the lower classes as a means of supplying a subsidiary income for their families, and in effect they were doubly hit by the changing economic landscape. Ó Tuathaigh wrote that the wool 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’.²¹ The parliament in London applied its noninterventionist 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 poor in rural areas multiplied. Aside from Belfast, which experienced many of the positive features of industrialization, when compared with both England and the German states, the rest of Ireland effectively remained in industrial darkness.

¹⁹J. G. Smith, “Some Nineteenth Century Irish Economics,” *Economica* 2, no. 5 (1935): 21.

²⁰Boyce, *Nineteenth Century Ireland*, 114.

²¹Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, 118.

Undoubtedly, the combined effect of the agricultural crisis and a decline of cottage industry were the primary motivations driving 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 to 1840. 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 characterized both the pre- and post-famine periods, and to alleviate such problems would require extensive social and economic reform and because that appeared to be lacking, emigration was the only practical alternative for many people.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CYCLE MODEL AS A CAUSE OF EMIGRATION

Economic imbalance was not the only cause of migration. Writing about nineteenth century European society, James Sheehan concluded that ‘the unparalleled expansion of the European population was at once the product of fundamental changes in social and economic life and an impetus for further transformations’.²² 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 wrote that the population of Ireland increased by over 1.3 million in the twenty years from 1821 to 1841.²³ Census abstracts record that in 1821 the population of Ireland was 6.8 million, although by 1841, that number had risen to almost 8.2 million.²⁴

²²James Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 453.

²³Joseph Lee, “On Accuracy of the Pre-famine Irish Censuses,” in *Irish Population, Economy and Society: Essays in Honour of the Late K.H. Connell*, ed. J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 54; Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, 129.

²⁴Abstract of the Census of Great Britain and Ireland, 1821, 378; Abstract of the Census of Ireland, 1841, 1. See also K. H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1750–1845* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 27; Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800–1850* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), 230.

Despite emigration, poor harvests, and a struggling economy, the population of Germany continued to expand, reaching 40.8 million people in 1870 and 56 million people by the turn of the century.²⁵ Conversely, the effects of famine and emigration are more notably observed in the Irish context. Census returns for the country in 1871 show that the population of Ireland had fallen to 5.4 million, while by 1901, the population had decreased further totaling only 4.4 million by the turn of the century.²⁶

The demographic expansion characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century had many consequences for both German and Irish societies. One of the areas significantly affected by that growth was the agricultural sector, and particularly land inheritance practices. Kamphoefner described two types of agricultural inheritance that were widely practiced in the German states. The first, traditionally utilized ‘in the greater part of Germany’ was impartible inheritance or *Anerbenrecht*, in which property was only bequeathed to one heir. The policy in the southwest part of Germany, as well as in Rhineland Prussia and parts of Hesse, was known as *Realteilung* or partible inheritance where more than one heir was bestowed land.²⁷ That form of inheritance promoted population growth and land in those parts of Germany gradually became overpopulated. Young marriage ages were followed by high birth rates as children became an economic asset. Coupled with that was a collapse in the handloom linen industry, which in turn led to the emergence of an impoverished but expanding rural lower class in many parts of the German confederation.²⁸ That subsequently led to migration to urban centers, and in many cases, further afield. Those areas which did benefit from industrialization and the urbanization that followed also experienced relatively low emigration rates and regions like the Ruhr and Silesia continued to prosper.

For many, however, the advantages of modernization were unattainable at least in Europe. The emancipation of peasants, a process which

²⁵Josef Ehmer, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Historische Demographie, 1800–2000* (Oldenbourg: Gruyter Oldenbourg Wissensch. Vlg, 2004), 17.

²⁶Abstract of the Census of Ireland, 1871, 7; Abstract of the Census of Ireland, 1901, 13.

²⁷Kamphoefner, “At the Crossroads of Economic Development,” 177.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 177–78.

began in 1808, was also influential in producing emigrants. While the initial objective of the process 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.²⁹ That, in conjunction with other agrarian crises in the 1820s, in addition to famine and falling grain and linen prices during the 1840s, led to Germany's highest emigration rates for the century to that point.

Before the famine in Ireland, a parallel can be drawn between the Irish custom of subdividing land and the German system of *Realteilung*, which also promoted population growth. By 1841, a majority of the population depended on the land for both income and livelihood. The growth in population was chiefly among the rural, small farmer, cottier, and laboring classes which subsequently led to the subdividing of land among families, and an overdependence on the potato crop because of its 'acre-economising nature and its high nutritional content'.³⁰ Like the situation in the German states, Irish population growth was achieved through early marriage and high birth rates. However, the aftermath of the famine necessitated an adjustment in agricultural philosophy. 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 middle of the century, Irish farmers were obliged, in practice at least, to redefine their policy of land distribution.³¹ Therefore, land was generally only bequeathed to the eldest son, like the German tradition of *Anerbenrecht*. Second and subsequent sons thus 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, therefore, subsequent daughters were forced to find work as maids or laborers, join convents, or emigrate. To that

²⁹Böhme, *Social and Economic History of Germany*, 20.

³⁰Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine*, 130.

³¹Timothy Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish: Household, Migration and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 41–42; see also Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850–1900* (Chester Springs: Dufour Editions, 1997), 10–14; and Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After the Famine: Explorations in Economic History, 1800–1925* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 180–92.

end, Nugent wrote that between 1851 and 1911, more than four million Irish people emigrated.³²

POLITICAL AFFAIRS AS A CAUSE OF EMIGRATION

In the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, European governments began to redefine their roles, and 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. Its intent was 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 fully sovereign for the first time, although they did meet intermittently at a federal assembly in Frankfurt.³³ Despite that, the organization 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, particularly in Prussia,³⁴ and was evidenced by the emergence of nationalism. Green contends that 'politicised and ideological German nationalism emerged as a response to Germany's humiliation in the Napoleonic wars'.³⁵ However, it was not until the 1840s that nationalism truly permeated German society. Beginning with the Rhine Crisis in 1840, nationalist sentiment began to circulate among civilians who called for further civil liberties, political reform, and a unified German nation state. That in turn served merely to exacerbate already heightened tensions between Prussia and Austria and subsequently forced the so-called dualist alliance into disarray, resulting in the 1848–1849 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, but

³²Walter Nugent, *Crossings*, 50.

³³Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

³⁴Böhme, *Social and Economic History of Germany*, 19.

³⁵Green, *Fatherlands*, 5.

the self-organization 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. Their campaigns were so popular that many governments simply succumbed to those liberal requests.

Ultimately, the revolutions of 1848 were unsuccessful in Germany primarily because of the Frankfurt Assembly's failure to pursue constructive measures toward unification. Despite the publication of the *Grundrechte des Deutschen Volkes* [Basic Rights of the German People] in 1848, it had been abolished by most states by 1851 and to a significant extent the old order prevailed and conformity was largely restored. Böhme argued that 'the majority [of representatives in the national assembly] did not want revolution, radicalism or equality of political rights...and despite the initial and violent unloading of tensions, the tradition of obedience towards authority was not broken'.³⁶

One significant legacy of the 1848 revolution, however, was that many disillusioned patriots left European shores in search of new lives in the United States. This group of predominantly 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.³⁷ Even though the small number represented at most ten percent of emigrants for the period from 1848 to 1860, those emigrants had a considerable influence on immigrant life. Many of those who settled in the United States did so in the rapidly industrializing mid-western states like Ohio and Wisconsin where they focused their organizational energies on German-American cultural societies such as *Turnvereins*. They also became involved in US politics, as their immigration ensured access to a liberal state that permitted full political participation. That was reflected by the substantial number of German immigrants who joined the ranks of the Republican Party, particularly in the years immediately preceding the American Civil War. The influence

³⁶Böhme, *Social and Economic History of Germany*, 32.

³⁷Albrecht Bernhard Faust, *German Element in the United States: With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 582.

of those German liberals was important despite their small numbers, and their contribution to immigrant life in America was significant.³⁸

In Ireland, the situation was markedly different. An increasing population combined with food and labor shortages, partially because of the Napoleonic wars, necessitated political intervention which was characteristically slow to materialize. There was continued dissatisfaction with the Act of Union and after the success of the Emancipation movement, Irish political leaders began to focus on the Repeal of the Union. The Irish population had received an invaluable political education in the 1820s and were aware of the effectiveness of mass mobilization. O'Connell's death in 1847 along with the development of a more radical element within the Repeal Association led to the emergence of a group known as the Young Irelanders. Taking their inspiration from liberal thinkers on continental Europe, they staged an impromptu rebellion in Tipperary in 1848, but their efforts resulted in the transportation of the organization's leaders. From that point forward, Irish nationalism became more belligerent in character and as the century progressed there was a growth in militant nationalism at home and among the broader diaspora.³⁹

There was also political interest in Ireland with the concept of emigration itself. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Feldman and Baldwin wrote that 'British governments did not encourage emigration [as it] was a drain on population—the very basis of national wealth',⁴⁰ yet gradually, various administrations began to appreciate the benefits of assisted emigration schemes.⁴¹ For the most part, the

³⁸Carl Wittke, "The German Forty-Eighters in America: A Centennial Appraisal," *American Historical Review* 53, no. 4 (1948): 714.

³⁹For more see: Robert Sloan, *William Smith O'Brien and the Young Irelander Rebellion of 1848* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002); John Belchem, "The Waterloo of Peace and Order: The United Kingdom and the Revolutions of 1848," in *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform*, ed. Dieter Haupt, Dieter Langewiesche, and Jonathan Sperber (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001); and Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1987).

⁴⁰David Feldman and M. Page Baldwin, "Emigration and the British State, ca. 1815–1925," in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, ed. Nancy L. Green and François Weil (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 135–36.

⁴¹Oliver MacDonagh has estimated that as many as 50,000 people emigrated as part of an assisted emigration scheme during the nineteenth century. However, both Duffy and Moran have argued that the number was more likely to be between 80,000 and 100,000 emigrants.

state was slow to publicly endorse such schemes, yet between 1823 and 1825, the government actually sponsored two schemes which financed the emigration of 2500 emigrants from Ireland to Canada at a cost of £56,000.⁴² Although state intervention was intermittent at best, many Irish landlords also established assisted emigration schemes on their estates. The extent of those schemes varied. Duffy noted that the estates of Wandesforde, Fitzwilliam, and Palmerston were relatively active in assisting their tenants.⁴³ It was ultimately 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 stabilize Ireland before, during, and after the famine.

CONCLUSION

For both the lowly Irish peasant and the German cottage weaver the decision to emigrate must have been simultaneously distressing and stimulating. Coming from a Europe that was, at best, politically uncertain, economically prejudiced, and religiously guarded, America must certainly have offered a more optimistic future than Europe did. The situation in both the German states and Ireland during the middle decades of the nineteenth century seemed to push emigrants toward an America that presented the immigrants with at least the opportunity of gaining employment. Immigration to the United States also provided an arena

For more see: Oliver MacDonagh, "Irish Emigration to the United States of America and the British Colonies During the Famine," in *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History, 1845–52*, ed. R. Dudley Edwards and Thomas Williams (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1994), 335; Patrick Duffy, "Assisted Emigration from the Shirley Estate, 1843–54," *Clogher Record* 14, no. 2 (1992): 10; and Gerard Moran, *Sending Out Ireland's Poor: Assisted Emigration to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press: 2004), 19.

⁴²Feldman and Baldwin, "Emigration and the British State," 137.

⁴³Between 1840 and 1856, over 16,000 emigrants were aided in their emigration from those three estates, usually to the Canadian provinces. For more see: Patrick J. Duffy, "Disencumbering our Crowded Places: Theory and Practise of Estate Emigration Schemes in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ireland," in *To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes, c.1600–2000*, ed. Patrick Duffy and Gerard Moran (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004), 79–104.

for their political and religious values to be heard and condoned, 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 not much had changed on the surface. Subconsciously, modernity had, on both sides of the Atlantic, symbolized a progression from disarray to order and from individuality to unity.



CHAPTER 3

Making the Transition: Irish and German Immigrants Arrive in the Midwest

INTRODUCTION: THE MIDWEST AS AN IMMIGRANT DESTINATION

In a letter to his father from the 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 Henry Neill desired 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 that land and wealth had come within three years of the brothers’ emigration from Banbridge, Co. Down in 1837. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the northern and mid-western states experienced accelerated and sustained economic growth. 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

¹Henry Neill, Kentucky to Samuel Neill, Co. Down, November 16, 1840. *Centre for Migration Studies, Irish Emigrant Database (CMSIED)*, accessed May 4, 2013, <http://icd.dippam.ac.uk/records/44663>.

²Ibid.

communities to travel to the Midwest. In addition to that, there were technological advances and developments in transport and communication as well as government initiatives in the form of the Homestead Act of 1862. Provided that immigrants had sufficient means to make the journey west, there was little doubt that a higher standard of living could be acquired than if they remained on the east coast.

In the approximately sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, American society transformed immensely and the American Midwest was a prime example of that modernity. Industrialization, along with internal westward expansion, enabled the United States to emerge as a major world power. Appleby argued that at the turn of the nineteenth century, American society was witnessing the ‘consolidation of a market economy *and* a market society’,³ a phenomenon that was undoubtedly influenced by the arrival of European immigrants who contributed positively to the workforce.

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. Churches, schools, and other infrastructure simultaneously materialized. The California Gold Rush of 1849 and the Colorado Gold Rush of 1859 were considered important motivations for westward expansion. As a result, that led to the brisk development of cities like San Francisco and Denver.⁴

Although such developments in the west were remarkable for their suddenness, the scale and success of expansion and urbanization projects in the Midwest perhaps constituted the era’s most significant advances. As Teaford noted, ‘the Midwest possessed the pre-requisites for great cities [like] no other region, and in the rich interior valley supposedly lay the future of urban America.’⁵ Teaford noted that in 1860 no mid-western city lay within the nation’s top five cities. By 1890 however, four mid-western cities (Chicago, St Louis, Cincinnati, and Cleveland) had populations of over 250,000 and were ranked within the nation’s top ten

³Joyce O. Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 9.

⁴David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), ix.

⁵Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 48.

cities.⁶ In the 1900 US Federal Census, German and Irish communities were recorded as the largest ethnic groups in each of those cities, confirming not only their dominant presence in the Midwest, but also the sustained development of each of those communities from the middle of the century onward.⁷

The arrival of immigrants from Europe as well as migrants from the east, ensured that a vibrant labor force was available to lay the railroad lines, work in factories, extract raw materials, and farm the land. German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants traveled to the Midwest seeking employment, property, and a higher standard of living. Cities like Milwaukee and St Louis had large ethnic German communities, while other cities like Chicago and Cleveland had significant Irish populations.⁸ By the turn of the century, Scandinavian, Russian, and Italian immigrants were also establishing vibrant ethnic communities in many Midwestern urban centers, which in turn led to a decrease in the representation of native-born settlers in many Midwestern cities.⁹ Given the significant ethnic clusters in many of those developing 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 benefited because of their pivotal position on newly emerging railroad lines. Cities like Fort Wayne, Dayton, and Peoria became industrialized and local economies emerged because of the transportation opportunities available.

The arrival of immigrants to those rapidly industrializing regions was achieved, in part, through a complex network of kinship and social networks.¹⁰ The experiences of others played a key role in

⁶Ibid., 49.

⁷1900 US Federal Census Compendium, 'Table LXXXIII-Foreign-Born Population of Certain Cities Distributed According to Principal Countries of Birth: 1900,' clxxvi-ix.

⁸Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 162.

⁹Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland*, 58. Teaford notes that by 1890, Milwaukee had a smaller population of native white residents than any other American city of over 100,000 population.

¹⁰Nugent, *Crossings*, 153.

enticing potential migrants to 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’.¹¹ 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...tell Him to come out west...He will see land that he never seen the likes of before’.¹² The significance of those personal testimonies was integral in sustaining the flow of immigrants from Europe to the Midwest.¹³

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ATTRACTIONS

Aside from the economic benefits, cultural familiarity, and security provided by those ethnic clusters, there were other aspects of American life that attracted immigrants to the United States. First, 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 entering the United States, it was not until 1882 that admission to the United States became more regulated.¹⁴ In addition to non-restrictive

¹¹J. Anderson, Ohio to his parents in Balinrees, Coleraine, March 26, 1837. *Centre for Migration Studies, Irish Emigrant Database (CMSIED)*, accessed May 4, 2013, <http://ied.dippam.ac.uk/records/52161>.

¹²W. Porter, Chicago to his brother R. S. Porter, Co. Down, June 4, 1855. *Centre for Migration Studies, Irish Emigrant Database (CMSIED)*, accessed May 4, 2013, <http://ied.dippam.ac.uk/records/26634>.

¹³John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, “Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks,” *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1964): 90.

¹⁴Loretto Dennis Szucs, *They Became Americans: Finding Naturalization Records and Ethnic Origins* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry Incorporated, 1998), 28; see also Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004), 3.

entry was the fact that citizenship through naturalization could be obtained relatively easily by simply signing a testimony declaring one's loyalty to the United States. However, the naturalization process became more stringently policed after 1922.

Access to citizenship provided political rights to European men that exceeded the rights they had in Europe. The reforms of the Jacksonian era not only ended property requirements for voting and limitations on universal suffrage for white males, but also lifted office-holding restrictions that had been in place since the revolution.¹⁵ 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. Irish immigrants were also able to capitalize on their newly acquired political autonomy and utilized their training in mass mobilization from the 1820s to maximum effect, both on the east coast and in the Midwest.

The religious landscape of nineteenth-century America also appealed to European immigrants. The existence of many religious sects offered the possibility of acceptance. However, McLaughlin argued that the Second Great Awakening had varying characteristics within the regions, commenting that in New England, it was best characterized as a 'nativist movement' perhaps a sharp reaction to the influx of immigrants to the New England states.¹⁶ Despite that, the arrival and subsequent development of immigrant churches played a significant role in uniting individual ethnic groups. In a case study of German Lutherans in Missouri, Judith Meyer observed 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'.¹⁷ 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.

¹⁵Lawrence F. Kohl, *The Politics of Individualism: Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5.

¹⁶William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607–1977* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 106–108.

¹⁷Judith W. Meyer, "Ethnicity, Theology and Immigrant Church Expansion," *Geographical Review* 65 (1975): 181.

‘WHAT WILL YE DO IN THE WILDS OF AMERICA’¹⁸

Once the decision to immigrate had been made, the process of leaving both homelands could begin. Like the immigration itself, emigration practises in both locations varied. Many cultural traditions in Ireland were associated with the leaving cycle, while emigration procedures in Germany were primarily concerned with bureaucratic responsibilities. Arriving in Co. Kilkenny during the 1840s, Asenath Nicholson spent some time in the parish of her former servant, Anne, who had returned to Ireland having worked ‘in service’ at the Nicholson household in New York. It was during her time in that parish that Nicholson documented her interpretation of an American wake. Nicholson recorded that Anne’s sister, ‘was to go [emigrate] 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.¹⁹

Kerby Miller 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’.²⁰ That self-perception in part explains the significance of the American wake. By assuming the guise of a banished exiled victim and justifying the emigration in terms of necessity rather than opportunity, Irish emigration became more palatable to those left behind. Rather than interpreting emigration as an act of individualism, the victim motif exonerated the Catholic guilt which ensued because of disrupting the family

¹⁸Asenath 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: Baker and Scribner, 1847), 92.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 92–93.

²⁰Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 556.

structure. Certainly, economic circumstances did necessitate emigration in many instances; yet, the cultural perception of that necessity was not one of positivity, but rather of cynicism. 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’.²¹

Despite that, Nicholson’s interpretation of an American wake suggests that many Irish people did indeed understand the dynamics of emigration more acutely than the exiled perception would suggest. In her account, Nicholson noted that, ‘...a man in the midst cried out, “be gone from the house and stop your bawling...why do ye bawl about the thing that’s yer own choosin”’.²² That 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’.²³ The tradition of the American wake is best interpreted as a cultural phenomenon which enabled a family to grieve and forced the emigrants to appreciate the gravity of their choices, yet, disguised the process as one of colonial oppression.²⁴

That was not the case in the German states 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. A prospective emigrant in the German states was required to obtain legal permission to leave the state. Permission was usually granted in one of two ways. Some German states such as Hannover issued a *Reisepass* or passport. That procedure was practiced 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 applied for a release document. On acquiring the document, the emigrant automatically renounced their citizenship rights to that state after six months. The document certified the legality of the

²¹Robert Lynd, *Home Life in Ireland* (London: Mills & Boon, 1909), 120.

²²Nicholson, *Ireland’s Welcome*, 92.

²³Lynd, *Home Life*, 121.

²⁴Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 556.

emigration and ensured that the emigrant was not attempting to abscond from either military duties or criminal charges. The method did, however, lead to the creation of ‘*Auswanderungskonsens*’ or ‘people without a country’.²⁵

‘BOUND FOR NEW YORK’

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, shipping companies such as the *White Star Line* or the German *Union Linie* competed to entice emigrants with their economical rates and regular departure schedules. Irish national newspapers like *The Freeman’s Journal* and local publications like the *Nenagh Guardian* or *Tuam Herald* regularly published advertisements providing information on fares and departure schedules. The practice was the same in the German states and both local and state-wide journals and periodicals were integral in providing potential emigrants with travel information. The primary port of departure for German emigrants was Bremen. By contrast, their Irish counterparts were not as predictable and 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 to 1867 as an example, emigration trends from those three ports exemplify the leaving patterns of emigrants.

Toward the end of the 1850s, migration to Liverpool was the most popular trend among Irish emigrants, as the numbers leaving from Dublin port far exceeded those leaving from Queenstown. That was primarily because passage from Liverpool to America was cheaper than passage from Irish ports to the same destination.²⁶ Furthermore, Irish emigrants often had only enough money for a single fare to Liverpool where, upon arrival, they hoped to find work before emigrating further.

As the decade developed, Queenstown experienced increasing popularity. Recording only ninety-five outgoing passengers in 1858, within nine years that number had risen to 30,167 travelers leaving the port. Increasing provision for passengers along with increasingly regular

²⁵Reisepass, *Forschungsstelle Deutsche Auswanderer in den USA*, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, accessed February 23, 2013, <http://www.nausa.uni-oldenburg.de/>.

²⁶Rev. John O’Hanlon, *The Irish Emigrant’s Guide for the United States* (Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1851), 33; James M. Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820–1870* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 66.

Table 3.1 Passenger departure numbers from the ports of Dublin, Queenstown, and Bremen, 1857–1867^a

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of emigrants leaving the port of Dublin</i>	<i>No. of emigrants leaving the port of Queenstown</i>	<i>No. of emigrants leaving the port of Bremen</i>
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	7630	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

^a*Agricultural statistics of Ireland, 1857–1865; Emigration statistics of Ireland, 1866–1868; Andree, Globus, 190*

departures by North American-bound liners might in part explain the rapid escalation.²⁷ The port in Dublin, however, continued to retain its share of the market throughout the 1860s, with Queenstown only surpassing it in 1866 and 1867 (see Table 3.1).²⁸ There was no such competition between the ports in Germany, primarily because German emigrants only had one destination in mind. In 1867, 73,971 passengers left Bremen bound for North America, while only 38,170 were recorded in Hamburg. Of course, other European ports such as Antwerp and Le Havre were also possibilities for German emigrants, but in 1867, those ports recorded fewer than 25,000 German passengers combined.²⁹ Even though ports in both Ireland and Germany experienced a steady increase in the number of outgoing passengers over that ten-year period, there was a marked decline in emigrant numbers in the year 1861 from all three ports. That decline is explained by the outbreak of the American

²⁷Terry Coleman, *Passage to America: A History of Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 2001).

²⁸Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, 1857–1865, Emigration Statistics of Ireland 1866–68, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, accessed February 23, 2013, www.parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/.

²⁹Karl Andree, *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Hildburghausen: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1868), 190.

Civil War and it is interesting to observe emigration trends in that four-year period.³⁰ Although initially decreasing, by 1863 all three ports experienced an increase in departures which continued until the end of the 1860s.³¹

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’.³² 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 and dispirited in heart’.³³ Four years later, in a letter written by Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart, Foster corroborated de Vere’s experience noting 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’.³⁴ According to Foster, that inspection 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’.³⁵ Following that, the medical inspection was subsequently repeated when all passengers were mustered as the ship was towed out of the dock.

³⁰James S. Donnelly, *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork: The Rural Economy and the Land Question* (London: Routledge, 1975), 146. 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.

³¹For an overview of European migration trends see Nugent, *Crossings*, 27–33.

³²Stephen de Vere to Earl Grey, 30 November 1847 in *Papers Relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America*, H.C. 1847–1848 (932), xlvii, 13.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Letter 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, 2, 433.

³⁵Ibid.

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’.³⁶ The *Hoffnung* was a new vessel and on that 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, most of the group traveled 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 those commentators highlighted the overcrowding and the ‘fearful state of disease and debility’ that many passengers experienced.³⁷ While overcrowding was also an issue for those on the *Hoffnung*, it appeared 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’.³⁸ Despite the 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’.³⁹

One of the most significant differences in comparing the plight of Irish and German steerage passengers was the standard and availability of food provisions. Foster emphasized the poor quality of the

³⁶Frederick Gerstäcker, *The Wanderings and Fortunes of Some German Immigrants*, trans. David Black (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), 2.

³⁷“De Vere to Earl Grey, 30 November 1847,” 13.

³⁸Gerstäcker, *Wanderings*, 13.

³⁹“De Vere to Earl Grey, 30 November 1847,” 14.

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’.⁴⁰ When those 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’.⁴¹ German contemporaries on board the *Hoffnung* were simultaneously enjoying a weekly butter ration and regular portions of beef and pork. Gestäcker also commented that steerage passengers leaving Bremen ‘came up on deck regularly three times a day to receive their meat and drink and laid themselves quietly down again on their mattresses’.⁴²

One of the most noticeable similarities of both emigrant experiences was the medical provision available on board the ships. Gestäcker noted how no doctor was present on the *Hoffnung* and how medical supplies were provided by Pastor Hehrmann’s wife. On the *Washington*, Foster recorded that there was a doctor on board who was remunerated by the government. Despite that, he highlighted 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 reality when traveling across the ocean. The death of children was a common occurrence on board the *Washington*. Foster noted that by November 25, 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.⁴³

Infighting and complaints by the occupants of steerage compartments were also a feature prevalent among both cohorts of emigrants. Gestäcker recalled how wooden shoes belonging to Oldenburger

⁴⁰“Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart,” 3.

⁴¹Ibid., 4.

⁴²Gestäcker, *Wanderings*, 17.

⁴³Theodor Friedrich Brohm Diary, 1838–1839 (Saxon Immigration Papers, M0015/1/23/1, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis, MO).

emigrants were thrown overboard, while his predecessor Brohm worried almost continuously about the ‘afflicted spiritual condition’ of the emigrants.⁴⁴ 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 upon the passengers in the occupation of the water closets, drenching them from head to foot’.⁴⁵ That 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’.⁴⁶

Life on board an emigrant ship was undoubtedly challenging for both groups of emigrants and in an environment where commercialism outweighed humanitarianism, many emigrants faltered under the pressures of survival. For those who arrived safely, new challenges emerged. 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’.⁴⁷

‘DO NOT FOOLISHLY LINGER IN THE CITIES’⁴⁸

Writing about nineteenth-century New York, Henry Bradshaw Fearon described the city as having ‘a carelessness, a laziness, an unsocial indifference which freezes the blood.’⁴⁹ Those sentiments were echoed by John Regan over thirty years later who recalled that ‘when you arrive in

⁴⁴Ibid., 2

⁴⁵“Sir Vere Foster to Lord Hobart,” 5; see also Gerard Moran, *Sending Out Ireland’s Poor: Assisted Emigration to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 91–123.

⁴⁶Gestäcker, *Wanderings*, 12. An interesting point to note here is how the process of emigration was evaluated and the contrasting perceptions and experiences that were recorded by commentators.

⁴⁷Ibid., 40.

⁴⁸Robert 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: William Hone, 1818), 42.

⁴⁹Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819), 11.

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".⁵⁰ For those who were fortunate enough to acquire employment in those cities, their economic stability and the prospect of internal migration became important goals. As Regan continued, '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'.⁵¹

Religion played an integral role in enticing newly arrived immigrants to consider settling out west. The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod was particularly active in that 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 believed that there was no coordinated effort made by the Lutheran church to minister, advise, or aid the immigrants once they arrived in the port cities. 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 fulfill the mission. Stationed in New York, colporteurs recruited agents in German ports who in turn encouraged German emigrants to contact these colporteurs upon their arrival.⁵² That strategy failed however and by 1853, the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod still had no comprehensive strategy for aiding newly arrived immigrants, and ultimately for recruiting new members to the synod.

The synod openly supported Brohm's efforts to establish an emigrant mission after 1853, but it was not until the aftermath of the Civil War that the mission began to prosper. The synod became more overtly involved in the *Emigrantenmission* [emigrant mission] throughout the 1860s and it was decided by Rev. Berkemeier to establish an immigrant home in New York which subsequently became known as the *Lutherische*

⁵⁰John Regan, *The Emigrants Guide to the Western States of America, or Backwoods and Prairies* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1852), 113; see also Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 4.

⁵¹Regan, *Backwoods and Prairies*, 113.

⁵²Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, *Vierter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1850* (St Louis: Druck der M. Niederschen Buchdruckerei, 1876), 132.

Pilgerhaus [Lutheran Pilgrims Home].⁵³ 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’.⁵⁴ That was not only an obvious benefit to the immigrant, but it also aided the development of the synod while it simultaneously preserved key facets of the German ethnic and cultural identity. The *Emigrantenmission* was essentially an exercise in extending the influence of the Lutheran Church in the Midwest. By meeting off-the-boat emigrants 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.⁵⁵

The German Catholic emigrant missions were also effected in the aftermath of the Civil War. Many of those settlements were in Minnesota and Nebraska where German emigrants could afford large tracts of land. However, their Irish counterparts were also active in that 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.⁵⁶ Organizations 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.⁵⁷ John Mullanphy had also undertaken a colonization project in St Louis 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

⁵³ ‘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), 449.

⁵⁴ Carl S. Meyer, “Lutheran Immigrant Churches Face the Problems of the Frontier,” *Church History* 29 (1960): 453.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 455.

⁵⁶ Sr Mary Evangela Henthorne, *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States* (Champaign: The Twin City Printing Company, 1932), 30.

⁵⁷ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 69.

in rural Missouri where the colonies of Armagh and Downpatrick were established.⁵⁸ For the most part, however, there was no coordinated attempt to remove Irish immigrants from the eastern cities on a large scale, much like their Lutheran counterparts.

Despite attempts in the 1850s and 1860s, it was not until 1879 that the Irish Catholic Colonization Association was founded in Chicago on St Patrick's Day. The purpose of the organization was 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'.⁵⁹ The association adopted a strategy forwarded by Archbishop Ireland of St Paul, who had previously undertaken colonization projects of Irish immigrants in Minnesota. In accordance with that new departure, other projects followed, including the arrival of emigrants from Connemara to Minnesota as part of a migration scheme in 1880.⁶⁰ Although the society did enjoy some successes, it ultimately failed in its goal 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'.⁶¹

Like the Lutheran Emigrant Mission, one of the underlying goals of colonizing Irish settlers in the Midwest and West was the development of core doctrinal belief systems in those territories. This irritated the Catholic hierarchy on the east coast and Archbishop Hughes of New York became one of the more ardent critics of the Catholic Colonization project. He argued that if endorsed, those colonies would lead to the dislocation of an already vulnerable Irish Catholic immigrant church.⁶²

⁵⁸Henthorne, *Irish Catholic Colonization Association*, 31.

⁵⁹"Circular from Onahan Scrapbook" 1879, quoted in Henthorn, *Irish Catholic Colonization Association*, 37.

⁶⁰For an extensive discussion of this scheme see Gerard Moran, "In Search of the Promised Land: The Connemara Colonisation Scheme to Minnesota, 1880," *Éire/Ireland* 31, nos. 3&4 (1996): 130–48.

⁶¹Rev. J. L. Spalding, *The Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic Colonization* (New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1880), 191.

⁶²For a more thorough discussion see Leonard P. Riforgiato, "Bishop John Timon, Archbishop John Hughes and Irish Colonization: A Clash of Episcopal Views on the

However, 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 that in turn would expose eastern dioceses to financial and material decline.⁶³

Despite that, all three religious entities, the Lutheran church and the respective national elements within the Catholic Church each realized 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 they could also influence and regulate the type of societies that emerged there. Bishop Spalding noted that ‘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.’⁶⁴

‘TO THIS FINE COUNTRY, I WOULD DIRECT THE ATTENTION OF EMIGRANTS’⁶⁵

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’.⁶⁶ Holditch further encouraged the reader to ‘proceed to the countries east (*sic.*) of the Alleghenies’ by traveling on wagons from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh or from Baltimore to Wheeling.⁶⁷ Undoubtedly, the various religious institutions played an important role in that regard, but there were also external factors which influenced an immigrant’s decision to migrate

Future of the Irish and the Catholic Church in America,” in *Immigration to New York*, ed. William Pencak, Selma C. Berrol, and Randall M. Miller (London and Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1991), 27–56; see also David S. Bovee, *The Church and the Land: The National Catholic Rural Life Conference and American Society, 1923–2007* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 10.

⁶³ Bovee, *The Church and the Land*, 10.

⁶⁴ Spalding, *The Religious Mission*, 198.

⁶⁵ Regan, *Backwoods and Prairies*, iii.

⁶⁶ Holditch, *The Emigrants Guide to the United States of America*, 43.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

westward.⁶⁸ 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 1862–1866 aimed to construct a transcontinental railroad which would not only provide greater flexibility and comfort to the traveler, but would also create employment.⁶⁹ For those who decided to migrate west, government incentives like the Homestead Act of 1862 provided private access to unappropriated federal lands, and in principal at least, encouraged western settlement. Tracts of up to 160 acres were granted once certain criteria were met. Bagwell and Mingay noted 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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.’⁷² The state also boasted ‘thirty-seven hundred miles of completed railroad...with at least 5000 miles of railroad by the first day of January 1882.’⁷³ Indiana also was a

⁶⁸Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 36.

⁶⁹For 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: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2003).

⁷⁰Philip S. Bagwell and Gordon E. Mingay, *Britain and America, 1850–1939: A Study of Economic Change* (New York: Routledge, 1970), 71.

⁷¹R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 37–42, 52–70.

⁷²Waldo P. Johnson, “‘Financial Position of the State and Countries of Missouri’ Read Before the Missouri State Immigration Convention,” Immigration to Missouri Collection 1834–1947, A0747/1/1/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

⁷³*Ibid.*, A0747/1/1/3.

tempting prospect for many immigrants and similar resources were evident there. 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’.⁷⁴ However, it was at least thirty years before Fort Wayne would prosper because of those projections.

Although immediate departure to the interior was unfeasible for many Irish and German immigrants, some were able to migrate west soon after their arrival. The journey could be achieved in several ways. Typically, if an immigrant chose to travel by wagon, he could join the Ohio River at either Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania or Wheeling, Virginia. Upon arriving in the Ohio River basin, the immigrant was provided with a variety of settlement options that stretched 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 that route was a strategic decision for many. Immigrants with a profession might have been more suited to destinations in urban centers like Pittsburgh or Cincinnati. Those who had a trade were encouraged to venture further along the river into areas like Louisville because 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 laborers.⁷⁵ Ironically, immigrants who were advised to proceed furthest west were also those individuals who could least afford to do so.

For immigrants 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’.⁷⁶ That 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 developed there.

⁷⁴J. 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: J. H. Colton, 1846), 45–59.

⁷⁵Ibid., 43–47.

⁷⁶Regan, *Backwoods and Prairies*, 30.

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 those states, although smaller Irish communities did exist.

As the century progressed, water transportation slowly gave way to the increasingly popular railroad network. As early as 1848, railroad lines leaving St Louis traveled to areas as far apart as Astoria, Oregon and New York. 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 an entire day on route laying around and getting bored’.⁷⁷ That advice was wise given the fact that no trains traveled 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’,⁷⁸ but that, 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 and were subsequently carried across the Mississippi by steamboat. Once on the west side of the river, the buses took the ‘traveller to any address for the minimal fee of .35c’.⁷⁹ For those with little money, refuges like the Mullanphy Emigrant Home provided an invaluable service for immigrants. The purpose of the home was to provide a temporary shelter for immigrants arriving in St Louis and ensured that they had somewhere to stay while establishing themselves in the city. The home was open to all nationalities, but it was mainly Irish immigrants who availed of its services.⁸⁰ German immigrants also had traditional establishments which housed immigrants upon their arrival. Lange encouraged newly arrived

⁷⁷W. C. Lange, *Zur Richtschmur für Auswanderer*, Circular c.1890, Immigration to Missouri Collection 1834–1947, A0747/1/2/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Notes on the Mullanphy Family, Bryan Mullanphy, Mullanphy Family Papers 1780–1950, A1108/1/14/4, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.



Map 3.1 Possible migration routes of German and Irish immigrants from eastern cities to the Midwest, 1850–1900

German settlers to seek initial accommodation in hotels like the Green Tree Tavern, Leimberger’s Hotel, or Griesmeyer’s Hotel.⁸¹

Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, immigration to that city took place at a much slower rate until the 1870s. 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 3.1⁸² and Table 3.2) and railroad 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 the Mayer House Hotel which fulfilled the same function as their St Louis counterparts.

⁸¹Lange, *Zur Richtschnur für Auswanderer*, Immigration to Missouri Collection 1834–1947, A0747/1/2/1.

⁸²1900 US Federal Census Compendium, ‘Table LXXXIII- Foreign-born population of certain cities distributed according to principal countries of birth: 1900’, 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.

Table 3.2 Number of German- and Irish-born immigrants residing in major US cities, 1900^a

<i>US City</i>		<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Port cities	Boston	10,523	70,147
	New York	322,343	275,103
	Philadelphia	71,319	98,427
	Baltimore	33,203	9690
	New Orleans	8733	5398
Intermediate cities	Pittsburgh	21,222	18,620
	Cleveland	40,648	13,120
	Cincinnati	38,219	9114
	Chicago	170,738	73,912
Study cities	St Louis	58,781	19,421
	Allen Co. Indiana (Fort Wayne u/avl)	6499	598

^aFigures extracted from *1900 US Federal Census Compendium*, vol 1.2, 60–64, *US Census Bureau*, accessed February 10, 2013, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1900.html>

‘WESTWARD, HO!’⁸³

By 1900, many of the principal cities on the east coast and across the Midwest had substantial German and Irish immigrant communities. New York recorded the largest number of immigrants for both groups, and was followed by Philadelphia, which also had large German and Irish populations. Of what might be termed intermediate cities in an immigrant’s ultimate migration to St Louis or Fort Wayne, Chicago was the next most popular city among immigrants from both communities. However, other locations such as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and New Orleans also consisted of significant numbers of German and Irish immigrants. Importantly, those were all cities which formed part of the ultimate migratory route leading from the respective ports to St Louis and Fort Wayne.

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

⁸³Regan, *Backwoods and Prairies*, vii.

was the Carroll family. Michael and Bridget Carroll were both born in Ireland during the 1830s and their marriage produced thirteen children, the first four of whom were born in New York. By 1867, however, with the birth of their 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 Carroll family 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 laborers who were willing to work on the railroad or in railroad shops. However, census returns show that by 1878 the family had moved again, to St Louis, and it was there, at 1121 O'Fallon St in St Louis' Irish neighborhood known as the 'Kerry Patch' that the Carroll family were living by the 1880s.⁸⁴ Thus, the migration pattern of the Carroll family led them from Ireland to New York, then to Ohio, and finally to Missouri.

By using the census returns from 1900 as well as an analysis of Table 3.2, 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 analyzing 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 those began in Louisiana, presumably in New Orleans. Based on the number of second- and third-generation immigrants born in Arkansas, 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 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 recorded many 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 were recorded as being born in Indiana suggesting instead that Illinois was a more popular immigrant destination among the German community. The third possible route

⁸⁴1880 US Federal Census Record for Michael Carroll and Family, *1880 US Federal Census*, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 9, ED 92, 42, *Ancestry.com*, accessed February 23, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

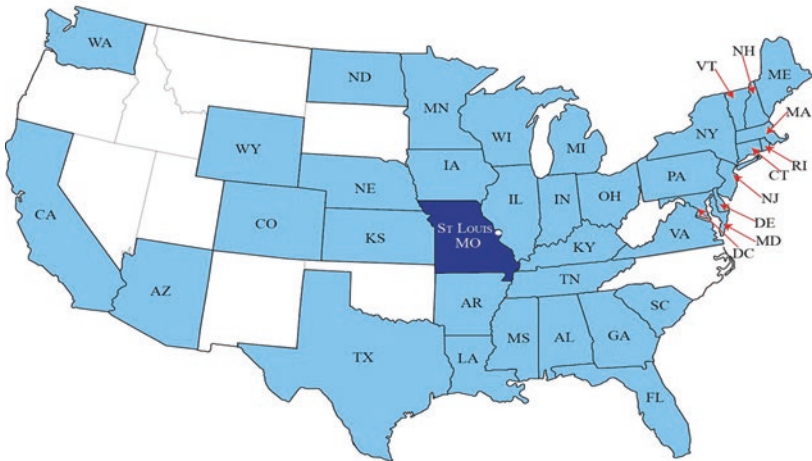
taken by German immigrants was from Maryland, usually beginning in Baltimore. From there, migration to the state of Ohio was an achievable goal. The smaller yet equally important number of German children born in Kentucky might also suggest that an interim destination was made in cities like Louisville which was located on the Ohio River and was also an important stop on many railroad routes.

By contrast, only two significantly identifiable routes emerge for Irish immigrants and interestingly, those 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 ethnically Irish children in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois suggest that many Irish immigrants pursued the same migratory pattern as their German counterparts. 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. By and large the Irish community adopted a uniform migratory pattern, traveling through the heavily industrialized north-eastern states. Migration from the south to Missouri was virtually non-existent and 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 seems their migration was not determined totally by employment opportunities in the urbanized northeast.

Aside from these discernible migratory patterns, it is also interesting to note those families who appear to have migrated from the West back toward 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 these trends and observations are representative, yet in 1900 each of these children's families were residents in St Louis, implying that the children had migrated from their own place of birth. That fact alone lends itself positively to the argument that certain patterns were adopted by each group (Map 3.2).⁸⁵

⁸⁵ 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.

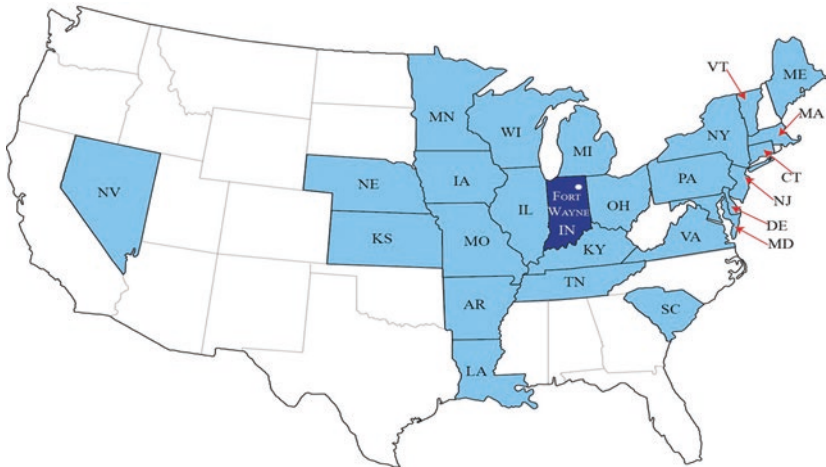


Map 3.2 Birthplace of ethnically German- and Irish-Americans residing in St. Louis, MO in 1900, outlining the most popular immigrant destinations prior to settlement in St. Louis

<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>	<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>
Alabama (AL)	2	6	Minnesota (MN)	16	8
Arizona (AZ)	4	–	Mississippi (MS)	16	2
Arkansas (AR)	21	7	Missouri (MO)	14,709	2890
California (CA)	4	2	Nebraska (NE)	9	3
Colorado (CO)	9	2	New Hampshire (NH)	–	2
Connecticut (CT)	2	8	New Jersey (NJ)	7	13
Delaware (DE)	2	2	New York (NY)	107	78
Dist. of Columbia (DC)	4	9	North Dakota (ND)	2	–
Florida (FL)	–	1	Ohio (OH)	187	75
Georgia (GA)	1	–	Pennsylvania (PA)	104	61
Illinois (IL)	1417	189	Rhode Island (RI)	1	2
Indiana (IN)	95	45	South Carolina (SC)	1	1
Iowa (IA)	20	–	Tennessee (TN)	19	16

<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>	<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>
Kansas (KS)	33	14	Texas (TX)	18	4
Kentucky (KY)	72	31	Vermont (VT)	2	2
Louisiana (LA)	39	33	Virginia (VA)	6	7
Maine (ME)	–	4	Washington (WA)	2	–
Maryland (MD)	23	8	Wisconsin (WI)	43	6
Massachusetts (MA)	8	28	Wyoming (WY)	1	1
Michigan (MI)	20	23			

The smaller size of Fort Wayne is again evident in considering the migration patterns which led both German and Irish immigrants to the city. 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



Map 3.3 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

Pennsylvania and Ohio before reaching Fort Wayne. Interestingly, many of Fort Wayne's residents had 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. That again serves to highlight the economic development of Fort Wayne toward the end of the century and emphasizes its emergence as an immigrant destination (Map 3.3).⁸⁶

<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>	<i>State of birth of 2nd and 3rd generation</i>	<i>German-born</i>	<i>Irish-born</i>
Arkansas (AR)	2	–	Minnesota (MN)	3	1
Connecticut (CT)	–	3	Missouri (MO)	21	2
Delaware (DE)	2	–	Nebraska (NE)	3	–
Illinois (IL)	65	15	Nevada (NV)	1	–
Indiana (IN)	3495	754	New Jersey (NJ)	4	2
Iowa (IA)	4	1	New York (NY)	63	28
Kansas (KS)	2	–	Ohio (OH)	216	70
Kentucky (KY)	9	3	Pennsylvania (PA)	58	32
Louisiana (LA)	3	1	South Carolina (SC)	–	1
Maine (ME)	–	2	Tennessee (TN)	3	–
Maryland (MD)	10	–	Vermont (VT)	–	2
Massachusetts (MA)	3	11	Virginia (VA)	2	1
Michigan (MI)	44	18	Wisconsin (WI)	12	5

CONCLUSION

In leaving the homeland, the emigrant initiated a series of transitions that would ultimately redefine their interpretation of their identity. After departure, they clung tightly to the comforting familiarity of their culture, yet as that series of transitions evolved, so too did their 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 those 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. However, westward

⁸⁶Figures 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.

migration was not initially viable for many, particularly for those whose primary goal was escaping poverty in their homeland. Accordingly, many sought assistance from various benefactors. Whether through philanthropists like John Mullanphy, or through larger projects like the Lutheran *Emigrantenmission* or Catholic colonization projects, those who were determined to redefine their identity underwent the next transition and migrated west. It was there that many immigrants first witnessed the America they had heard about, and it was there that many embraced the challenges of immigrant life. As Regan cautioned, ‘the first important advice I would give to an emigrant after he has resolved on trying the West [...] Let him be satisfied with moderate advantages, and not grasp at too much, else he will lose all.’⁸⁷

⁸⁷Regan, *Backwoods and Prairies*, 114.



CHAPTER 4

A Peaceful Conquest: Immigrant Settlement in St Louis and Fort Wayne

INTRODUCTION

In 1855, Denis Sheahan, a native of Co. Kerry was elected ‘King of the Patch’. The ‘patch’ was the Kerry Patch in St Louis, and he held that role for ten years until his death in 1865.¹ Upon his death, his son Jack, who was only twelve years old, was deemed too young to be proclaimed ‘King’ and therefore another prominent member of the community, James Cullinane, from Co. Cork, was given the honorary title.² After Jack Sheahan celebrated his twentieth birthday in 1873, it was generally agreed within the community that he was now ready to assume the honor. 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* as ‘one of the most notable in the history of the patch’.³ A policeman by trade, Sheahan’s role as king resembled that of a politician, community leader, and cultural ambassador. He negotiated between tenants and landlords, mediated local disputes, and was viewed as the leader of the community.

¹ Etan Diamond, “Jack Sheahan: King of the Kerry Patch,” *Gateway Heritage* 10, no. 2 (1989): 31.

² Ibid.

³ *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 31, 1905.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, both German and Irish communities developed rapidly in cities throughout the Midwest and West. Irrespective of size, whether larger cities like Chicago, Milwaukee, and St Louis or smaller cities like Dubuque, Little Rock, and Fort Wayne, ethnic communities were integral in addressing the acculturative and assimilative needs of their members. While acquiring property and initiating the progression and social mobility of one's family might have been long-term objectives, for most, the immediate motivation was subsistence. The migration of German and Irish immigrants to those regions was often motivated by economic opportunities coupled with the unique cultural familiarity and exclusivity offered by developing ethnic communities.⁴ To that end, migratory chains within both communities were integral in ensuring that the current of west-bound immigrants remained constant.

However, despite the increasing popularity of western states among Irish immigrants, it was their German counterparts who enjoyed numerical dominance in the region. Given their comparatively more secure financial position before emigration, their relocation to the American Midwest and West enabled them to acquire property more easily than most other immigrant groups, and German immigrant communities dominated many of the rapidly developing regions across the Midwest and West. Those who migrated west were forced to embrace the American experience more quickly than those who remained in the east. Notably, the acceptance and existentialism that characterized German emigration was lacking in the case of the Irish and Irish migration to the West excluded almost immediately any cultural melancholy that lingered from the homeland. By the 1880s, approximately one third of the immigrants from Ireland were migrating west.⁵ Despite their economic and numerical dominance, the German community did not experience the same type of unity that was characteristic of their Irish counterparts and were often divided along regional, religious, and political lines.⁶

⁴David Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845–1910* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 110–14.

⁵Denis Clark, *Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), 119–23.

⁶Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 18.

‘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 6694 citizens, but thirty years later it had grown to over 186,000 people and its boundary was extended by 660 feet west of Grand Avenue (Table 4.1).¹⁰

Table 4.1 Population increase in St Louis 1830–1900, including the number of German and Irish immigrants residing in the city where available^a

	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>City total</i>
1830	–	–	6694
1840	–	–	16,469
1851	23,814	11,277	77,716
[city census]			
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

^aFigures derived from I. H. Lionberger, *The Annals of St Louis and a Brief Account of its Foundation and Progress, 1764–1928* (St Louis, 1929), and US Census Compendia 1860–1900, *US Census Bureau*, accessed on March 5, 2013, www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents

⁷Thomas Scharf, *History of St Louis City and County, from the Earliest Periods to the Present Day*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1883), 989.

⁸J. 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: J. H. Colton, 1848), 88.

⁹I. H. Lionberger, *The Annals of St Louis and a Brief Account of its Foundation and Progress, 1764–1928* (St Louis, 1929), 17.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 52.

Throughout the period from 1830 to 1850 there was a rapid increase in the use of steamboats, partially as a consequence of westward expansion and developing trade routes. Public services continued to improve during the period and the first hospital was built in 1847. After an outbreak of cholera in 1848, 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.¹¹ By 1850, there was a substantial presence of both Irish and German immigrants in St Louis, which in turn 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. The Irish community were also well represented and an Irish neighborhood known as the Kerry Patch began to develop in the north of the city.

The decade of the 1850s saw the population of St Louis rise to over 77,000. By that time St Louis had become a major internal port city because of its location between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In addition to that, the California Gold Rush in 1849 had resulted in St Louis becoming a necessary stopover for many migrants as they replenished supplies before heading westward. The development of the railroad was integral in St Louis' development during the 1850s and the Pacific Railroad became the first railway line west of the Mississippi. By 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.¹² As the city continued to develop in all aspects of manufacturing and commerce, St Louis became a destination for labor migrants as well as wanderers. By 1882, a total of fourteen street railways, twenty-three hotels, and an equal number of banks operated in the city.

Although significantly smaller, the settlement of Fort Wayne further north was also developing as an attractive immigrant destination. Visiting Fort Wayne in 1821, Scattergood Teas recorded that 'the settlement at this place consisted of about thirty log cabins and two tolerably decent frame houses.'¹³ Over the course of the next twenty years, Fort Wayne

¹¹Ibid., 17.

¹²Scharf, *History of St Louis City and County*, 992.

¹³Thomas Scattergood Teas, "Journal of a Tour to Fort Wayne and the Adjacent Country in the Year 1821," *Fort Wayne Pamphlet Series* (Fort Wayne, IN: Allen County Public Library), unpaginated.

developed at an accelerated pace, benefiting from its geographical position between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. During the 1830s the settlement expanded as labor migrants, speculators, and investors were attracted to the city during the canal era.¹⁴ The advent of the canal undoubtedly aided the city's economic development and during the early decades of the nineteenth century, many new industries were established. Like St Louis, Fort Wayne also suffered a cholera epidemic in 1849 which claimed over 600 lives.¹⁵ Despite that, the city's population had grown to 4282 by 1850, of which 1260 were of German descent and 190 were natives of Ireland.¹⁶

The development of Fort Wayne's extensive railroad network began in the 1850s which led not only to the rapid modernization of the region, but also to the emergence of the city as a manufacturing and industrial center. Cooper noted that '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'.¹⁷ The Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, later known as the Pennsylvania Railroad, developed the first line in the south of the city. It was there that the repair and construction shops, dubbed 'Pennsy Shops' were established. Those 'Pennsy shops' were of particular significance to the local economy as they provided a source of employment during the following decades. Fort Wayne gradually attracted modern industries to the area, including the Thompson-Houston electrical company which established itself as the General Electric Company in Fort

¹⁴Maumee 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 Civilization* (Madison: Brant and Fuller, 1889).

¹⁵Bert 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: Robert O. Law Company, 1917), 397-98.

¹⁶All 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, 1860-1880, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne 1850-1860, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN, 1870-1900, wards 2 and 6, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com. Hereafter referred to as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850-1900, personal database.

¹⁷Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the Upper Maumee*, 54.

Wayne in 1891. 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 habitation within the city was so large that two of the city's newspapers, the *Staats Zeitung* and the *Freie Presse*, were published in German.¹⁸ The fortunes of Fort Wayne throughout the nineteenth century undoubtedly reflected the economic and religious aspects of American life in the wider context. 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.

'A PEACEFUL CONQUEST'—ST LOUIS¹⁹

Historians such as Kathleen Neils-Conzen, David Ward, and Howard Chudacoff have discussed at length the various formulations, structures, and models of immigrant communities.²⁰ Ward has long argued the validity of the 'ethnic ghetto' model, while Neils-Conzen contends that the 'ethnic community' model was a more likely explanation of how immigrant communities were structured. In this instance, both theories are applicable. In the example of the Irish, the ghetto model highlights the high concentration of Irish immigrants who occupied the poorest areas of the city and consisted of the lowest social classes, usually those neighborhoods 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 the same model.²¹ By contrast, many German communities including those

¹⁸Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 319–22.

¹⁹Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 124.

²⁰David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 105–25; Kathleen Neils-Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (1979): 603–15; and Howard P. Chudacoff, "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium Sized City," *The Journal of American History* 60, no. 1 (1973): 76–93.

²¹For examples and further reading see: David Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875–1925* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press,

in St Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee were aligned with Niels-Conzen's theory of the 'ethnic community'.²²

In St Louis, a German 'ethnic community' emerged rapidly. Between March 1848 and March 1851, a total of 34,218 German immigrants arrived at the port in St Louis.²³ As a result of increasing German immigration to the city, the St Louis German Immigrant Society was formed. The society was incorporated in 1851 and its function was to aid immigrants by providing advice, and in some instances material support, 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.'²⁴ An annual subscription of four dollars ensured membership in 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

1990), 73; Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The 19th Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 72–105; Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 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: Shanty Pond Press, 1999), 25–34; Roger Swift, ed., *Irish Migrants in Britain, 1815–1914: A Documentary History* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002), 40–52; Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840–1875* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1982), 35–68; Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*; and Kathleen Neils-Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods."

²²For examples and further reading see: Kargau, *German Element*, 123–40; Andrew J. Townsend, *The Germans of Chicago* (Chicago: Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, 1932), 20; Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 144–47; Steven W. Rowan, *Cleveland and Its Germans* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998), 155–60; John F. Nau, *The German People of New Orleans* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 17–20; Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion and Class in New York City, 1845–1880* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Jeffrey Lesser, *Immigration, Ethnicity and National Identity in Brazil: 1808 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 79–81; and Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering, *German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996).

²³Scharf, *History of St Louis City and County*, 1018.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 1019.

city peaked in the aftermath of the Civil War and again in the 1870s. Emphasizing 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. By 1868, the society was aiding an average of 1400 immigrants per year. German immigration to the city increased rapidly until the middle of the 1870s, after which time the membership and significance of the society began to dwindle as immigration to the city decreased. The society was subsequently 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 4.1). Neils-Conzen noted that almost 40% of German households in St Louis were located in one 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. Kargau commented that 'one was justified in calling that part of the city which is known as Frenchtown, Germantown...for [...] one could wander from Chouteau Avenue as far as the Arsenal without hearing anything other than German'.²⁵

Neils-Conzen's theory is again illustrated when describing some of the city blocks in Frenchtown. 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, Ottenad's furniture store, Ferdinand Dauth's jewelry shop, a hardware store, and a tin shop operated by Frederick Nischwitz. Notably, residential concentration was not the only factor which contributed to the presence of an ethnic cluster.

Daily German life in Frenchtown starkly contrasted with that of its Irish counterpart in the north of the city. Many German immigrants owned their own homes and although there were a variety of social classes residing in Frenchtown, few German immigrants found

²⁵Kargau, *The German Element*, 123–24; Neils-Conzen, "Immigrants and Immigrant Neighborhoods," 609.

themselves in tenement buildings like those visible in the north of the city. For many German immigrants, the security offered by the ethnic community that surrounded them aided the acculturative and assimilative processes. Furthermore, 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.

In these neighborhoods, the protection and conservation of the German language was one of the most significant objectives of the ethnic group. The publication of German language newspapers was integral to that endeavor and during the period from 1850 to 1900, there were two prominent German language newspapers in St Louis. These newspapers, the *Anzienger des Westens* [Gazette of the West] and the *Westliche Post* [Western Post] were essential in maintaining German cultural exclusivity, promoting the language, and influencing the opinions of German immigrants throughout the city. *Anzienger 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 played an important role in ensuring that St Louis fought for the Union during the Civil War. The newspaper itself was the oldest German publication west of the Mississippi, and for the most part it remained politically independent. It was, however, strongly critical of Catholicism and favored abolitionism. The *Westliche Post* was founded in 1857 and benefited from a wide readership in St Louis. The newspaper was Republican in politics and focused to a large extent on local issues. The preservation of German culture was also a priority for the *Westliche Post*.²⁶ In addition to newspapers, the school system was also important in preserving the German language.²⁷ However, the preservation of the language in that way was

²⁶For more see: Harvey Saalberg, "The *Westliche Post* of St Louis: A Daily Newspaper for German-Americans, 1857–1938" (PhD dissertation, University of Missouri, St Louis, 1967).

²⁷Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Uprooted or Transplanted? Reflections on Patterns of German Immigration to Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (2009): 83. Kamphoefner claims that by 1880 all but five of the city's 57 public schools offered German language programs.

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 1869.²⁸ By the 1880s, eight states had adopted bilingual policies in public schools.²⁹

‘THE PEOPLE OF THE KERRY PATCH ARE POOR
BUT INDEPENDENT’³⁰

Despite the uniqueness of the Frenchtown and Soulard neighborhoods, few immigrant settlements 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 Streets to the east and west respectively, and extended in a north-south direction from Seventeenth to Fourteenth Streets. However, the arrival of immigrants during the forties and fifties because of the famine meant that the boundaries of the Patch became blurred and gradually the area became synonymous with Irish immigrants.³¹ 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, Anbinder observed that many of the Irish in those ethnic clusters were prepared to accept such conditions because they were used to them in Ireland, and in America there was at least a possibility of economic advancement.³²

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

²⁸Steven L. Schlossman, “Is There an American Tradition of Bi-Lingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840–1919,” *American Journal of Education* 91, no. 2 (1983): 147–149.

²⁹Charles L. Glenn, “Immigrant Education,” *StateUniversity.com*, accessed on March 11, 2013, <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2077/Immigrant-Education.html>.

³⁰Joseph A. Dacus, *A Tour of St Louis, or the Inside Life of a Great City* (St Louis: Western Publishing Company, 1878), 418.

³¹Ellen Dolan, *The St Louis Irish* (St Louis: Old St Patrick’s, 1967), 39.

³²Anbinder, *Five Points*, 76.

often broken, the doors have fallen down and a bundle of rags often do service the wind from circulating too freely' (see Map 4.1).³³ Social problems like alcoholism and vagrancy soon characterized the area and antisocial behavior was a feature of everyday life. 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.'³⁴ The Patch operated according to its own set of rules, evidenced by the election of its own king or chieftain. It is probable that the 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 of Ireland, and particularly on the Blasket and Inishkea islands, adopted that system of clanship.³⁵

In its prime however, not only did the Patch possess a king, it also comprised of a more sinister side. 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 jargon among dwellers of the Patch. The mob culture which developed in the Kerry Patch mirrored the ghetto experience of many Irish immigrant communities both in the United States and beyond. By the turn of the century, Irish criminality in St Louis was influencing voting patterns and was responsible for a considerable portion of the city's illegal liquor smuggling.³⁶

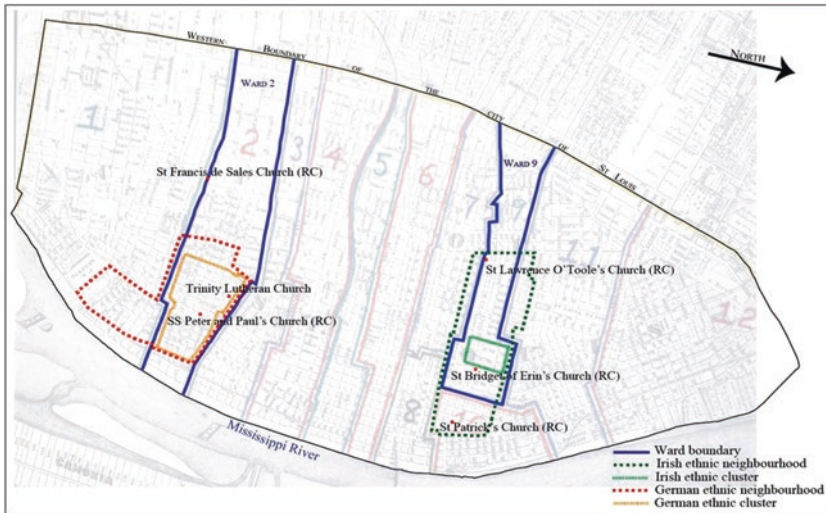
Jack Sheahan had the honor of being the last king of the Kerry Patch because his death in 1935 also effectively signaled the end of the Kerry Patch as an Irish neighborhood. Irish social mobility and internal migration within the city had, from the 1880s, slowly begun to characterize the Irish immigrant community. While upward mobility did facilitate the

³³Dacus, *A Tour of St Louis*, 418.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵For an extended discussion of the clanship system see Brian Dornan, *Mayo's Lost Islands: The Inishkeas* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).

³⁶Daniel Waugh, *Egan's Rats: The Untold Story of the Prohibition-Era Gang That Ruled St Louis* (Nashville: Cumberland House Publishing, 2007); See also Roger Swift, "Heroes or Villains? The Irish, Crime and Disorder in Victorian England," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 399–421.



Map 4.1 Map of St Louis c.1870 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighborhoods

physical disappearance of the Kerry Patch as an Irish immigrant ghetto, that mobility did not necessarily constitute the structured integration of Irish immigrants into life in St Louis. Instead, Irish immigrants began to adopt the second type of ethnic neighborhood structure by migrating to the outskirts of the city to an area called Dogtown where many Irish immigrants found employment in the clay mines. After 1880, the Irish immigrant community adopted the ‘ethnic community’ model of their German counterparts.

While the immigrant generation established itself in the Kerry Patch, census returns suggest that as the century progressed, both the immigrant generation, and the slowly maturing second and third generations, sought social mobility away from that inner city location. Table 4.2 takes into consideration 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 neighborhood is clear. In 1880, a total of 3051 Irish households were recorded in the vicinity of the Irish ethnic ghetto. By 1900, that had fallen to 1026 households and was complemented by an increase

Table 4.2 Aggregate number of households (per generation) recorded in the Irish-dominated ward, St Louis 1880 and 1900

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

in the number of Russian and Polish dwellings that had emerged. This observation confirms that a newer wave of immigration prevailed in the area, thus endorsing Bodnar's comment that 'newcomers were constantly moving into areas of first settlement, generally where supplies of inexpensive housing existed near places of employment'.³⁷

The Irish community were equally as innovative as their German counterparts when it came to aiding and supporting their fellow immigrants upon arrival in the city. The Irish Emigrant Society was founded in the 1840s and John O'Fallon was elected as the society's first president. The society had the same function as its German counterpart, although the Irish society also provided passage for some emigrants from Ireland.³⁸ As many immigrants arrived in the city because of famine during the 1840s, the importance of the Irish Emigrant Society became clear.³⁹ Aside from individual societies like the Irish Emigrant Society, the Mullanphy family was a loyal friend to the Irish immigrant. John Mullanphy was born in 1758 near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. At the age of twenty years, 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 emigrated to America three years later in 1792. Initially, the couple settled in Philadelphia before moving to Baltimore, Maryland; 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.

³⁷John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 177.

³⁸Dolan, *The St Louis Irish*, 25.

³⁹Michael O'Laughlin, *Missouri Irish: The Original History of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 2007), 102. O'Laughlin records that in 1853, the Irish Emigrant Society assisted 2053 immigrants, of an estimated total of 8000 new Irish arrivals.

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. He was also repeatedly elected to St Louis' Board of Aldermen.⁴⁰ 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 endeavors of their father upon his death. Bryan Mullanphy, a former mayor of St Louis, died in 1851 and upon his death, donated two thirds of his property to his sisters and one 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 travelers coming to St Louis, on their way, bone fide to settle in the west'.⁴¹ The sum amounted to half a million dollars and was known as the Mullanphy Emigrant Relief Fund. Part of the fund was utilized 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 to ensure 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 neighborhood on North Fourteenth St. However, 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 those observations thereafter. The fact that Mullanphy was not only 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 characterized the Mullanphy family benefited the Irish affected by the famine. 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, widows' homes, abandoned infant refuges, convents, an emigrant relief fund, and an emigrant home for the benefit of their countrymen.

⁴⁰Walter Barlow Stevens, *St Louis: History of the Fourth City, 1763-1909*, vol. 2 (St Louis: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), 593.

⁴¹Last will and testament of Bryan Mullanphy, Mullanphy Family Papers, 1780-1950, A1108/12-3/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

FORT WAYNE—‘A RICH AND PROSPEROUS CITY’⁴²

Like St Louis, transiency and ethnic coexistence also characterized the communal fabric of Fort Wayne. Given its significantly smaller size, ethnic clustering in Fort Wayne was not as evident in that city as it was in St Louis, yet cultural bonds still retained their importance. The smaller size of Fort Wayne enabled immigrants to forge strong communal connections while also forcing them to embrace the host society more extensively than their counterparts in St Louis did. There is little evidence to suggest the presence 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 homogeneity, arguably because of the smaller size of the city.

The first German neighbourhood emerged in 1848. 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 families obtained permission to establish a national parish in the northeast of the city. This parish was named the *Mutter Gottes Kirche* or the Mother of God Parish, which later became known as St Mary’s. At that 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, the area to the northwest, 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 by any ethnically German name, that part of the city became synonymous with the German community.

At that time, the number of Irish immigrants residing in Fort Wayne was relatively low. Only 190 immigrants were natives of Ireland in 1850, but by 1860 the total number of Irish-born immigrants in the city had risen to 438.⁴³ Many of those Irish immigrants attended the city

⁴²Maumee Valley Monumental Association, *Valley of the Upper Maumee*, 22.

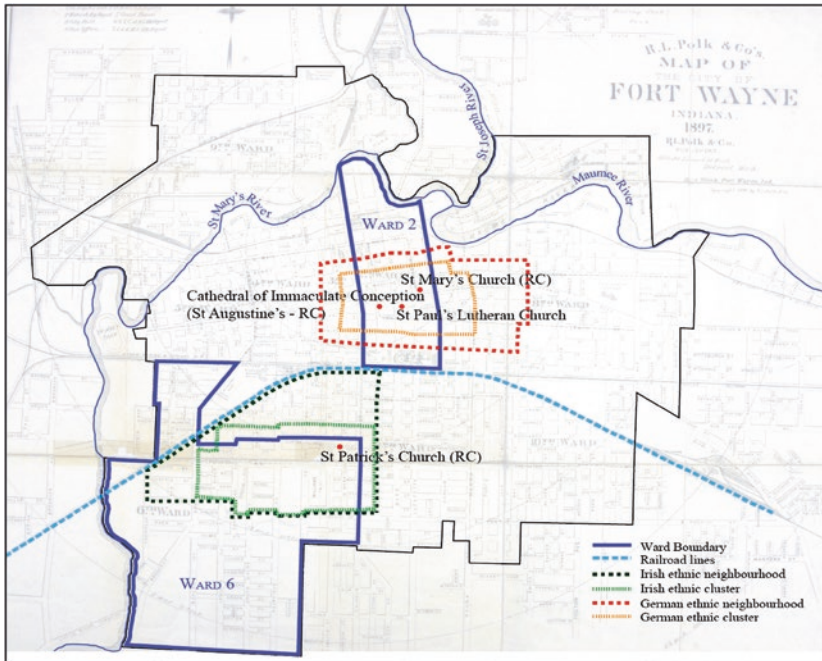
⁴³German and Irish Immigrant Database for St Louis MO, and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850–1900, personal database.

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 because of its constant interaction with the host society and other immigrant groups. Given the smaller size of the Irish immigrant community in Fort Wayne, integration and even assimilation appeared to be achieved relatively easily for Irish immigrants, and ethnic organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians did not have an extended presence in the city. Furthermore, although the Irish in Fort Wayne participated in occupations like their counterparts in St Louis, the Irish stereotype in Fort Wayne was not necessarily as disparaging. As the century progressed, more Irish immigrants were attracted to the city because the railroad and related industries provided employment. 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. The Irish settled in the south of the city near the railroad shops and Irish businesses and amenities began to appear in that area.

Even with the 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 held many pivotal secular positions within the city and were represented at all levels of the city's governance, as well as in the higher levels of the fire and police departments. German surnames dominated trade within the city and German immigrants were involved in all aspects of the city's commerce. The German community in Fort Wayne did however experience the same regional, class, and religious divisions that were characteristic of so many German immigrant communities throughout the United States (see Map 4.2).

WHO WERE THE IMMIGRANTS?

The US Federal Census returns provide a wealth of information in constructing an immigrant profile and identifying the immigration trends particular to each community. Both communities exhibited remarkably similar statistics in terms of average age, sex, year of arrival, and household size. Taking St Louis as an 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



Map 4.2 Map of Fort Wayne c.1900 highlighting German and Irish ethnic neighborhoods

decreased between 1850 and 1860, whereas the Irish cohort increased (see Fig. 4.1). That is partly explained by the number of immigrants that arrived in city during the 1850s. Despite that, the German community experienced a net increase in immigrant arrivals of 41.1% while their Irish counterparts only experienced an increase of 23.4% for the period from 1850 to 1900. This statistic serves as confirmation of German dominance in the Midwestern region and points toward Irish dominance of other regions in the United States, for example the east coast and New England states.

The overall ethnic compositions of German and Irish immigrant groups in Fort Wayne exhibit even more significant population increases. Over the fifty-year period from 1850 to 1900, the German population in Fort Wayne experienced a net increase of 168%, while the Irish community grew by approximately 231% during the same period. In

**TRENDS IN GERMAN AND IRISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY
COMPOSITION, ST LOUIS, 1850–1900**

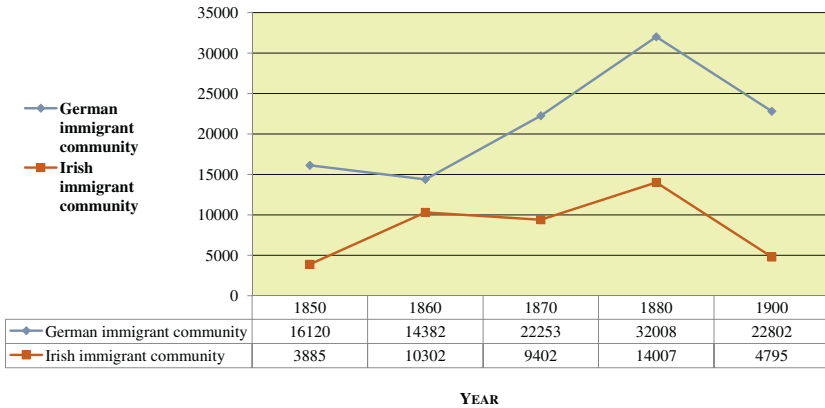


Fig. 4.1 Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, St Louis 1850–1900

actuality, these increases are probably higher because in 1850 and 1860, the population is calculated on the basis of the entire immigrant community in the city. Between 1870 and 1900, those figures refer only to electoral ward figures. Thus, German and Irish immigrant influence in the city is most likely higher than represented here. However, the significant increases that are visible emphasize 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. 4.2).

Not surprisingly, the trends for both males and females to each city reflect the overall trend within the immigrant generation of each respective immigrant group. First-generation Irish females were marginally more numerous in their representation in St Louis in 1880 than Irish-born males, but throughout the period, male immigrants were more frequently recorded in St Louis than their female counterparts. In 1880, more Irish-born females were recorded 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 toward the end of the century. The increase cannot be explained

**TRENDS IN GERMAN AND IRISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY
COMPOSITION, FORT WAYNE 1850–1900**

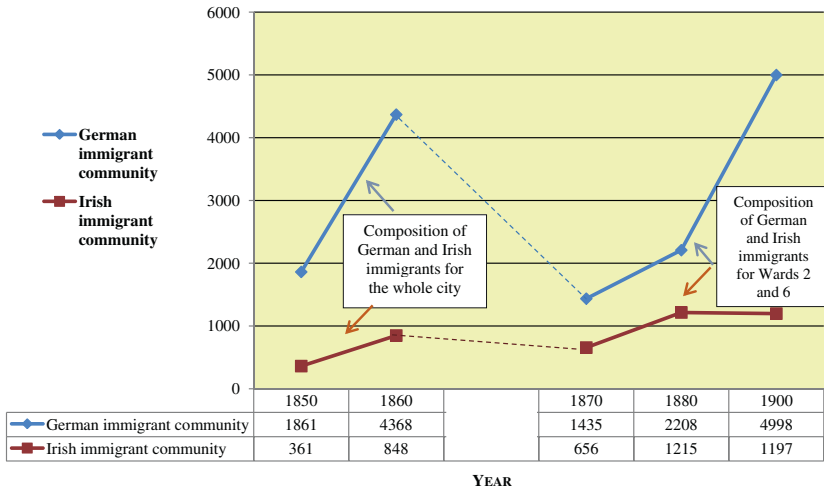


Fig. 4.2 Overall composition of German and Irish immigrant groups, Fort Wayne 1850–1900

by a complete divergence in the 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. 4.3).

The same trend is evident in Fort Wayne, with the number of Irish-born females exceeding that of their male counterparts. However, in Fort Wayne, that trend is experienced earlier in the period and the difference is, in effect, negligible. In 1860, there were 8.5% more Irish-born women residing in Fort Wayne than their male counterparts. While that difference has little significance when examined in isolation, it is worthwhile to compare the trend with German-born women. At no time during the fifty-year period did German-born women exceed the number of German-born men. However, in the example of the Irish, there is evidence of the trend occurring once in each city and is perhaps reflective of the contexts in which both migrations took place. This again emphasizes the cultural perceptions that surrounded emigration. This finding also suggests that at certain intervals, Irish-born women were more willing

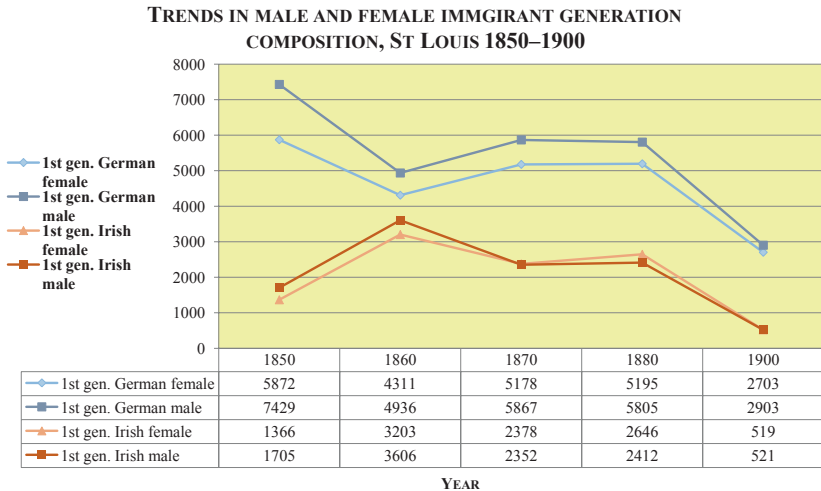


Fig. 4.3 Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration, St Louis 1850–1900

to migrate west than their male counterparts. Another possibility for the trend was the marriage patterns between Irish-born females and males of other nationalities, which subsequently led to their arrival in the West (see Fig. 4.4).

In the German example, German-born males consistently outnumbered their female counterparts. In neither city throughout the fifty-year period was there any trend suggesting that equal numbers of males and females from Germany were present in either city at one time. Again, this trend is also reflective of the context within which the German 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 4.3). The average age of the immigrant generation in both communities in 1850 was twenty-six years. The average age was calculated again in 1870

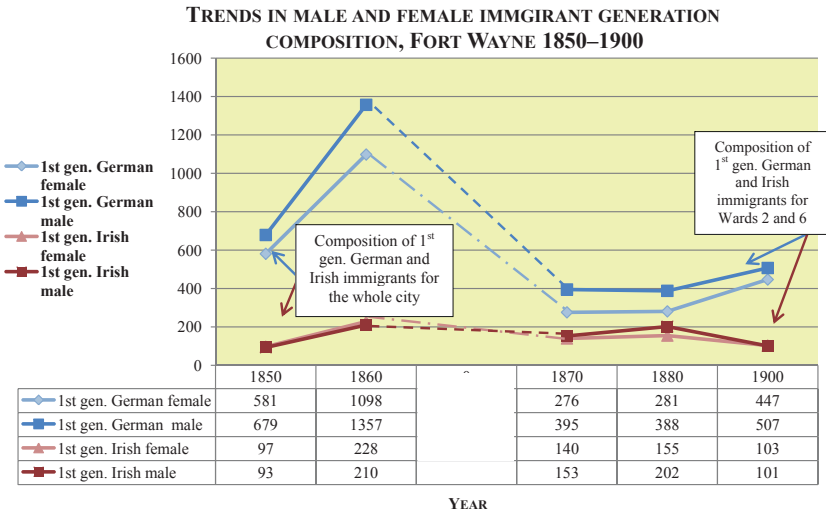


Fig. 4.4 Immigrant generation trends in male and female migration in Fort Wayne, 1850–1900

highlighting that native-born German immigrants were slightly older than their Irish counterparts. However, by 1900, the 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. These figures present many interpretative issues. The alternating trends between the German and Irish community highlight the transient nature and composition of both ethnic groups. 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 in 1900 highlights the possibility that some members of the Irish immigrant group chose to remain in the inner city instead of moving to a more suburban neighborhood.

A different trend emerged 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 Fort Wayne for employment purposes forced the average age of the Irish community to remain in the thirties and is similar to the German figure. The stabilization of the aging process within the Irish community is explained by two

Table 4.3 Analysis of German and Irish immigrant communities by age and generation, St Louis and Fort Wayne 1850–1900

	1850	1870	1900
St Louis			
<i>German community</i>		<i>Age in years</i>	
Average age of 1st generation German (immigrant)	26.2	36.2	45.3
Average age of German generational composition	5	8.6	19
Average age of German immigrant community overall	23.1	22.9	25.7
<i>Irish community</i>			
Average age of 1st generation Irish (immigrant)	26.3	35.9	49.7
Average age of Irish generational composition	7.7	8.9	21.5
Average age of Irish immigrant community overall	22.8	23	27.9
Fort Wayne			
<i>German community</i>		<i>Age in years</i>	
Average age of 1st generation German (immigrant)	27.8	36.2	46.7
Average age of German generational composition	5.9	9.5	21.2
Average age of German immigrant community overall	21.5	22.6	26.1
<i>Irish community</i>			
Average age of 1st generation Irish (immigrant)	31	36.5	51.2
Average age of Irish generational composition	8	8.9	25.2
Average age of Irish immigrant community overall	21	21.8	29.7

interrelated factors. First, the city had been divided into electoral wards by 1870 and there was a higher concentration of Irish immigrants from which to calculate the average age because the Irish neighborhood south of the railroad lines was beginning to develop. Second, the increasing occupational opportunities in the city attracted more labor migrants to Fort Wayne and that group typically consisted of younger immigrants (see Table 4.3).

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 slightly older immigrant was drawn to Fort Wayne. That again is perhaps attributable to employment prospects, migratory chains, and a certain amount of youthful vigor. The figures from both cities suggest that the Irish community was less transient than their German counterparts an argument confirmed by two observations. First, 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 that fewer Irish immigrants

Table 4.4 Analysis of average household size of German and Irish immigrant communities, St Louis and Fort Wayne 1850–1900

	1850	1870	1900
St Louis		Number of people	
Average German household size	4.3	4.3	4.0
Average Irish household size	4.2	4.2	3.7
Fort Wayne			
Average German household size	4.1	5.2	3.8
Average Irish household size	4.0	4.3	3.8

were arriving in the city than their German counterparts. Second, the average age of the Irish generational element in both cities was higher than the generational element in the German community. This suggests that Irish families stayed in each location until their children were ready to enter the workforce, whereas the evidence suggests that their German counterparts were migrating internally at a faster rate.

The average household size is closely related to age and family structure (see Table 4.4) and regional variations and ethnic eccentricities are again evident. The average household size in St Louis, despite the large families characteristic of each immigrant group, was approximately four people. That number increased to just over five people in the German community in Fort Wayne in 1870, further confirmation of the presence of migratory workers and boarders who rented rooms in distinct types of accommodation. The 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 provides valuable information and aids in the construction of an immigrant profile, the statistical data should also be interpreted with other qualitative data to obtain a more accurate interpretation of the composition of immigrant communities.

The origin, or what census schedules termed the ‘place of birth’, of the immigrant generation itself also allows for an interesting analysis. Excluding the location of generational births which are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the birthplaces of all other individuals highlight

not only the scope and range of the immigration process, but also depict migration trends and settlement patterns upon immigration. The extent of such a discussion however, 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 most of the inhabitants from the German Empire as being born in 'Germany' rather than stating the exact state or territory. However, by 1870 there was a greater focus on the specific region within the German Empire and a more detailed interpretation can be formed. This also shows the distinct cultural divisions that existed within the German community and explains, at least in part, the diversity that characterized the group. Notably, the prevalence of individual state names had decreased significantly by 1900 reflecting 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 Tables 4.5 and 4.6). A clear pattern is consistently evident within the Irish community in the stages of migration for that group. Although 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 residing in Fort Wayne for the three decades taken into consideration in Table 4.6 and seems logical given Fort Wayne's location in relation to the Canadian border. To a lesser extent, Scotland and Wales were 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.'⁴⁴

By contrast, a chain-migration trend is more applicable to the German community, as most of the immigrant generation were born in the German states, which suggests that intermediate migrations between the German Empire and the United States were not as popular in that community as it was for their Irish counterparts. However, where a step-migration process is evident, birthplaces like England and Canada as well as France, Switzerland, and Brazil were recorded, depicting the varying migratory configurations of the two communities.

⁴⁴Timothy Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 181.

Table 4.5 Origin of ethnically German immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850–1900

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

In assessing the census schedules, settlement patterns can be identified relating to the German community in particular. Interestingly, there were no Hanoverians resident in Fort Wayne in 1870, yet in St Louis they were the second most popular group of Germanic origin, confirming the presence of chain migration in that city. Furthermore, Württembergers

Table 4.6 Origin of ethnically Irish immigrants [1st generation] in St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN 1850–1900

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

were the third most populous group of German immigrants in Fort Wayne in 1870, yet their presence in St Louis was negligible because they were not recorded within the ten most recurring places of birth for that year.

The final significant observation that was made is that in 1870, only 101 immigrants who resided in St Louis identified themselves as having been born in ‘Germany’, while the number in Fort Wayne was only twelve. That perhaps reflects the importance of regional identities to German immigrants in America and suggests that once acculturation was achieved, the political affairs of the homeland were a secondary concern.

CONCLUSION

The construction of an immigrant profile in this manner benefits the contextualization of the immigrant experience. Like the Irish in Butte, Montana, or the Irish in San Francisco, Irish immigrants in St Louis were usually under the age of thirty years, more likely male, and unmarried.⁴⁵ Likewise, the German profile complements Neils-Conzen's analysis of the German community in Milwaukee.⁴⁶ In comparing a larger city with a developing one, the contrasts are again visible and it is possible to identify the types of immigrants who migrated to each location.

One of the most significant contrasts emerging from this immigrant profile is the difference in the types of experiences endured by the immigrants. Although the German community experienced 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. However, despite their relative economic security, the immigrant experience presented challenges to the German immigrant population. Whereas the Irish community were less secure in terms of their material wealth, 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 did not, and could not, exercise an influence proportional to its size. That 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. Despite this, the legacy of both immigrant communities in St Louis and Fort Wayne should not be mis-interpreted. Both communities were integral in developing their 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 neighborhoods that emerged. The St Louis Irish community was

⁴⁵Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 62–94; R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

⁴⁶Kathleen Neils-Conzen, "The German Athens: Milwaukee and the Accommodation of Its Immigrants, 1836–1860" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972).

the only one of the four immigrant communities that adopted a ghetto structure. However, it was also the St Louis Irish that exhibited the most social mobility over the period in question. Thus, the models suggested by both Ward and Neils-Conzen work in unison rather than in opposition. Given the unstable economic situation of the St Louis Irish, the ghetto model was the only type of ethnic settlement model that the group could initially 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 is 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 characterized differently than that of their Irish counterparts.



Production, Enterprise, and Innovation: The Economic Activity of German and Irish Immigrants

Christian Meyer left Bremen and immigrated to Fort Wayne, Indiana at the age of eighteen years. Gradually, he developed his business and became one of the most successful druggists in St Louis. His fellow countryman, August Spilker, managed a saloon in St Louis with his wife and daughter, while Edward Fogerty, an entrepreneur of Irish descent, operated his own forge and lived with his mother in Fort Wayne. German and Irish immigrants pursued a vibrant multiplicity of occupations in both cities in a bid to acquire economic security and ultimately, social mobility.¹ 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 1040 occupations across all nine of the Census Bureau occupational categories.² Emmons has noted that 'Industrial safety valves, if they were to function properly...had to release the potentially mutinous

¹For more see: Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The 19th Century New York City Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 111.

²All 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, 1860–1880, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne, 1850–1860, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN, 1870–1900, wards 2 and 6, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

into brave, new and different worlds...from an urban and industrial East into a rural, small town and agrarian west'.³ Many of the 'mutinous' that 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'. Those worlds are explored in this chapter and explain how integral economic stability and subsequently, economic success, were in defining the structure and legacy of an immigrant community.⁴

'DO NOT HURRY'—A GUIDE FOR ENUMERATORS

One of the most important duties that census enumerators were tasked with was identifying the diverse 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 primarily those nine categories that are used in this chapter to interpret and examine German and Irish involvement in the economies of Fort Wayne and St Louis (see Table 5.1).

Despite the usefulness of these census classifications in determining the extent to which immigrants participated in various sectors, they nonetheless include numerous shortcomings, which in turn present interpretational issues particularly in the case of Irish economic activity.

³David Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845–1910* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 34.

⁴For examples of other studies which examine the economic structure of immigrant communities, see R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 52–73; Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the Urban Frontier, Detroit, 1850–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1976); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: The People of Minnesota* (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2003), 25–41; see also Thomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest, 1850–1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 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: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 52–99; and Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840–1875* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1982), 98–110.

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

Table 5.1 1900 US Federal Census Bureau instructions to enumerators regarding occupation, trade, or profession^a

<i>Census classification</i>	<i>Occupational examples</i>
<i>Agricultural pursuits</i> —those involved in agricultural activity including farming, forestry, and food production	Farmer, farm laborer, 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	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 specific 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	Housewife, housekeeper, 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 delivery driver, locomotive engineer, hostler, teamster, telegraph operator, steamboat captain, longshoreman, etc.
<i>Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits</i> —those involved in the manufacturing of goods and development of mechanical industries; those with skills in a specific trade	Painter, cooper, cabinet maker, tobacco manufacturer, shoemaker, foundry worker, moulder, finisher, cotton spinner, butcher, baker, hatter, tailor, dressmaker, milliner, etc.
<i>Nongainful 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 recognized institution	School student, college student, medical student, law student, etc.

^aDepartment of the interior, Census office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, June 1, 1900, Instructions to Enumerators* (Washington, DC, 1900), *United States Census Bureau*, accessed on February 11, 2013, <http://www2.census.gov/prod/decennial/documents/>

Domestic and personal service is one such category because day laborers, housewives, nurses, and boarding house keepers were all assigned to that category by the Census Bureau. However, while each of those occupations are suitably allocated to that category, others like policeman, fireman, and soldier are questionable. Many Irish immigrants, and to a lesser extent their German counterparts, pursued public service occupations such as those and yet were assigned the same classification as a day laborer or porter. That in turn leads to an overrepresentation of workers in the domestic and personal service category, when perhaps a public service classification would have been more appropriate. Because of the abundance of Irish policemen and firemen relative to their German counterparts, this certainly led to an over-saturation of both German and Irish immigrants in the domestic and personal service classification.

Another shortcoming of the classifications is the consolidation of the trade and transportation categories. Again, that led to interpretational issues in assessing the Irish community. It is widely acknowledged that the Irish community were important contributors to the development of transport networks across the United States, yet those classifications distort the representation of 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 participation of one group over the other in a particular category.⁶

As a means of interpreting the data more accurately and simultaneously providing a more concise overview of the economic structure of

⁶Other historians who have analyzed immigrant group occupations overcame that problem by simply dividing immigrant occupations into two easily identifiable sectors and used terminology like 'blue and white collar workers' or 'skilled and semi-skilled'. In her study of the Irish in York, Finnegan adopts a similar methodology by identifying specific occupations and comparing Irish involvement in them. However, this provides little comparison with similar ethnic communities and presents a one-dimensional representation of the Irish occupational structure there. By contrast, Neils-Conzen's analysis of Germans in Minnesota provides a good overview of German involvement in some sectors at the state level, but very little attention is given to the occupational structure at the local and city level. Jaehn provides a localized analysis, although he chooses to focus on occupational groups, for example, farmers, miners and servants. For more see: Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, 52–72; Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 45–46; Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice*, 98–109; Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota*, 25–40; and Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 73–85.

each community, both classifications, ‘domestic and personal service’, and ‘pursuits of trade and transportation’ have been further subdivided to include ‘public service’, ‘trade’, and ‘transportation’. Table 5.2 depicts how those classifications affected immigrants in both cities from 1850 to 1900 and highlights the benefits of adapting the census classifications to provide a more thorough assessment of the census data. For example, by 1900 the Irish communities in both cities were more regularly employed in public service occupations than their German counterparts. A member of the Irish community in St Louis was two and a half times more likely to work in public service than their German contemporary. Similarly, except for one year (1870), the Irish immigrant group dominated public sector occupations in Fort Wayne until the turn of the century. However, despite German dominance in the city throughout the period in question, their numerical advantage and the influence held by that group throughout the second half of the nineteenth century is not reflected in their involvement in public service jobs.

Involvement in the public sector required little artisanal knowledge and crucially, that enabled Irish immigrants to gain economic security as well as a prominent position in the community.⁷ Many of their German counterparts were skilled in artisan trades like carpentry and tailoring and economic security was achieved through the execution of those skills. Language may also have been a consideration for German immigrants in not entering public service occupations, particularly in the earlier decades of this analysis. However, despite that, the fundamental observation is the perception of those jobs by each immigrant group.

From an Irish perspective, pursuing employment as a policeman, fireman, constable, or sheriff was an elevation in terms of social mobility and economic security. 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, more members of the Irish community were employed in transport-related industries in both cities. An Irish immigrant in St Louis was, on average, one and a half times more likely to be involved in the transportation sector. From 1860 onward that number is even higher in Fort Wayne with Irish immigrants more than

⁷Meagher notes that the Irish had to learn their trades in the United States and often local political success was achieved through the visibility gained by public employment as police officers or firemen, see Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, 43.

Table 5.2 Adapted ethnic classification of public, transport, and trade sectors, including associated ratio as derived from original census classifications, St Louis and Fort Wayne, 1850–1900^a

<i>St Louis</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
Recorded domestic and personal service total (G+I)	7596	8935	9234	13,311	8386
No. of Germans in public service	5 (1:3224)	13 (1: 1106)	36 (1:618)	53 (1:604)	70 (1:325)
No. of Irish in public service	9 (1:431)	21 (1:490)	28 (1:335)	70 (1:242)	37 (1:130)
Public service total	14	34	64	123	107
<i>Actual domestic and personal service total (G+I)</i>	7582	8901	9234	13,188	8289
Recorded pursuits of trade and transportation total (G+I)	833	1484	1863	3604	2318
No. of Germans in transportation sector	225 (1:72)	312 (1:46)	425 (1:52)	571 (1:56)	593 (1:38)
No. of Irish in transportation sector	162 (1:24)	406 (1:25)	263 (1:35)	480 (1:29)	196 (1:24)
<i>Actual transportation total (G+I)</i>	387	718	688	1051	789
No. of Germans in trade sector	381 (1:42)	564 (1:26)	920 (1:24)	1828 (1:18)	1225 (1:18)
No. of Irish in trade sector	65 (1:60)	202 (1:51)	255 (1:37)	725 (1:19)	304 (1:16)
<i>Actual trade total (G+I)</i>	446	766	1175	2553	1488
<hr/>					
<i>Fort Wayne</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>
Recorded domestic and personal service total (G+I)	572	1639	490	1097	1732
No. of Germans in public service	0 (1:n/a)	2 (1:2184)	3 (1:478)	6 (1:368)	22 (1:227)
No. of Irish in public service	1 (1:361)	2 (1:424)	1 (1:656)	10 (1:121)	7 (1:171)
Public service total	1	4	4	16	29
<i>Actual domestic and personal service total (G+I)</i>	571	1635	486	1081	1703
Recorded pursuits of trade and transportation total (G+I)	125	302	160	222	740

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

<i>Fort Wayne</i>	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
No. of Germans in transportation sector	64 (1:29)	104 (1:42)	42 (1:34)	43 (1:51)	192 (1:26)
No. of Irish in transportation sector	7 (1:51)	51 (1:17)	47 (1:14)	60 (1:20)	96 (1:12)
<i>Actual transportation total (G+I)</i>	71	155	89	103	288
No. of Germans in trade sector	52 (1:36)	132 (1:33)	66 (1:28)	104 (1:21)	358 (1:14)
No. of Irish in trade sector	2 (1:181)	15 (1:57)	5 (1:131)	15 (1:81)	94 (1:13)
<i>Actual trade total (G+I)</i>	54	147	71	119	452

^aAll information for this analysis was 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, 1860–1880, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne, 1850–1860, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1870–1900, wards 2 and 6, *Ancestry.com*, accessed on April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com. Hereafter referred to as the German and Irish immigrant database for St Louis, MO and Fort Wayne, IN, 1850–1900, personal database

twice as likely to work in transportation-related industries rather than pursue a commercial enterprise. Members of the German community in both cities participated more regularly in the trade sector, and in that respect, Irish immigrants were consistently outnumbered. From 1850 to 1870, German immigrants in St Louis were one and a half times more likely to become involved in enterprise than their Irish counterparts. Many German immigrants and their families opened stores which sold bakery goods, shoes, and furniture, much of which was manufactured by the family as well. Additionally, members of the German community engaged more eagerly with new industries like electricity and telegraph communications, which in part explains German dominance of the trade sector.

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 the trade sector. By 1880 in St Louis, both German and Irish communities exhibited a ratio of approximately one in every twenty individuals pursuing employment in trade-related occupations. That 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 because of Fort Wayne's smaller size, this trend did not emerge

there until the turn of the century. An increasing Irish population, as well as the prominent diversification of German labor 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. By 1900 in Fort Wayne, one in thirteen Irish immigrants pursued an occupation which was classified as a 'trade' pursuit, while German involvement was slightly lower at one in fourteen Germans in the same sector. Although that difference is negligible, it does nonetheless highlight decreasing Irish involvement in traditional sectors like the domestic and personal service areas and a more conscious diversification to more specialized industries.

By separating those two census classifications, a more thorough understanding of the employment pursuits of each community can be achieved. Although German immigrants consistently outnumbered their Irish counterparts in the generic classification of 'pursuits of trade and transportation', both communities were arguably 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 representation of both Irish and German immigrants in public service occupations. Thus, by sub-dividing those two categories, a more accurate interpretation of the types of work pursued by both German and Irish immigrants reinforces their individual distinctiveness and benefits a more realistic comparison of the economic structure of each group.

THE GENERATIONS COME OF AGE

Another intriguing way of interpreting the emerging data is to engage in a generational analysis of each group.⁸ Through analysis of census records, it is possible to record first-, second-, third-, and in isolated instances fourth-generation immigrants. It is also, therefore, possible to trace their economic activity over the fifty-year period.

⁸Ward argues that it was the second and subsequent generations that gained more secure employment and thus achieved greater economic security than the immigrant generation itself. For more see: David Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity and the American City, 1840–1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 200.

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

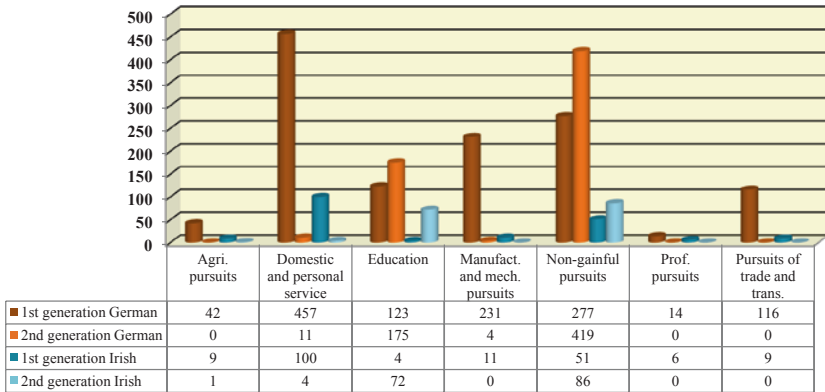


Fig. 5.1 German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 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 was the first generation that had the most workers in the pivotal categories of manufacturing, trade, and domestic and personal service. The second generation were predominately recorded in the education and nongainful pursuit categories, implying that the economic success of both communities was reliant on the economic success of the immigrant generation itself. However, by 1900 the economic structure of both communities had altered significantly and it was the second and third generations of both communities that influenced the economic structure of their ethnic group. It was predominantly the immigrant generation that controlled the manufacturing and trade and transportation categories in 1850, whereas by 1900 it was very firmly the second and even third generations that dominated in that sector. The generational element ensured that more secure employment had been attained for both communities.

Only the immigrant generation was represented in the trade and transportation category in Fort Wayne in 1850. As the half century progressed, the railroad industry developed in Fort Wayne, and by 1900 that sector came second only to manufacturing in providing gainful employment to the generational element of both communities. Thus,

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

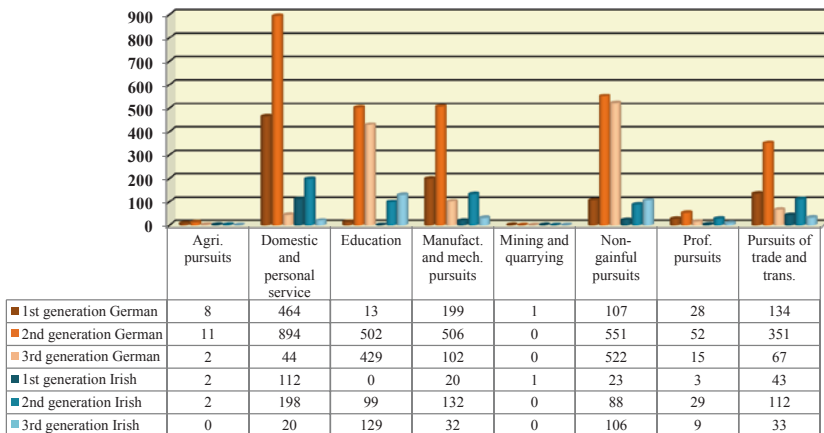


Fig. 5.2 German and Irish generational occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900

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. Better access to gainful employment had ensured that by 1900 a certain level of economic security had been acquired by both groups.

A generational analysis of both immigrant groups in St Louis mirrors the trends in Fort Wayne for the same period as illustrated in Figs. 5.3 and 5.4. However, those trends were even more pronounced in St Louis. 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 participated more 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 suggest that immigrants from both groups were socially mobile and were leaving the core German and Irish residential areas. Both the German and Irish communities in St Louis decreased by 29 and 66%, respectively from 1880 to 1900.

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 neighborhoods, supports Ward's assertion that

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

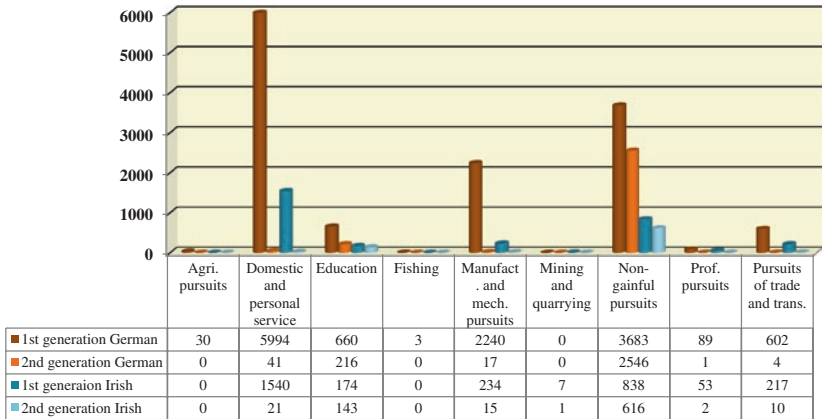


Fig. 5.3 German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1850

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

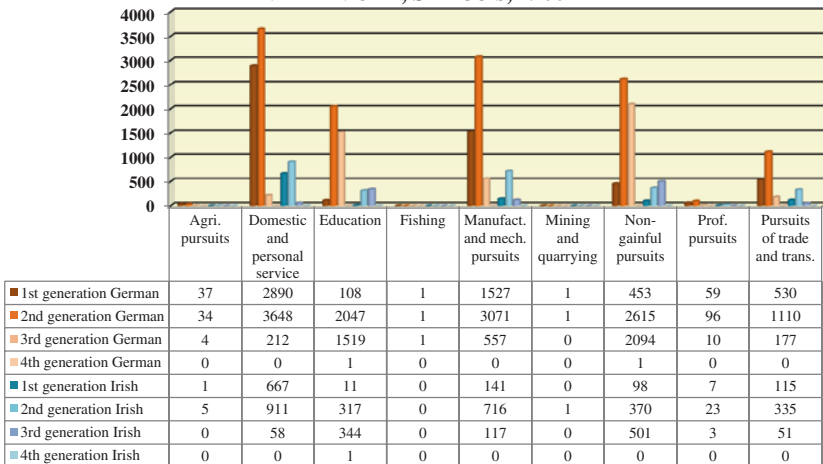


Fig. 5.4 German and Irish generational occupational trends, St Louis, 1900

'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 labor force.'⁹ By 1900, the generational element 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.

SECURING 'GENTEEL EMPLOYMENT'¹⁰

Dr. Thomas O'Reilly, a native of Virginia, Co. Cavan, was born in 1827 and emigrated to London at the age of twenty-two years. O'Reilly had received a good education in Ireland and in 1840, at the age of thirteen years, he presented himself in front of the examiners at Apothecary's Hall in Dublin. After passing the examination, O'Reilly began studying medicine. During the famine, he 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 Ireland and attend the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Shortly thereafter he emigrated again, this time to America, and upon arriving in New York, he made his way to St Louis where he began his own medical practice. The practice developed quickly and in 1861, O'Reilly returned briefly to Co. Cavan. After the outbreak of the Civil War, he traveled back to St Louis where he supported the secession movement. However, O'Reilly retained his allegiance to the homeland and Hyde and Conard commented, 'he has been prominent among Irish-Americans, who have labored unremittingly to obtain Home Rule for Ireland.'¹¹ O'Reilly continued to practice medicine and became a highly regarded physician in the city, publishing extensively in the medical press. His articles 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.¹²

⁹Ibid., 201.

¹⁰*The Pharmaceutical Era*, May 15, 1890.

¹¹William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the History of St Louis: A Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference* (St Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899), 1676.

¹²Ibid., 1675–76.

Table 5.3 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

City	Nationality	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
Fort Wayne	German	14 <1.0%	48 1.1%	23 1.8%	53 2.4%	95 1.9%
	Irish	6 1.6%	11 1.3%	6 <1%	23 1.9%	41 3.4%
St Louis	German	90 <1.0%	167 1.2%	221 1.0%	349 1.1%	165 <1%
	Irish	55 1.4%	70 <1.0%	42 <1%	144 1.0%	33 <1%

Immigrants like Thomas O'Reilly represented approximately 1% of both immigrant groups in 1850. The number of professionals in both cities during the period from 1850 to 1900 remained relatively low and there was effectively no increase in the level of immigrant employment in the professional sector in St Louis by 1900. Notably, in the case of Irish professionals in St Louis, there was a net decrease over the period. Members of both groups in Fort Wayne had greater success in attaining that type of more secure employment (see Table 5.3). Since 1850, both the German and Irish communities of Fort Wayne had more than doubled their involvement in that sector by 1900, showing increases of 137% and 175%, respectively, no doubt reflective of the smaller size of Fort Wayne and the rate at which it developed. Interestingly, by 1900 those individuals engaged in professional pursuits in both St Louis and Fort Wayne were predominately second- and even third-generation immigrants. Therefore, even though more people were physically involved in that sector, their involvement failed to translate into a significant proportional share for either community. That is perhaps attributable to the fact that generational members of the community had fewer assimilative challenges to overcome than the immigrant generation itself. Added to that was the fact that the generational element had better access to educational opportunities which enabled them to progress economically.

Christian Friedrich Meyer, a druggist by trade, is a rare example of a professional who practiced his skills in both Fort Wayne and St Louis.

Meyer was born in December 1830 on a farm in Haldem, a small village in Westphalia in northern Germany. 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’.¹³ On reaching Bremen, the Meyer brothers boarded a three-masted ship called the *Swanton* and seven and a half weeks later, in November 1847, they docked in the port of New Orleans. Their next 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 eventually arrived in Fort Wayne, after walking the final forty-five miles.¹⁴

In Fort Wayne, Meyer boarded with Mr. John Hill, for whom he undertook general labor. He also attended school where he learned English and after a brief time, he became apprenticed to a druggist named Hugh Reed. By 1851, within three years of arriving in Fort Wayne, Meyer had completed his apprenticeship and became the general manager of Reed’s company. Reed had died in the interim because of the cholera epidemic in the city in 1849, therefore, 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.’¹⁵ In 1852, Meyer left Reed’s and entered into 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. The transition from druggist to businessman created little difficulty for Meyer who considered himself ‘full of energy and ambition’.¹⁶

Even though a fire destroyed their premises in Fort Wayne in 1863, the brothers immediately set about rebuilding the business. 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

¹³The most important events in the life of C. F. W. Meyer up to the time of his marriage, Meyer Family Papers and Business Collection, A1038/1/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopaedia of the History of St. Louis*, 1482.

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. Throughout his life, Meyer had gained respect in both the German and business communities and even held the directorship of three banks. Meyer died in 1905 at the age of seventy-five years. When Christin Meyer left Haldem at the age of seventeen years 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 so many nineteenth-century immigrants in the American Midwest.

A JOB ‘EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS AND DISPATCH’¹⁷

Most 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, that sector was a more popular choice among German immigrants than their Irish counterparts (see Table 5.4). Although both communities experienced an increase in the number of workers involved in that sector by 1900, it was the Irish community which exhibited the most substantial and comprehensive increase. Irish growth in that sector increased by approximately 325% in Fort Wayne from 1850 to 1900. Similarly, their German counterparts also increased their participation in the manufacturing sector displaying a growth of 61% in St Louis and 30% in Fort Wayne during the period from 1850 to 1900.

There is little doubt of German dominance of small business interests and manufacturing in certain artisan trades like bakery, for example. Throughout the census schedules for both cities from 1850 to 1900, the German community had proportionally more representatives in the skilled trades than their Irish counterparts. Irish workers in that sector

¹⁷Edward Fogerty Advertisement in R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1875* (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1875), 55.

Table 5.4 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

City	Nationality	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
Fort Wayne	German	233 12.5%	556 12.7%	221 15.4%	276 12.5%	808 16.2%
	Irish	13 3.6%	43 5.1%	65 9.9%	88 7.2%	183 15.3%
St Louis	German	2256 14.0%	2308 16.0%	3434 15.4%	5473 17.1%	5155 22.6%
	Irish	250 6.4%	914 8.9%	863 9.2%	1928 13.8%	974 20.3%

were usually identified in the census returns as ‘factory workers’, ‘mill laborers’, or ‘helpers’ of some type. Where Irish artisans independently pursued a trade, popular examples included tinsmithing, blacksmithing, masonry, or carpentry, but Irish bakers and tailors remained few and far between.

One such Irish tradesman was Edward Fogerty who was born in Ireland in 1849. Edward and his mother Catherine, along with his brother and aunt, left Ireland in the years after the famine. In 1861 the family were residing in the ecclesiastical parish of St Elphin situated in Warrington, Lancashire, England and Edward and his brother James were both recorded as working as factory hands.¹⁸ Given Warrington’s proximity to Liverpool, it is likely that it was through that 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 lived with Charles Henry Fogerty, a school teacher and possibly a relative of Catherine’s late husband.¹⁹ Edward was recorded as working as a blacksmith in a premises on the south corner of Pearl and Harrison Sts.²⁰ By 1875 the

¹⁸1861 UK Census Record for Edward Fogerty, 1861 UK Census, Warrington, Lancashire, District 8, 17, *Ancestry.com*, accessed February 7, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

¹⁹1870 US Federal Census Record for Edward Fogerty, 1870 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 3, 28, *Ancestry.com*, accessed February 7, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

²⁰*Ibid.*, R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1870–1871* (Fort Wayne: R. L. Polk & Co., 1871), 97.

family had moved into this premises and Edward's business seemed to be thriving, as evidenced by his advert in the 1875 city directory for Fort Wayne.²¹ The family were still in Fort Wayne in 1880, where Edward was self-employed as a blacksmith. In the intervening decade, Edward had married Alice, a second-generation Irish-American born in Wisconsin.²² Fogerty was not the only Irish immigrant who acquired a trade. Other examples were Thomas Conley, who lived on East Wayne St and 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 and had trained as a plumber.²³ Although many Irish immigrants did work on factory lines, many others like Fogerty, Conley, McCarthy, and O'Grady acquired higher skill sets and competed with German immigrants in some aspects of the manufacturing sector.

That is not to suggest however that German and Irish immigrant groups did not participate at the highest levels of that 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'.²⁴ Six major tobacco factories as well as many smaller ones operated in the city during the final decades of the century. One of those was Liggett and Myers, the largest producers of plug tobacco in the country.²⁵ The Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company is a good example of economic cooperation between both immigrant groups and

²¹R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1875–1876* (Fort Wayne: R. L. Polk & Co., 1875), 106.

²²1880 US Federal Census Record for Edward Fogerty, 1880 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 3, ED 123, 13, *Ancestry.com*, accessed February 7, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

²³Various entries in the R. L. Polk & Co. *Fort Wayne City Directory*, Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory 1875–1876*, 78, 180, 208.

²⁴Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St Louis Women's History* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2000), 117; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St Louis, 1764–1980* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 1998), 331.

²⁵Corbett, *In Her Place*, 117.

evidence that both groups competed at the highest level of that sector. John E. Liggett was a second-generation Irish immigrant, the son of a Co. Derry migrant.²⁶ 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.²⁷ The company employed over 1000 workers at its peak, many of them women who worked as tobacco stemmers and strippers.²⁸ 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 1896.²⁹ The US Federal Census Schedules for 1900 relating specifically to Wards three and eight of the city of St Louis show that a total of 292 workers of both German and Irish descent worked in tobacco-related industries in that year. Of those workers, 233 including 148 women, formed part of the German immigrant group, with only 59 workers of Irish decent. Slightly more females worked in the industry than males. Although the immigrant generation participated in the processing of tobacco, the census schedules confirm that in both cohorts, most of the 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 laborers were also regularly recorded as brewers or maltsters. Census enumerators recorded a variety of occupations associated with the brewing industry in both Fort Wayne and St Louis and in 1900, a total of 180 workers were employed in beer production from the representative wards in each city. Remarkably, 175 of those workers were of German descent and only five were of Irish origin.

²⁶1880 US Federal Census Record for John E. Liggett, 1880 US Federal Census, St Louis, MO, ED 139, 27, *Ancestry.com*, accessed February 7, 2013, www.ancestry.com; Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St Louis*, 1282.

²⁷Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St Louis*, 1282.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 1283.

²⁹Corbett, *In Her Place*, 117.

‘CREATIVE, PROGRESSIVE AND DEPENDABLE’³⁰

The Irish community in Fort Wayne also experienced exponential growth in the trade and transportation sector during the period from 1850 to 1900, exhibiting an increase of over 500% in the fifty-year period (see Table 5.5). Their German counterparts also experienced rapid growth during that period, but at the slower rate of 77% between 1850 and 1900. The involvement of both communities in the trade and transportation sector in St Louis was also positive, but not as pronounced as their small-town neighbors further north. It was the German community in St Louis which experienced the most growth in that sector as increased involvement in both aspects of the classification were evident. German participation in that sector from 1850 to 1900 demonstrated an overall increase of 110%, while the Irish growth rate was somewhat slower at 77%.

Thomas Donnelly was born in Co. Roscommon, Ireland in August 1827 and was one of three Roscommon men who became 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 hardworking entrepreneurs. Donnelly was educated in the ‘common schools of Ireland’, and emigrated at the age of nineteen years.³¹ Arriving first in Nova Scotia, Donnelly later made his way to New York, Pennsylvania, and subsequently to Missouri, where in 1864, he met Dowling and agreed to a business arrangement that endured for twenty years. Dowling, Donnelly & Co were involved in the construction of many of the major railroad lines leaving St Louis, with the Iron Mountain Railroad and the Missouri Pacific being just two examples.³² Donnelly subsequently retired from railroad construction and purchased a farm in upstate Missouri near Baden.

Fort Wayne was also heavily dependent on the transportation industry. The second half of the century saw Fort Wayne emerge as an important stop on the Pennsylvania railroad line. Not only did that lead to a significant increase in commercial developments in the city, but it also led to the arrival of a skilled workforce which was required to repair, manufacture, and operate the railroad machinery. Repair shops known as ‘Pennsy

³⁰Clovis Linkous, *General Electric at Fort Wayne, Indiana: A 110 Year History* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1994), 273.

³¹Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St Louis*, 590.

³²Ibid., 591.

Table 5.5 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 6.2%	236 5.4%	108 7.5%	147 6.6%	550 11.0%
	Irish	9 2.5%	66 7.8%	52 7.9%	75 6.2%	190 15.9%
	German	606 3.8%	876 6.1%	1345 6.0%	2399 7.5%	1818 8.0%
St Louis	Irish	227 5.8%	608 5.9%	518 5.5%	1205 8.6%	500 10.1%

shops' were established on the south side of the city, close to the Irish neighborhood of Irishtown. From the 1880s onward, both German and Irish immigrants found employment in that sector.

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. In 1891, J. 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 emigrated to the United States in 1864 when J. J. was eight years old.³³ 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 exhibited. 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

³³Linkous, *General Electric*, 272.

the Statue of Liberty upon her arrival in New York Harbor in 1885.³⁴ It was also while working at Thomson-Houston that Woods made his way to Fort Wayne. In 1890, Thomson-Houston moved its business to Fort Wayne, Indiana in a bid to exploit the Midwestern market. In early 1891, along with 127 other employees and two train loads of machinery, Woods arrived in Fort Wayne and the company was rebranded as the Fort Wayne Electric Company, which subsequently became General Electric. Woods became integral to the innovations taking place in electricity at the time and over the course of his career, Woods patented no fewer than 240 electrical and mechanical devices ranging from generators to alternating current systems. He married four times and died at the age of seventy-two years 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.

‘THERE ARE A LOT OF THINGS GOING ON IN THIS
NEIGHBORHOOD THAT MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO YOU’³⁵

Both communities were well represented in the domestic and personal service sector and maintained their involvement in that area throughout the century. However, in terms of social mobility, the desired trend was one of decline as that would imply the acquisition of more skilled labor, leading ultimately to a more secure economic status. Throughout the period, each of the four communities, barring one, achieved that decline. Both communities in St Louis reduced their involvement in the sector, with each group reaching their lowest level in 1880. Although that was the area where most female workers were classified, either as homemakers, seamstresses, or laundresses, the category also contained a significant male composition. Firemen, soldiers, policemen, saloon keepers, and restaurant owners were classified in that category as well (see Table 5.6).

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

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Mrs. Ebbler to John Nooney, August 29, 1921, John Nooney Papers, S166/1/4, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO.

Table 5.6 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

City	Nationality	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
Fort Wayne	German	466 25.0%	1323 30.3%	319 30.1%	664 30.1%	1402 28.1%
	Irish	106 29.4%	315 37.1%	171 35.7%	433 35.7%	330 27.6%
St Louis	German	6035 37.4%	4635 32.2%	5932 27.2%	8715 27.2%	6749 29.6%
	Irish	1561 40.2%	4300 41.7%	3302 35.1%	4596 32.8%	1637 34.1%

you done me in making a better boy of Williard' and also to inform him of certain incidents in the neighborhood 'that might be of interest'.³⁶ Nooney was an Irish immigrant who entered the police force in St Louis in 1899. Throughout his career he served as both a patrolman and desk sergeant until he retired from the police force in 1933. The role of policemen like Nooney is difficult to underestimate because they were responsible for ensuring the safety of the community and held a particular standing in the locality. Many of those public servicemen 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 key role played by those men. On August 1, 1921, Nooney recorded that he spent the day searching for Charles Hafner who was suspected of committing 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 August 7th, Hafner was before the court and therefore, Nooney was required to attend before also being called to investigate a case of extortion at the home of Mrs. Klucker on Glasgow Ave.³⁷ The position of trust the community

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷John Nooney, Daybook, 1921, John Nooney Papers S166/2/1/90, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL, St Louis, MO.

placed in these public employees ensured that they held a pivotal role in upholding the broader community's standards and preserving its integrity.

Another popular source of income for members of both communities who were classified in that category was as saloon- and boarding house keepers. 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 emigrated to America, where they settled in St Louis. There they undertook the operation of what Kargau describes as a 'tavern and restaurant'.³⁸ 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 undertaken by Sophia and her daughter Doris, who was only eight years old.³⁹ However, as Kargau notes, Spilker had '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'.⁴⁰ 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'.⁴¹ Notably, although the majority of married women were officially assigned the role of homemaker, the reality for many immigrant women was that they were not only homemakers, but were also responsible, at least in part, for the economic stability of their families.

'NEWSBOYS HAWKED THEIR WARES AT EVERY INTERSECTION'⁴²

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. The exploits of children were often overlooked and in many instances neither the education column nor the occupation

³⁸Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 132.

³⁹1860 US Federal Census Record for August Spilker and Family, 1860 US Federal Census, St Louis, MO, Ward 2, 144, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 24, 2012, www.ancestry.com.

⁴⁰Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, 132.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Bonnie Stenepoff, *The Dead End Kids of St Louis: Homeless Boys and the People Who Tried to Save Them* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 5.

Table 5.7 German and Irish occupational trends in the education 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

City	Nationality	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900
Fort Wayne	German	298 16.0%	646 14.8%	325 22.7%	245 11.1%	944 18.8%
	Irish	76 21.1%	147 17.3%	158 24.1%	125 10.3%	228 19.1%
St Louis	German	876 5.4%	1441 10.0%	3807 17.1%	6030 18.9%	3671 16.1%
	Irish	317 8.2%	1055 10.2%	1700 18.1%	2613 18.7%	676 14.1%

column were addressed. Despite that it is still possible to construct a profile of the activities of ethnically German and Irish children.

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 depict immigrant involvement in education and employment. In both cities, the interaction of German and Irish immigrant children with the education system 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. That was a relatively low number considering their Irish counterparts returned a 3% higher attendance. By 1900 however, German involvement in that category had increased by almost 200% and according to census returns for Wards three and eight, over 16% of the German community were regularly attending educational institutions. Worryingly, the Irish community in Fort Wayne showed an overall decrease of almost 2% for the period. However, upon analysis of each decade, the fluctuations and alternate fortunes of educational pursuits for both communities might be explained in part 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. 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.

No matter how much some children liked attending school, once the opportunity of employment, which could support and further bolster

Table 5.8 Ethnically German and Irish children in employment and education, St Louis, 1900

<i>Job description</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Total</i>
Apprentice milliner	1		1
Apprentice printer	1		1
Apprentice tinner	1		1
At home	10	2	12
Bag factory Worker	1		1
Bag folder	2		2
Beer bottler	1	1	2
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 laborer	2		2
Cotton spinner	3		3
Dressmaker	1		1
Errand boy	3		3
Factory Worker	2	2	4
Glass works laborer	2		2
Grocery clerk	2		2
Hemp weaver	1		1
House worker	10	2	12
Invalid	2		2
Iron worker	1		1
Jeweler errand boy	1		1
Jewelry clerk	1		1
Kindergarten	11	2	13
Laborer	21		21
Messenger	5	4	9
Messenger boy	1	1	2
News boy	3	1	4
n/avl	1153	241	1394
Office boy		1	1
Packer		1	1
Painter	2		2
Paper sorter		1	1
Paper box packer	1		1
Paper packer	1		1
Peanut sorter	1		1
Pedlar	1		1
Rolling mill laborer	1		1
Railroad clerk	1		1

(continued)

Table 5.8 (continued)

<i>Job description</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Total</i>
School	3671	676	4347
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 laborer	1		1
Soda factory labeler		1	1
Steam fitter	1		1
Stove polisher	1		1
Tailor	1		1
Tobacco stemmer		1	1
Vegetable peddler	1		1
Water boy	1		1
Weaver	1		1
Whitener	2		2

Table 5.9 Number of children between the age of 5–12 years pursuing gainful employment

<i>Age of child (years)</i>	<i>Total in gainful employment</i>
5	3
6	5
7	6
8	6
9	15
10	14
11	22
12	71
Total	142

the family's economic prospects, presented itself, many children were forced to leave their education behind. For example, in 1900 in St Louis, a total of 142 children who were twelve years old or younger were engaged in gainful employment (see Tables 5.8 and 5.9). Their occupations usually ranged from simpler tasks like box making or even peanut sorting in the manufacturing sector to messenger boys and peddlers in the trade and transportation sector. 'Newsboy' was also a common occupation and Stenepoff noted that the newsboys could be seen 'hawking their wares at every busy intersection' before making their way to the

docks or the train station to see if they could earn money as luggage carriers.⁴³

Girls too, were expected to contribute to the family income if they were lucky enough to acquire employment. In 1900, four cash girls, two seamstresses, and three servants who were twelve years old or younger were recorded. Many more like Doris Spilker, August's daughter, were expected to help in the family business, and for the most part those 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 neighborhood in New York, where many young girls worked as 'hot corn sellers' or street sweepers.⁴⁴ That distinction suggests that perhaps a higher level of employment was possible for children in St Louis compared with urban centers on the east coast. However, a striking similarity between both locations was the necessity of young children to gain employment in the first place, and to supplement the family income in a bid to ensure financial security for their families.

CONCLUSION

David Ward commented that 'labor migration was a response to economic insecurity that was primarily dedicated to the preservation of the ancestral homestead'.⁴⁵ However, the evidence from St Louis and Fort Wayne suggests that the ancestral homestead was, in fact, a secondary concern. For many, labor migration was a response to economic insecurity, yet arguably, economic stability, followed by social advancement, was what truly motivated labor migration for many of the German and Irish immigrants taken into consideration in this chapter. Those immigrants who arrived in Fort Wayne during the 1880s to benefit from the developments in the transportation industry were certainly more concerned with economic stability than the 'preservation of the ancestral homestead.'

Yet, that security and mobility required a level of self-sacrifice for all family members down to and including the newsboys and cash girls. All members of the household were expected to contribute to the economic

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Anbinder, *Five Points*, 129.

⁴⁵Ward, *Poverty Ethnicity and American City*, 190.

activity 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 it was a phenomenon characteristic of the immigrant generation. Even so, many immigrants like Edward Fogerty, a Fort Wayne blacksmith, were able to enter 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 at the lower levels of the occupational structure, 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 is generally considered to have entered the American labor market at a 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 suggests otherwise. Both German and Irish immigrants showed similar rates of development in the professional occupations and their participation increased at comparable levels in other pivotal occupational classifications such as manufacturing and trade and transportation. Perhaps the German community did achieve social mobility more quickly than their Irish contemporaries, but that is not clearly evident from the data. Furthermore, considering the fact that 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 because it occurred within industries that German immigrants were already established in.

What is most significant, however, 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 concluded, 'those who did advance socially did not rise from rags to riches; they did not move from unskilled labor to the ranks of the professionals...instead social mobility occurred within the working class, from unskilled to semi-skilled' and beyond.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 150.



CHAPTER 6

A Reputation of Respectability: Social and Cultural Aspects of Immigrant Life

INTRODUCTION

In the evenings after 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 those activities for their members. In addition to religious organizations, there existed a plethora of societies, fraternities, and associations where immigrants could meet, deal, socialize, and reminisce. Organizations 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 vigor.

In both communities, German and Irish immigrants were members of centralized bodies such as the North American *Turnerbund* or the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). However, the social and cultural experiences of immigrants in the Midwest often differed from their counterparts on the eastern seaboard. Although those centralized associations existed in port cities like New York and Boston, there were also many local institutions on the east coast where immigrants

could replicate their cultural traditions. Tyler Anbinder comments on the presence of a hurling club in the Five Points neighborhood of New York and there was also evidence of Irish county societies that mirrored the German *Landsman* associations.¹ However, for the Irish in both St Louis and Fort Wayne, there were no such localized organizations. Contrastingly, there were an abundance of German *Landsman* associations and the presence of distinct cultural movements like the *Turnverein*. The multiplicity of associations that unified German immigrants based on their regional origin, confirmed the numerical dominance of the group in the Midwestern states. More importantly perhaps, they also reflected the internal divisions within the German immigrant group and in part explains why the German immigrant community did not exercise an influence proportional to its size in other areas of American life.

In addition to offering immigrants a forum within which to socialize and compare experiences, these organizations also served as arenas where their ethnic identity could be both reinforced and reinvigorated. Paradoxically, those distinct ethnic institutions also served as mediums through which integration and acculturation could be achieved. In being able to depend on the security of the ethnic group and the camaraderie those various associations offered, the ultimate progression to assimilation was gradually achieved.² The social and cultural organizations that defined German immigration can be broadly divided into two categories which Hoyt terms, '*Vereinsdeutsche* and *Kirchendeutsche*'³ [club Germans and Church Germans]. The *Vereinsdeutsche* were perceived as being more liberal, while the *Kirchendeutsche* typified the more pious, conservative immigrant. Perhaps one of the primary reasons influencing the cultural division among the German immigrant group was that the composition of the German community was fragmented. There were not only regional and class differences but also religious and political differences within the group which led to the emergence of societies with varying interests, goals, and philosophies, and in turn meant that a cohesive

¹Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth Century Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 183–89.

²Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 148–49.

³Giles Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 160.

generic representation of German identity was difficult to achieve. Despite there being regional contrasts within the Irish immigrant community, these could be overlooked due to a general lack of significant differences in terms of their economic, social, and political identities, a rhetoric reinforced by the concept of victimhood that characterized the Irish immigrant experience.⁴ Pointedly, the Irish community also possessed a more united religious identity than their German counterparts, particularly from 1850 onward after the arrival of immigrants following the famine, and that too influenced the social and cultural structure of their community.

In considering some of the musical, fraternal, benevolent, and sporting organizations available to immigrants, a determination of the role those movements played in the overall immigrant experience becomes apparent. While initially acting as a defense 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 organizations, a perception of how those institutions facilitated an immigrant's adjustment to nineteenth-century American norms becomes apparent. Through the camaraderie and shared heritage promoted by these organizations, tangible business links, political ideologies, and religious tolerance were fostered and adapted to fit within the parameters of each individual immigrant experience.

'A SCENE SELDOM EQUALED ANYWHERE'

On the morning of June 13, 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 Sangerfest*. On that day, forty-two German choirs from all over the United States arrived in St Louis for the national singing festival. Included were thirteen choirs from Ohio, nine from Illinois, two from Louisiana, and one each from Pennsylvania and New York.⁵ The *Westliche Post* also recorded the arrival of *Mannerchoren* from smaller German settlements

⁴For more on the victim motif, see Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁵*Die Westliche Post*, June 14, 1888.

in Topeka, Kansas, Joliet, Illinois and Avondale, Ohio to participate in the festivities.⁶ Upon arrival, visiting *Sängerbünde* were met with brass bands and music and were escorted to the Central *Turner* Hall where a welcoming reception was held.⁷ Thus 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 *Sängerbünde* participated in matinees, concerts, and other performances. On Sunday, the festival closed with a picnic at the fairgrounds, entertainment by the various groups and bands, and a display of daylight Japanese fireworks.⁸

Music and song had long been entwined with German culture and migration from European shores to American ports did not diminish its relevance.⁹ The emergence of German singing societies in urban centers confirmed the existence of a settled and well-established German immigrant community. The singing societies were identifiable by various names. Some were called *Männerchor* or *Damenchor* [Men's choir or Ladies choir] or in many instances the term *Gesängvereine* [Singing unions] was also used. Others were denoted by names such as *Liederkranz* [Singing circle] or *Liedertafel* [literally 'singing table']. Yet, all had the same purpose, a gathering, usually of German males, who met, rehearsed, and performed German folk songs.

The first men's singing society was organized in St Louis in 1846 and became known as the St Louis *Sängerbünd*. 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 Streets and from this meeting came the society'.¹⁰ Kargau also noted that an attempt to merge the *Sängerbünd* with the Cecilia Society, an organization which performed musical concerts on a subscription basis, failed. That, he claimed, was because 'the Cecilia Club objected to the drinking of the *Sängerbünd* during rehearsals.'¹¹ Such an objection confirms the

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Carl Rahkonen et al., "European American Musical Cultures," in *Musical Cultures in the United States: An Introduction*, ed. Ellen Koskoff (New York: Routledge, 2005), 175.

¹⁰Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 159.

¹¹Ibid.

recreational nature of singing societies and emphasizes the jovial atmosphere that surrounded this social activity. Not only was the consumption of beer inevitable during these rehearsals, but also conversation in the German language. In those rooms 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. First, 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].¹² They sang about topics such as politics, living conditions, or labor issues; subjects that reflected their immigrant experience but that could not necessarily be spoken aloud in conversation. Ultimately, singing provided a veil through which those thoughts could be articulated.¹³ In preparation for festivals, classical hymns like Hayden's *With Joy th'Impatient Husbandman* were practiced at length.¹⁴ At the Silver Jubilee celebration of the *Frier Männerchor* in August 1888, a selection of folk songs and hymns were performed which included *Das Elternhaus* [Parents homestead], *Empor zum Licht* [Towards the light] and *Du fernes Land* [You distant land].¹⁵

There were many other singing societies in St Louis, such as the *Rheinische Frohsinn*, the *Social Choir of Singers*, the *Germania Sängerbünd*, 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 Sängerbünd*, the governing organization that had been established in Philadelphia in 1850.¹⁶ The society organized

¹²Johann Lewalter, *Deutsche Volkslieder: In Niederhessen aus den Munde des Volkes Gesammelt* (Hamburg: G. Fritzsche, 1892), 9, 60.

¹³Rahkonen et al., "European American Musical Cultures," 173.

¹⁴*Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, June 25, 1885.

¹⁵Silver Jubilee Program of the *Frier Männerchor*, August 19, 1888, Workingmen's Singing Society, S237/42/4/1, State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO.

¹⁶History of the *Harmonie Gesängverein*, St Louis, Harmonie Singing Society Papers, S033/1/4/2, State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri, St Louis, MO.

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, which became an annual event that took place on the last Monday before Lent.¹⁷ As the tradition assumed a German-American identity, *Gesängvereine* and *Liederfeste* became a key feature of German-American life. 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.

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 traveled frequently to the annual singing festival in Toledo, Ohio where it performed with the Toledo singing group and other choirs like the Detroit Workingmen's singing society.¹⁸ Aside from their annual trip to Toledo, the Fort Wayne *Männerchor* pursued many other endeavors 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 like Frank H. Rahe and Erhart J. Heiny.¹⁹ The fact that second-generation Germans participated in the activities of the singing societies was of pivotal importance.²⁰ 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 recruiting first-generation immigrant membership into their organizations.²¹ The development of those societies was two-fold. On the one hand they were sustained by the involvement of second- and third-generation offspring, and simultaneously benefiting from the influx of new first-generation immigrants seeking a secure ethnically compatible

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸German American Biographical Co., *Toledo und sein Deutschtum* (Cleveland: German American Biographical Co., 1899), 78.

¹⁹Jim Sack, "The Germans," in *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700–2005*, ed. John Beatty and Phylis Robb (Fort Wayne: M.T. Publishing Company, 2005), 686.

²⁰Stephen Erdely, "Ethnic Music in the United States: An Overview," *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 11 (1979): 121.

²¹Rahkonen et al., "European American Musical Cultures," 163.

pastime.²² Additionally, the membership subscription of many singing groups amounted to approximately fifty cents per month or six dollars per annum.²³ That relatively affordable contribution accounted, at least in part, for their large membership base and the continued popularity of singing groups within the wider German immigrant community. Pointedly, that 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.

In smaller towns like Fort Wayne, Topeka, Kansas; and Joliet, Illinois, singing societies were an integral aspect of the social life of German-Americans and in many instances, were an important aspect of immigrant life. 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.²⁴ The article exemplified the level of excitement that surrounded such cultural events, and provided an opportunity for the entire German community to become involved. As the Indiana State *Sängerfest* of 1885 neared, the people of Fort Wayne, and particularly its German community, were eagerly anticipating the grand opening of the event. Portrait flags of Beethoven, Bach, and many other 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’.²⁵ The journalist reporting on the event noted how ‘the scene at the Princess last evening was one seldom equalled anywhere and certainly one that would greatly impress a spectator.’²⁶ Mayor Muhler addressed the assembled gathering and welcomed the visitors by stating that ‘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.’²⁷

²²Ibid., 176.

²³German American Biographical Co., *Toledo und sein Deutschtum*, 78.

²⁴*Fort Wayne Gazette*, April 16, 1885.

²⁵*Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, June 24, 1885.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

‘BEHIND THE DOORS OF THE *TURNHALLE*’

In addition to singing and the arts more generally, the other cultural movement that 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 *Turnverein* or gymnastic union was essentially a social and cultural organization 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 developed into a cultural organization concerned with the preservation and development of German culture more generally. While some examples of German fitness organizations were evident in the United States as early as the 1830s, it was not until the arrival of politically engaged, educated, and driven immigrants in the late 1840s that *Turnerism* became a popular pursuit.

Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, affectionately known as *Vater* Jahn, formed the first *Turnplatz* [Gymnastics area] near Berlin in 1811.²⁸ Consequently, the adoption of Jahn’s model formed an integral aspect in the ideology of many of the Forty-Eighters, and subsequently, that was again reflected through German involvement in the American Civil War during the 1860s.²⁹ During the 1850s, numerous *Turnvereine* emerged, and like singing societies, the presence of a *Turnverein* indicated the existence of a significant German settlement nearby. Between 1848 and 1853, seventy *Turnvereine* were created in the United States.³⁰ Over the next two decades the movement continued to flourish but it was not until the 1890s that the organization 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.’³¹

²⁸Robert Wild, “Chapters in the History of the Turners,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9 (1925): 125. Wild argues that the aim of the organisation was to foster patriotic ideals by encouraging physical activity in a fraternal environment.

²⁹Robert Knight Barney, “Forty-Eighters and the Rise of the *Turnverein* Movement in America,” in *Ethnicity and Sport in North America: History and Culture*, ed. George Eisen and David Kenneth Wiggins (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 19.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 20.

³¹Annette R. Hofmann, “Lady Turners in the United States: German American Identity, Gender Concerns and *Turnerism*,” *Journal of Sport History* 27, no. 3 (2000): 383.

Turnvereine were evident in bigger cities like New York and Philadelphia in the east, or Milwaukee and Chicago in the Midwest, but the St Louis *Turnverein* held the distinction of being the ‘oldest in the west’ signifying the historical legacy of German Americans in the city.³² On June 17, 1850, a small body of men formed the St Louis *Turner* Society, meeting for the first time 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 because of employment or any other external force, the opposite was in fact true. Wild noted that ‘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.’³³ Bergquist agrees claiming that the *Turnvereine*, although enthusiastically embraced, served primarily as a ‘decompression chamber, which aided the processes of acculturation and assimilation’.³⁴

On their first anniversary, the ‘German girls’ of St Louis presented the *Turnverein* with ‘a beautifully embroidered white silk banner’.³⁵ 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.³⁶ After the success of that 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’.³⁷ 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 *Turner* Society had over 500 members and by the time it moved to the new building in 1889, the *Verein*

³²Kargau, *German Element*, 217.

³³Wild, “Chapters in the History of the Turners,” 131.

³⁴James M. Bergquist, “German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth Century Experience,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4, no. 1 (1984): 17.

³⁵Kargau, *German element*, 217.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

boasted an impressive 965 members. The library was further evidence of the organization'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 from the new *Turner* Hall.³⁸

What 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, swimming and wrestling'.³⁹ As the movement progressed, individual *Turnvereine* constructed purpose-built gymnastic halls as well as libraries, lecture rooms, and reading rooms. Gradually, *Turner* schools also emerged and enrolled ethnically German students, both boys and girls. They had a dual focus in that they incorporated academic learning with physical, specifically gymnastic, instruction. That dual approach was achieved through the medium of German. In St Louis, membership of the organization was payable monthly through a subscription of two dollars. Of that, one dollar was retained for the management of the organization, fifty cents was allocated to the society's library, and the final fifty cents contributed to the cost of *Krankenkasse* or the association's health insurance, which provided financial assistance to members who were injured.⁴⁰

Aside from the daily administration of the organization, festivals and competitions called *Turnfeste* were regularly organized and members would compete against athletes from rival *Turnvereine*. Singing societies and drama groups slowly evolved from the *Turnverein* and Ladies Auxiliary branches also arose. Notably, females were not entitled to full membership until the end of the nineteenth century. Picnics, outings, and masquerade balls were organized for members and trips became a feature of the *Vereinsleben* [club life].⁴¹ There were special events for children like the annual *Kinderball* [Children's dance] and regular

³⁸Gould & Co., *Gould's St Louis City Directory, 1900* (St Louis: Gould & Co., 1900), 2485.

³⁹Annette R. Hofmann, "Between Ethnic Separation and Assimilation: German Immigrants and Their Athletic Endeavours in Their New American Home Country," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 8 (2008): 998.

⁴⁰*Verfassung des St Louis Turnvereins* (St Louis, MO, 1860), 4. St Louis Turnverein Papers, 1852–1933, A1449/1/12, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

⁴¹Note in St Louis Turnverein Minute Book, February 1900, St Louis Turnverein Papers 1852–1933, A1449/1/20A.5.4, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

outings. All those events and excursions necessitated committees and it was in that respect that the Ladies Auxiliaries had their most considerable influence on the *Vereinsleben*. 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 noted that ‘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’.⁴²

Since the *Turnverein* movement had been founded by those immigrants who felt obliged to leave after 1848, the *Turnverein* was periodically linked to political issues.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ When the Civil War began many of the *Turners* felt compelled to answer Lincoln’s call and fight for the Union.⁴⁵ One of the most illustrative examples of that was in St Louis where 800 ethnically German volunteers formed four regiments and took over Camp Jackson.⁴⁶ Those four regiments formed part of the company which fought during the Camp Jackson Affair and defended the arsenal at St Louis. Many influential members of St Louis’ German community fought during the Camp Jackson Affair and tried to quell the unrest that lasted four days. Among them was Captain Constantin Blandowski who was the fencing master of the St Louis *Turnverein*, but like many other German *Turners*, Blandowski was killed during the war.⁴⁷

Like the singing societies, *Turnvereine* were also a prominent feature of German communities in smaller towns. However, it was not until 1865, in the aftermath of the Civil War, that the *Turnverein Vorwärts* was founded in Fort Wayne. As immigrant levels began to rise in the city

⁴²Hofmann, “Lady Turners,” 39.

⁴³Barney, “Forty-Eighters,” 21.

⁴⁴Hofmann, “Between Ethnic Separation and Assimilation,” 999.

⁴⁵Wild, “Chapters in the History of the Turners,” 129.

⁴⁶Annette R. Hofmann, *Turnen and Sport: Transatlantic Transfers* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 2004), 94.

⁴⁷Wild, “Chapters in the History of the Turners,” 130.

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*, which met on the second Sunday of each month, had its hall at Hugh McCulloch's premises on Superior St.⁴⁸ By 1895, the society had relocated to the *Sängerbund* Hall on West Main St and although not as expansive as its counterpart in St Louis, the Fort Wayne *Turnverein* was equally, if not more, important to the German community in that city.

By the middle of the 1890s, the rate of German immigration had slowed and the central governing body of the *Turners*, the North American *Turnerbund*, decided to seek and accept memberships from other communities with the decision receiving a mixed reaction. On the one hand, some members realized that it was a necessary diversification given that it would ensure the long-term sustainability of the movement. However, that dilution, as many people saw it, represented the end of a distinctly German aspect of immigrant life. Despite the internal divergence of opinion, there is little doubt that the *Turnverein* movement was an important cultural component of the German immigrant experience in the United States and was integral in promoting the cultural distinctiveness of the German immigrant group as a whole. Involvement in those inherently German organizations was integral to the preservation and longevity of the most distinctive aspect of German culture, the language. Comparatively, there were isolated examples of Irish organizations that also emphasized the importance of the Irish language, but not to the same extent as their German counterparts.

'THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE OF CLUBS'⁴⁹

The very fact that Irish-Americans showed little interest in the areas where most German-American social activities were focused, exemplifies the differing character of each immigrant group. Singing and music generally, as well as sport were the two most popular and widely practiced social activities of German-Americans. In those areas, 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

⁴⁸Sack, "The Germans," 686.

⁴⁹David Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845–1910* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 281.

impact that 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, except for sports events based around their employment.

Like the German immigrant community, Irish-Americans also established many fraternal organizations 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 principal motivation in the foundation of each community's social and cultural practices. Whereas singing societies and gymnastic unions characterized the principal facets of German-American social lives, Irish-Americans participated in temperance movements, nationalist brotherhoods and political organizations concerning the homeland, and religious societies. Organizations such as the Gaelic League, combined with other more politicized 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 mirrored many of the labor struggles they faced in America.⁵⁰ They also engendered a sense of shared identity and promoted the conservation of a shared Irish heritage. Furthermore, Irish-Americans had a specific day each year when they celebrated their heritage.

The preservation of culture was principally achieved by the continual practicing of traditions which were transported from the homeland with the immigrants. There was however, also an element of evolution in those traditional activities and the genre of Irish folk singing, for example slowly began to assume an Irish-American identity in the same way as the immigrants themselves had. Although Irish music, song, and dance did not have the structured existence it had for the German community, it survived nonetheless, perhaps because of the sheer number of Irish-Americans or because of Irish exiles' constant affiliation with the homeland.

Aside from politicized, cultural associations, Irish immigrants also participated in sporting organizations although the parameters of their

⁵⁰Jay Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 197.

existence were not as regimented as their German counterparts. Where they did participate, and usually excelled, were in sports like prizefighting and soccer. The host community abhorred the Irish attachment to prizefighting and consequently that 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 teams 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.⁵¹ However, as with most Irish social activities, a Catholic undertone permeated the immigrants' involvement in sports.⁵² Parish teams gradually emerged and played against each other in the Sodality League. St Malachy's, St Teresa's, St Patrick's, and St Bridget's all fielded teams, most of which consisted of Irish immigrants.⁵³ In addition to soccer, Irish immigrants also became involved in baseball and by 1900, the Irish community in St Louis were also beginning to produce professional players. In the US Federal Census returns for 1900, Michael McDermott was 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. Jack O'Connor joined the Perfectos in 1898 after moving to the city from Cleveland. Others included Mike Donlin, born in Illinois and Jimmy Burke, a native of St Louis.⁵⁴ Thus, although both communities pursued physical activities, their approaches differed greatly.

'THE OLDEST CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES'

Other social activities had a clear organizational framework and gained increasing popularity within the Irish immigrant community as the nineteenth century progressed. Founded in 1836, the AOH was one such

⁵¹William Barnaby Faherty, *St Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2001), 113.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., 114.

⁵⁴1900 US Federal Census Record for Michael McDermott, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 46, 3, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 20, 2013, www.ancestry.com. See O'Laughlin, Michael, *Missouri Irish: The Original History of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 2007), 105.

fraternal organization. Divisions or branches of the AOH were evident in both St Louis and Fort Wayne as they were in most towns and cities where there was a significant Irish presence during the nineteenth century. The AOH played an integral role in the creation of an Irish immigrant identity and importantly, it was also responsible for generating many of the community's leaders. Fraternal societies like the AOH and the Robert Emmet Literary Association, an organization that was closely aligned with the AOH, provided immigrants with a forum to both celebrate their Irishness and propel their economic and political ambitions.

In the decades after the formation of the AOH, there were two unstated prerequisites in joining the fraternity. One was that a member needed to be reasonably affluent, the second was that they would ideally possess a skill level uncharacteristic of many of the immigrants who arrived after the famine.⁵⁵ For those 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 they were socially mobile. Initially the AOH existed without the benefit of a centralized governing body. However, in 1871 the AOH was reorganized on a national basis and thereafter its existence became more structured, although membership remained open only to people who were native Irish or of Irish descent. 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.

John Tigh and Peter Leonard established the first division of the AOH in St Louis in 1870 and within the first year of its existence in the city two more branches were founded. At its peak, there were ten branches of the order in St Louis ranging in membership from 58 to 150 affiliates.⁵⁶ In addition to weekly or fortnightly meetings, the AOH was particularly visible on St Patrick's Day. Demonstrating the rapid development of the organization in St Louis, the AOH had branches in both the north and south sides of the city. During the St Patrick's Day

⁵⁵Sandra Brunsmann noted that the annual membership of the AOH was \$100, while Emmons makes the point that the prominent members of the organization could secure employment for other members provided they had a relatively high skill level. See Sandra M. Brunsmann, *Early Irish Settlers in St Louis Missouri and Dogtown Neighborhood* (St Louis: Sandra Brunsmann, 2000), 9; and Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale*, 276.

⁵⁶Faherty, *St Louis Irish*, 111.

parade, those divisions from north St Louis were marshalled by John Tighe, while Michael Cull took charge of the divisions from the southern part of the city.⁵⁷

By the 1880s the influence of the AOH in St Louis was increasingly 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.'⁵⁸ Each of the ten divisions were represented and the Mitchell Field Band formed part of their procession. The *Democrat* also 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.'⁵⁹ 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 illustrative of the close ethnic unity advocated by the Irish immigrant community and more specifically by the AOH. The association continued to play a key role in the consolidation of an Irish cultural identity in St Louis and by 1900, Gould's City Directory recorded the longevity of the movement in the city noting that there were nine subordinate branches within the city limits.⁶⁰

Owing primarily to the fact that the Irish community in Fort Wayne was significantly smaller than many of its Midwestern counterparts, the AOH in Fort Wayne remain one of the best examples of how integration and assimilation could be achieved through the organization. A chapter of the AOH was formed in Fort Wayne during the 1880s.⁶¹ Given the relatively small size of the Irish immigrant community in that city, the order acted initially as a defense from external forces, while its members simultaneously found their place within the broader Fort Wayne community.

As the end of the century approached, the Irish community in Fort Wayne began to increase. With its expansion there was a renewed desire

⁵⁷ *Missouri Democrat*, March 16, 1872.

⁵⁸ *Missouri Democrat*, March 18, 1880.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Gould & Co., *Gould's City Directory of St Louis, 1900*, 2477.

⁶¹ Thomas Logan, "The Irish in Fort Wayne," in *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700–2005*, ed. John Beatty and Phylis Robb (Fort Wayne: M.T. Publishing Company, 2005), 729.

for cultural celebration 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 1890.⁶² That reunion, coupled with the increasing Irish immigrant population, began the resurgence of the organization in the city. In 1895, the city directory recorded that Allen County, Division Number 1 of the AOH 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 McKendry, a civil engineer, was the association's secretary.⁶³ The organization enjoyed an extended period of longevity in the city with the division continuing to exist into the twentieth century.

As the organization grew, the AOH in Fort Wayne also developed a Ladies Auxiliary. The group was known as the Daughters of Erin. The Ladies Auxiliary was responsible for organizing fundraising events and outings such as picnics. When the AOH held special events such as a ball, not only did the Daughters of Erin attend, they played an integral role in the organization of the event. In that way, both Irish and German women fulfilled similar supplementary roles in the societal lives of their communities and did not participate in a more formal way until the latter decades of the century.

'A REPUTATION OF RESPECTABILITY'

Fraternities like the AOH were only one example of the type of social and cultural outlets that were available to Irish immigrants. Temperance movements were another popular social organization that attracted an ethnically Irish membership. Some of the societies in which Irish immigrants participated were simply replicas of Irish organizations that had migrated with the immigrants in the same way *Turnvereine* did with their German counterparts. For many, temperance movements like the Knights of Fr Mathew offered the familiarity of the 'old world' but in 'new world' environments.⁶⁴ They provided a good platform

⁶² *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, April 17, 1890.

⁶³ R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1895–1896* (Fort Wayne: R. L. Polk & Co., 1895), 56, 390, 561.

⁶⁴ Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale*, 282. See also Deirdre M. Moloney, "Combatting Whiskey's Work: The Catholic Temperance Movement in Late Nineteenth Century America," *US Catholic Historian* 16, no. 3 (1998): 7.

for acculturation as well as offering cultural security to the immigrant. 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 wrote, ‘that [they] would impinge upon their rights to continue certain cultural traditions in the United States, including the Sunday beer garden.’⁶⁵

There were two temperance movements of note in St Louis. The first was Father Mathew’s Young Men’s Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society formed in 1870, which had a membership of 1300 by 1873.⁶⁶ By 1900, Gould’s City Directory recorded that there were twenty-two subordinate branches of the organization in the city.⁶⁷ Like many other organizations, Fr Mathew’s abstainers regularly took part in St Patrick’s Day parades. As with many organizations, parades and other formal events were powerful recruitment aids because they enabled immigrants to publicly acknowledge their cultural heritage. The establishment of abstinence societies at a parish level was also a common occurrence and in the 1872 St Patrick’s Day parade, there were also abstinence groups from St Bridget’s and St Malachy’s parishes as well as the Father Mathew organization, who were marshalled by Patrick Grady and James Hardy respectively.

Organizations such as these enticed members to join by developing sports teams, billiard rooms, libraries, and reading rooms, again mirroring the wider cultural influences of fraternal organizations and American norms during the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ A second temperance movement was formed in St Louis on May 9, 1872 and was simply called the Knights of Fr Mathew. The organization remained independent of the earlier one and Fr P. F. O’Reilly became its spiritual director. Like its counterparts, the group focused stringently on total abstinence but also had a customized uniform, drilled regularly, and took part in annual events like the St Patrick’s Day celebrations.⁶⁹ Picnics and outings were

⁶⁵Moloney, “Combatting Whiskey’s Work,” 6.

⁶⁶Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, 111.

⁶⁷Gould & Co., *Gould’s City Directory of St Louis, 1900*, 2476.

⁶⁸Moloney, “Combatting Whiskey’s Work,” 17.

⁶⁹Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, 111.

also regular aspects of society life. Those events provided the opportunity not only to embrace cultural traditions, but also enabled participants to meet perspective marriage partners with similar values, much in the same way as the 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 other examples of abstinence organizations that the Irish also subscribed to. On the last Sunday of the month, the St Louis Roman Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society met at St Lawrence O'Toole's church in the Kerry Patch. The popularity of that association peaked during the 1870s and like many of its counterparts, it too formed part of the St Patrick's Day procession.⁷⁰ Similar to the AOH, temperance movements also became centralized in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, and the Catholic Temperance Abstinence Union (CTAU) was formed in 1872.⁷¹ Many of CTAU's members were of Irish descent and were eager to dispel the negative stereotype that surrounded Irish alcohol consumption, particularly in the American press.

'OLD TIME HILARITY AND SOLEMNITY'⁷²

One of the most significant differences in the social and cultural traditions of the German and Irish immigrant groups was that the Irish had an appointed 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 unity of 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 the 'nativist animosity' many Irish-American communities experienced, he argues that Irish-Americans needed to exhibit their solidity as an ethnic entity, while simultaneously

⁷⁰ *Missouri Democrat*, March 16, 1872.

⁷¹ Moloney, "Combatting Whiskey's Work," 5.

⁷² *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, March 17, 1890.

demonstrating their allegiance to the host community.⁷³ St Patrick's Day was celebrated annually in St Louis. The parade started at St Patrick's Hall on Seventh St and marched to St Patrick's Church. In later years the parade also included St Lawrence O'Toole's church. Most community organizations like the AOH participated in the parade including various benevolent societies, abstinence societies, and local schools. 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 Dr. R. Emmet Kane's poem suggests 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'⁷⁴

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 sermons and lectures 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 hosted a ball and various religious services took place throughout the day.⁷⁵ The parades also attracted many international visitors such as John Dillon, who attended the St Louis St Patrick's Day celebrations in 1880.⁷⁶

⁷³Kenneth Moss, "St Patrick's Day Celebrations and the Formation of an Irish-American Identity, 1845–1875," *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 1 (1995): 137. See also Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: A History of St Patrick's Day* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 65.

⁷⁴Dr. R. Emmet Kane 'Let Erin Remember' in Ellen Dolan, *The St Louis Irish* (St Louis: Old St Patrick's, 1967), 56.

⁷⁵*Missouri Democrat*, March 18, 1880.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

Fort Wayne held its first St Patrick's Day parade in 1859.⁷⁷ Like St Louis, the parade meandered its way to the local church—in this instance St Augustine's Cathedral—where a mass was celebrated. During the procession, banners and flags were waved representing Irish and American cooperation and there was a distinct emphasis not only on Irish-ness but Irish-American-ness as well. Mather noted that children from the local St Augustine's school wore 'a large green satin badge bound with gilt wire plaited as an American eagle with a representation of the Roman pontiff underneath'.⁷⁸

There is little doubt that the Irish embraced their ethnic identity in America and that was rarely as pronounced as it was on St Patrick's Day. Yet even in 1859 before Irish immigration reached its peak, the presence of the American eagle on a St Patrick's Day badge nonetheless represented the 'process of becoming American' that Kenny alludes to. The tradition of the parade in Fort Wayne continued until well into the twentieth century and gradually became a significant festival on Fort Wayne's social calendar. On March 16, 1896, the *Fort Wayne Sentinel* printed the program for the following day and provided extensive coverage of the celebrations in its aftermath.

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 allegiances to the United States. That was achieved by the partial adoption of aspects of nineteenth-century American culture more generally, for example the militant and veteran organizations that marched in the parades. The number of conciliatory organizations also epitomized the fraternal nature of nineteenth-century America. The German community also publicly acknowledged its heritage to the wider community, with varying degrees of success. In April 1899, a German village was opened under the auspices of the Fort Wayne *Turnverein*. The exhibition ran for ten days and included 'an exact facsimile of a village of the fatherland,

⁷⁷Mather notes that this event symbolised the first 'modicum of acceptance' the Irish received in Fort Wayne after years of nativist sentiment. For more see: George R. Mather, "Fort Wayne's First St Patrick's Day Celebration," *Old Fort News* 55 (1992): 1.

⁷⁸Mather, "Fort Wayne's First St Patrick's Day," 3.

showing the methods of doing business, their different amusements, etc. and quaint German costumes.⁷⁹ Similarly, organizations like the *Bayern Verein*, performed traditional Bavarian dances and celebrated other aspects of their culture in St Louis.⁸⁰

Although the German-American community regularly held events celebrating their ethnicity, whether in the form of an interstate singing competition or a *Turnfest*, they did not command the same sense of unity as the Irish celebration of St Patrick's Day. Perhaps that was due to the fragmented composition of the German-American community. Whereas the Irish community shared a common religion, and in general terms, a common motivation for emigration, the German community encompassed a variety of religions, a variety of dialects, and a variety of motivations for leaving. Therefore, a celebration of German ethnicity was perhaps not only absent, but conceptually impossible, due to the composition of the group as a whole.

'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 independent, associations which attracted German and Irish membership. For the German-American community, *Landsmans* [countrymen] clubs were places for ethnically German men to socialize. Those countrymen clubs were organized along the same lines as the Irish county societies that had emerged on the east coast, although they were slow to appear in Irish communities in the Midwest. In Fort Wayne, the *Plattdeutscher Verein* [low German club] from the area of Stolzenau in the German lowlands was formed and from the 1880s onward there was also the Saxonia Aid Society which held monthly meetings on the third Sunday of the month.⁸¹ Similarly, there were countrymen clubs for Swabian and Bavarian immigrants as well as a German hunting club which was established in 1863 and met fortnightly in St Louis.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, April 17, 1899.

⁸⁰ *Missouri Republic*, August 20, 1895.

⁸¹ R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory*, 1895, 60.

⁸² Edwards & Co., *Edwards Directory for the City of St Louis for 1870* (St Louis: Edwards & Co., 1870), 88.

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. From 1870 onward, the society met at St Lawrence O'Toole's church on the first Sunday of the month.⁸³ The society initially had only seven members, but it grew to over 300.⁸⁴ The society did not develop as a political entity in response to Know Nothingism, but rather remained thoroughly focused on its benevolent function.

Other ethnically Irish organizations included the Erin Benevolent Society, the Knights of St Patrick, the United Sons of Erin, and the Order of United Irishmen. The Erin Benevolent Society was formed at the home of retired sheriff Jeremiah Connor in 1818.⁸⁵ It consisted of Irish men from both the Catholic and Protestant religions and its purpose was to aid immigrants upon their arrival and help them to secure employment and accommodation. That was followed in the 1840s by the Irish Emigrant Society to meet the needs of the immigrants who arrived from Ireland after the famine, John O'Fallon was its first president. The United Sons of Erin was an exclusively local organization and was set up in the aftermath of the Civil War to help the families of Irish soldiers in St Louis. Formed in 1866, it was essentially a mutual assistance organization and followed the German principal of an 'insurance' society.⁸⁶ There were also examples of locally motivated organizations in Fort Wayne, and in 1863, some of the Irish community there founded the Irish Catholic Benefit Association which held regular meetings in Cody's Hall.⁸⁷ The initiation fee was two dollars and members were required to pay a weekly subscription of twenty-three cents thereafter.⁸⁸ Ultimately, each of these organizations fulfilled the same role for the Irish community as they did for the German community—cultural celebration, exclusivity, and paradoxically, integration.

⁸³Ibid., 85.

⁸⁴Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, 28.

⁸⁵O'Laughlin, *Missouri Irish*, 112.

⁸⁶Faherty, *St Louis Irish*, 111.

⁸⁷*Fort Wayne Weekly Democrat*, February 24, 1869.

⁸⁸Ibid.

There were members of each group who also 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.⁸⁹ Many immigrants became involved in organizations that pertained their employment. Those societies also held a variety of social gatherings and functions. Others became involved in religious organizations 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 that emphasize their integration, but also a sense of cooperation and interaction between the two immigrant communities. Significantly, immigrant involvement in those organizations in the late nineteenth century emphasizes the affect everyday American life was having on those culturally distinct immigrant populations. By the turn of the century, both German- and Irish-Americans had well and truly embraced the multi-culturalism of the host society.

CONCLUSION

In looking for something familiar in a strange land, social and cultural organizations often offered the security and familiarity many immigrants sought and longed for and their role in the immigrant experience cannot and should not be overlooked. Initially offering a haven against the strangeness of the new world, these social and cultural organizations gradually offered immigrants the possibility of emerging as engaged, enthusiastic, and integrated German- and Irish-Americans. The inherent contrasts in the social and cultural activities pursued by both immigrant groups highlights the fundamental differences in their immigrant experiences as well as their distinct cultural priorities. There is little doubt that the preservation of the German language was a primary concern for the German community. Conversely, given the nature of Irish-American social associations, religion was the facet of their identity that required the most stringent protection. That diversification of cultural objectives further emphasizes 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

⁸⁹Kennedy & Co., *Kennedy's St Louis Directory for 1860* (St Louis: Kennedy & Co., 1860), 14.

each community, it is difficult to draw a parallel between the social and cultural activities of these immigrant populations.

That is not to say however, that those organizations did not fulfill similar roles. In both communities, these associations initially acted 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 immigrant experience, the focus of their social and cultural organizations also shifted. Much like their members, many organizations also became Americanized and ultimately, although the culture of the homeland was still preserved, those organizations 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 distinction between the role of secular organizations like the *Turnverein* and the role played by both the Lutheran and Catholic churches. In the Irish community, although there appeared to be a clear distinction on the surface, the lines were blurred because religious influences played an integral role in most aspects 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 organizations to benefit their own social needs, they nonetheless seemed to fulfill a supplementary role in the wider context of immigrant social life. Female influences on the AOH or the *Turnverein* movement exemplify this supplementary role women played in the social and 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. Providing a realm within which immigrants could socialize proved almost as important as finding employment. In establishing that environment, old world values coupled with new world practices resulted in culturally aware, yet integrated, communities conscious of their traditions and conscious of their responsibilities within the broader context of their cities.



CHAPTER 7

The Church on the Hill: Religious Entities in the American Midwest

INTRODUCTION

On November 18, 1838, 665 German emigrants from Saxony, led by their pastor Martin Stephan, boarded five ships and departed the port of Bremen at twelve noon.¹ Their proposed destination was Perry County, Missouri where they intended to establish a Lutheran settlement. Stepping onto American soil in New Orleans for the first time on January 21, 1839, one of the first observations made by Rev. Theodor Brohm was the sight of the ‘beautiful fruit of the South and the Tropics’.² However, the arduous journey had resulted in numerous deaths, as well as the loss of one of the ships and stringent criticism of Stephan’s leadership abilities.³ Traveling north along the Mississippi River, the settlers arrived in Perry County, although some members also settled in and around St Louis. As the settlement became consolidated, Stephan was replaced by his fellow pastor C. F. W. Walther who later became the preacher at Trinity Lutheran Church in St Louis.

¹Brief History of the Saxon Immigration, 1838, Saxon Immigration Papers, M-0015/1/47/3, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

²Account of Arrival at the Port of New Orleans, January 21, 1839, Theodor Brohm Diary, Saxon Immigration Papers, M-0015/1/23/19, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

³Ibid.

Religion in immigrant America during the second half of the nineteenth century was not defined by spirituality alone; it was also the medium 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.⁴ In a religious sense, the German immigrant group throughout the Midwest was divided predominately along Catholic and Lutheran lines and St Louis and Fort Wayne were no different.⁵

Yet, for all the separation, the goals of each parish and congregation were essentially the same. The spirituality of the immigrant was paramount. This was closely followed by the importance of the parochial school, which was essential to the sustainability and longevity of the German language and German culture. This was usually followed by the development of communal infrastructures such as lyceums and communal areas that benefited the broader community. Irish Catholics did not, in general terms at least, experience such a religious division, or such a significant threat to their language, as many of them were already English speaking. The formation of the Irish national parish fostered its own distinctive aims and objectives. For the Irish-American clergy, the preservation of the Catholic faith in a Protestant land was a primary objective. By establishing national parishes, the clergy could preserve both the faith and culture of old Ireland, while simultaneously creating a cohesive cultural community which spoke with a strong united voice on matters of secular importance.

Religious involvement provided immigrants with an opportunity to acculturate. Whether Lutheran or Catholic, German and Irish immigrants could establish new lives, knowing that their church and the community around them would provide support and nurture their immigrant experience. The immigrant church, therefore, was essential to the formation and emergence of ethnically exclusive immigrant communities in the Midwest and beyond.

⁴Judith W. Meyer, "Ethnicity, Theology and Immigrant Church Expansion," *Geographical Review* 65, no. 2 (1975): 180.

⁵For more discussion on fragmentation in the German immigrant community, see David Peterson, "'From Bone Depth'—German American Communities in Rural Minnesota Before the Great War," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11 (1992): 45.

THE IMMIGRANT CHURCH

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of Catholics in the United States increased from 663,000 to 3,103,000.⁶ That increase directly and simultaneously paralleled with a period of Irish and German domination of the American Catholic Church. A salient characteristic of all immigrant churches was the objective to preserve the cultural exclusivity of the group while simultaneously fostering that distinctiveness in a familiar environment. In so doing, that created separateness from the wider community. Neils-Conzen noted that by 1870, almost one sixth of all American Catholics belonged to German-speaking parishes, and a third of American priests were German.⁷ The force of German Catholicism in America in the nineteenth century could be paralleled only with that of its Irish counterpart.

Throughout the period from 1850 to 1900, Irish immigrants and their descendants controlled a considerable number of Catholic dioceses throughout America. As early as 1842, Irish-born Rev. John Hughes was appointed as the fourth bishop of New York and became the city's first archbishop in 1850. The subsequent emergence of the Irish national parish phenomenon combined with the hierarchical push to acquaint Catholics more intimately with the doctrine, led to the development of a strong ethnically distinct unit, which benefited both the immigrant and the Catholic Church. That 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.⁸

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, Archbishop John J. Williams, a second-generation Irish-American oversaw the governance of the church in Boston. This trend was not isolated to the east coast however. In Chicago, there were three successive bishops of Irish

⁶Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 113.

⁷Kathleen Neils-Conzen, "Immigrant Religion and the Republic: German Catholics in Nineteenth Century America" (Edmund Spevack Memorial Lecture, Harvard University, November 7, 2003), *GHI Bulletin* 35 (2004): 45.

⁸Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 69.

descent, Rev. Anthony O'Regan, Rev. James Duggan, and Rev. Patrick Feehan, and it was not until 1915 that Cardinal George Mundelein was appointed. A Canadian-Irish prelate called Patrick Riordan took charge of Catholics in San Francisco during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Members of the Irish clergy dominated the Catholic hierarchy even in smaller dioceses like St Louis and St Paul, Minnesota.

Many of the traditions of the Catholic Church in the homeland migrated with the people. For the Irish, subordination was just one characteristic that had traveled with the immigrants. The pastor was the sole decision maker for the parish in Ireland and that too became a feature of parochial life in Irish parishes in America. While the dominance of the local priest had undoubtedly migrated with the immigrants, had that not happened, Irish influence on American Catholicism would not have been as prominent. This prominence became particularly evident toward the end of the century when the character of the Irish immigrant church adopted a communal as well as a religious tone, a concept borrowed and perhaps even developed from the German–American parochial model.⁹ Furthermore, while German communities often organized their own parish and then sought the placement of a pastor from the bishop, the Irish priest often received an assignment from the bishop and then began the process of recruiting parishioners.¹⁰

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 transplanted to German national parishes on the east coast and later in the Midwest. There is little doubt that the organizational structure of German parishes was also imported from their homeland. The establishment of a German parish placed the cultural distinctiveness of its members to the forefront.¹¹ Many new recruits were enticed to the United States and both Dolan and Kenny observed how more than 600 graduates from All Hallows College in Dublin left Ireland to serve immigrant communities in the United States. Kenny argued, however,

⁹Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 111–12.

¹⁰William Barnaby Faherty, *St Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2001), 27; Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame: Galilee, 1992), 165.

¹¹Meyer, "Ethnicity," 181.

that the number could be as many as 1500.¹² For many of those immigrants, the Catholic Church and its influence in preserving cultures and maintaining ethnic distinctiveness was one of the reasons why immigrant communities were able to maintain their cultural identity so successfully. As in Lutheran congregations, the local Catholic Church was the first symbol that signified the emergence and development of a vibrant immigrant community.

Religious conflict among various ethnic groups was virtually inevitable. Gjerde argued that immigrants were forced to forge religious communities to preserve their collective identity.¹³ The German–American Catholic community was perhaps more aggrieved than any other nationality. Much of the Catholic hierarchy in America was governed by clerics of Irish extraction. 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. 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.

In the 1880s German priests wrote to Rome 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 would only lead to disunity and fragmentation within the wider church body. Rome responded by legitimizing the practice of subsidiary churches, which was essentially the formation of national parishes to serve members of specific language groups. Ironically, that had little effect as the practice had previously been undertaken in the United States for decades. However, many of the controversies were academic in the context of the parishioner who continued in his devotion, for the most part unaware of the hierarchical

¹²Dolan, *The Irish Americans*, 116; Kenny, *American Irish*, 113.

¹³Jon Gjerde, “Conflict and Community as a Case Study of the Immigrant Church in the United States,” *Journal of Social History* 19 (1986): 681.

politics that prevailed. Because various ethnic groups believed that sharing religious amenities was a form of ‘forced Americanization’, the solace offered by a national parish, where the customs and traditions of the old country could be practiced without fear of contamination from external Americanizing forces seemed to suit both the immigrant community and the clerical hierarchy.¹⁴

Although the national parish benefited the linguistic aspirations of the German community, the Irish immigrant group also benefited from their establishment. 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, yet German parishes were slow to achieve that. Not only did German Catholics wish to be segregated from their Irish-Catholic or German-Lutheran counterparts, there were also instances of divisions within the wider German-American Catholic community. Those divisions emerged because of regional divisions in the homeland. One significant example was the parish of St Liborius in St Louis. St Liborius was formed in 1855 and 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 erected a church in honor of St Liborius, whose namesake was also the German bishop of Paderborn.¹⁵ The church served as the center of their national parish, and a vibrant community emerged around it. The initial churches were followed by a 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 organization of those churches was reflective of the traditions of the homeland.¹⁶

German church authorities, both Catholic and Lutheran, desired a further degree of separation from American society than that of their Irish brethren. That is not to imply that the Irish community integrated or assimilated more readily, but instead that there was an added linguistic

¹⁴Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 162.

¹⁵Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis: In Its Various Stages of Development from A.D. 1673 to A.D. 1928* (St Louis: Blackwell Wielandy, 1923), 197.

¹⁶Dolan, *The Immigrant Church*, 67.

incentive for the German community to remain exclusive. Ironically, the obvious religious fragmentation within the German immigrant group ultimately accelerated their assimilative process and was specifically exhibited by the development of each group's political culture.¹⁷ The Irish community were overwhelmingly Catholic and by extension politically united, representing a solid voting bloc which enabled them to have their influence noted, whereas the German community was so diverse in its religious allegiance that it was more difficult for them to influence the political culture at the same level.

In addition to Catholics, the German community also consisted of many Protestant sects and independent churches. Among those evident in the Midwest in the nineteenth century were Evangelical Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians.¹⁸ However, Lutheranism was by far the most prominent. Even within the Lutheran church itself, there were many sects, some of which were more liberal in their beliefs when compared with others that were known for their conservatism.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Lutheranism in America faced many challenges. Lack of unity, conservatism, a fear of Americanization, and an overwhelming desire to retain their cultural exclusivity were just some of the issues that warranted debate in popular Lutheran rhetoric. The shortage of ministers was also a concern which preoccupied church authorities in the early days of the Lutheran church in America.¹⁹ There were only six Lutheran theological seminaries, the largest of which was situated in St Louis. Those seminaries were complemented by five theological

¹⁷For more see: Neils-Conzen, "Immigrant Religion," 46.

¹⁸Audrey L. Olson, "St Louis Germans, 1850–1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and Its Relation to the Assimilation Process" (PhD diss. University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 1970), 117. She characterizes the Evangelicals as 'liberal in comparison to the Lutherans', who were the most conservative in their doctrinal beliefs and codes of conduct.

¹⁹From 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 that time, the Lutheran church consisted of approximately 200,000 communicants from various nationalities. See Edmund Jacob Wolf, *The Lutherans in America: A Story of Struggle, Progress, Influence and Marvellous Growth* (New York: J. A. Hill, 1890), 524.

colleges, of which most were located in the Midwest. Lutheranism in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Minnesota was particularly popular, yet by contrast it was not until 1885 that a Lutheran theological college was opened in New York.²⁰

THE FORMATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD

From the middle of the century onward, the Lutheran community in the Midwest began to take an active role in the development of the church.²¹ Many immigrants were reluctant to forgo their affiliation to the church, because that would effectively constitute their Americanization and subsequently the loss of their cultural distinctiveness. 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.²²

One of those independent synods was the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LC-MS) which was formed in St Paul's Lutheran Church in Chicago in April 1847. The formation of a governing organization such as that had many purposes, not least the acknowledgment 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. The proposal was propagated through the publication of Rev. C. F. W. Walther's newspaper, *Der Lutheraner*. Twelve pastors representing fourteen Midwestern congregations came together in 1847 and formed the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states. The synod was popularly known as the LC-MS and Rev. C. F. W. Walther, one of the pastors who had traveled as part of the Saxon immigration in 1839, became its first president.

The LC-MS was organized using a three-tier system. The bottom, most important tier consisted of 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

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Peterson, "From Bone Depth," 43.

²²By 1889, Wolf estimated that there were five individual synodical groupings. Of those, 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 2562 congregations and over 250,000 members by the end of the nineteenth century. Wolf, *The Lutherans in America*, 523.

a celebration of German-Lutherans' unity in the Midwest, it also became one of the primary mediums through which German-Lutherans were identified as a distinct cultural entity. The LC-MS had its own doctrinal beliefs and its cultural affiliations were clearly acknowledged.²³ Initially, the LC-MS adopted a particularly conservative stance and emphasized the importance of scripture, basing all its decisions on doctrinal beliefs. Despite its conservatism, the way in which LC-MS intended to preserve the language and German ethnic identity mirrored the familiarity of the old country, while simultaneously acknowledging that the parameters of that identity had changed.

To achieve its mission, the concept of a preaching and teaching station was developed and alongside the formation of the church or even sometimes before its establishment, a parochial school was formed. Although many Lutherans were not as antagonistic toward the Protestant ideology of the public school as their Catholic counterparts, attendance at public schools was nonetheless discouraged 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.

Unlike their Catholic contemporaries, the formation of a Lutheran community was most dynamic on the ground. Rarely did the LC-MS 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 that had been established, a pastor (provided there was one available) was assigned to their congregation to serve among them. That was not only a significant deviation from the Catholic ideology, but also from other Protestant factions in the United States.²⁴

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 LC-MS's newspaper *Der Lutheraner* 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 LC-MS's membership grew significantly in the years immediately succeeding its

²³Meyer, "Ethnicity," 180–97.

²⁴Mary Todd, *Authority Vested: A Story of Identity and Change in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 77.

formation. Yet, the continual shortage of Lutheran pastors was a recurring feature of Lutheran life in the Midwest. Consequently, the LC-MS adopted the use of colporteurship in a bid to make scriptures available to communities in the rural Midwest. However, the problem remained and there was a distinct shortage of Lutheran ministers and although some, were imported from the homeland, they were not fully able to bridge the gap. The Concordia Seminary was established by Rev. Wilhelm Sihler in Fort Wayne in the same year as the LC-MS was founded as a means of addressing the problem. The primary function of the 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 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, who began his ministry in 1842, and had 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 total, the institution was responsible for recruiting 235 men for the LC-MS.²⁵

‘CONSISTENT AND UNTIRING ACTION’²⁶

There is little doubt that the early accomplishments of the LC-MS were largely attributable to two men, namely Rev. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther in St Louis and his counterpart in Fort Wayne, Rev. Wilhelm Sihler. 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 emigrate to the United States to preach to immigrants in the Midwest.²⁷ When

²⁵“Friedrich Augustus Brunn,” in *Christian Cyclopedia*, ed. Erwin L. Lueker, Luther Poellot, and Paul Jackson, *Lutheran Church Missouri Synod*, accessed July 4, 2013, <http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=b&word=brunn.friedrichaugust>.

²⁶Elizabeth Sihler, “Dr Wilhelm Sihler—Memories,” 1832, Wilhelm Sihler Collection, 1801–1937, M-0019/1/36/2, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

²⁷C. F. W. Walther, Biographical Note, Carl Ferdin and Wilhelm Walther (1811–1887) Papers c.1828–1887, M-0004/1/1/3, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

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.²⁸ After initially sharing a church building with the Episcopal Christ Church on the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, in 1842 it was decided that the congregation should erect its own place of worship.²⁹ 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 constructed at Lafayette Ave which allowed the church to serve the community more comfortably.³⁰

When Otto Walther died in 1841, his brother C. F. W. was called from the settlement in Perry County and asked to serve as pastor at Trinity Lutheran Church. He agreed and attended the congregation there until his death in 1887. It was from there that he began to spread Lutheran ideals throughout Missouri and further afield. A vibrant community emerged around the church and it gradually 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. Because of those publications, Walther met like-minded Lutherans such as Friedrich Wyneken and Rev. Wilhelm Sihler who both served at St Paul's Lutheran Parish in Fort Wayne and it was in meeting those individuals that the process of establishing a synod to regulate Lutheran churches in the Midwest began.³¹

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, who subsequently became the second president of the LC-MS. In 1845, Wyneken recommended that Sihler 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

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 202.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Todd, *Authority Vested*, 75.

1801 in Bernstadt in Lower Silesia. He studied in Berlin and became an academic specializing in modern literature. Immigrating to New York in 1843, Sihler made his way to the Midwest serving as a pastor in the Ohio Synod at Columbus, Lancaster and Zanesville.³² 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.

In Fort Wayne, Sihler pursued a conservative form of Lutheranism which promoted 'the importance of ethnicity within the German community.'³³ 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.³⁴ However, his commitment to his congregation was unwavering 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 to preserve the cultural uniqueness of his congregation, a strong community infrastructure must be established. Community facilities, social enterprises, and networking systems were an integral feature of Sihler's pastorship in Fort Wayne. Like Trinity Lutheran Church in St Louis, St Paul's in Fort Wayne represented a place where a unique German-ness could be preserved. Customs, traditions, and most importantly, ethnicities, could be maintained there under the watchful eye of a close community, where conservation of the language was no doubt foremost in the subconsciousness of St Paul's congregation.³⁵

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. Originally, Concordia seminary was Wyneken's concept, although after his arrival in the city, Sihler continued the enterprise

³²Elizabeth Sihler, "Dr Wilhelm Sihler—Memories," 1832, Wilhelm Sihler Collection, 1801–1937, M-0019/1/36/2, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

³³Jim Sack, "The Germans," in *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700–2005*, ed. John Beatty and Phylis Robb (Fort Wayne: M.T. Publishing Company, 2005), 688.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵For more see: Giles Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 164.

with as much determination, although the institution gradually evolved into a Lutheran college responsible for the pedagogical training of young men.³⁶ Sihler's own sons attended the college and later served in the LC-MS. Wyneken had in the meantime traveled to Germany to recruit German ministers who would be willing to emigrate. Once those 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 years of preparation before being offered to congregations in the LC-MS as pastors and teachers.

‘THE IRISH GAVE ENTHUSIASM, THE GERMANS GAVE STABILITY’³⁷

In St Louis, German and Irish national parishes were easily identifiable. The Irish community were members of parishes like St Patrick's (1843), St Bridget of Erin's (1853), and St Lawrence O'Toole's (1855) which emphasized the strong connection between the immigrants and the homeland. Some German parishes were named after St Liborius (1855), Saints Peter and Paul (1848), and St Francis de Sales (1867) (see Map 4.1). St Liborius Church 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. Saints Peter and Paul's Parish, located in the heart of the Soulard district in the south of the city was only two streets away from Trinity Lutheran Church, emphasizing both the density and diversity of the German population in that part of the city.

The pastors in each of those Catholic 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 Saints Peter and Paul's in 1857 and remained there until his death in 1910.³⁸ The parish had been established in 1848 and was one of the largest German Catholic parishes founded in the city. Gollar's contribution to the parish was immense, prompting

³⁶Sack, "The Germans," 681.

³⁷Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, 49.

³⁸"Appointment card of Fr Franz Gollar," St Peter and Paul's Collection, RG7B/78/3/1, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

Rothensteiner to comment that ‘Fr Goller’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’.³⁹ By the time of Gollar’s death in 1910, the infrastructure that had been developed by him and his assistants was renowned among German Catholics in St Louis and Kargau noted that ‘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.’⁴⁰

Many of the Irish were members of parishes in the north of the city that fell within the boundaries of the Kerry Patch. St Patrick’s Parish was perhaps one of the first, being founded in 1843. Despite the efforts made by the Catholic Church in the Kerry Patch, not everyone was enamored 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 nativist sentiment. The fact that most of the Irish were Catholics in a Protestant land, made their places of worship vulnerable to attack. In 1852, the pastor, Fr James Henry of St Patrick’s, defended the church by calling together all the men and boys of the parish to help protect the church.⁴¹ 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, it possibly 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 that instance, both German and Irish parishioners rallied to defend their church, a rare example of German and Irish religious cooperation in that manner.⁴²

Fr Henry was not the only influential pastor at St Patrick’s. In 1898, Fr Timothy Dempsey, born in Cadamstown, Co. Offaly was appointed

³⁹ Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, 107.

⁴⁰ Kargau, *The German Element*, 205.

⁴¹ Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*

to the parish.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ He was also instrumental in securing a plot in Calvary Cemetery for destitute immigrants who could not afford to purchase land in the cemetery. That burial plot became known as the 'exile's rest' and was also where Fr Tim was buried upon his death in 1936.

As the Kerry Patch continued to expand, 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. One of the most popular priests in the Kerry Patch was Fr William Walsh, a native of Abington, Co. Limerick. Walsh was born in Abington in 1829 and was educated in the local school. In 1851, he approached his parish priest, Rev. John Maher, 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'.⁴⁵ Leaving Ireland later that year, Walsh arrived in America and made his way first to Chicago and later to St Louis where he completed his theological training. After his ordination on June 10, 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

⁴³"Commemoration Booklet of Old St Patrick's Picnic, June 18, 1938," Old St Patrick's Collection, RG4B/76/7/5, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁴⁴Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, 49.

⁴⁵Letter from Rev. John Maher to Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, October 21, 1851, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/3/2, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

recalled to St Louis where he became the fourth pastor of St Bridget of Erin's Parish in northern St Louis.⁴⁶

Both St Bridget of Erin and St Lawrence O'Toole's became central to the immigrant communities they served. Although Walsh's predecessor at St Bridget of Erin's, Fr Lillis, had gained a popular reputation for his work in aiding the wounded during the Camp Jackson Affair in 1861, he had accrued a debt of \$35,000 during the construction of St Bridget of Erin's Church.⁴⁷ However, after honoring the debt, Walsh proceeded to erect a parochial residence and two schools, one for boys and the other for girls, in the following years. These schools catered for a total of 700 students.⁴⁸ Like numerous other schools in St Louis, the girl's school was under the charge of the Sisters of St Joseph.

Although each community developed their own national parishes, there were also examples of cooperation between the two communities. In 1844, both German and Irish Catholics helped with the construction of St Joseph's Church.⁴⁹ Fr Thomas Bonacum represents another example of cooperation. In 1883, the Holy Name Parish was established by Bonacum, who was a native of Thurles, Co. Tipperary. He was born in 1847 and emigrated in infancy with his parents who settled in St Louis. 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 June 18, 1870 and served the people of the Holy Name Parish until 1887 when he was appointed as the first Bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska. Being bilingual, he celebrated religious services in both English and German, and as a result, the congregation was comprised of both German and Irish immigrants.

As all those 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 diocese. It was not until 1946 that a cleric of German heritage,

⁴⁶Parish history of St Bridget of Erin, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/4/2, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Newspaper extract from *St Louis Register*, undated, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/4/1, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin Parish Account of Parochial School, 1879, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/3/7, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁴⁹William B. Faherty, *The St Louis German Catholics* (St Louis: Reedy Press, 2004), 11.

Archbishop Joseph Ritter, was consecrated. Throughout that century, clerics of Irish descent were integral in both 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, 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 Germany brought with them skills which were immensely valuable to the Catholic Church. Rev. Patrick Donnolly 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 who was able to hear confessions in the Irish language. Other priests like Fr John O’Hanlon were instrumental in supporting immigrants and aiding in 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. An example is Fr Henry Muehlsiepen, editor of the *St Louis Pastoral-Blatt* and other spiritual publications for the archdiocese. German involvement was not limited to scholastic endeavours however, and Muehlsiepen was also heavily involved with the Knights of Columbus in the city.⁵⁰

The German clerics of Fort Wayne were equally as dedicated to their congregations as was Muehlsiepen and his counterparts in St Louis. Early German settlers in Fort Wayne attended 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 also worshiped. As more immigrants arrived in the city, part of the German congregation 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 \$1700 necessary to build a German church for German immigrants.⁵¹

⁵⁰Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, 223.

⁵¹History of St Mary’s Parish, Fort Wayne, St Mary’s Parish Collection, St Mary’s FW/1/6/2, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

As a result of the continued immigration to Fort Wayne, 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 clearly not ready to consider themselves American or even German–American. The spiritual and cultural life of the parish 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 built in 1853. In that 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.⁵²

Due to the continued growth of St Mary’s Parish, new churches were constructed in 1858, and later in 1886, at a cost of \$30,000 and \$75,000, respectively.⁵³ The construction of a new church in 1886 was necessitated after an explosion in the boiler room of the church which killed the boiler tender and a thirteen year old girl who was walking outside.⁵⁴ Having arrived in the parish in 1880, it was Fr Oechtering who was responsible for the construction of the third structure. Oechtering was born near Hannover in Germany in 1845 and was educated in seminaries at Münster and Louvain.⁵⁵ Upon his ordination in Belgium, Oechtering emigrated 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 many dramas.⁵⁶ Oechtering was also responsible for creating an extensive social

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴History of St Mary’s Parish, Fort Wayne, St Mary’s Parish Collection, St Mary’s FW/1/6/5, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁵⁵Appointment Card of Fr John Oechtering, Priests Collection, Fr Oechtering File, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁵⁶Ibid.

fabric for the community and oversaw the management of two schools and numerous social and cultural organizations within the parish.

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, the epicenter 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 1860.⁵⁷ His father was a baker by trade and came from Roscrea, Co. Tipperary. His mother was from Co. Cavan and had emigrated at the age of nineteen years.⁵⁸ Delaney had six siblings and 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.⁵⁹ Within two weeks of his ordination, Delaney was appointed as assistant pastor at the Cathedral of Immaculate Conception in Fort Wayne before being assigned to St Patrick's in 1889.⁶⁰

The arrival of the railroad and the employment opportunities that accompanied it led to a swiftly expanding Irishtown and by the 1890s, Bishop Dwenger realized the necessity of having an Irish national parish in the south of the city. Two plots of land were initially purchased to establish the church, one at Fairfield Ave and the other at DeWald and Harrison Sts. The latter site was eventually chosen and construction began of a church, school, academy, lyceum, and rectory complex ultimately costing \$510,000.⁶¹ Ground was broken in April 1890 and the cornerstone was laid on May 20, 1890. Recalling his first impressions of the site, Fr Delaney noted,

⁵⁷ Appointment Card of Fr Joseph Delaney, Priests collection, Fr Delaney File, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁵⁸ 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: The Indianapolis Sentinel Company, 1899), 221–22.

⁵⁹ Appointment Card of Fr Joseph Delaney, Priests collection, Fr Delaney File, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

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.⁶²

Within a decade, St Catherine's Academy had been built. It was named after Sr Mary Catherine McGrath and was essentially a four-year high school intended to prepare young women for adulthood. In its thirty-seven years of existence, the academy educated more than 650 young women predominantly of Irish descent, while St Patrick's School catered to the educative needs of young Irish boys.⁶³

'A PROTEST AGAINST AMERICAN EXCLUSIVITY'

A national 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 an ethnic community, it was soon followed by schools, hospitals, asylums, lyceums, libraries, and graveyards.⁶⁴ The organizational superstructure of religious bodies organized essential communal institutions because fledgling civic entities in the Midwest and West did not have sufficient resources, which was a direct comparison with the custom on the east coast.

Church bodies also relied on donations from generous philanthropists. John Mullanphy was one such benefactor in St Louis. Mullanphy was responsible for the establishment of St Louis' first hospital in 1828, which was 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

⁶² *St Catherine's Academy News*, January 1935, St Patrick's Parish Collection, St Patrick's FW, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁶³ Jean Suelzer Streicher, "St Patrick's Parish," in *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700–2005*, ed. John Beatty and Phylis Robb (Fort Wayne: M.T. Publishing Company, 2005), 200.

⁶⁴ Timothy Walch, "Catholic Social Institutions and Social Development: The View from Nineteenth Century Chicago and Milwaukee," *The Catholic Historical Review* 64 (1978): 16–17.

cover the travel expenses of the four Sisters of Charity who had agreed to manage the hospital.

On the morning of November 5, 1828, four nuns from the Sisters of Charity of St Joseph, an order established twenty years earlier in Emmetsburg, Maryland, arrived in St Louis and presented themselves 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. In 1831, the Sisters 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. By the 1840s, the arrival of more immigrants to the city required the hospital to modernize and in 1840, a large wing was erected overlooking Fourth St where provision was made for a chapel and patient rooms. The hospital remained at that site until 1874 when it relocated to a new location on Montgomery St, at which time it became officially known as Mullanphy Hospital.⁶⁵

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. The first hospital in Fort Wayne was established by the Catholic Church under the leadership of Bishop Luers and under the management of a German order of nuns known as the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ. Luers purchased a small hotel that had been previously known as Rockhill Place for \$20,000 in 1869.⁶⁶ Situated on the corner of Main and Broadway Sts, the hotel was remodeled as a twenty-room hospital and opened on May 9, 1869.⁶⁷

It was not only hospitals that the respective churches were influential in building. 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. St Vincent's was established in 1850 by a group of German-Americans with the goal of providing care

⁶⁵Walter Barlow Stevens, *St Louis: History of the Fourth City, 1763–1909* (St Louis: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), 493.

⁶⁶*Indiana Gazette*, April 25, 1982.

⁶⁷Joseph M. White, *Worthy of the Gospel of Christ: A History of the Catholic Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend* (Fort Wayne: Our Sunday Visitor, 2007), 112.

to orphans of German descent, many of whom had lost their parents because of the cholera epidemic of 1849.⁶⁸ The project, largely financed by John Mullanphy, was under the auspices of the German St Vincent Orphanage Society. After the first year, a new wing had to be built, increasing the capacity to 100 children. A distinction between full orphan and half orphan was gradually made and children from both categories were accepted to the home. In some cases, the orphanage rehomed the children if a suitable home could be found and where the language and culture could be preserved. A condition of a child's departing the orphanage was that he or she went to a German speaking family and attended a Catholic school.⁶⁹

The Sisters of St Joseph were a German-speaking order and were one of the greatest benefactors to the orphanage. They presided over the school attached to the orphanage and instructed the children in German (until German-speaking nuns within the order significantly decreased). The home was initially funded by charitable donations from the German community in St Louis, but later donations came from the wider St Louis community. The children also participated in fairs and festivals throughout the year which 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 to raise funds. Although the archdiocese did not provide any funding for the orphanage, biannual collections were taken at German churches in aid of the orphanage.

'A BASEMENT OPERATION IN A CITY CHURCH'⁷⁰

Even though immigrant churches were integral in creating social infrastructures for their communities, there is little doubt that the most significant constructions were the parochial schools. The concept of the parochial school originated in Europe and migrated with the immigrants over the course of the nineteenth century. In each of the Catholic parishes discussed here, a parochial school accompanied the church and its role in preserving the ethnic image of the migrant group was significant (see Table 7.1).

⁶⁸Regina Faden, "The German St Vincent Orphan Home: The Institution and its Role in the German Immigrant Community of St Louis, 1850–1960" (PhD thesis, St Louis University, 2000), 139.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Dolan, *American Catholics*, 251.

Table 7.1 Number of pupils enrolled in Catholic parochial schools in St Louis and Fort Wayne 1890–1895

<i>Parochial school</i>	<i>No. of boys</i>	<i>No. of girls</i>	<i>Teaching order</i>
St Louis (1892–1895)			
St Lawrence O’Toole’s ^a	200	250	Sisters of St Joseph/Christian Brothers
SS Peter and Paul’s ^b	640	630	School Sisters of Notre Dame
St Francis de Sales’ ^c	358	284	Order of Divine Providence
St Bridget of Erin’s ^d	835		Sisters of St Joseph/Christian Brothers
St Patrick’s ^e	330		Sisters of St Joseph/Christian Brothers
Fort Wayne (1890)			
St Mary’s ^f	283	238	School Sisters of Notre Dame
St Patrick’s ^g	104		Sisters of Providence

^aChurch 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)

^bChurch 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)

^cChurch Census of St Francis de Sales Parish, 1892 (Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, St Francis de Sales collection, RG4B/50/3/1)

^dSchool enrollment of St Bridget of Erin Parish, St Louis 1895 in Hoffman & Co., *Hoffman’s Catholic directory, almanac and clergy list* (Milwaukee, WI, 1895), 72

^eSchool enrollment of St Patrick’s Parish, St Louis, 1895 in *Ibid.*, 79

^fAnkenbruck and Lee, *St Mary’s Catholic Church*, 37

^g*St Catherine’s Academy News*, January 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 that 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 initially used while the school structure itself was constructed.⁷¹ After the first school structure was completed in 1859, the enrollment consisted of 200 girls and 100 boys. The number of German–American Catholic children attending the parochial school had risen to 700 within four years of its establishment.⁷² SS Peter and Paul’s was not unique. In Fort Wayne a

⁷¹Centennial booklet of SS Peter and Paul’s Parish, SS Peter and Paul’s Collection, RG7B/78/5/5, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁷²*Ibid.*

similar situation arose at 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 and was followed six years later by the establishment of St Catherine's Academy for girls. Fr Delaney recalled 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'.⁷³

While those schools undoubtedly bolstered the religious presence in immigrant neighborhoods, they were also costly endeavors. The parochial schools at St Bridget of Erin's were \$8851.84 in debt in 1872.⁷⁴ While part of this debt was attributable to the original debt accrued by Fr Lillis a decade earlier, annual expenses such as school books, gas, fuel, and janitorial expenses meant that the parish was forced to organize fundraising festivals in April and October. In 1872, those festivals raised over \$4200 for the school.⁷⁵ The school children would sing or perform short plays at the festivals and benefactors donated accordingly. Aside from fundraising, parochial school incomes were also dependant on donations from other Catholic organizations and 'loans from sundry persons'.⁷⁶

Parochial schools reinforced the continued preservation of the ethnic identity and particularly in the case of German-speaking schools, they prolonged the process of Americanization. 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 promotion of its values during the most formative period of an individual's life. However, although that strengthened both the churches and the immigrant communities they served, it resulted in accusations of immigrants rejecting American norms.⁷⁷

⁷³ *St Catherine's Academy News*, January 1935, St Patrick's Parish Collection, St Patrick's FW, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁷⁴ Annual Statement of the Temporal Affairs of St Bridget's Church and Parochial School, 1872, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/3/1, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Dolan, *American Catholics*, 251; Kenny, *American Irish*, 115.

‘THE LYNCHPIN TO ETHNIC IDENTITY’⁷⁸

Although nativists were irritated by the existence of these culturally exclusive communities, the reality was that the church provided all the emotional, ecumenical, cultural, 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 activities associated with the church that vital cultural preservation could be implemented. St Mary’s in Fort Wayne is perhaps one of the finest examples of how the immigrant church created an extensive social fabric that catered to the immigrants’ social needs (see Table 7.2). One of the most popular organizations in St Mary’s was the Charles Borromeo Mutual Benefit Society. The society was established in 1860 by Henry Pranger. He sought to organize an association which would take care of the sick, bury the dead, and take care of widows and orphans. Upon its configuration, the society had forty members and collected dues totaling twenty-eight dollars.⁷⁹ By the time of its golden jubilee in 1910, the organization had grown to include 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 per month. 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 out over \$50,000 in sick benefits and over \$12,000 of ‘widow money’.⁸⁰

Clubs and societies for young people and married women were also prominent at St Mary’s in Fort Wayne. The Altar Society and the Holy Rosary Society catered to the social needs of married women, while the St Stanislaus Society and Children of Mary Society were made available to young boys and girls up to their sixteenth birthday, respectively.⁸¹ The social life within the parish was integral to the preservation of a German

⁷⁸Peterson, “From Bone Depth,” 49.

⁷⁹*Golden Jubilee Booklet—St Carolous Barromaeus Unterschutungs Verein von St Mary’s Church, 1860–1910*, St Mary’s Church Collection, St Mary’s FW, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹John Ankenbruck and Colleen Lee, *St Mary’s Catholic Church: Dedicated to Mary, Mother of God, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 150 Years, 1848–1998* (Fort Wayne: St Mary’s Parish, 1998), 30–31.

Table 7.2 Sample organizations of selected Catholic parishes in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850–1900^a

<i>Church</i>	<i>Sample organizations</i>
St Louis	
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, Purgatorian 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
Fort Wayne	
Mutter Gottes (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 Ancient Order of Hibernians

^aList of organizations of St Francis de Sales Parish in *Diamond Jubilee Booklet—St Francis de Sales, 1867–1942*, St Francis de Sales Collection, RG4B/50/5/11, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis; The Principal Rules of St Bridget's Church, undated, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/4/1, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis; Ankenbruck and Lee, *St Mary's Catholic Church*, 30–31; and List of church societies of St Patrick's Church Fort Wayne in *Official Guide Book St Patrick's Church, 1904*, St Patrick's Collection, St Patrick's FW/2/2/1, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne

cultural identity, and while the primary function of them 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, which later became known as St Patrick's Benefit Association. Like the St Charles Borromeo Society, its primary function was to provide fellowship and aid when the association met regularly at Library Hall.

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 organizations (see Table 7.2). Like the German community, most 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 gates of Heaven to them’.⁸² The society was open to both men and women, however, it required an annual membership fee of \$1.25 so that members would be ‘entitled to all the advantages of the society’.⁸³

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 organizations are just some examples of the array of social activities that developed around the communal life of the church. Fraternities such as the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of America were also popular. Immigrants had the opportunity of meeting members of other branches associated with neighboring churches at regular intervals. The Catholic Knights of America was a fraternal society organized by an Irish-American from Nashville, Tennessee. A branch of the organization was established in St Patrick’s Parish in St Louis in 1879, becoming the first parish in Missouri to establish a division of the organization. After that initial branch was formed, many more parishes began taking an active interest, although it was primarily German parishes that instigated the establishment of a branch of the Knights. Fraternal in nature, the Catholic Knights was a multi-national organization that encouraged vocations, organized spiritual outings and cultural activities, and offered insurance plans to members.

The communal life which surrounded German churches, both Lutheran and Catholic, was termed *Vereinswesen*. The type of *Vereinswesen* available to immigrants was like that organized by Irish parishes. Devotional societies, fraternities, mutual aid, and charitable organizations were also a feature of German communal life for both Catholic and Lutheran immigrants. The Ladies Aid Society was established in Fort

⁸²St Bridget’s Purgatorian Society Membership Certificate, 1869, St Bridget of Erin Collection, RG4B/41/6/2, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁸³Ibid.

Wayne at St Paul's Lutheran Church and although primarily a social organization, its practical function was to sew vestments for Lutheran seminarians at the Concordia College in Fort Wayne. The German Catholic Union or *Central-Verein* was established in St Louis for the Catholic community and organized activities and outings for its members. In 1846, the German Catholic Benevolent Society was formed and the organization made its first public appearance at the cornerstone ceremony for SS Peter and Paul's Church.⁸⁴ Other church operated organizations were not necessarily associated with social traditions. Some of those groups promoted intellectual and artistic enrichment, sports, drama societies, and altar societies. However, the importance of solidarities and brotherhoods within the Catholic parish was unquestionable.

CONCLUSION

The role of the immigrant church in the second half of the nineteenth century is virtually impossible to measure. The immigrant church was the 'lynchpin' of ethnic identity, but 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 immigrant communities. It was integral in forming communal infrastructures and social networks, and provided a haven where the most exclusive elements of immigrant culture could be fostered and preserved.

The immigrant church was particularly beneficial for the German immigrant community. Because division and fragmentation were salient characteristics of the German immigrant experience, an immigrant who could identify with a Catholic parish or Lutheran congregation was able to experience the solidarity that was 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. The immigrants there were also able to replicate the familiarity of the homeland, and because the group 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 whole German immigrant group. Compared with the Irish immigrant group, where most conformed to

⁸⁴Faherty, *St Louis German Catholics*, 15.

the Catholic ideology, 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.

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, but 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 characterized immigrant America.



CHAPTER 8

From Discrimination to Domination: Immigrant Political Participation

INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that German and Irish involvement in American political affairs was both influential and substantial. The influx of immigrants from the middle of the nineteenth century onward propelled the emergence of politically mobilized immigrant groups which gradually led not only to their acceptance as valued American citizens, but also to the consolidation of their ethnic identity. Religion also played an important part in nineteenth-century immigrant politics. Irish-Catholics, German-Catholics, and German-Lutherans initially voted a straight Democratic ticket; each group mobilized their communities, dominated local politics, and rejected the nativist attitudes of the Know-Nothing movement. Immigrant involvement in American politics was necessary on many levels. First, political participation ensured communal preservation. Second, engagement in the political process facilitated the acculturation and assimilation of immigrants. Third, political involvement promoted a sense of democratic independence that complimented the ideals of American political ideology, while simultaneously enabled the immigrant community to remain culturally distinct.

Both German and Irish immigrants were politically active although the Irish community, and to an extent their German counterparts,

identified the realms of religion and politics as interlinked if not almost analogous.¹ However, although both German-Catholics and German-Lutherans were influenced by the political predilections of their churches, the political exiles of 1848 were not. That politico-religious amalgamation was perhaps best exhibited by the devotion of Irish immigrants to the Democratic Party, an affiliation supported, if not advocated, by their religious leaders. Churches provided already organized groups as well as dominant leaders who could influence their congregations. Traditionally, theological beliefs, whether pietistic or liturgical essentially determined which side of the political spectrum an immigrant gravitated toward. Jensen and Bergquist, among others, examined that gravitation and suggested 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.²

Kamphoefner argued 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.’³ However, many of the earlier immigrants could not identify with that ‘crusade’ which resulted in the first of many political fragmentations within the German community. Those 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.⁴ Many working-class German immigrants, particularly Catholic immigrants, who arrived after 1850 also subscribed to the Democratic Party, primarily because of its pro-immigrant

¹William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Fordham: Fordham University Press, 1998), 16–17. See also Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 58.

²Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest*, 82; and James M. Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820–1870* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Co., 2008), 229.

³Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 2.

⁴Bergquist, *Daily Life*, 229.

orientation. As the century progressed, the party political antagonisms within the German immigrant community became more apparent.⁵ Many Germans were impressed by Lincoln's efforts to learn German and the Republican Party slowly gained popularity among the wider German community. Membership of the Republican Party increased to such an extent in St Louis that it was one of Lincoln's two strongholds in the state in 1860. Membership of the party increased, partially because of the way in which the Republican Party developed in the city immediately prior to the Civil War. The Republican Party was viewed in St Louis 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, that perception eased partisan transitions and resulted in many of St Louis' German community joining the Republican Party.⁶

There was a defined political division in the partisan allegiance of German émigrés in the eastern and Midwestern states. Germans in states such as Wisconsin, Iowa, and Indiana as well as in cities such as New York, Hoboken, and Philadelphia retained large a Democratic membership. Arguably, because of the geographical location of those states, Germans there could perhaps not as readily identify with the slavery question as well as Germans in Missouri who were predominantly Republican and felt strongly on the issue given their 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. 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.⁷

In contrast, while the Irish political vote grew and matured, the majority adhered to the Democratic Party, as promoted by the Catholic

⁵Writing of the German community in South Bend, Indiana, Robinson argued that although many German immigrants pledged their allegiance to the Democratic Party prior to 1850, prominent German immigrants such as Carl Schurz, were influential in changing that trend among the German émigrés. For more see: Gabrielle Robinson, *German Settlers of South Bend* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 72.

⁶Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 4–5.

⁷Burton, *Melting Pot*, 18.

Church. Therefore, ethnic unity did not falter as in the case of the Germans, but rather strengthened as a result. The Irish vote was the most unified ethnic vote in America during the nineteenth century. The two primary reasons for that were economic and religious. The political education received by Irish immigrants in their 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 later during the Land Wars of the 1870s and 1880s, Irish immigrants were frequently both politicized and radicalized before their arrival in the United States. They brought with them a range of organizational and logistical skills which enabled them to advance within the American political system relatively quickly and effectively, particularly at ward and local level. Those traits were also suited to the manipulation of the political machine.⁸ 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. The composition of the machine was strikingly like the organizational structure of the Catholic Church. Beginning at block level, it organized partisan politics at precinct, ward, and ultimately, city and state level. The political machine at Tammany Hall in New York is perhaps the most effective example; but in other cities throughout the Midwest and West, specifically Chicago and San Francisco and to a lesser extent St Louis, political machines were how the Irish immigrant community rose to prominence. Stein records that in St Louis, the 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.⁹ Hence, Irish political tactics contrasted significantly with those of their German counterparts. Although many German liberals had been radicalized before emigration, the average working-class immigrant was not as politically astute as their Irish counterpart.¹⁰ Therefore, while the Irish arrived with an understanding of the effectiveness of mass politics, the German immigrant group did not fully appreciate its value.

⁸Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York, Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 137.

⁹Lana Stein, *St Louis Politics: The Triumph of Tradition* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2002), 5.

¹⁰Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 2.

NATIVISM AND THE KNOW-NOTHINGS

From the 1830s through the 1850s, the sudden increase in immigrant populations led to the emergence of nativist attitudes and immigrants were subjected to taunts and attacks by native-born xenophobes. So popular were those attitudes that anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant groups were formed. One of the most popular was the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, which became popularly known as the Know-Nothing Party, or, in official circles, as the American Party.¹¹ The Know-Nothing Party aimed to curtail immigrant involvement in politics by promoting a nativist ideology which limited the political influence of immigrants. Simultaneously, they also sought to reinforce republican values and curb immigration and naturalization practices.

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 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-Nothing-ism in its harshest form. The Irish, characterized as depraved, uncivilized, and uncouth, presented a far greater challenge to the American ideal of wholesomeness than their comparatively well-educated, diligent, and productive counterparts from the German states.¹² Many nativists including Lyman Beecher were concerned about increasing Catholic influences, particularly at a time when the prospect of westward expansion offered nativists the opportunity to recreate a society in the West that was being compromised by immigration in the East. Beecher commented that '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.'¹³

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

¹¹Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 104–106.

¹²For more see: Burton, *Melting Pot*, 23; Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 116.

¹³Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1835), 116.

anti-foreigner newspaper. As was the norm all over America, the Know-Nothings in St Louis aligned themselves closely with the Whig party which dominated local politics until the end of the 1840s. Despite that, 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. That historic Democratic victory was short lived however, as he was replaced the following year by John Wimer, an emancipationist.¹⁴

Rioting had become a feature of nativist activity during the 1840s and beyond. A Know-Nothing riot had broken out at St Patrick's Church in St Louis in 1852, but it was in 1854 that the city saw significant civil unrest. On August 7, 1854, a riot broke out during the city's municipal elections. Because of nativist dominance in city governance, many immigrants were disqualified from voting on the grounds of their foreign birth. Tensions rose throughout the city resulting in the death of a young boy. That signaled the beginning of two days of rioting and an extended period of civil unrest. Irish homes, groceries, and drinking houses were attacked and rumors abounded about possible attacks on St Patrick's (Irish) and St Francis Xavier's (German) Churches. Those rumors were false, although the incident did result in inter-ethnic cooperation between German and Irish Catholics in the city.¹⁵ By the time the riot ended two days later, six lives had been lost and thousands of dollars of damages to homes and businesses had culminated. To quell the rioting, many of the city's militia units including the St Louis Greys (Irish), the Pioneer Corps (German), and the Washington Guards (Irish) were required to join the police force in a bid to restore law and order. Soon after the riot, the Shamrock Society was established. It was a benevolent organization whose stated purpose was to aid those whose property had been damaged in the riots.

News of the riot spread across 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

¹⁴Ellen M. Dolan, *The St Louis Irish* (St Louis: Old St Patrick's, 1967), 26. See also George Maguire, St Louis Mayors Exhibition, *St Louis Public Library*, accessed May 19, 2013, <http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/default.asp>.

¹⁵Dolan, *St Louis Irish*, 27.

was under the control of the mob.’¹⁶ 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.’¹⁷ However, it was perhaps *The Jeffersonian* newspaper of Stoudsburg, Pennsylvania that captured the effects of the riot most succinctly by 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 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.¹⁸

Further north in Fort Wayne, despite its smaller size, nativism also emerged as a political force during that time. Writing about the poorer Irish in the *Fort Wayne Times* in 1855, the editor, John Dawson commented that ‘This is the class of men, who in warm weather live by little exertion & 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.’¹⁹ In that sense, the Irish, not only as foreigners, but also perhaps more importantly as Catholics, experienced much nativist criticism.

As the 1850s progressed, the Know-Nothing party gradually began to decline, primarily due to a split in the party over slavery. 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. Although it did enjoy electoral success in some Midwestern states, when the debate about slavery began to dominate the political arena, the Know-Nothing party were

¹⁶ *The Perrysburg Journal*, August 19, 1854.

¹⁷ *Daily Evening Star*, August 16, 1854.

¹⁸ *The Jeffersonian*, August 31, 1854.

¹⁹ *Fort Wayne Times*, January 11, 1855.

indecisive.²⁰ That, 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-Nothing-ism was strong, members of the German community formed their own secret society which became known as *Sag Nicht* [say nothing]. That collective movement aimed to oppose the Know-Nothing party, and although not a particularly influential association, it did nonetheless stifle the existence of the Know-Nothing movement in the Midwest.²¹

CIVIL WAR

The Civil War divided German and Irish immigrants just as it divided their native-born contemporaries. Geographical settlement was an integral component in determining immigrants' attitudes regarding the war. Bruce maintains that 'approximately 144,000 Irish-Americans filled the ranks of the Union army', while Burton suggests that an additional 200,000 German-Americans fought for the Blues as well.²² 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 respected American citizens. Although many of the Irish remained loyal to the political struggle in the homeland, they 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 and 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

²⁰Jenifer C. Steinhardt, "Formation of a New Identity: German-American Response to the Know-Nothing Movement in Cincinnati" (Master's thesis, Simmons College, Boston, 2001), 87.

²¹David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 143.

²²Burton, *Melting Pot*, 110; Susannah Ural Bruce, "Remember Your Country and Keep Up Its Credit: Irish Volunteers and the Union Army," *The Journal of Military History* 69, no. 2 (2005): 332; and John Whiteclay Chambers, *To Raise an Army* (New York, Free Press, 1987), 54.

immigrant involvement in the war, and the determination of both communities to prove their allegiance to their new homeland, the strength of Union forces would not have been as significant. In a report to the Sanitary Commission in 1869, Gould recorded that 144,211 Irish-born immigrants and 176,817 of their German counterparts fought for the Union army. Furthermore, those numbers excluded generational members of each community and so in truth, immigrant involvement in the war was significantly higher. Aside from native-born Americans, those 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.²³ After the war, both German and Irish immigrants were more readily accepted within the host society. That was particularly evident in Fort Wayne when considering the level of political involvement by the German community in the city in the decades after the Civil War. The acceptability of the German community in St Louis was also 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. 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 it was not acknowledged in the public sphere to the same degree as it was on the east coast or in other industrialized cities such as 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 entire population of St Louis.

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. The realization that if slavery was abolished, the Irish and the newly freed slaves would be competing for the same employment opportunities had far more striking consequences for the Irish in St Louis than in Fort Wayne, Chicago, or even New York. While that was one of the reasons why a certain portion of the St Louis Irish decided to fight for the Confederacy, their allegiance to the South may also have been because of the Camp Jackson Affair.

²³B. A. Gould, *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), 27.

The St Louis arsenal was one of most strategic repositories in the Midwest, therefore both sides wanted to acquire its bounty for their cause.²⁴ In May 1861, militia troops, including the St Louis Greys, met at Camp Jackson to practice maneuvers. Unionist Captain Nathaniel Lyon became suspicious that the pro-Confederate militia had set their sights on the arsenal to further the southern cause. His suspicions were confirmed during a disguised visit to the camp which was open to the public during the daytime. Subsequently, on May 10th, Lyon led 6000 men into the arsenal and apprehended the 600-strong militia. As the men were marched through the streets, large crowds gathered and rioting commenced. Many innocent bystanders were wounded and some were 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 volunteer 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. Those events however, convinced some Irish men in the St Louis Greys to join the Confederate side and they formed part of the First Missouri Infantry of the Confederate States Army (CSA).

One Irishman who joined this regiment in the aftermath of the Camp Jackson Affair was Joseph Boyce, who was a volunteer member of the St Louis Greys since the age of seventeen years. Boyce was promoted to a full captain of D Company of the First Missouri Infantry CSA. In a letter to Captain Smith in 1864 written at the regiment headquarters in Mobile, Alabama, Boyce reported on the condition of the soldiers 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'.²⁵ Boyce became a tobacco manufacturer and realtor after the war. Forty years later, Boyce, who at that time was a highly respected businessman and war veteran in St Louis, was elected as a member

²⁴Covington noted 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'. James W. Covington, "The Camp Jackson Affair, 1861," *Missouri Historical Review* 55 (1961): 198.

²⁵Letter from Joseph Boyce to Capt Smith, January 18, 1864. Joseph Boyce Collection, 1844–1913, A0161/1/2, f. 34, Missouri History Museum, St Louis.

of the city council during the World Fair.²⁶ 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.²⁷ By contrast, a proportionally smaller number of Germans fought for the Confederacy than for the Union, emphasizing perhaps that the majority of Germans lived in, and fought for, the Union States.²⁸

Many of the Irish who fought for the Union joined the First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and significantly, that was the only regiment of the first four Missouri Volunteer regiments not overwhelmingly dominated by Germans. In the First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, the Irish could be found in Companies K and I, under Capt. Patrick E. Burke and Capt. Miller and first Lieutenant David Murphy, respectively.²⁹ The Seventh Missouri Infantry regiment became known as the ‘Irish Seventh’ given the substantial number of Irishmen that joined the regiment. Many Irish immigrants became officers in the Seventh with names like Curley, Coffee, Sullivan, and O’Mara being recorded for them.³⁰ This was the only regiment from St Louis that exhibited an Irish majority. Many of St Louis’ Irish had previously joined volunteer militia such as the Washington Guards, and the Emmet and Montgomery Guards. Therefore, when war was declared, many of those militia organized into formal companies.

There were also many ethnically German regiments in St Louis.³¹ There was a considerable number of Germans in the First through Fourth Missouri Volunteer Infantry regiments. As Kamphoenfer and Helbich noted, ‘Missouri Germans, the strongest Republican supporters, also had far and above the highest level of Union army participation.

²⁶Civil War record for Joseph Boyce, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 13, 2012, www.ancestry.com/.

²⁷Extract from *St Louis Globe Democrat*, undated, Joseph Boyce Collection, 1844–1913, A0161/1/2, f. 34, Missouri History Museum, St Louis.

²⁸Kamphoenfer and Helbich noted that there were 70,000 Germans in the eleven confederate states. However, nearly 20,000 of them resided in New Orleans, which was in Union hands from May 1862 onward. For more see: Kamphoenfer and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 2.

²⁹William Barnaby Faherty, *The St Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2001), 73.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 75.

³¹Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbring, *German Settlement in Missouri: New Land Old Ways* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1996), 69.

Though sixth in the size of its German population, Missouri was second only to New York in the number of German troops it furnished.³²

There were 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 September 29, 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.'³³ For many German immigrants, fighting in the Civil War had an economic significance as well as the implementation of political ideals. While remuneration also attracted Irish recruits, enlisting in a Civil War regiment enabled many to gain military experience for Ireland's political cause at home, a motivation embraced by many soldiers of Irish descent.³⁴

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'.³⁵

Peter P. 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 was recorded in the 1860 US Federal Census as being a teacher.³⁶

³²Kamphoefner and Helbich, *Germans in the Civil War*, 8.

³³Letter from Henry Kuck to his wife Metta, September 29, 1862. Henry Kuck Letters, 1861–1865, S0242/1/1/1. State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL.

³⁴Ural Bruce, "Remember Your Country," 336.

³⁵*Indianapolis Journal*, September 30, 1861.

³⁶1860 US Federal Census record for Peter P. Bailey and family, 1860 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, whole city, 124, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 11, 2012 www.ancestry.com/.

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.³⁷ On August 27, 1861, at the age of forty-nine years, 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 September 24th and immediately set out for Camp Nevin in Kentucky. They 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 that battle, Bailey was mustered out of the army. The official record of the battle submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Orrin D. Hurd of the Thirtieth Regiment stated that 108 men were wounded and an additional thirty were mortally wounded. The official account submitted by Hurd recalls how on December 31, 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’.³⁸ Bailey served in Company S of the Thirtieth Regiment until he was mustered out with a ‘disability’ on January 28, 1863 having fought in the Union army for seventeen months.³⁹ In an article published in the *Fort Wayne News* in 1899, Bailey was recorded as being a brave leader and strategic quartermaster who could assume a ‘pompous and dignified manner’ when negotiating with the enemy.⁴⁰ After the war, Bailey returned to Fort Wayne and became a judge. He died on January 26, 1899 and was buried in

³⁷Trinity Episcopal Church, 611 West Berry St., *WestCentralNeighbourhood.org*, accessed June 11, 2012, <http://www.westcentralneighborhood.org/hg-tour/tours-archive/2008-tour/611wberry>.

³⁸Lieut Col Orrin D. Hurd, Official Record of the Stones River Campaign, xx (Chapter 32), 329–33, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 13, 2012, www.ancestry.com/.

³⁹Civil War record for Peter P. Bailey, *Indiana State Archives*, accessed June 11, 2012, <http://www.indianadigitalarchives.org/ViewRecord.aspx?RID=CF1C72BB3020C6383FFD5935B704E6B0>.

⁴⁰*Fort Wayne News*, April 15, 1899.

Lindenwood cemetery.⁴¹ By April 1899, 232 Civil War veterans were buried there.⁴² Bailey's involvement in the Civil War was typical of many members of the Irish immigrant community who volunteered to fight for the Union. Significantly, in becoming involved in the war, Irish immigrants had shown that their allegiance between church and state was interchangeable and that undoubtedly made them more acceptable to the more critical members of the host community.

The Germans of Fort Wayne were equally as dedicated to the cause of the Union. 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. Sihler's conservatism ensured that he adopted a strongly pro-slavery stance advocating its biblical merits, and because of that, many of the German-Lutherans in Fort Wayne were divided.⁴³ 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 March 19, 1864 and served in Company A until being mustered out on November 25, 1865. Likewise, Sion Bass from the prominent Bass family in Fort Wayne joined the war effort on October 4, 1861 and was ranked as Colonel. However, Bass died seven months later from injuries sustained at the Battle of Paducah in Kentucky.⁴⁴

LOCAL POLITICS—PATRONAGE AND SPOILS

Following the Civil War, many of the older immigrant communities became more politically engaged. Added to that was the continuing inward flow of immigrants which bolstered the political strength of the ethnic vote. The secret to political triumph ultimately lay in ethnic unity,

⁴¹Civil War record for Peter P. Bailey, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 11, 2012 www.ancestry.com/.

⁴²*Fort Wayne News*, April 15, 1899.

⁴³Giles Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 161.

⁴⁴Civil War record for John Ake, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 11, 2012, www.ancestry.com/. Civil War record for Sion Bass, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 11, 2012, www.ancestry.com/. See also Charles R. Poinsette, *Fort Wayne During the Canal Era, 1828–1855* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1969).

which explains both the political success of the Irish community and the corresponding political asphyxiation of their German counterparts. Immigrant involvement in local political affairs was a significant component in the integration, acculturation, and assimilation processes. It provided communal security for the members of both groups, although perhaps paradoxically it also led to a heightened sense of ethnic awareness. That 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.⁴⁵ Thus, naturalization became the only obstacle prohibiting immigrants from exercising their democratic right. In Indiana, naturalized immigrants could also vote without restriction and in 1851 the state also conferred specific voting rights on non-citizen immigrants. During the Democrat-controlled state convention of 1850–1851, the *Indiana State Constitution of 1851* was adopted which ensured that voting requirements for aliens were eased. Article Two Sections Two and Five stated that non-naturalized immigrants could vote once they fulfilled certain criteria. The constitution declared that,

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.⁴⁶

For many immigrants, obtaining and exercising the right to vote in that manner was a significant accomplishment, which not only emphasized the democratic ideals of their new homeland, but also personified the

⁴⁵Article 2, Section 10, *Missouri Constitution of 1820*.

⁴⁶Article 2, Sections 2 and 5, *State Constitution of Indiana, 1851*.

evolution of the American political landscape during the second half of the nineteenth century.

ZEPPE 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 commented 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’.⁴⁷ From 1850 to 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 names like Holmes, McKenna, and O’Brien represented the traditionally Irish wards in the city from 1850 to 1870. Similarly, areas of German settlement were also represented by members of that ethnic group, Blennerhasset, Cratz, and Kriekhaus being just some examples.⁴⁸ That 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.⁴⁹

While city governance and local representation might have been goals for some immigrants, others like Louis Zepp, played supplementary roles in the political process. Zepp was the proprietor of a saloon located at 3407 Carondelet Ave in the south of the city.⁵⁰ The saloon had, as Kargau recalled, ‘a large room for ward meetings on the second storey’.⁵¹ Born in Bavaria, Zepp was an ardent supporter of the

⁴⁷Stein, *St Louis Politics*, 5.

⁴⁸List of city representatives in the following publications, Green & Co., *Green’s St Louis Directory, 1850* (St Louis: Green & Co., 1850), xx; Kennedy & Co., *Kennedy’s City Directory of St Louis, 1860* (St Louis: Kennedy & Co., 1860), 2; and Edwards & Co., *Edwards’ City Directory of St Louis, 1870* (St Louis: Edwards and Co., 1870), 45–46.

⁴⁹City officers for St Louis, 1900 in Gauld & Co., *Gauld’s St Louis Directory for 1900* (St Louis: Gauld & Co., 1900), 2439.

⁵⁰1880 US Federal Census record for Louis Zepp and family, 1880 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, ward 11, ED 205,12, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 14, 2012, www.ancestry.com/.

⁵¹Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don H. Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 141.

Republican Party and like many other neighborhoods, his saloon was a central establishment where deals were done and votes were secured and in many ways, it became the base of the local political machine. 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.⁵² By that time, Louis' two sons, Louis Jr. and Martin, had both become city clerks; Louis Jr. at the City Circuit Court office and Martin at the City Treasurer's Office, which is further confirmation of the efficiency of the local political machine.⁵³

While the representation of immigrant groups at the 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, the political influence of the German community in Fort Wayne was undeniable. That was attributable to two factors. First, the political influence of the German immigrant group, particularly when compared with their Irish counterparts, seems to be a natural consequence of their demographic dominance in the city, even allowing for the disjointed political unity characteristic of the German immigrant group. Second, given the smaller Irish population in Fort Wayne, it is likely that their assimilation occurred more rapidly than it did for their German contemporaries which 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 that period, 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.⁵⁴ Frank B. Vogel, a merchant tailor in Fort Wayne, was recorded as being the president of the Fort Wayne *Turnverein* in 1870.

⁵²Death Record for Louis Zepp, April 4, 1885, Missouri Death Records, 1834–1910, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 14, 2012, www.ancestry.com/.

⁵³1900 US Federal Census record for Mary Zepp and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, Ward 7, ED 110, 13, *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 14, 2012, www.ancestry.com/. 1900 US Federal Census record for Louis Zepp (Jr.) and family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent City), MO, Ward 6, ED 95, 8 *Ancestry.com*, accessed June 14, 2012, www.ancestry.com/.

⁵⁴Jim Sack, "The Germans" in *History of Fort Wayne and Allen County, Indiana, 1700–2005*, ed. John Beatty and Phylis Robb (Fort Wayne: M.T Publishing Company, 2005), 688.

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.⁵⁵

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 descent.⁵⁶ Members of the German community regularly held positions such as city comptroller, city auditor, and weighmaster. In stark contrast to St Louis, the German community in Fort Wayne successfully elected three German mayors between 1870 and 1900. Those three mayors, Charles Zollinger, Charles F. Muhler, and Henry P. Scherer held that office for twenty-one of the thirty years in question. Despite the German dominance however, the Irish community were also represented at the local level. In 1870, John McCarthy was elected as the Allen County Sherriff, while other members of the community like Michael Conners and John O’Ryan held important positions in the fire department and on the city council, respectively.⁵⁷ However, unlike the Irish in St Louis, the Irish community of Fort Wayne were unable to elect a mayor of Irish descent.

The election of the George Maguire as mayor of St Louis in 1842 was followed by the election of three additional mayors of Irish descent by the end of the century, which illustrates the dominance of the Irish community on the political landscape in the city. Maguire was followed by John Mullanphy’s son Bryan in 1847, and James G. Barry, born in Ireland in 1800, was elected on a Democratic ticket in 1849. 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, Noonan was born in Reading, Pennsylvania in 1852. In 1870 he graduated from law school and moved to St Louis where in 1876 he married Margaret Brennan. During Noonan’s reign as mayor, he oversaw the construction

⁵⁵R.L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County Directory, 1870* (Fort Wayne: Polk & Co., 1870), 39; R.L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County Directory, 1880* (Fort Wayne: Polk & Co., 1880), 24.

⁵⁶R.L. Polk, *Fort Wayne and Allen County Directory, 1900* (Fort Wayne: Polk & Co., 1900), 31.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 31–32.

of the new City Hall, implemented the first Smoke Ordinance and instigated the transition of street lighting from gas to electric generation.⁵⁸ 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.

The fact that the mayors of Irish descent were elected during the 1840s in such a hostile political environment stands in stark contrast to the political fortunes of other Irish communities throughout the United States. In that context the first Irish-born mayor of San Francisco, Frank McCoppin, was not elected until 1867. Even in the Midwest, 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.⁵⁹ This suggests 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 depicts the effectiveness of a unified ethnic vote and contrasts significantly to the political success of their German counterparts, who did not 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. Despite Milwaukee's 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, the appointment was one of necessity rather than popular consensus. Comparatively, in New York, no German-born mayor was elected,

⁵⁸Edward A. Noonan, *St Louis Mayors*, *St Louis Public Library*, accessed June 13, 2012, <http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/>.

⁵⁹John Garvey and Karen Hanning, *Irish San Francisco* (San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 16; Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'Alroy Jones, *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 67; and James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, and Jason F. King, eds., *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clío, 2008), 377.

although William F. Havemeyer, the son of German immigrants did secure the post in 1845.⁶⁰

IMMIGRANT STATESMEN

The unified ethnic vote that characterized Irish immigrant politics benefited both the Democratic Party and the Irish immigrant community alike. Their perceptive understanding of the political process and their successful manipulation of the political machine, led not only to their competitive presence at the local level, but also contributed to the electoral success of the immigrant group at the state and congressional levels as well.

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 May 24, 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 that 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. He was a natural orator who was elected to the Missouri House of Representatives three times and in 1874 was unanimously elected speaker. At the end of his term as speaker, he was presented with 'a handsome gold watch, chain and gavel'.⁶¹ In 1876, he was admitted to the bar of the Circuit Court in St Louis and three years later he was appointed to the Supreme Court. In 1888, Martin fulfilled the role of grand marshal at the Democratic National Convention in St Louis and 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 May 31,

⁶⁰William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements During the Progressive Era* (New York: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 2002), 84; Christopher G. Peña, *General Butler, Beast or Patriot: New Orleans Occupation May–December, 1862* (Bloomington: Authorhouse, 2003), 154; and Alan J. Singer, *New York and Slavery: Time to Teach the Truth* (Albany, NY, 2008), 93.

⁶¹William Hyde and Howard Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St Louis: A Compendium of History and Biography for Ready Reference* (St Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899), 1367.

1888, Martin requested him to ‘report in dark clothes, light coloured high hat and blue and white sash with red rosette’.⁶² The parade took place on Tuesday evening, June 5, 1888, and was reported in the *St Louis Globe Democrat* the following day as ‘a splendid spectacle’.⁶³ 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. The way in which immigrant politicians could achieve social mobility and economic security through their involvement in politics is evidence of the success of the political machine, particularly in an Irish context. 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, becoming a distinguished member of the Irish-American community in St Louis and a tireless ambassador for the city.

While Martin’s electoral success was attributable to the effectiveness of the Irish 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 the 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’. Kinney was a former saloon keeper who 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 for reducing the number of hours worked by women.⁶⁴

⁶²Letter to unknown recipient, May 31, 1888, John J. Martin papers, A2335/1/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis.

⁶³*St Louis Globe Democrat*, June 6, 1888.

⁶⁴Missouri 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, 1905), 111.

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 emigrated to the United States in 1870. After settling in New York where he 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, specifically, *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Tribune*, which were 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 after receiving 15,628 votes.⁶⁵ 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'.⁶⁶

Even though members of both the German and Irish immigrant communities in St Louis could 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.⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁵Richard Bartholdt's Certificate Confirming Membership of Congress, November 7, 1892, Richard Bartholdt papers (1855–1937), A0087/1/2/1, Missouri History Museum, St Louis.

⁶⁶Hyde and Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St Louis*, 114.

⁶⁷Alfred T. Andreas, *Congressional Districts, Judicial Districts of Indiana* (Chicago: Foster and Company, 1876), 10.

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 other parts of Indiana would have compromised most electoral ambitions.

THE POLITICS OF THE OLD COUNTRY

Despite their contribution during the Civil War and their involvement in American politics, 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 that such interest took. Attentiveness to the nationalist cause in the homeland was certainly far more pronounced for the Irish than their German counterparts' interest in German unification and other political issues. Burton attributed that 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'.⁶⁸ 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 to 1900.⁶⁹

That is not to say that Germans in America were not interested in events in Germany. Jonathan Wolfe, writing about the German community in Little Rock, Arkansas recalled 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 torch-light parades and speeches ... the conclusion of peace signalled redoubled celebrations ... bands played and the night passed in singing, dancing and merrymaking'.⁷⁰ As the century progressed, those who

⁶⁸Burton, *Melting Pot*, 19.

⁶⁹Wyman asserts that between 13 and 23% of Germans returned while only 10% of Irish immigrants left American shores for the homeland. See Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 10.

⁷⁰Jonathan James Wolfe, "Background of German Immigration," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1966): 269.

immigrated because unification in 1871, particularly Catholics who were apprehensive of Bismark's *Kulturkampf*, were welcomed into the community. *Waffenverein* or gun clubs were established for veterans of the Franco-Prussian war and *Landsmanschaften*, 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 middle of the century felt their original goals had been achieved.⁷¹

Despite the size of St Louis and its large German population, there appears to be no record of any type of celebration within the community once unification was achieved. Certainly, the end of the war was reported in the German language press but there was no record of a celebration similar to the one in Little Rock. When Emperor Friedrich III died in 1888, 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 reported, 'sent orders to their docks to have steamers put in mourning ... and all along Broadway, flag after flag over the various buildings went up at half-mast'.⁷² However, no record of the Emperor's death was reported in the St Louis press aside from the news of his actual death. Similarly in Fort Wayne, little attention was given to events of political interest in the homeland.

This German passivity might also 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 it 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 a 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

⁷¹Andrew J. Townsend, *The Germans of Chicago* (Chicago: Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, 1932), 59.

⁷²*New York Times*, June 16, 1888.

example of that can be seen in the 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.⁷³

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 that shared sense of victimization and exile served only to promote the nationalist cause in Ireland among Irish immigrants in America. The concept of Irish-American nationalism itself caused internal divisions and both militant nationalists and constitutional nationalists emerged.⁷⁴ Yet, despite those divisions, 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 with the political issues affecting immigrant America.⁷⁵

An example of the sympathy toward the homeland was seen when the Irish community of Fort Wayne raised \$1200 for famine relief, which was subsequently sent to Ireland.⁷⁶ Similarly, Irish nationalists in St Louis raised \$5000 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 1886.⁷⁷ Much of that 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. As the century progressed, political organizations such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood were established and mobilized

⁷³1880 US Federal Census Records for St Louis, MO, wards 2 and 9 and 1880 US Federal Census Records for Fort Wayne, IN, wards 2 and 6, *Ancestry.com*, www.ancestry.com.

⁷⁴Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics, and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815–1922* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 139.

⁷⁵Burton, *Melting Pot*, 25.

⁷⁶William Griffin, “Irish,” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed., Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 259.

⁷⁷Sir George Fottrell, *Dublin Castle and the First Home Rule Crisis: The Political Journal of Sir George Fottrell, 1884–1887*, ed. Stephen Ball (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 260.

Irish-Americans for the nationalist cause in Ireland. Kenny estimates that by 1865, the Fenian Brotherhood had as many as 250,000 members.⁷⁸

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 that, its presence in territories such as Montana and Wyoming certainly exemplified the extent of its range. At the Sixth National Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood in Cleveland, Ohio in September 1867, twenty states and over 270 circles were present. The movement was most developed in the state of New York, which had a total of fifty-five circles represented at the convention. During the year 1868, a total of \$216,621 was pledged to the Fenian Brotherhood in America.⁷⁹ However, only 21% of the pledges were realized in actual payments amounting to \$45,952.80.⁸⁰ The organization offered more than national freedom for the homeland. Part of the organization's success was that it enabled immigrants to meet fellow countrymen and acculturate to their new homes in a secure, welcoming environment.⁸¹

Another source of immigrant engagement with 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 in St Louis on March 4, 1880, Parnell reinforced the sense of victimization 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

⁷⁸Kenny, *American Irish*, 128.

⁷⁹Fenian Brotherhood publication regarding pledges for the year 1868, Fenian Brotherhood Papers, 1869–1922, A0481/1/12/4, Missouri History Museum, St Louis.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Regina Donlon, "John O'Keefe and the Fenian Brotherhood in the American West and Midwest, 1866–1890," *New Hibernia Review* 21, no. 1 (2017): 83–103.

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...⁸²

Those 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.⁸³ 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 perceived as a migration of compulsion brought about by famine and economic necessity. Significantly, the memory of that, as well as the romanticized notion that they had been betrayed by the British colonial government was undoubtedly influential in stirring passionate feelings of reprisal for Ireland.

CONCLUSION

When assessing immigrant political engagement in nineteenth-century America, it is essential to identify the parameters within which each community operated. First, the migrants of the first half of the nineteenth century had a significantly different experience of American politics than their counterparts who followed during the Reconstruction era. Earlier migrants were compelled to address harsh nativist sentiments to achieve their political goals. However, those migrants which followed during the Reconstruction era were elected in a 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. That prefix had many connotations which cannot be overlooked. The nativist movement of the 1840s and 1850s was the first challenge that emerging ethnic communities needed to overcome. In labeling immigrants as the other, the political success of immigrant communities from the 1850s onward was inevitably perceived as an

⁸²Speech given by Charles Stewart Parnell at St Louis, Missouri, March 4, 1880 in Charles Morris, ed., *Famous Orators of the World and their Best Orations* (Philadelphia: The J.C Winston Company, 1902), 558.

⁸³Burton, *Melting Pot*, 25.

ethnic triumph 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 those 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 levels. 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 such as J. J. Martin and Richard Bartholdt were also politically active at state and congressional levels confirms the transformation of immigrant involvement in political affairs by the turn of the century.

Undoubtedly, immigrant involvement in political matters was essential to the success of the acculturation and assimilation processes. By mobilizing, 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.



CHAPTER 9

Piety, Poverty and Perseverance: The Experience of Immigrant Women

INTRODUCTION

Louisa Kaiser and Margaret O'Connor were recorded in the 1886 Fort Wayne City Directory as working as domestic servants.¹ Those two women were typical of many German and Irish female immigrants whose role extended far beyond that of a wife or mother. In addition to their pastoral role in the family, they were also wage earners, entrepreneurs, social reformers, and in many instances, they were agents of assimilation. For other women, life in a religious order provided both challenges and fulfillment and German and Irish nuns were integral in aiding the integration, acculturation, and assimilation processes of their fellow immigrants.² Most of the women were young, single, and optimistic about their migration and many characterized it as a liberating and emancipating experience, which delivered them from a more uncertain

¹R. L. Polk & Co., *Fort Wayne City Directory, 1885–1886* (Fort Wayne: Polk & Co, 1885), 234, 315.

²Hasia Diner notes that among the Germans, women made up 41% of the total immigrant population...among the Irish, women accounted for 52.9%. For more see: Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 41.

fate should they have remained at home.³ The prospect of migration offered not only gainful employment, but also marriage opportunities for many female immigrants. By examining the role of women in immigrant communities, their motivations for traveling, their employment opportunities, and the factors that influenced their immigrant experience can be identified and an interpretation of their contribution to immigrant life can be established.⁴ Furthermore, 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 analysis of female immigrant life in the nineteenth century.⁵

³For a more thorough discussion of emigrant motivations, see Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 7–16; Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 1840–1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 5–19; and Silke Wehner-Franco, *Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika, 1850–1914* (New York: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 1994), 14–26.

⁴Writing of immigrant women, Silke Wehner-Franco noted 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’. For many immigrant women, that stereotype grossly misrepresents their immigrant experience. That nonchalant categorization 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 examination of female immigration from Finland, slowly began to redefine interpretations of the female migrant experience. For more see: Silke Wehner-Franco, “German Domestic Servants in America, 1850–1914: A New Look at German Women’s Immigrant Experiences,” in *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Joerg Nagler (New York: German Historical Institute, 1995), 267. See also H. Arnold Barton, “Scandinavian Immigrant Women’s Experience with America,” *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (1974): 37–42; Christiane Harzig, “The Role of German Women in the German-American Working Class Movement in Late Nineteenth Century New York,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 8, no. 2 (1989): 87–107; Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840–1930* (New York: Facts of File, 1995); Carl Ross and K. Marianne Brown, *Women Who Dared: The History of Finnish American Women* (St Paul: University of Minnesota, 1986); Kathleen Neils-Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota: The People of Minnesota* (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003); and Robert A. Bruchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 54–60.

⁵Sharon L. Sassler, “Women’s Marital Timing at the Turn of the Century: Generational and Ethnic Differences,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (1997): 569.

‘WANTED—A GOOD GIRL TO DO GENERAL HOUSEWORK’⁶

Although Louisa and Margaret worked as domestic servants, housework was not the only type of employment available to immigrant 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. In 1900, his three daughters, aged twenty-two years, eighteen years, and sixteen years respectively, found employment in St Louis’ highly competitive tobacco industry, where they worked as tobacco wrappers.⁷

One of the most significant ways in which the traditional stereotype of immigrant women can be challenged is through an examination of female employment trends and women’s earning potential. In St Louis for example, domestic servants could earn between eight and ten dollars per week.⁸ For that amount of money they endured long hours with little time off and limited personal space, which restricted them from entertaining friends and pursuing other social activities. 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 and while they were also expected to endure long hours, industrial workers 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.⁹ Industrial employment also provided women with many social opportunities, and their disposable income, like that of their domestically employed contemporaries, was mostly spent on entertainment. Accordingly, membership in Working Girls Clubs which organized classes, social functions, and other events

⁶ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, June 8, 1887.

⁷ 1900 US Federal Census Record for Frederick Jacob and Family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 8, ED 128, 6, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 11, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁸ Katherine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St Louis Women’s History* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 1999), 119.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 117.

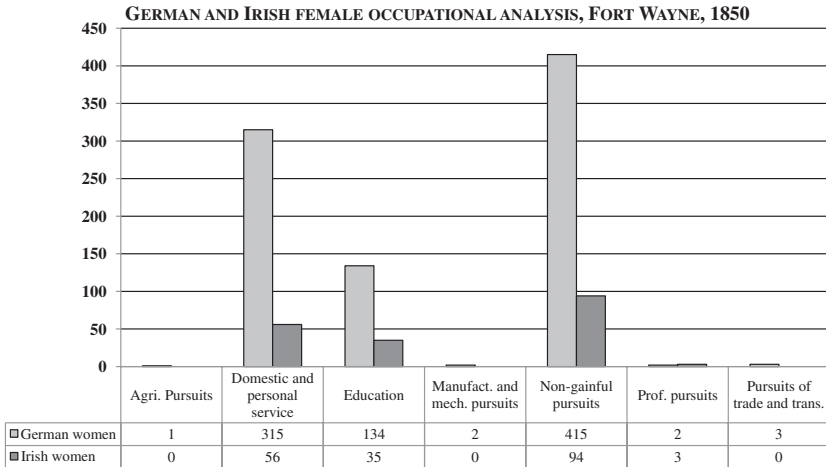


Fig. 9.1 German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1850

that facilitated the acculturation and assimilation of their members were common.¹⁰

Throughout the census returns for both St Louis and Fort Wayne during the period from 1850 to 1900, immigrant women from both communities were represented across most of the Census Bureau's occupational classifications.¹¹ Not surprisingly, the most common category was 'domestic and personal service'. That category was assigned to members of the community who engaged in household tasks. In 1850, 36% of German women compared with 30% of Irish women in Fort Wayne were recorded in that sector (see Fig. 9.1). Education was the next category which recorded a high percentage of female involvement. Again, 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

¹⁰Ibid., 118.

¹¹All information for this analysis was 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 1860–1880, wards 2 and 9, US Federal Census 1900, wards 3 and 8. US Federal Census Fort Wayne 1850–1860, whole city, US Federal Census Fort Wayne, IN 1870–1900, wards 2 and 6, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

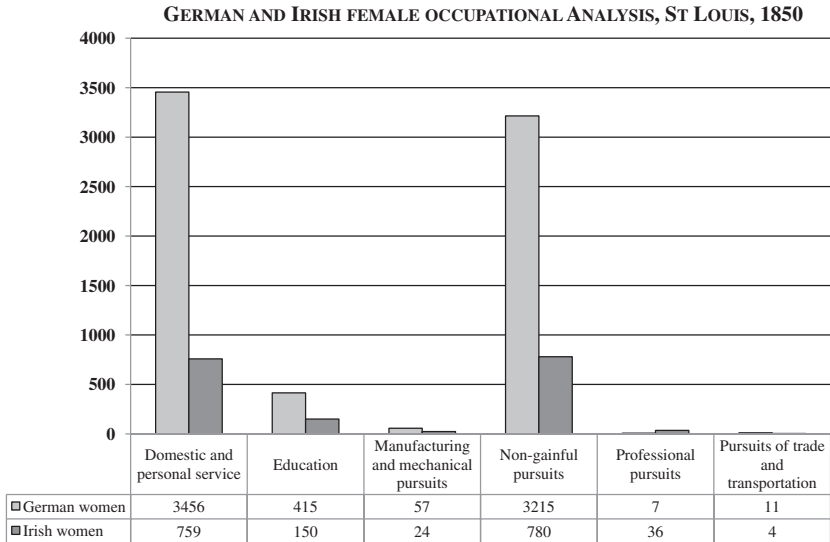


Fig. 9.2 German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis, 1850

and can 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 explains, in part, the lower involvement of German immigrant girls in the education sector in Fort Wayne. The language question was not as large an issue for Irish immigrant children and perhaps that explains why 18% of the Irish female representation in Fort Wayne were engaged in that sector.

A similar trend emerged in St Louis in 1850 (see Fig. 9.2). In both instances, almost half of the female population for each group was recorded as part of the domestic and personal service category, which accounts for those who stated their occupation as wives, nurses, midwives, servants, and hairdressers; 48% of German women compared with 44% of their Irish counterparts were involved in that sector. Surprisingly, only 5 and 8% of German and Irish immigrant girls respectively were recorded in the education category, which 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 in religious orders in St Louis was already apparent in 1850 with 2% of Irish

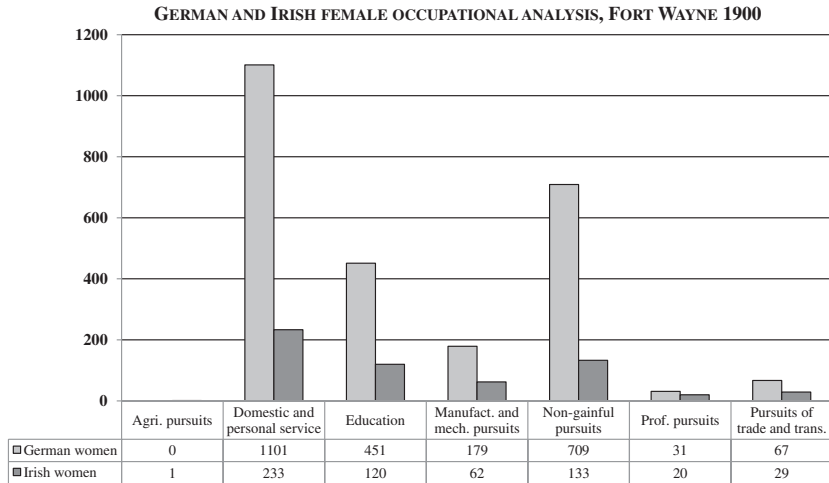


Fig. 9.3 German and Irish female occupational trends, Fort Wayne, 1900

women and a significantly lower number of German women (only 0.01% of the German female population recorded) participating in the professional pursuits category.

The census returns for 1850 highlight the contrasting size of the two cities and the employment opportunities they offered. Approximately 1% of women from each immigrant community in St Louis were engaged in the manufacturing sector by 1850. More likely than not, that 1% constituted dressmakers, seamstresses, and milliners. Only two German women out of a total of 873 were recorded as dressmakers in Fort Wayne for the same period, while there were no Irish representatives in that sector.

By 1900, trends in female employment had changed drastically in both cities (see Figs. 9.3 and 9.4). 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 in Fort Wayne. The census returns show a slight increase in the number of girls attending schools, a growth of approximately 2% in each group. However, the most significant developments were visible in the 'manufacturing' and 'trade and transportation' sectors. In both classifications, the contribution of Irish women surpassed that of their German

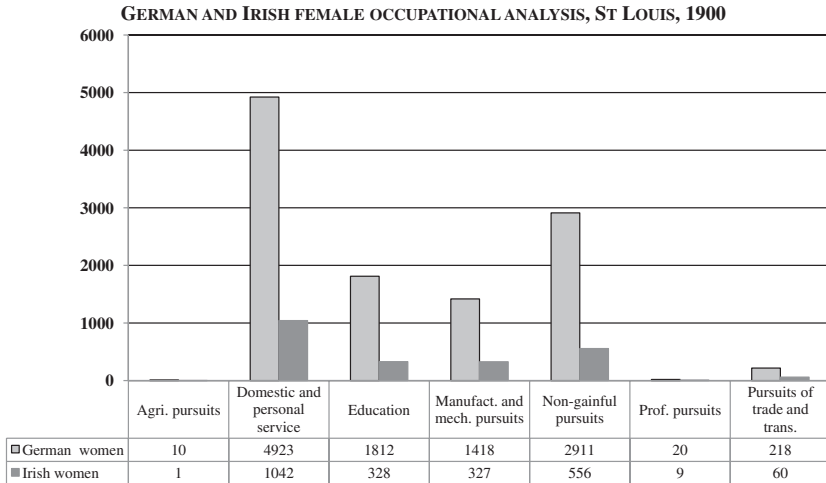


Fig. 9.4 German and Irish female occupational trends, St Louis, 1900

counterparts with 7% of German female workers being 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 that sector compared with 5% in the Irish cohort. Thus, in analyzing the census data and forming an interpretation of female employment trends in Fort Wayne, a relatively obvious cultural division emerges.

Many German women were 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 homemaker. This observation might also be strengthened by the fact that German immigrants, particularly in Fort Wayne, were more economically secure than their Irish counterparts. In an analysis of male employment trends (see Chapter 5), the number of independent merchants, tradesmen, and artisan craftsmen in the German community was considerably greater than their Irish counterparts. Additionally, 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. In that sense, while

Table 9.1 Sample female occupations in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1850^a

<i>Fort Wayne 1850</i>			<i>St Louis 1850</i>		
<i>Profession</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Keeping house	315	56	Keeping house	3361	638
Non-productive	414	94	Non-productive	3106	736
School	132	35	School	415	150
Novice	0	2	Seamstress	21	13
Nun	1	1	Dressmaker	3	2
Dressmaker	2	0	Servant	139	79
Servant	20	0	Washerwoman	5	14
Student	2	0	Nun	6	31

^aSample occupations taken from US Federal Census Schedules 1850–1900 for representative wards in St Louis, Missouri and Fort Wayne, IN

German female occupational trends were influenced by a transnational cultural ideology, there was also an economic necessity for Irish women to enter the world of work and contribute to the household income.

Those Germans involved in the domestic and personal service category in the city decreased slightly over the fifty-year period in St Louis. Both communities retained a representation in that sector of approximately 44%, but when the generational element of each community is considered, the increasing role of immigrant women in education, manufacturing, and trade becomes apparent. Female participation in education more than tripled over the fifty-year period in the German group and Irish involvement in that sector doubled. These figures highlight the significant developments that took place in education throughout that period and exemplify the growth of St Louis as a frontier city. Aside from that, 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 also demonstrated a modest increase, and again Irish involvement exceeded that of their German counterparts in that category (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2).

For those women who remained unmarried, dressmaking often provided the only source of income. The McGee sisters, second-generation Irish-Americans born in Indiana, were just one example. These four sisters, Myrah, Martha, Catherine, and Elizabeth, lived at 175 Clinton St in Fort Wayne in 1900. Myrah was recorded as being a dressmaker, while

Table 9.2 Sample female occupations in Fort Wayne and St Louis, 1900

<i>Fort Wayne 1900</i>			<i>St Louis 1900</i>		
<i>Profession</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Keeping house	893	186	Keeping house	4332	914
School	448	120	School	1806	325
Servant	87	6	Servant	157	14
Dressmaker	36	8	Dressmaker	106	26
Seamstress	27	14	Seamstress	292	56
School teacher	22	15	School teacher	10	5
Landlady	22	2	Landlady	16	1
Washerwoman	15	3	Washerwoman	65	20
Stenographer	10	8	Stenographer	11	8
Sewing	9	4	Sewing	21	1
Shirt waist maker	9	10	Shirt waist maker	3	0
Nurse	8	2	Nurse	14	1
Knitter of hosiery	1	0	Shoe factory worker	34	20
Knitter of mittens	1	0	Tobacco factory worker	60	12
Knitting mill folder	2	0	Cotton mill spinner	17	1
Knitting mill forelady	1	0	Box maker	55	18
Knitting mill worker	11	0	Laundress	60	16

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.¹² Independent employment for each of those women was essential to the family's economic survival in the Midwest. Given that their ages ranged from thirty-six to forty-eight years, they were considered too old to find employment as domestic servants, therefore, participation in both the manufacturing and trade sectors became a viable alternative. The Magee sisters are an excellent example of the importance of a strong familial economic structure. Very often, sibling migration and the pooling of resources in this manner was essential to the social mobility of many families.

Although census enumerators recorded the occupation of most married women as 'keeping house', in some instances that was not factually true. Married women were often expected to complement the

¹²1900 US Federal Census Record for Myrah McGee and Family, 1900 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 2, ED 27, 12-13, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

family income by engaging in part-time employment that could be performed in the home. Therefore, sewing, needlework, and dressmaking often provided the means by which such supplementary income could be acquired. Mrs. D. S. Kelsey, a resident of Fort Wayne in 1875 is one example of a wife who enhanced her family's income by advertising her skills in the Fort Wayne City Directory. 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.¹³ Similarly, Augusta Boss, the wife of Frank Boss who owned a saloon at 801 Cass Ave, was 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. 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.¹⁴ Many women 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.¹⁵ Only fifteen female boarding house keepers were recorded in Wards 3 and 8 in St Louis in 1900. Significantly, fourteen of those women were of German descent, with Mary Murphy being the only Irish woman.¹⁶

There was 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

¹³1900 US Federal Census Record for Fred Ploehu and Family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 8, ED 114, 7, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

¹⁴1900 US Federal Census Record for Frank Boss and Family, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 45, 20, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

¹⁵1900 US Federal Census Record for Mary Murphy, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 3, ED 36, 3, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

¹⁶For a good analysis of nineteenth century women in business, see Wendy Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth Century Businesswomen in History," *The Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998): 193. See also Alison C. Kay, *The Foundations of Female Entrepreneurship: Enterprise, Home and Household in London, c.1800–1870* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

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 1867.¹⁷ Although that was not the case for all widowed immigrant women, the phenomenon occurred more regularly among the German community and can be explained by the rate of that group's economic development compared with that of their Irish counterparts. Although some Irish widows did successfully continue their deceased husband's enterprises, far more faced destitution after the loss of the main breadwinner and became reliant on communal amenities such as the Mullanphy Widows' Home on Tenth St in St Louis.

What the census data does highlight however, is that both groups of female immigrants were willing to work across the employment spectrum, whether as entrepreneurs that straddled both the public and private spheres, as factory workers, and perhaps more universally as domestic servants. The independence, financial or otherwise, that employment afforded them was equally as valuable as the material wage, until many of those working women decided to marry and assume their more traditional societal role.

AN ASSEMBLY OF CURIOUS WOMEN, GIRLS, AND CHILDREN¹⁸

On April 10, 1901, Adolph Lipp married Mathilda Studt at St Andrew's Evangelical Congregation in St Louis.¹⁹ Adolph had emigrated to the United States eleven years earlier, while Mathilda, the daughter of German immigrant parents, had been born in St Louis. It is likely that on the morning of April 10, 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'.²⁰ Another important tradition on that day was the wedding portrait. In that respect, many newly married German couples visited Mr. Seattle because 'it was

¹⁷Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St Louis*, ed. Don Tolzman (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), 128.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁹Marriage certificate of Adolf Lipp and Mathilda Studt, April 10, 1901, Lipp Family Papers, 1840–1944, S0046/9/1, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL.

²⁰Kargau, *German Element*, 128.

the custom [for] bridal couples [to have] themselves photographed on their wedding day'.²¹ Such an occasion, Kargau noted, 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'.²²

Although many females from both groups worked in a variety of jobs before they were married, they almost invariably forfeited their financial independence once they became wives. One such woman who gave up her job 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, was recorded as working as a tobacco worker in one of St Louis' tobacco factories.²³ Within a few months, Mary had married John Nooney, a second-generation Irish-American born to Irish immigrant parents.²⁴ John was a policeman who worked in the sixth precinct of the city from 1899–1926, after which he was promoted to the rank of sergeant in the same precinct.²⁵ Before she was married, Mary's employment was the only source of income available to the family who lived in a rented accommodation on Compton Ave. Upon their marriage in 1900, the couple bought a home on Harper St in the north of the city, and notably, Mary Dalton Sr lived with the couple and their children until her death in 1936.²⁶

In analyzing the US Federal Census data for St Louis and Fort Wayne for the years 1850 and 1900, many German and Irish immigrants embraced the institution of marriage, although marriage patterns for both German and Irish immigrants contrasted significantly (see Tables 9.3, 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6). In analyzing the census data, four specific types of marriages were identified. Type 1 was an emigrant-generation

²¹Ibid., 130.

²²Ibid.

²³1900 US Federal Census Record for Mary Dalton and Mother, 1900 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 23, ED 351, 8, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

²⁴1910 US Federal Census Record John Nooney and Family, 1910 US Federal Census, St Louis (Independent city), MO, Ward 2, ED 22, 28, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

²⁵Collection Description, John Nooney Papers, 1871–1935, SL166/1/1, State Historical Society of Missouri, UMSL St Louis.

²⁶Record for Mary Nooney in Calvary Cemetery, St Louis, *findagrave.com*, accessed April 11, 2013, www.findagrave.com.

Table 9.3 Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups in St Louis, 1850 and 1900^a

City	Number of marriages								
	1850				1900				
Ethnic group	German		Irish		German		Irish		
	No. ^b	% ^c	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Emigrant generation marriage [Type 1]	3069	98	542	88.5	1176	29	73% 49%	181	21
Intraethnic group marriage [Type 2] ^d	0	0	0	0%	1783	44		237	28
Interethnic group marriage [Type 3]	59	1.8	65	10.5	878	22	27% 51%	234	27
German and Irish intermarriage [Type 4]	6	0.2	6	1	209	5		209	24
Total marriages/ethnic group	3134	100	613	100	4046	100		861	100

aAll information for this analysis (Tables 9.3, 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6 inclusive) was 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, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com

^bCollation of the number of marriages per ethnic group

^cPercentage of total number of marriages for the group

^dIntraethnic marriages (marriages between immigrants and generational members are unidentifiable in the 1850 US Federal Census as parental origin was not recorded)

marriage, that is, a marriage in which both partners were born in either Ireland or Germany, respectively. Type 2 was an intra-ethnic marriage whereby a first-generation immigrant born in either Ireland or Germany married a member of the same ethnic group, born in America or elsewhere, that is, a generational member of the group. Type 3 corresponded to all marriages which were recorded as mixed ethnicity marriages, excluding those specifically involving marriage to only German and Irish partners. Significantly, in a ‘type 3’ marriage only one partner was of German or Irish descent. Finally, type 4 recorded those marriages which included only ethnically German and Irish partners, specifically, an inter-marriage between the two ethnic groups.

Table 9.4 Analysis of those women who married outside of the ethnic group and the most popular ethnicities 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

A total of 3747 marriages were recorded in St Louis in 1850. Of those 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 1 (in which 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 particularly high. 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, the religion as well. Undoubtedly a primary concern for the German immigrant group was the distinctiveness and preservation of their ethnic character. Conversely, language was not as big an issue for Irish immigrants and perhaps that also explains why they married American-born spouses more regularly than their German counterparts. By contrast, the Irish community in St Louis in 1850 displayed 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.

Only six marriages out of a total of 3747 recorded showed intermarriage between the German and Irish immigrant groups. That suggests a slight form of religious interaction between both groups, but given that the number accounts for only 0.2% of the total marriages, it appears that ethnic exclusivity was promoted rather than religious interaction.

In analyzing 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 because parentage only began being recorded in the 1880 US Federal Census. By 1900, however, a much more concise interpretation of the marriage trends within each group can be constructed. In the German community, the number of type 1 marriages had fallen substantially. Those marriages where both partners were born in Germany now accounted for only 29% of the total marriages for the group. Despite that, marriage within the ethnic group was still more common among the German community than their Irish counterparts. Approximately 44% of German marriages at that time involved intra-ethnic couples compared with only 28% of the Irish community. Significantly, 73% of German marriages still involved only members of the German ethnic group, compared with only 49% of Irish couples. That trend highlights two important observations. First, it suggests that the Irish immigrant group assimilated at a faster rate than their German counterparts and second, it emphasizes the continued inclination among the German community to remain ethnically and culturally exclusive.

The number of type 4 marriages (those which recorded marriage between the two immigrant groups) had increased substantially by 1900, rising to 209. Proportionally, that accounted for only 5% of German marriages, but almost 25% of Irish marriages and reinforces the belief that intermarriage 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, the availability of suitable marriage partners was also a likely explanation.²⁷ Burchell records that in 1880, there were 432 examples of intermarriage between the German and Irish immigrant groups and accounts for 2.3% of the total

²⁷Burchell, *Irish in San Francisco*, 79–85. Even allowing for the 20-year discrepancy in that 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 the trend might be more attributable to the high number of Germans residing 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.

marriages of the Irish group in San Francisco in 1880. Notably, the effect of German and Irish marriages in St Louis confirms that for those who married outside the group, that was the most frequent combination, barring marriage to American-born spouses.

For those whose marriage was classified as a type 3 marriage (those who married outside of their group), distinct trends emerge. In the case of the Germans, 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. Despite that, men from other ethnic groups such as those from England, France, and Bohemia were regularly chosen as marriage partners. Similarly, 419 ethnically German men also married outside the immigrant group. Whereas German women were similarly divided between American-born men and men from other ethnic groups, German men married American-born women more regularly. Women from Switzerland, England, and France were the most common marriage partners for ethnically German men who decided to marry outside the ethnic group. An interesting trend emerges through an examination of Irish immigrants who married outside the group. Almost an even number of Irish men and women married outside the group. Yet within that 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 more regularly marry women of American ethnicity. Of those males and females who married into other ethnic groups, spouses from 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 that sense and ethnically German men and women were more likely to marry partners who were ethnically Swiss, thus reinforcing the more universal Germanic identity. Those of Irish descent, both male and female who married outside the group, more regularly married ethnically English or Scottish partners likely reflecting the previous migratory patterns of the Irish immigrant group and the close links with those countries.

Given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, naturally fewer numbers of marriages were recorded. A total of 1177 marriages involving German and

Irish couples were recorded in Fort Wayne in 1850. Of those, a broad correlation with the trends in St Louis can be observed and both immigrant groups exhibited high numbers of emigrant-generation marriages in 1850. In the German community the rate was 92%, again perhaps attributable to the identity and language questions, while the Irish community showed a lower rate of emigration-generation marriages at 73%. This highlights the small size of Fort Wayne, as well as the small 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 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.

Table 9.5 Analysis of marriage trends for German and Irish immigrant groups, Fort Wayne, 1850–1900

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of marriages</i>								
	<i>1850</i>		<i>1900</i>						
<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>German</i>		<i>Irish</i>		<i>German</i>		<i>Irish</i>		
	<i>No.^a</i>	<i>%^b</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Emigrant generation marriage [Type 1]	389	92	44	73	196	20	} 65% 42%	29	14
Intraethnic group marriage [Type 2] ^c	0	0	0	0	435	45		} <i>Marriage within the ethnic group</i>	55
Interethnic group marriage [Type 3]	35	8	16	27	326	33	} 35% 58%	93	47
German and Irish intermarriage [Type 4]	0	0	0	0	22	2		} <i>Marriage outside the ethnic group</i>	22
Total marriages/ethnic group	424	100	60	100	979	100		199	100

^aCollation of the number of marriages per ethnic group

^bPercentage of total number of marriages for the group

^cIntraethnic marriages (marriages between immigrants and generational members are unidentifiable in the 1850 US Federal Census as parental origin was not recorded)

Table 9.6 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

The assimilation of the Irish community in Fort Wayne was clear by 1900. At that 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 marrying within the boundary of the ethnic community. German assimilation is similarly evident by examining the marriage trends in comparison with St Louis. By 1900, 35% of the German immigrant group were marrying spouses of other ethnicities, emphasizing how the group acculturated at a faster rate than their counterparts in the larger city further south. However, most of the German immigrant group still married within the ethnic community. Undoubtedly, a trend such as that highlights the need to more thoroughly examine the dynamics of smaller immigrant communities.

In 1850, there was no example of inter-marriage between the German and Irish immigrant communities in Fort Wayne, but by 1900 there were twenty-two marriages of that kind. That is best explained not in terms of religious suitability, but is more likely attributable to the

availability of marriage partners, as well as the necessity of both groups to assimilate more rapidly in a smaller city.²⁸

Marriage trends within both immigrant groups highlight many of the subtle and intricate contrasts between each group. In 1850, the preferred spouse in each city was an immigrant of the same origin and although applicable to all four communities, it appears to have been a more significant concern for the German immigrant group. The tendency to marry within the immigrant group reflects the importance of cultural identity to the German community. However, for the Irish, marrying within the group was certainly a priority for most in 1850, but examples of assimilation are already visible given the proportionally larger number of inter-ethnic marriages. By 1900 that trend had continued to increase in both cities and among both groups. However, marriage within the German immigrant community remained a priority for most 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 an almost even distribution of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic marriages. There are two important observations highlighted by those data. First, the patterns illustrate the dynamics of immigrant groups in large industrialized cities and their desire to remain culturally exclusive and second, it confirms both the necessity for, and impact of, acculturation on immigrant groups in smaller, less industrialized cities like Fort Wayne.

‘VISITED MRS. WANDELL IN THE EVENING’²⁹

On March 13, 1890, Bertha Mann recorded that she had spent that afternoon at the guild. The following day, Friday, Bertha traveled downtown with Mrs. Wilbur and purchased some silk, cashmere, lining, and sugar.³⁰ In addition to employment and marriage, another crucial aspect to the female immigrant identity was the establishment of social

²⁸Diner’s assertion that more Irish women married outside the group than their male counterparts is disproved in Fort Wayne perhaps suggesting that a different rubric should be applied to smaller immigrant communities. For more see: Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 50.

²⁹Bertha B. Mann, Journals, March 13–14, 1890, Bertha B. Mann, Journals, A0975/2/13, Missouri History Museum, St Louis, MO.

³⁰Ibid.

networks and communal facilities where immigrant women could meet, socialize, and converse about their experiences.

Two primary types of social opportunities were available to women. First, there were non-spiritual clubs and societies such as the Ladies' Auxiliaries to the Ancient Order of Hibernians for Irish women or alternatively, Ladies' *Turner* clubs for German women. Working Girls Clubs like the one established by the female workers from the Liggett and Meyers factory in St Louis were also popular among women who pursued industrial employment.³¹ Many young female immigrants were financially independent and could therefore afford memberships to clubs and societies such as those and because most working women were unmarried, social interaction was integral in their pursuit of a husband. However, by far the most popular types of social outlets available to immigrant women were those established by the local churches. Church societies and religious organizations like the St Ann's Society for Married Women established in St Bridget of Erin's Parish in St Louis enabled local women to come together and socialize. Alternatively, branches of organizations like the Christian Mother's Guild which was organized in St Francis de Sales Parish, a German national parish in St Louis, also drew women together and facilitated a unique cultural exchange.³²

In the non-religious circle, there were many opportunities for immigrant women to socialize although similar to male socializing habits, women also remained firmly within the ethnic boundary. The social opportunities for German immigrant women in both cities were as diverse as for their male counterparts. The South St Louis Turner Society, which was founded in St Louis in 1869, held a ladies' class as well as an old folks class.³³ Likewise in the northern part of the city, the North St Louis *Turnerbund* had a ladies' auxiliary and according to

³¹For more see: Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

³²Report of St Bridget of Erin's Parish, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin Church, RG4B/41/6/2, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis, Extract from *Diamond Jubilee—St Francis de Sales, 1867–1942*, St Francis de Sales National German Church 1867, RG4B/50/5/b/unpaginated, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

³³Kargau, *German Element*, 222.

Kargau, it had a membership of thirty people in 1899, while the *Turner* school adjacent to the society had an enrollment of 130 girls.³⁴

For ethnically Irish women, most socializing had religious undertones. One of the most popular activities was the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Ancient Order of Hibernians which had branches of the organization in most cities throughout the Midwest. Even Fort Wayne, a comparatively small city with a modest Irish community, had a Ladies' Auxiliary. The fact that the organization 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 Irish immigrant life.³⁵

Similarly, the social outlets available to Lutheran women were also largely focused on the church. 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.³⁶ The society met one afternoon per week to sew vestments for the students in the Lutheran seminary situated on the outskirts of the city. Despite its conservative disposition, the Lutheran Ladies' Aid Society in Fort Wayne was relatively dynamic 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.³⁷ In that sense, women were clearly 'subjects' who were encouraged to adhere to the *Kinder, Kirche, Kuche* ideal. 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 was also forced to acculturate.

³⁴Ibid., 223.

³⁵William Griffin, "Irish," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 1996), 262. Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: Women's Emigration from Ireland, 1885–1920* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 87.

³⁶Newspaper clipping from *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, May 6, 1962, St Paul's Lutheran Church Fort Wayne 1846–1962, 1/3/6, Concordia Historical Institute, St Louis.

³⁷Häderle notes that the German clergy 'had in mind the prevailing patriarchal, estate-based social order in Europe', and that was reflected through the congregation's interaction with the church itself. For more see: Irene Häderle, "Women and Lay Activism: Aspects of Acculturation in the German Lutheran Churches, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1870–1917," *Michigan Historical Review* 25, (1999): 34–55; see also Sidney E. Mead,

Much to the alarm of German clerics who viewed the increasingly prominent role of women in American churches as abhorrent, German immigrant women emphasized their own acculturation by also striving to acquire that elevated status.

Although more embracing than their Lutheran counterparts, the Catholic Church initially also failed to address the social needs of women. That is evident when comparing the number of societies recorded for both SS Peter and Paul's and St Patrick's Churches in St Louis. The number of organizations catering to the parishioners of Irish parishes was exceeded quite substantially by that of their German counterparts. In St Bridget of Erin's Parish however, Fr Walsh was more cognizant to the needs of his female parishioners. In addition to the Married Women's Society, there was also a Young Girl's Sodality, and a Legion of Mary prayer group.³⁸ Whatever the organization, club, or association, each played a pivotal role in the socialization and acculturation of immigrant women.

'THE SOLEMNITY OF RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENT'³⁹

For many German and Irish women, a life of religious devotion and the execution of charitable works provided them with opportunities they would not ordinarily have had, if they had chosen to remain on the family farm in Europe. 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.⁴⁰ The perception of that emigration by the local

The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York: Wipf and Stock Publishing, 2007); Ian Graebner, *Uncertain Saints: The Laity in the Lutheran Church: Missouri Synod, 1900–1970* (Westport: Praeger, 1975); and Linda Pickle, *Contented Among Strangers: Rural German Speaking Women and their Families in the Nineteenth Century Midwest* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

³⁸Report of St Bridget of Erin's Parish, St Louis, St Bridget of Erin Church, RG4B/41/6/2, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

³⁹Archbishop Richard Kenrick, 'Pastoral Letter to the Catholic Clergy, and Beloved Children of the Laity', February 16, 1842, Pastoral Letters of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick, RG01/C/03/1/10, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁴⁰Diner, *Erin's Daughters*, 28–29. See also Suellen M. Hoy, *Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 21.

community contrasted starkly with the practiced norm. Instead of the melancholy feeling that 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 within the community. On April 26, 1872, the *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* noted how eleven nuns from the Sisters of the Order of Mercy departed from Ennis, Co. Clare for New York to 'establish a convent at Newtown, United States.' The eleven nuns, 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] were held.'⁴¹ The nuns were transported to the train station in carriages preceded by a brass band and were subsequently escorted to Queenstown by the reverend mother.⁴²

The role of women in religious orders was integral in the emergence, development, and improvement of immigrant communities. Many religious orders consisted of women of German or Irish descent. 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 a few. German descendants could also be found in those convents, or more prominently in orders such as the Sisters of the Good Shepard or the Ursulines, which had traditionally Germanic roots. For both the German and Irish immigrant groups, religious sisters and women in religious orders were essential to the development of communal facilities such as schools and hospitals. As a result, the nuns were also required to address many of the social problems that afflicted their host communities. Nuns became particularly involved with their lay female counterparts who succumbed to poverty, desertion, domestic abuse, and alcoholism. Female religious orders were also responsible for the establishment of schools, hospitals, refuges, convalescence homes, and orphanages. Additionally, religious sisters visited prisons and made house calls identifying members of their community who could benefit from their work.⁴³

⁴¹ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1872.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Seamus Metress and Molly Schiever, eds., *The Irish in Toledo* (Toledo: University of Toledo, 2005), 52. Robyn Brunett and Ken Luebbring, *Immigrant Women in the Settlement of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 78. 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: University of Illinois Press, 2006); and Hoy, *Good Hearts*.

There were two orders in Fort Wayne, namely the Sisters of Providence and the School Sisters of Notre Dame, that dominated the educational sector. The School Sisters of Notre Dame emphasized the role played by German nuns and by 1897 the order was responsible for the management of eight schools in northern Indiana, two of which were in Fort Wayne.⁴⁴ The Sisters of Providence was a religious order founded by the French-born Mother Theodore. The order established its headquarters in the United States at St Mary of the Woods near Terre Haute, Indiana in 1840 and consisted of both German and Irish sisters. A mission came to Fort Wayne in 1846 and St Augustine's Academy was opened later that year.⁴⁵ The school had high proportions of German, Irish, and French immigrant Catholic children in attendance. Given the size of Fort Wayne, ethnicity 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, no doubt aiding the integration of Fort Wayne's early settlers.

St Patrick's Parish, an Irish national parish, was founded by Fr Delaney in 1890 in the south of the city. Once the church had been established, Fr Delaney turned his attention to the development of a parochial school and Sr Mary Catherine McGrath, a nun of Irish birth, became integral to its success. Catherine McGrath was born in Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan in February 1854. She emigrated to the United States from Liverpool in December 1869 aboard the *SS Pennsylvania*.⁴⁶ Upon her arrival in New York she acquired employment as a domestic servant in a boarding house operated by Sarah Warter.⁴⁷ Having worked in that boarding house with a fellow Irish

⁴⁴St 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: Our Sunday Visitor, 2007), 152–53.

⁴⁵Nick Heiny, "Sisters of Providence: 150 Years in Fort Wayne, Indiana," *AC Lines* 21, (1996): 17.

⁴⁶Catherine 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 December 1869, New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957, *SS Pennsylvania* (1869), 5, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁴⁷1870 US Federal Census Record for Catherine McGrath, 1870 US Federal Census, New York City (Independent city), NY, Ward 7, ED 7, 3, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

woman named Catherine Halloran for some time, McGrath gradually made her way to the Midwest. On January 23, 1877, Catherine McGrath entered the convent of the Sisters of Providence of St Mary of the Woods near Terre Haute. Three years later, in August 1880, she took her first vows. However, it was eleven years before the Irish immigrant, now thirty-seven years old, took her perpetual vows and became Sr Mary Catherine McGrath.⁴⁸ In 1893, Sr Mary Catherine was sent to Fort Wayne, Indiana, which was 200 miles from the convent where she had spent most of the previous fifteen years. There 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 from tuberculosis in 1902.⁴⁹ In the 1900 US Federal Census, Sr Mary Catherine was recorded as living at 71 Webster St in the south of the city as the 'head of household', where she lived with ten other teachers who worked at St Patrick's School. Significantly, Sr Mary Catherine was the only Irish immigrant, but emphasizing the composition of the ethnically Irish neighborhood, seven of the ten teachers in the school were of Irish descent.⁵⁰ In 1901, an academy was built in association with the elementary school and named in her honor. 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'.⁵¹ During its first semester there were only fifteen students enrolled, but by the time of its closure in 1938, over 650 girls had graduated from the academy.

Many other female religious orders were based in St Louis. In early May 1853, four nuns from the convent of the Sisters of Charity in Emmetsburg, Maryland began a 700-mile journey west traveling by both railroad and steamboat. By May 18, 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

⁴⁸Catherine McGrath assignment card, 1877–1901, Archives of the Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰1900 US Federal Census Record for Sr Mary Catherine McGrath, 1900 US Federal Census, Fort Wayne, IN, Ward 6, ED 39, 3, *Ancestry.com*, accessed April 10, 2013, www.ancestry.com.

⁵¹History of St Patrick's Parish, Fort Wayne, IN, December 1896–December 1926, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, IN, St Patrick's Church, 1/4/3. See also *St Patrick's Catholic Church, Fort Wayne Indiana, 1890–1900*, Centennial Booklet, St Patrick's Church, 1/2/11, Diocese of Fort Wayne Archives, Fort Wayne, IN.

received by the Dublin-born Archbishop of St Louis, Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick.⁵² Those four women had been charged with the task of establishing and managing an abandoned infant asylum or shelter. The refuge, the first of its kind west of the Mississippi River, received no fewer than fourteen infants during its first day of operation.⁵³ Within five years, the shelter expanded to include a home for aged widows and a lying-in or maternity hospital. The institution continued to grow and by the 1890s, they had received over 11,500 abandoned children, cared for 200 widows, and tended to over 4000 women in the maternity hospital.⁵⁴

The Sisters of Mercy established a convent in St Louis after Reverend 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 traveled to St Louis and served the poor of St Xavier's Parish.⁵⁵ The order arrived in the city in June 1856.⁵⁶ The sisters became instantly involved with the fabric of immigrant life in St Louis by visiting hospitals and prisons and within a year, the mission had established a free school for the children of poorer immigrants and a Sunday school for Negro women, while simultaneously opening a private academy in a bid to compensate for the cost of establishing the free institution.⁵⁷ In 1871, the Sisters of Mercy turned the school into an infirmary and subsequently opened three more parish schools throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ Education was just one example of how these women aided the immigrant experience and in that respect, their involvement

⁵²Document recording the history of St Ann's Infant Asylum, St Louis, c.1932, Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul Papers, RGVI/D/14/2/3, Archdiocese of St Louis Archives, St Louis.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Rev. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis: In Its Various Stages of Development from A.D. 1673 to A.D. 1928* (St Louis: Blackwell Wielandy, 1923), 32.

⁵⁶William Barnaby Faherty, *The St Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (St Louis: Missouri History Museum Press, 2001), 52.

⁵⁷Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, 33; Faherty, *The St Louis Irish*, 52.

⁵⁸Ibid., 98.

excellently emphasizes the role played by women in societies not traditionally accustomed to female participation in the public sphere.⁵⁹

Not all religious orders occupied themselves with teaching and nursing and 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’.⁶⁰ They were essentially women, who because of poverty, desertion, alcoholism, or prostitution had fallen on tough times. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd arrived in St Louis on January 24, 1849, just prior the outbreak of the cholera epidemic in the city. The order established homes or reformatories where those women could be rehabilitated and according to Rothensteiner, ‘[they] usually sheltered about three hundred’.⁶¹ 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.⁶²

Although faced with poverty themselves, nuns and female religious orders benefited the immigrant experience in unfathomable ways. They provided crucial aid to their lay female counterparts in ways that otherwise would have been overlooked. Furthermore, those orders aided the plight of stricken immigrant women by providing health care, refuge, and shelter when many women had nowhere else to turn. Driven by a desire to preserve the faith, those women also 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 and host communities on the frontier. Were it not for their ingenuity and resourcefulness in establishing hospitals and care homes, vital communal infrastructures would have been incomplete, and without those social innovators the experience of many immigrants in the American Midwest would have been far more challenging.

⁵⁹Angelyn Dries, “The Americanization of Religious Life: Women Religious, 1872–1922,” *U.S Catholic Historian* 10, nos. 1 & 2 (1989): 15; see also Hoy, *Good Hearts*; Fitzgerald, *Habits of Compassion*; and Sr Mary Bernard Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown: Black Nuns in Nineteenth Century New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁶⁰Brunett and Luebbring, *Immigrant Women*, 72.

⁶¹Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St Louis*, 29.

⁶²Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The role played by immigrant women in the evolution of the immigrant experience is extremely important 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' Sassler wrote about. They took American cultural norms and standards of living and incorporated them into their interpretation of what it meant to be American. However, 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 integration of familial units, their unique role in the development and consolidation of the ethnic group, primarily through their involvement in church groups and charitable activities, served only to enhance the cultural bonds that underlined immigration.

The role of immigrant women was also significant in an economic sense. While many women pursued traditional occupations such as working 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, women from both groups assumed their traditional role in the home upon marriage. The marriage trends of both groups also highlight some significant comparisons. For both communities, the most popular spouse was one who shared the same ethnicity in 1850, yet by 1900 both communities married outside of their respective immigrant communities more regularly.

Although many immigrant communities (Italian, Scandinavian, German, and Irish) expected women to have an influence only on the home, their involvement in communal affairs, particularly through the work of women in religious orders, was responsible for the development of a communal infrastructure and services on the frontier that the secular world was slow to develop.⁶³ Women had much to offer the immigrant experience, in the same way that the experience had much to offer them.

⁶³ Donna R. Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth St: Housing and Social Change Among Italian Immigrants, 1880–1930* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984), 4; Joy K. Lintelman, *I go to America: Swedish American Women and the Life of Mina Anderson* (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009), 135–76.

Diner concluded that ‘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’, a pattern also indicative of the German experience.⁶⁴

⁶⁴Diner, *Erin’s Daughters*, 42.



CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the immigrants in the United States offered the prospect of social and economic advancement, religious tolerance, and political freedom. The degree to which each was achieved was entirely dependent on the determination of the immigrants themselves. The primary purpose of this study was to examine four individual immigrant communities and research their economic, social, political, and religious development during the period from 1850 to 1900. A variety of similarities and contrasts emerged as part of the analysis, the most significant of which are discussed below.

THE CONTEXT AND PROCESS OF EMIGRATION

In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, European society witnessed a period of re-adjustment. In both the German Empire and Ireland, rural economies 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. 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 emigrants with an

opportunity to establish themselves in a rapidly modernizing, 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. 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 1900.¹ However, the Midwest consistently attracted more German immigrants than their Irish counterparts, primarily because of the contrasting economic statuses that characterized each group.

Improving transportation networks aided 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 total, forty states were represented, from New York and Massachusetts in the east to Washington and California in the west. By comparison, given the smaller size of Fort Wayne, a fewer number of states were represented. Despite that, the generational element of the German community in 1900 was born in twenty-seven different states, while the Irish offspring were born in nineteen states. In contrast to St Louis, it was primarily the eastern states that were prevalent in the Fort Wayne analysis suggesting a more direct route to settlement in that region.

THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

Contrasts between the German and Irish immigrant communities can also be seen in the settlement models adopted by each group, again with variations between St Louis and 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. However, the Irish immigrants in St Louis settled according to Ward's

¹US Federal Census Compendiums, 1850–1900, *US Census Bureau*, accessed August 20, 2013, www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/.

model of the ethnic ghetto, a congested settlement of cheap housing usually characterized by a variety of social problems and low rates of economic stability. That type of ethnic cluster contrasts with the German settlement model because there is very little evidence of Irish churches and other communal amenities in the ghetto itself. Notably, each of the three Irish churches were situated outside the nucleus of the Irish immigrant cluster.

Immigrant settlement in Fort Wayne illustrates 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 center of the city, complete with both Catholic and Lutheran churches. By comparison, there was no evidence of an Irish ethnic ghetto in Fort Wayne, rather the Irish immigrant group also established an ethnic community. Given the location of that 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.

The settlement models adopted by both immigrant communities broadly correspond with the existing historiography. However, it is again necessary to highlight that regional variations are a significant factor in those settlement patterns. Writing about the Irish in Stafford, England, Herson noted that the Irish were found in a variety of locations around the town. In assessing the census schedules, the Irish in Fort Wayne correlate with the settlement patterns that Herson alluded to.² There were pockets of Irish settlement in both Stafford and Fort Wayne, yet it was not until the 1890s that a distinct Irish community emerged in Fort Wayne. Therefore, it is possible that the settlement patterns of Irish immigrant communities in smaller urban centers differ from the patterns 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.³

²John Herson, "Irish Migration and Settlement in Victorian England: A Small Town Perspective," in *The Irish in Britain, 1815–1939*, ed. Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1989), 84–102.

³R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth-Century Neighborhood That Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (New York: Free Press, 2001); and Denis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 166–70.

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 proportional to their group size. This confirms the widely documented stereotype of European immigrants being young, single men and women who were attempting to exploit the American labor market.⁴ 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.

Both groups recorded high representations in the 'manufacturing', 'trade and transportation', and 'domestic and personal service' categories in terms of immigrant employment. The contrasting size of St Louis and Fort Wayne again 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 that category in St Louis. Comparing the occupational patterns of both groups, 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 were recorded than Irish men. Of those who were employed in that sector, a larger number of ethnically Irish men were employed in public service occupations such as policing and firefighting, which 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 characterized social mobility for many within the Irish immigrant community. Conversely, for the German community, economic independence

⁴Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history, 1607–2007* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 191.

and subsequently social mobility were achieved through small enterprises focusing on the artisanal trades brought from the homeland. In terms of the occupational trends of the generational components of both groups, the same conclusions broadly apply, albeit with one significant exception. Second and subsequent generations appear to have acquired access to the professions more readily than their parents, the immigrant generation. That 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.⁵

By examining both immigrant communities in that way and applying the occupational categories utilized by the Census Bureau, this study provides a unique perspective which illuminates immigrant employment trends in a more concise way than many previous studies have. In his study of Boston, Thernstorm had suggested that upward mobility was relatively constant among immigrant communities.⁶ This study broadly confirms Thernstorm's thesis but perhaps also suggests that economic opportunities were more readily available to immigrants in the west, provided they had the means to travel there. That is seen in the varying types of employment pursued by immigrants in the Midwest and West. German and Irish women gained faster entry to manufacturing industries in the Midwest than they did in the East.

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, semiskilled, and unskilled workers. Similarly, Vinyard and Meagher used comparable approaches in their studies of Detroit and Worcester, respectively.⁷ However, in analyzing

⁵Clark and Pooley have also used aggregated census data to discuss the economic activities of generational members of the Irish ethnic community. For more see: Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, 61–87; Colin G. Pooley, “Segregation or Integration? The Residential Experience of the Irish in Mid-Victorian Britain,” in *The Irish in Britain, 1815–1939*, ed. Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1989), 84–102.

⁶Stephen Thernstorm, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 107–10.

⁷Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*; Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the Urban Frontier, Detroit, 1850–1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1976); and Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001).

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 that, combined with a comparative approach, arguably highlights the importance of economic stability in the immigrant experience.

The cultural distinctiveness of both communities was an integral aspect of their ethnic identity, and 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. First, with respect to the Irish immigrant community, there is very little evidence of ethnically exclusive cultural organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians over a prolonged period. Similarly, very little evidence of *Clan na nGael*, the Gaelic League or even Land League clubs has emerged. There is however, evidence of organizations like the Knights of Labor or the Catholic Knights of America, associations which were not ethnically exclusive. That could suggest that the assimilation of the Irish was more swiftly achieved in the smaller city because of the size of the Irish community there. Despite that, tenets of Irish culture undoubtedly existed and the Irish in the city regularly held St Patrick's Day parades.

A recurring theme throughout the research is the ethnic divisions that characterized the German immigrant community. In considering the cultural preservation of a German ethnic identity in Fort Wayne, 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. That 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. Gleeson's observation about the smaller number of social and cultural organizations developed by the Irish in areas like Mobile, Alabama correlates with the findings of this study in that Irish associational life was also difficult to establish and sustain in Fort Wayne, a comparable developing urban center.⁸ However, where those organisations existed, their value was difficult to underestimate.

Conversely, the contrasts between German secular and religious social and cultural organisations were particularly pronounced in St Louis.

⁸David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815–1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 55–73.

Associations like the *Turnverein* or the various singing organizations 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 organizations that could be compared with the ‘secular’ German singing unions or the gymnastic societies.

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, which 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. Ethnic divisions, or lack thereof, were again important in influencing those 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 shelters and there is little doubt that religion became the cornerstone of the ethnic identity of both communities.

However, that 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’.⁹ Dolan also noted how the church provided a

⁹John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool Irish, 1800–1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 28.

nurturing environment for developing immigrant communities in New York.¹⁰ Importantly, however, the role of the church in the Midwest seems to have had a more philanthropic and missionary character than it did on the east coast. It was the various religious denominations in St Louis that were responsible for developing and instituting a variety of social infrastructures.¹¹ That contrast highlights the regional variations in the character of the church and depicts 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 characterized by contrasting political allegiances to both the Republican and Democratic Parties. Despite that, both communities were aware of the advantages of being part of the political machine and as a result, German and Irish immigrants could acquire political positions at ward, city, and even state levels. 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 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 organizations such as the Fenian Brotherhood ensured that Ireland's political struggles were never far from the minds of Irish immigrants in America.

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 argued that even though Irish involvement in the Civil War prepared the Irish for liberation at home, it

¹⁰Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

¹¹Colleen McDannell, "Going to the Ladies Fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870–1900," in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 234–51; Alan M. Kraut, "Illness and Medical Care Among Irish Immigrants in Antebellum New York," in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 153–68.

also enabled them to integrate into American society, a point developed by Walsh and Gleeson.¹² Contrastingly, many German immigrants were 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. The immigrant profiles are again 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, dress-makers, 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. 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. In that respect, the influence of German and Irish immigrant women is apparent. As social innovators, many of those 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. Given those observations, it is difficult to argue with Nolan's statement that 'women were at the centre of the ... adaptation to their new American homes.'¹³

¹²Susannah Ural-Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York: New University Press, 2006), 264–75; Victor Walsh, "A Fanatic Heart: The Cause of Irish-American Nationalism in Pittsburgh During the Gilded Age," *Journal of Social History* 15, no. 2 (1981): 187–90; and David Gleeson, *The Green and the Grey: The Irish in the Confederate States of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 46–50.

¹³Janet Nolan, "Women's Place in the History of the Irish Diaspora: A Snapshot," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (2009): 79.

CONCLUSION

The comparative approach utilized 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 contextualizes this comparison. The constant influx of immigrants ensured the fluidity and longevity of both communities in St Louis. However, distinct immigration patterns emerge in Fort Wayne which are evident not only in a consideration of settlement trends, but also in terms of the permanence of social and cultural organizations, the establishment of national parishes, dependence on certain types of employment, and the political influence of immigrants at the state level. Ultimately, it appears that assimilation was 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 that in turn ensured immigrant dominance in economic, religious, and political spheres. Importantly, social and cultural organizations also benefited from the significantly larger number of immigrants, and all these factors combined meant that an ethnic identity was more difficult to diffuse and ultimately that elongated the assimilation process. Despite the advantages of examining those communities in relative terms, this research ultimately reflects the lives of the immigrants themselves, their journeys, their successes, their failures, and their American experience.

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INDEX

A

Abolitionism, 73
Abstinence societies, 138, 140
Acculturation, 2, 4, 22, 90, 122, 129, 138, 163, 177, 191, 204, 205, 208, 223, 225, 226, 232
Agricultural, 27, 29–31, 38, 45, 95, 238
Agricultural practices, 24
Aldermen, 78, 192
Aliens, 191
Allen County, 68, 69, 126, 136, 137, 158, 166, 193, 194
American Catholic Colonization Society, 51
Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), 19, 80, 121, 134–137, 139, 140, 143, 145, 172, 224, 225, 240
Anerbenrecht, 30, 31
Anzieger des Westens, 19, 73, 198
Arsenal, 72, 131, 186

Assimilation, 4, 15, 16, 22, 80, 122, 129–131, 136, 145, 153, 164, 177, 191, 193, 198, 204, 205, 208, 221–223, 232, 239, 240, 244
Assisted emigration scheme, 34, 35
Auswanderungskonsens, 44

B

Bailey, Peter P., 113, 188–190
Bartholdt, Richard, 198, 204
Biddle, Ann, 78
Birth rate, 30, 31, 60
Blacksmith and Wagonmakers Benevolent Association, 144
Bodde, 180
Bonacum, Thomas, 162
Boston, 60
Boyce, Joseph, 186, 187
Bremen, 44, 45, 47, 48, 93, 106, 147

Brewing, 2, 38, 39, 110
 Brohm, Theodor, 48, 147
 Businessman, 106, 107, 186

C

Californian Gold Rush, 38, 68
 Camp Jackson Affair, 131, 162, 185, 186
 Catholic, 15, 22, 42, 51–53, 60, 64, 79, 80, 134, 138, 139, 143–145, 148–152, 155, 159, 160, 162, 163, 165–170, 172–174, 177–179, 181–183, 197, 200, 226–228, 240–242
 Catholic emancipation, 180
 Catholic Temperance Abstinence Union (CTAU), 139
 Census, 2, 3, 16–19, 21, 22, 29, 30, 39, 58, 59, 67, 69, 76, 80, 87–89, 93–100, 107–110, 115, 116, 119, 134, 169, 188, 192, 193, 201, 207, 208, 210–217, 219, 221, 228, 229, 236–240
 Central *Turner* Hall, 123, 124
 Chain migration, 26, 40, 83, 89
 Chief engineer, 194
 Cholera epidemic, 69, 106, 168, 231
 Church, 7, 15, 21, 22, 41, 50–53, 79, 113, 122, 139–141, 143, 147–175, 180, 182, 189, 190, 211, 224–226, 228, 229, 232, 241, 242
 Citizenship, 1, 34, 41, 43, 188
 City auditor, 194
 City Circuit Court, 193
 City comptroller, 194
 Civil unrest, 24, 33, 182
 Civil war, 9, 15, 19, 22, 33, 38, 46, 50, 51, 59, 72, 73, 104, 106, 128, 131, 143, 178–180, 184–190, 195, 199, 204, 242
 Clanship, 75

Colorado Gold Rush, 38
 Communications, 23, 99
 Community of the Magdalens, 231
 Confederacy, 27, 185, 187, 242
 Confederate Army, 186
 Congress, 32, 198, 202
 Conservative, 41, 122, 153, 155, 158, 225
 Constitutional nationalist, 201
 Convent, 227, 229, 230
 Cottage industry, 29
 Criminality, 75

D

Damenchor, 124, 126
 Daughters of Erin, 137
 Delaney, Joseph, 165
 Democrat, 19, 65, 136, 187, 191, 196, 197
 Democratic National Convention, 196
 Democratic Party, 178–180, 196, 197, 242
 Dempsey, Timothy, 160
 Deutscher Bund, 24, 32
 de Vere, Stephen, 46
 Disease, 28, 47
 Dogtown, 76, 135
 Domestic servant, 228
 Donnelly, Thomas, 111
 Drayage, 196, 197
 Dressmaker, 95, 117, 212–214
 Dublin, 8, 27, 28, 34, 35, 44, 45, 49, 75, 104, 150, 161, 163, 201, 230

E

Earl Grey, 46, 47
 Economy, 14, 23, 24, 27–31, 38, 46, 69, 88, 102, 109
 Education, 34, 74, 95, 101, 104, 115–118, 121, 170, 175, 180, 208, 209, 212, 229–231

Egan's Rats, 75, 197
 Electoral ward, 17, 82
 Enumerator, 18
 Erin Benevolent Society, 143
 Ethnic community model, 79
 Ethnic ghetto model, 70, 74, 79, 237
 Exile, 161, 201

F

Factory, 72, 108–110, 117, 118, 213, 215, 224, 243
 Faller, Edward, 164
 Famine, 7, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 74, 77, 78, 104, 108, 123, 135, 143, 196, 201, 203, 233, 235
 Famine Irish, 29
 Female employment trends, 207, 211
 Female immigrant identity, 223
 Female religious orders, 227, 229, 231
 Fenian Brotherhood, 202, 242
 First Missouri Infantry, 186
 Fogerty, Edward, 93, 107–109, 120
 Fort Wayne Turnverein, 132, 141, 193
 Fort Wayne Weekly Republican, 113
 Forty-Eighters, 33, 34, 128, 131, 178
 Franco-Prussian war, 200, 243
 Fraternal organization, 135
 Freie Presse, 70
 Frenchtown, 72, 74

G

Generational element, 59, 87, 101, 104, 105, 212, 236, 239
 German culture, 73, 124, 128, 129, 132, 139, 148, 240
 German identity, 123
 German language, 19, 41, 73, 125, 144, 148, 155, 157, 198, 200, 209, 241
 German singing societies, 19, 124

German unification, 25, 88, 199, 200
 Gerstäcker, Frederick, 47
Gesängvereine, 124, 126
 Gollar, Franz, 159
 Grace, William R., 195
 Grays and Greens, 178
 Guild, 172, 223, 224

H

Hamburg, 45, 125
 Harmonie Gesängverein, 125
 Harvests, 26, 30, 46
 Hedekin Hotel, 57
 Holy Roman Empire, 32
 Homestead Act 1862, 38, 54
 House of Representatives, 196, 197
 Hughes, John, 52, 149

I

Indiana, 2, 3, 54, 55, 59, 61, 63, 93, 106, 108, 113, 127, 154, 158, 164, 172, 179, 188, 190, 191, 198, 199, 212, 222, 228, 229
 Indiana State Constitution of 1851, 191
 Industrialization, 23–26, 28, 30, 38
 Integration, 5, 10, 11, 76, 80, 122, 136, 143, 144, 191, 205, 228, 232, 239
 Interethnic marriage, 221, 223
 Intraethnic marriage, 217
 Irish Catholic Benefit Association, 143, 172
 Irish Catholic Colonization Society, 51, 52
 Irish culture, 240
 Irish Emigrant Society, 77, 143
 Irish identity, 241
 Irish language, 9, 132
 Irish Parliamentary Party, 201

J

Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig, 128

K

Kenrick, Richard, 161, 226, 230
 Kentucky, 55
 Kerry Patch, 59, 65, 68, 74–76, 87,
 139, 159–161
Kirchendeutsche, 122
 Knights of Fr. Mathew, 137, 138, 140,
 172
 Knights of St Patrick, 140, 143, 187
 Know-Nothing Party, 181, 183, 184
 Kulturkampf, 200

L

Labor force, 25, 39, 104
 Ladies Auxiliary, 130, 137, 172, 224,
 225
 Laissez-Faire, 28
 Landlords, 27, 35, 65
 Land ownership, 25, 37
 Landsman associations, 122
 Landsmanschaften, 200
 Land wars, 180
 Language, 72, 73, 79, 97, 132, 148,
 151, 152, 155, 158, 164, 168,
 209, 218, 221, 241
 Liberalism, 32
 Linen industry, 26, 30
 Lipp, Adolph, 1, 215
 Liverpool, 1, 7, 8, 44, 46, 108, 228,
 241
 Louisiana, 59, 62, 63, 123
 Lutheran, 15, 22, 41, 48, 50–53, 64,
 79, 80, 145, 147, 148, 151–159,
 173, 174, 225, 226, 237, 241
 Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, 50,
 154
 Lutheran Emigrant Mission, 52

M

Mann, Bertha, 223
 Männerchor, 124–126
 Manufacturing, 38, 39, 54, 68, 69, 95,
 100–102, 107–110, 112, 118,
 120, 210–213, 232, 238, 239
 Market economy, 38
 Marriage, 2, 18, 22, 30, 31, 59, 106,
 139, 206, 215–223, 232, 243
 Martin, J.J., 196, 198, 204
 Merchant, 193, 194, 196
 Meyer, Christian, 93, 120
 Militant nationalist, 201
 Milliner, 95, 117
 Milwaukee, 71
 Missouri, 55
 Missouri Compromise 1820, 191
 Missouri House of Representatives,
 196, 197
 Muhler, Charles F., 194
 Mullanphy, Bryan, 56, 78
 Mullanphy Emigrant Home, 56, 78
 Mullanphy, John, 51, 64, 77, 78, 166,
 168, 194

N

Napoleonic wars, 23–25, 27, 32, 34,
 235
 Nationalism, 6, 32, 34, 199–201, 242,
 243
 Nationalist, 32, 133, 199–202
 Nativism, 181, 183
 Nativist movement, 41, 203
 Naturalization, 17, 40, 41, 181, 191
 Neill, Henry, 37
 Nenagh Guardian, 44
 New Orleans, 55
 New York, 1, 2, 4, 6–15, 23, 25,
 26, 33, 34, 38, 40–42, 46,
 47, 49–56, 58–63, 67, 70, 71,
 74, 93, 94, 100, 104, 111,

- 112, 119–124, 129, 133, 140, 149, 150, 153, 154, 158, 165, 179–181, 184, 185, 188, 195, 196, 198, 200, 202, 206, 214, 222, 224, 226–228, 230, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243
- New York Irish Emigrant Association, 51
- New York Times, 200
- Noonan, Edward, 204
- North American Turnerbund, 121, 132
- Nuns, 22, 167, 168, 205, 226–231
- O**
- Oechtering, John, 164
- O’Fallon, John, 77, 143
- Ohio, 2, 10, 33, 40, 50, 55, 57, 59–61, 63, 69, 106, 123, 124, 126, 154, 158, 182, 184, 202, 218, 222
- Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, 181
- Order of United Irishmen, 143
- O’Reilly, Thomas, 104, 105
- Overstolz, Henry, 195
- P**
- Pacific Railroad Act, 54, 68
- Parnell, C.S., 201–203
- Parochial school, 80, 148, 152, 155, 162, 165, 168–170, 209, 225, 228
- Pastor, 47, 48, 50, 51, 147, 150, 155, 157, 158, 160, 162, 165, 225
- Pennsylvania, 12, 55, 57, 59–61, 63, 69, 111, 112, 123, 165, 183, 194, 218, 228
- Penny Shops, 69, 111, 165
- Persecution, 24
- Philadelphia, 53, 179
- Pneumonia, 193
- Political machine, 180, 192, 193, 196, 197, 242
- Population, 3, 27, 29–31, 34, 39, 53, 59, 67–69, 80–82, 91, 100, 116, 128, 132, 137, 159, 183, 185, 188, 193, 195, 198–200, 205, 208–210
- Potato, 31, 46
- Poverty, 8, 24, 27–29, 50, 64, 71, 75, 94, 96, 100, 119, 227, 231, 239
- Printer, 117, 198
- Property, 17, 18, 30, 31, 37, 39, 41, 66, 78, 182, 183
- Public school, 74, 155
- Q**
- Queenstown, 44, 45, 227
- R**
- Railroad, 3, 38, 39, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 68–70, 80, 86, 101, 111, 117, 165, 229, 237
- Realteilung, 30, 31
- Reconstruction era, 203
- Rent, 27
- Repeal Association, 34
- Republican, 73, 179, 181, 187, 195, 198, 201, 242
- Republican Party, 33, 178, 179, 192, 198
- Revolution, 23, 24, 26, 32–34, 41, 77
- Ritter, Joseph, 163
- Rockite, 28
- Rural, 8, 26–28, 30, 31, 46, 47, 52, 53, 88, 94, 148, 156, 226, 235
- S**
- Saloon, 1, 93, 95, 113, 115, 192, 193, 197, 214
- Sängerbund, 124, 125, 132

Sängerfest, 123, 127
 Saxony, 89, 147, 156
 Scherer, Henry P., 194
 Schnettler, John, 192
 School, 17, 38, 73, 74, 78–80, 106, 108, 111, 116, 118, 130, 140, 141, 155, 158, 160–162, 164–166, 168–170, 194, 196–198, 209, 210, 225, 227–230, 236, 241
 School Sisters of Notre Dame, 169, 228
 Seamstress, 118, 212, 213
 The Shamrock Society, 140, 143, 182
 Sheahan, Denis, 65
 Sherriff, 194
 Sihler, Wilhelm, 156–158
 Sisters of Charity, 167, 227, 229
 Sisters of Charity of the Virgin Mary, 227
 Sisters of Mercy, 227, 230
 Sisters of Providence, 164, 169, 228, 229
 Sisters of the Good Shepard, 227, 231
 Slavery question, 179
 Smoke Ordinance, 195
 Soccer, 134
 Social unrest, 24, 28
 Soulard, 72, 74, 159
 Spilker, August, 93, 115
 Spilker, Doris, 119
 Sr Mary Catherine McGrath, 166, 228, 229
 Sr Mary de Pazzi Bentley, 230
 SS Peter and Paul's Parish, 169
 Staats Zeitung, 70
 St Bridget of Erin Parish, 162, 169, 173
 St Francis de Sales Parish, 169, 172, 224
 St Lawrence O'Toole's Parish, 169
 St Liborius Parish, 152
 St Louis Globe Democrat, 65, 187, 197
 St Louis Greys, 182, 186
 St Louis Perfectos, 134

St Louis Roman Catholic and Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, 139
 St Louis Sängerbund, 124
 St Louis Turner Society, 129, 224
 St Malachy's Parish, 138
 St Patrick's Day, 52, 135, 136, 138–142, 240
 St Patrick's Parish, 160, 165, 166, 169, 170, 173, 228, 229
 St Paul's Lutheran Church, 79, 154, 174, 225
 St Teresa's Parish, 134
 Steerage, 46–48
 Steerage Act 1819, 40
 Step migration, 88
 Street inspector, 192
 Suffrage, 33, 41
 Supreme Court, 196
 Sweeney, John P., 192

T
 Tammany Hall, 180
 Tax, 26, 183
 Technological, 25, 26, 28, 38
 Temperance movement, 137, 138
 Tenth Missouri District, 198
 Textile, 38, 39
 Thomas 'Snake' Kinney, 197
 Tillage, 27
 Tobacco, 39, 82, 95, 104, 109, 110, 118, 120, 186, 207, 216
 Tobacco industry, 207, 216
 Toledo, Ohio, 55, 126
 Transport/Transportation, 23, 34, 38–40, 54, 56, 82, 95–102, 111, 112, 118–120, 210–212, 236, 238
 Tribune, 198
 Trinity Lutheran Church, 147, 157–159

Tuam Herald, 44
 Turnverein, 68, 122, 128–133, 145,
 194, 241
 Typhus, 28, 104

U

Ulster Scot, 25
 Unemployment, 27
 Unification, 33, 200, 201
 Union Army, 15, 184, 185, 187, 189,
 195, 243
 Union Park Hall, 125
 Union Volunteer Fire Company, 187
 United Sons of Erin, 143
 Unskilled laborer, 26, 120
 Urbanization, 30, 38

V

Vere Foster, 46, 48, 49
 Vereinsdeutsche, 122
 Victimization, 201, 202
 Virginia, 55
 Vogel, Frank B., 193
 Vormärz, 24, 33
 Vote, 179, 180, 183, 190–192, 195, 196

W

Waffenverein, 200
 Wages, 25
 Wallber, Emil, 195
 Walsh, William, 161
 Walther, C.F.W., 147, 154, 157
 Ward delegate, 192
 Waterloo, 27, 32, 34
 Weighmaster, 194
 Westliche Post, 73, 123
 Westward expansion, 38, 68, 181
 Woods, J.J., 112
 Workhouse, 112
 Working class, 24, 94, 120, 206
 World Fair, 187, 197
 World Fair Convention, 197
 Wyneken, Friedrich, 157

Y

Young Irelanders, 34

Z

Zepp, Louis, 192, 193
 Zollinger, Charles, 194
 Zollverein, 24, 26