Chapter 7: Specialty Analyses and Preliminary Interpretations

This chapter summarizes the preliminary analyses completed on the data recovered from the first field season at the Dan and Catherine Boyle Site (20CX204) on Barney's Lake Road on Beaver Island. By examining syncretic processes in material culture, dietary changes, and uses of the built environment, this interdisciplinary and collaborative project investigates the ways in which Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and ever-changing social landscapes in which they lived. Our ability to address our research questions was dependent upon recovering sufficient data to do so. The following chapter summarizes our preliminary data and cursory interpretations for the 2012 data as well as compares it to our preliminary interpretations of the artifacts from the Gallagher Homesite (20CX201). Analyses will be on-going as new sites are excavated to understand how these homesteads fit into the overall social, cultural, and economic experiences of life on the island.

Chronology

The first step in the analytical process involved determining the element of "time" at the site. For every unit and every level, the range of dates of manufacture for artifacts as well as the average minimum date and the average maximum date were calculated based on the temporally-sensitive objects present. Levels which did not possess temporally-sensitive objects or for which dates could not be surmised using the law of superposition were not included in the table.

Deciphering time can be a challenge in archaeological analyses. Many artifacts have extraordinarily long dates of manufacture. For example, whiteware was widely manufactured and distributed beginning in the 1830s and continues to be produced today (Mankowitz and Hagger 1957; Price 1981; Wetherbee 1980:32). Consequently, *terminus ante quem* dates – that is, the date before which an object had to have been produced – were often difficult to determine. Likewise, stoneware was manufactured during the late eighteenth century and continued to be widely used well into the twentieth century (Cameron 1986:274-275; Dodd 1964:274-275; Ketchum 1983:19, 1991:9). In this case, *terminus post quem* dates – that is, the date after which an object had to have been produced – can skew the calculation to a much earlier date.

This circumstance is exacerbated by the sheer volume of goods produced under the auspices of industrialization and mass production during the mid- to late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. So there are many classes of material objects that are not yet well understood by historical archaeologists, particularly artifacts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The implication for the Gallagher Site is that some calculated dates may be skewed somewhat earlier than they actually represent, since nineteenth century dates may be represented in greater numbers among temporally-sensitive artifacts.

In addition, artifacts associated with level 1 in any unit are tentative at best, since this stratum represented the active humus layer and likely recent disturbance from humans and the natural world (plants and animals). When possible, the law of superposition was utilized to associate those strata for which few temporally-sensitive objects were available, unless clear disturbance to the stratigraphy was noted during excavation. Furthermore, strata for which dates straddled the periods of occupation were sometimes correlated with adjacent units using the Harris matrix in order to associate those cultural deposits with a particular phase of occupation at the site. The results of our date calculation were presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Summary of dates for units and levels excavated at the Boyle Farm Site (20CX204), with all "to present" dates omitted; hence, no "average late" dates could be calculated for some levels.

Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects
1	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
1	2	1830-1880	1890	1857.5	1880	1880	9
1	3	1830-1915	1915	1867	1869	1856	30
1	4	1839-1940	1915	1877.3	1866	1893.7	13
1	5	1830-1880	1868	1845.7	1868	1874	9
1	6	1830-1880	1869	1841.5	1869	1877.3	7
1	7	1830-1880	1867	1848.5	1867	1873.5	2
1	8	1830-1917	1883	1856	1860	1885	5
1	9	1830-1911	1911	1858.3	1862	1884.3	4
1	10	1830-1880	1867	1839.3	1867	1875.7	4
2	1	1800-1925	1830	1815	1880	1902.5	2
2	2	1830-1880	1839	1833	1880	1880	7
2	3	1800-1925	1887	1853	1876	1887.5	28
2	4	1830-1965	1965	1902.7	1837	1906.9	199
2	5	1800-1965	1965	1885.5	1849	1898.7	90
2	6	1830-1963	1963	1882.4	1846	1904.5	67
2	7	1830-1965	1965	1877.9	1860	1885.1	52
2	8E	----- - 1830	N/A	N/A	1830	1830	1
2	8W	1830-1943	1943	1870.4	1842	1884.1	22
2	9E	1888-1888	1888	1888	1888	1888	1
2	9W	1830-1880	1874	1858	1870	1874.7	3
2	10	1820-1910	1910	1859.2	1863	1882.2	7
2	11	1856-1910	1910	1875.5	1856	1875.5	4
2	12	1830-1880	1839	1834.5	1880	1880	5
2	13	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
3	1	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	2
3	2	1830-1880	1880	1842.5	1880	1880	14
3	3	1830-1880	1880	1838.6	1880	1880	45
3	4	1830-1880	1840	1832.5	1880	1880	7
3	5	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	4
3	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	2	1830-1880	1886	1840.9	1880	1882.7	11
4	3	1800-1940	1880	1841	1846	1886.2	86
4	4	1830-1880	1851	1836	1848	1867.8	11
4	5	1830-1885	1857	1841.5	1857	1874	9
4	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
5	1	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
5	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
5	3	1830-1925	1854	1895	1862	1887	60
5	4	1800-1925	1880	1839.9	1880	1898	28
5	5	1830-1920	1880	1851.3	1830	1876.5	30
5	6	1830-1880	1880	1843.9	1880	1880	38
5	7	1800-1940	1880	1836.9	1870	1891.9	18
5	8	1780-1940	1895	1846.4	1830	1872.8	22
5	9	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	3
5	10	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
5	11	1830-1880	1840	1835	1880	1880	3
5	12	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects
5	13	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6	2	1830-1880	1880	1842.4	1858	1875.6	8
6	3	1820-1933	1933	1845	1860	1888.7	14
6	4	1800-1955	1955	1861.1	1865	1902.6	19
6	5	1800-1925	1884	1834.8	1880	1889.8	7
6	6	1830-1940	1890	1843.7	1848	1889	68
6	7	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
7	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
7	2	1780-1939	1939	1849.3	1860	1889.9	37
7	3	1830-1924	1924	1846.6	1834	1889.7	22
7	4	1830-1880	1880	1855	1880	1880	2
7	5	1830-1895	1895	1848.5	1840	1871.7	5
7	6	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
7	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
7	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8	2	1830-1880	1839	1834.5	1880	1880	4
8	3	1780-1925	1880	1824.3	1860	1891.7	20
8	4	1830-1940	1880	1839.8	1860	1893.3	13
8	5	1830-1940	1862	1835.1	1862	1906.3	27
8	6	1780-1880	1830	1805	1860	1870	2
8	7	1830- -----	1830	1830	N/A	N/A	1
8	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8	9	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
9	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
9	2	1830-1860	1880	1849.7	1860	1860	3
9	3	1800-1925	1880	1840.6	1860	1882.4	25
9	4	1820-1885	1885	1844	1861	1877.1	15
9	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
9	6	1780-1880	1873	1830.3	1860	1870.6	14
9	7	1830-1925	1873	1844.5	1853	1880.8	10
9	8	1830-1885	1851	1840.3	1851	1874	7
9	9	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	7
9	10	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	2
9	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
9	12	1870-1910	1870	1870	1910	1910	1
9	4-7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
10	4	1780-1950	1909	1851.7	1860	1898	18
10	5	1800-1925	1840	1828.6	1880	1896.7	8
10	6	1830-1925	1830	1830	1880	1902.5	3
10	7	1830-1903	1903	1854.3	1880	1880	8
10	8	1800-1925	1860	1828.8	1860	1885.6	32
10	9	1780-1940	1880	1826.2	1830	1896.9	23
10	10	1830-1906	1906	1854	1860	1882.3	13
10	11	1810-1940	1871	1837.5	1870	1891.6	28
10	12	1800-1940	1903	1841.9	1860	1893.5	40
10	13	1800-1925	1872	1846.3	1854	1878.9	13
10	14	1830-1910	1871	1847.2	1865	1879.8	18
11	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
11	2	1830-1920	1880	1848.7	1868	1885.6	23
11	3	1830-1922	1922	1849.2	1853	1883.8	11

Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects
11	4	1750-1885	1873	1832.2	1865	1875.4	11
11	5	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1
11	6	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	3
11	7	1830-1880	1839	1834.5	1880	1880	5

Changes to the Landscape over Time

The excavation at the houselot focused on some of the standard research questions for domestic sites, specifically issues of chronology and change over time. These research items included (a) Was the building constructed in one episode? Or were there later additions? (b) How was the landscape modified over time? When did features come in to and out of use? Why? To what events do those changes correspond? (c) How does continuity and change in the landscape connect to larger social, cultural, and economic processes on the island? (d) Where were the activity areas in the yard? How might they reflect divisions of labor by gender or age?

Since most structures have windows, we utilized Moir's model for window glass dating – combined with other temporally-sensitive artifacts – to help determined the dates of buildings at the property. Window glass has been shown to gradually increase in thickness through time, which is why it can be a useful tool for dating historic sites. Several dating schemes and formulas have been devised that use average glass thickness to calculate occupation dates. These include Ball (1984), Roenke (1978), Chance and Chance (1976), McKelway (1992), and Moir (1987). Moir's (1987) window glass dating technique utilizes a regression line to date the average thickness of glass.

McBride and Sharp (1991:70) used this dating formula for window glass recovered at Camp Nelson, Kentucky and retrieved two dates very close to the documentary occupation dates. One date was only one half year late while the other was nearly ten years later. Current research is still investigating the possibility for regional differences in window glass dating schemes.

This method was developed for nineteenth century sites, so it should be appropriate for examining the nineteenth-century occupation of the Boyle Site. Moir (1987) advised that glass dates earlier than 1810 or more recent than 1915 may not be valid.

Moir's technique was used to date all of the flat glass recovered during an excavation. The proveniences and window glass dates are presented in tables in Appendix A of this report. There were no shards that measured and dated prior to 1810, although several shards post-dated 1915. These latter dates were included in the histogram generated for the site. Given nineteenth-century glassblowing technology, a single pane of glass is unlikely to be entirely consistent and thickness throughout. Therefore, a single shard of glass cannot be used to definitively data an excavation stratum. Rather, it is the overall distribution of window glass dates that are important. The distribution of glass dates from the Gallagher site were plotted as a histogram following Day and Clay (2000; Day 2001) (Figure 7.1).

The first major peak of window glass dates occurs in 1874 with a second significant peak in 1879. These dates are completely fascinating given that the cabin wasn't even constructed until 1883-1884. The third significant peak dates to 1889, five years or so after the house was constructed. The dating of the window glass suggests that the Boyle family removed the windows from their home near French Bay and "recycled" them in the construction of the home on Barney's Lake Road.

The evolution of a domestic space can illuminate the kinds of activity within households, how those activities are organized according to age and gender, and how activity changes over time. Too little data was recovered during our brief field season to be able to assess changes to the landscape over time. More data is needed to fully understand the uses of this particular domestic landscape.

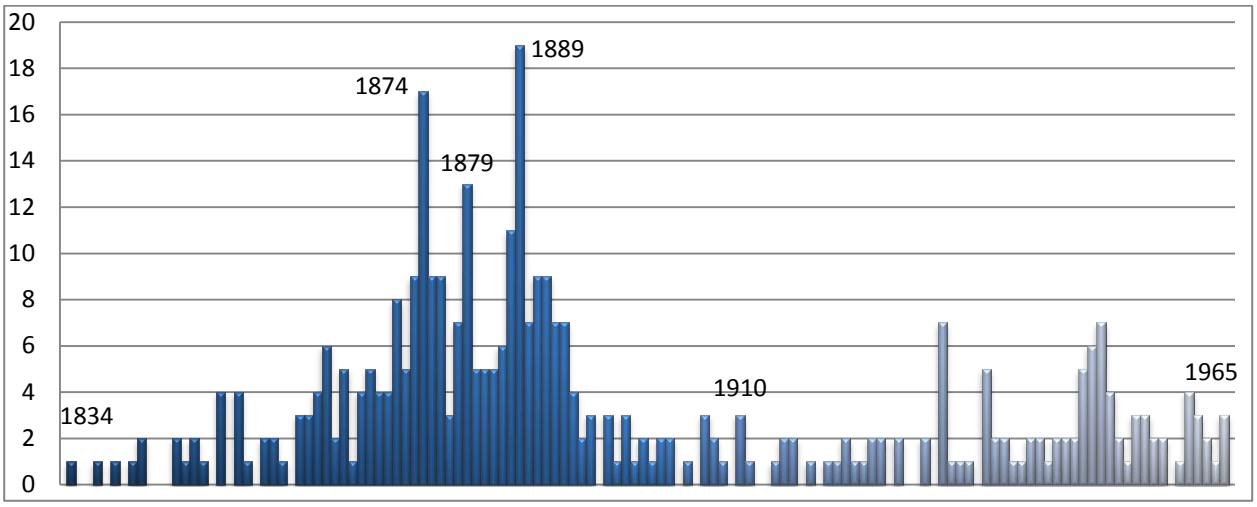

Figure 7.1. Histogram of window glass dates from the Boyle Farm Site (20CX204).

Glass Containers

Glass containers from the Gallagher Site (20CX201) were analyzed (Table 7.2) and compared to an Irish immigrant site (12SJ438) in South Bend, Indiana. Unfortunately, two few diagnostic glass container fragments were recovered from the Boyle Site to facilitate a similar analysis. A single wine bottle, a Vaseline jar, and a few fragments of probable patent medicine bottles were the only discernible containers. The assemblage was otherwise dominated by undiagnostic fragments, often even of indeterminate manufacture. This may be a matter of (1) sampling error – that we just didn't excavate in the areas that would have yielded broken container glass; or (2) it could be a unique function of the site's residents who may have reused glass in various ways around the homesite; or (3) the brief occupation of the site (a little more than a decade) didn't produce much glass debris for recovery.

Table 7.2. Summary of minimum glass vessels recovered from the Gallagher Site (20CX201), including their associations. The percentages given are for each category of vessel within each occupation.

Family	Bottles (liquid beverage)		Food containers		Serving vessels		Personal artifacts		Medicine Bottles		Other		Total
Preston	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2
Warner	5	23.8%	3	14.3%	0	0%	1	4.8%	10	48.6%	2	8.5%	21
Warner or Early 1	8	34.8%	6	26.1%	0	0%	0	0%	8	34.8%	1	4.3%	23
Early 1	23	35.9%	16	25%	3	4.7%	2	3.1%	16	25%	4	6.3%	64
Early 1 or 2	21	28.8%	40	54.8%	6	8.2%	0	0%	6	8.2%	0	0%	73
Early 2	62	38.3%	68	42%	11	6.8%	3	1.9%	18	11%	0	0%	162
Gallagher	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	11
Totals	**131**	**36.8%**	**134**	**37.6%**	**20**	**5.6%**	**6**	**1.7%**	**58**	**16.3%**	**7**	**2%**	**356**

One particularly surprising aspect of the assemblage was the complete absence of fruit jar fragments. It was expected that the Boyle family would have exhibited a degree of economic self-sufficiency based on what we had observed at the Gallagher Site as well as by the demographic composition of the community (with primarily fisherman/farmers and few specialized occupations). The absence of fruit jars and presence of significant amounts of metal food containers suggests that the Boyles were not preserving their own food, but rather buying it in town.

There are several possible explanations for this consumption pattern, all of which need further investigation. It could be a reflection of the relative affluence of the family. Fishing in northern Lake Michigan brought significant abundance to the Beaver Island community in the late nineteenth century (Connors 1999). As a fishing/farming family, the Boyles may have shared in this abundance. Fr. Dan Connaghan (2012) recalls that the furnishings in the house built across the street in 1895 were "very, very nice" and included an organ, many books, clocks, and an accumulation of other antiques from his parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and great-great grandparents. Those furnishings are certainly consistent with the hypothesis that the Beaver Irish were at least somewhat affluent during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly the 1880s during which this site was occupied.

The reliance on can goods rather than preserved foods may also reflect the life cycle of the family. Their oldest daughter Mary would have been about 26 years old and most of the nine children would have been grown. Indeed, the Boyle family may have moved from French Bay to Barney's Lake Road specifically because many of the six boys were old enough to move out and work their own farms (Connaghan 2012). The household likely consisted only of Dan and Catherine and perhaps the two or three youngest children – that is far few mouths to feed than when the family was at its largest (N=11)! Not to mention that by the end of the occupation at the site (ca. 1895), Catherine would have been 65 and Dan 63 and perhaps not as keen on canning as they may have been in their younger days (US Bureau of the Census 1900).

Of course, these variables might also have worked in tandem. The relative affluence may have facilitated different consumer strategies in the waning decades of the nineteenth century. This certainly raises intriguing questions about the ways in which the social and cultural life of the island might also have been changing as the twentieth century approached. An answer to which might become clearer as more homesites are excavated and the comparative data set expands.

Refined Earthenwares

Refined earthenwares are always of particular interest at historic archaeological sites as they are a wonderful medium for displaying consumer tastes, have patterns that change frequently with those evolving tastes, break easily and thus are deposited in the archaeological record, and preserve well for later recovery. The ceramics from the Boyle site were no exception. The minimum number of vessels was determined and those vessels were associated with particular families who had occupied the house (Table 7.4). These ceramics were compared with from the Gallagher Site.

Two important observations regarding the ceramic assemblage from the Gallagher Homestead were made in the 2010-2011 technical report. Notably, the "blue willow" pattern – with the exception of a single plate fragment – was associated exclusively with the first generation Irish immigrant family at the site and there were no matched sets recovered from the site.

Although highly fragmentary, a minimum of 29 vessels were identified from the Boyle Site – 23 refined earthenwares and six coarse earthenwares (Flores 2012). There were no elaborate vessels in the assemblage as most of the dishes were either of blue decoration or plain. It appears that ceramics were not used for competitive social display (Wall 1999, 2000) as there are also no clear matched sets.

An absence of matched sets may have also been a deliberate strategy by the family to minimize any conspicuous displays of wealth. The Boyles consistently purchased teawares and tablewares with blue patterns or undecorated wares, which would have created a complementary and somewhat unified appearance on their table, even if the vessels did not match exactly (Fitts 1999, 2001). An overt material display of a separate tea set may have been viewed as wasteful or decadent in this community.

For some poorer middle-class residents in New York at about the same time, "dazzling their friends with sumptuous ceramics was not necessarily a productive strategy in an environment where they might need the help of their peers to maintain their precarious position at the lower end of the middle class" (Wall 1999:113). Consequently, ceramic vessels in the Five Points were used to highlight group similarities rather than to emphasize differences. The waning decades of the nineteenth century were financially difficult with a

Table 7.3. Summary of minimum ceramic vessels recovered from the Boyle Site (20CX204). R=redware, Y=yellowware, S=stoneware, W=whiteware, I=ironstone, P=pearlware.

Vessel #	Description
R1	Indeterminate, unglazed interior, clear glazed exterior
Y1	Mixing bowl, undecorated
S1	Jug, clear glazed handle fragment
S2	Jug, salt-glazed interior, Albany-glazed exterior
S3	Jug, salt-glazed interior, Albany-glazed exterior
S4	Jug, brown glazed interior, clear glazed exterior
W1	Plate, blue transfer print
W2	Bowl, annular design
W3	Plate, blue shell edged
W4	Plate, blue shell edged
W5	Plate, blue transfer print (blue willow)
W6	Plate, blue transfer print (blue willow)
W7	Plate, flow blue transfer print
W8	Plate, flow blue transfer print
W9	Plate, embossed rim
W10	Teacup, undecorated handle
W11	Chamber pot, undecorated
W12	Teacup, undecorated
W13	Teacup, undecorated
I1	Dinner plate, undecorated
I2	Saucer, undecorated
I3	Teacup, undecorated
I4	Saucer, annual design
I5	Plate, flow blue transfer print
I6	Plate, undecorated
I7	Plate, undecorated
I8	Teacup, undecorated
I9	Teacup, undecorated
P(?)1	Plate, embossed design

series of depressions and economic downturns (Rotman and Clay 2008; Rotman and Staicer 2002). If not every family was sharing in the affluence the Boyles may have been experiencing, a strategy of deliberately eschewing overt material displays of wealth may have been employed by the Boyle family as well – at least not through the dishes on their table.

The “blue willow” pattern was widely produced and frequently characterized in the contemporary literature as "cheap and pretty” (*Good Housekeeping* 1889:249). Nevertheless, this pattern had significant cultural significance for Irish immigrants as a talisman of love in the home (Walsh 2011).

Clearly, this pattern was important to the first generation Early family. Equally significant is the fact that the second generation deliberately eschewed this pattern, with the exception of one fragment which may have been an heirloom piece from Patrick’s parents (Rotman et al. 2011, 2013). This is not entirely surprising since the occupation of the house by the second generation Irish family occurs just a few years after the arrival of the Beaver Island Lumber Company and the return of a multicultural society to the island. The second generation was likely more attuned to the low status of the blue willow pattern in the changing cultural context of the island. The fact that we see relatively little of blue willow at the Boyle Site may

suggest that by the 1880s, even first generation Irish were moving away from this ubiquitous ware as its symbolic value in Ireland became overshadowed by its low status in America.

One particularly interesting ceramic from the site was a single fragment of pearlware. This undecorated footring of a probable plate dates between 1780-1820, predating the occupation of the site by nearly a century. It also significantly predates the Mormon occupation of the 1840s and 1850s. Did this plate belong to some of the very earliest Anglo-European settlers on the island? Was it brought to Beaver Island from Navoo, Illinois or other previous Mormon settlement in the Midwest and then left behind after the eviction? Did Catherine bring it with her when she emigrated as an heirloom piece from her grandmother or great-grandmother? Unfortunately, we will never know, but this object illustrates that artifacts have complex use lives and often entice us with stories we cannot decipher.

Consumer choices are not solely about relative poverty or engagement with familiar practices. Consumption of material goods is also about household priorities (Orser 2010:98). The dishes from the Boyle family table appear to embody all of the complexities of their lived experiences – traditional practices from their homeland (Shakour et al. 2010); negotiation of cultural norms of the island and creation of a meaningful home life (Fitts 1999); the need to solidify family or close family-like social bonds through meal sharing and tea time (Wall 1999, 2000); a desire to emphasize similarities with neighbors rather than differences (Rotman and Clay 2008); and the unique life history of the family (Rotman 2010). As such, their consumer choices were not reducible to simple binary assessments of poverty or wealth, familiar or unfamiliar practices, alienation or incorporation into the cultural world of Beaver Island. Rather the refined earthenwares from the site illustrate the Boyle family's navigation of the multifaceted social landscapes in which they lived.

Chapter 8: Senior Thesis Projects

Three students from the 2011 research teams undertook analyses as part of their senior theses. They co-authored articles for publication in the *Journal of Beaver Island History*. Those projects are reprinted here so that they will be available to the Beaver Island Community until officially published in the journal.

Essay 1: Women and Economy: Analyzing the Roles of Women in Irish-American Communities during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries
by Catherine (Kasia) Ahern

Abstract

The role of women within the local economy of the Irish community on Beaver Island, Michigan during the mid- to late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries has not yet been fully explored. With this project, I compare women's roles on Beaver Island to those in the Irish communities in San Francisco, California, and Butte, Montana. I illustrate the differences in resources, job availability, and social ideology within the three communities to account for the differences in women's roles in each of these Irish-American enclaves. In order to explore this research question, I analyzed various forms of archival information, including censes data from 1850 to 1930, house plans, oral histories, and photographs. The relative isolation and close-knit Irish community of Beaver Island created opportunities for female inhabitants and allowed them to be less burdened by the popular ideologies that permeated American middle-class culture than Irish women living in Butte or San Francisco.

Introduction

This project examines the roles of women within the local economies of the Irish-American communities in Beaver Island, Michigan; Butte, Montana; and San Francisco, California during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fishing and farming were two of the main industries of Beaver Island's economy during this time. Beaver Island women generally managed the household and the children; however, many women found themselves working outside of the home as well in order to support themselves and their families. Some women became proprietors of their own small-businesses on the Island. Butte and San Francisco were primarily mining towns. Like on Beaver Island, Butte women worked inside and outside of the home out of necessity, often taking in boarders who worked in the mines. In contrast, San Francisco had a much faster rate of development and more resources at its disposal than did Beaver Island or Butte.

By analyzing censes, oral histories, historical documentation, and scholarly articles, I aimed to discover the factors that account for the similarities and differences in the roles of women within these three communities. Such factors as geographical region, differences in resource and job availability, and ideological views all contributed.

Theoretical Framework for Defining Gendered Social Relations

Gender is defined as the culturally constructed social identities, attributes, behaviors, privileges, and roles that a particular society designates as appropriate for men and women. By conceptualizing gender as a social structure one can "better analyze the ways in which gender is embedded in the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions of our society" (Lorber 1994; Risman 1998; Ferree, Lorber, and Hess 1999; Connell 2002; Risman 2004: 429; Rotman 2009). Acknowledging gender as a dynamic social configuration enriches the study of gender by leaving "behind the modernist warfare of science, wherein theories are pitted against one another, with a winner and a loser in every contest" (Risman 2004: 434). This understanding of gender offers a complex, yet insightful understanding of gender in society (Risman 2004;

Martin 2004; Hollander et al. 2011). Gender roles within society and local economies can be better understood.

Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974) have also suggested that there is a dichotomy between "a domestic orientation in women and a 'public' orientation in men", and had used this dichotomy to examine the role of women universally (Hanami 1993: 65). It is important to remember that while it is convenient to consider women's roles and men's roles as a dichotomy, this empirical view is sometimes too simplistic for the reality of a given culture (Hanami 1993: 65; Lamphere 2001:100; Rotman 2006). In many communities, the private and public spheres overlap considerably, and men and women have varying degrees of authority within both of these realms (Wurst 2003; Rotman 2009: 19). For women in middle and upper class women in urban settings, the cult of domesticity's ideals of true womanhood and purity led to a woman primarily working within the domestic sphere in nineteenth and twentieth century America (Hanami 1993).

Ideologies behind Gendered Labor Divisions

Gender relations are tied to many other cultural and social constructions such as sexuality, ethnicity, class, and race (Rotman 2009). Thus, it is vital to consider and differentiate between gender roles and relations within particular social contexts. Different cultural ideologies relating to gender arise in different locations and affect communities to varying degrees. The adoption and implementation of gender ideologies varies according to time and space, financial and social circumstances, the abilities and desires of human agents, and developmental cycles of the family (Rotman 2005, 2009; Thomas and Rotman 2011: 6). In order to understand how gender ideologies affected gender roles within the three Irish American communities, prominent cultural ideologies of nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be discussed in this section.

In the late nineteenth century, old aristocratic values were replaced by new Victorian values that were "drawn from the commercialism of the middle class" (Brighton 2001: 22). By this time, capitalist culture permeated through all socioeconomic classes in the United States (Miller 1987: 139-140; Shackel 1993: 41, 1996: 143; Brighton 2001: 22). Wage labor established two major categories: the business class and the working class (Coontz 1988: 187; Fitts 1999; Rotman 2009). The middle class identity emerged from these two classes. In order to maintain their identity, the middle class had to adopt particular "organizational and ideological strategies to survive" (Rotman 2009: 22). Women had an important role in the maintenance of the middle class identity because they were able to successfully "perceive problems of reproducing class position in a changing society and to develop family strategies that responded to those problems" (Coontz 1988: 190; Fitts 2001; Rotman 2009: 22).

The American "middle-class ideology was based, in part, on the concept of what was considered respectable or "genteel behavior" (Brighton 2001: 22). Especially after publications such as Catharine Beecher's *The Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841), the cult of domesticity became a prevailing social ideology that influenced gendered labor divisions in late nineteenth century America (Sklar 1973; Hayden 1995:54-63; Beetham 1996; Rotman 2009). The ideology of true womanhood, or the cult of domesticity, emphasized separate working spheres for men and women (Rotman 2009: 19). Women's labor consisted of the "traditional roles in the home, education, and community service", while men were the wage earners in the public realm (Russell 1981:3; Rotman 2009). The ideology of the cult of domesticity included a physical separation of men and women's spheres (Rotman 2009). The cult of domesticity was one of the highly promoted ideologies of the day and as such, immigrants were pushed to adopt it once they arrived in America (Brighton 2001).

Understanding the influence of Victorianism and the cult of domesticity in late nineteenth and early twentieth century America will be important for understanding Irish women's roles within the economies of Beaver Island, San Francisco, and Butte. The larger communities of San Francisco and Butte were more susceptible and responsive to the mainstream middle class ideologies than was Beaver Island. The community on Beaver Island was unique in that it was more reminiscent of rural Ireland than urban New York in terms of gender divisions of labor.

Women's Roles in Nineteenth Century Rural Ireland

In order to understand the relationship between gender and economy on Beaver Island, it is imperative to examine gender divisions of labor on rural Ireland. Nineteenth century rural Ireland had an agricultural-based economy. Farming relied heavily on manual labor. It was very economically beneficial to have a large family to work the farm. Thus, there was an emphasis on woman's role as mother and child-bearer (Fitzpatrick 1987; Nolan 1989: 29; Orser 2006: 146). Women were also in charge of other domestic duties such as cooking and tending to the turf fire and the hearth (Evans 1957; Sharkey 1985; Carleton 1990: 24; Carleton 1990:100; Hooper 2001: 71; Hull 2006: 147-8).

Women were often part of communal working parties called *meitheal,* working as field laborers during harvest time (Hull 2006: 153; O'Dowd 1981). These women were not confined to domestic duties; they also worked at "'many of the most painstaking and back-breaking of pursuits'" (Hull 2006: 148; Fitzpatrick 1987: 166). Women labored alongside men "and generally performed the same agricultural tasks for wages as they did at home, although they were generally only paid half as much as men" (Hull 2006: 153; Luddy 1995). In this patriarchal society, agrarian women had opportunities to share in many of the same occupations as men in the field and farmstead. In places like Árainn Mhór, where people and resources were scarce, it would have been vital for women to contribute to the local economy in any way that they could. There were not the same physical separations in defining gender roles in Ireland as there were in America.

Historical Development of Three Irish-American Communities

The Irish-American communities of San Francisco, Butte, and Beaver Island each have distinct local histories that shaped every aspect of their unique cultures. Understanding the historical developments of each of these communities provides the context from which the gendered divisions of labor emerged.

The Irish in San Francisco. As a relatively large city in the United States, San Francisco held the more popular ideologies on gendered division of labor. There was most likely a greater pressure to conform to more universal standards because of the higher degree of diversification in the city. The middle class living in San Francisco embraced Victorian ideals and the cult of domesticity. As a result, class-consciousness developed once more and more Irish women became small business owners. Beaver Island, Michigan and Butte, Montana were more isolated and had less development than San Francisco so that seems to account for how women's proprietorship and status were viewed in these communities.

During the mid to late nineteenth century, Irish immigrants arrived in San Francisco from both coasts. In 1852, 44.5 per cent of Irish came from Australasia and 44.6 percent came from the eastern U.S. (Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957*, 1960: 57; Jones 1960: 109-10; McCaffrey 1976: 61; Burchell 1980: 34). Once gold was discovered in Victoria, Canada in 1851, immigration from Australasia ceased. The eastern United States, especially New York, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and Massachusetts, became the main places from which the Irish would leave to reach California. In 1880, "20 percent of the Irish in San Francisco held white collar jobs", while "only 13 percent held similar jobs in New York" (McDannell 1986: 12; Bureau of Census, *MS Census,* 1880). Such statistics suggest that Irish social mobility was more rapid in San Francisco than it was in northeastern cities, like New York, Boston or Providence, in the years 1870 to 1950 (Erie 1978: 270). In 1880, "of 12,902 children in Irish families in the city not born in California, 7,790, or 60.4 per cent, had been born in these three cities" (Walker 1872: 396, 448-9; Burchell 1980: 34). There is little evidence that suggests migration directly from Ireland prior to the 1850s. Irish settlers nearly all would have initially migrated elsewhere before arriving in San Francisco in the 1850s and 1860s.

Gradually, however, Irish began coming in San Francisco directly from various counties including County Cork, County Mayo, County Galway, and County Westmeath, in much greater numbers, especially

after the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869 (Burchell 1980: 7, 35). The railroad greatly improved and eased mobility of migrants from the east coast to the west coast (Burchell 1980).

San Francisco was a prominent city in the nineteenth century because it experienced population and economic growth exceeding that of most other western cities (Erie 1978). Because of its early development, the city became an important location for "federal and state activities, e.g., the Custom House, Mint, Post Office, and Presidio" (Erie 1978: 271). In comparison to counties in the eastern United States, counties in California were responsible for a wider array of functions, so when the city and the county consolidated power during mid-nineteenth century, an unusual amount of municipal jobs emerged. Job availability and increasing population size allowed for the city to flourish during the late nineteenth century (Garvey et al. 2008; Burchell 1980; Erie 1978).

In San Francisco, the societal expectations for women followed popular American ideologies, such as Victorianism and the cult of domesticity, that had been prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kazin, 1987; Burchell, 1980). While some Irish women had jobs as teachers or small business owners, such occupations were not considered worthy of social elevation (Burchell 1980; Sparks 2006). Elite and middle class women would marry and concern themselves with maintaining the household. Many women who lived in well-established households would also become involved in philanthropy (Burchell 1980). The prosperity of San Francisco led to many opportunities for employment; however, social norms of the time often dictated the types of jobs in which women would be employed. Because of the heterogeneous population and urbanization of the city, the wealth and socioeconomic status of individuals living in San Francisco became of greater importance than their ethnic background.

Early History of the Irish in Butte, Montana. Similarly to California migration, immigration to Butte, Montana flowed from the major port cities in the eastern United States. The Irish first arrived in Butte Montana after residing in the Eastern and Midwestern United States (Emmons 1989; O'Neill 2003). In the late 1800s, the Irish would come straight to Butte through Canada or the northeastern United States. These Irish immigrants originated primarily from County Cork, but also from County Mayo and County Donegal (Emmons 1989; O'Neill 2003). In 1900, Butte had a population of 47,635, and 12,000 of those residents were of Irish descent (Emmons 1989). Thus, Butte reportedly had a higher percentage of people of Irish descent than any other major American city at the turn of the twentieth century (Emmons 1989). By this time, the Irish in Butte gained the social, political, and economic control of the mining town (Emmons 1989; O'Neill 2003; Mercier 2006).

While class-consciousness did exist in Butte, it was not hierarchical in the same way as it was in San Francisco. There was "no opprobrium attached to being an established Irish miner in Butte, and no social disgrace to associating with them" (Emmons 1989: 182; Bodnar 1985). The Irish inhabitants of Butte viewed the city as a working class community.

Because of the early Irish control of Butte society, the Irish were very concerned with preserving their enclave (Emmons 1989). They were not as concerned with class as they were with maintaining a reliable workforce. The inhabitants of Butte were focused on "[s]teadiness, stability, settling in or at least intending to settle in, together with Irishness" because they were the ones who "determined the manner in which new recruits would be integrated into the work force" (Bodnar 1982; Emmons 1989: 182). The Irish knew that in order to maintain the "ethnic consciousness", they would have to look beyond socioeconomic differences within the community (Burchell 1980; Emmons 1989: 198).

Along with the concern for the conservation of the Irish working class enclave, there was also a concern for the preservation of family life. There was a pressure for Irish women to conform to the community's emphasis on family and family life. Because of this stress on family life, single women who did not want to marry or "conform to Irish codes of proper marriage" would typically leave the area in order to "pursue occupational, educational, and other interests elsewhere" (Mercier 1994: 31). The Irish women who remained in this mining town were primarily in charge of running their households and raising the children. Married women also often supplemented their family income by opening their homes up for bachelor smelter workers who needed room and board (Mercier 1994). Widows received support from neighbors, but would

not receive much support from the smelting company itself (Mercier 1994). Some widows would likewise rent out rooms in their homes or even start other small businesses. For the most part, however, they would have to work from home in order to take care of their children (Mercier 1994).

Beaver Island as an Irish Enclave. More so than in San Francisco and Butte, Irish immigrants to Beaver Island originated in very select regions in Ireland. During the mid-nineteenth century, Irish from Árainn Mhór, as well as County Donegal and County Mayo, were steadily migrating to northern Michigan to settle alongside family and friends on Beaver Island (Connors 1999: 2; Collar 1976: 33). Others from Árainn Mhór who had first arrived in New York, Pennsylvania and Canada eventually moved to Beaver Island to live amongst their relatives (Connors 1999). When the Irish first came to Beaver Island, they would write back to family remaining in Donegal, mentioning how "[Beaver Island] was like Ireland" (Collar 1976: 43; Thomas and Rotman 2011). Beaver Island rapidly turned into a fishing community "predominantly Irish in origin" (Collar 1976: 29). The island developed into a unique Irish enclave because of its physical isolation from any major urban areas, and the chain migrations of families and neighbors directly from Árainn Mhór to the Island (Connors 1999). The Árainn Mhór Irish who moved to Beaver Island found that they could apply what they knew of fishing and farming to this new place. As a result, the Irish were able to continue their traditional ways of living and maintain the cohesive social organization that they had on Árainn Mhór.

While there was increased revenue and relative prosperity with the commercial fishing industry, subsistence farming still persisted, and the reliance on neighbors and family members remained strong through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because there were more capitalistic opportunities in Butte and San Francisco, there were more distinctions between the working and the business classes than there were on Beaver Island. The economy of Beaver Island reflected that of rural Ireland more than industrialized America (Collar 1976; Hull 2006). While the major industries of fishing and lumber were male-dominated, women were integral in the household and farmstead (Connors 1999). Although the Irish community remained patriarchal in its early stages, women on Beaver Island were not as confined to the rigidly defined female roles encouraged by the popular American ideologies of the time. In order to support their families and themselves, women managed the household, helped work the farm, raised the children, and helped run businesses. In some cases, women ran their own businesses. Because the Irish were able to transplant their communal way of living to Beaver Island, they also created a collaborative economy with gender roles similar to what they had on Árainn Mhór (Connors 1999).

Each of these Irish American communities during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was influenced by various physical factors including geography, demography, and resource availability. Together with particular ideological and sociopolitical influences, these factors led to the emergence of the unique women's roles within these three communities.

Methodology

For this project, data collection consisted of reviewing the historical documentation, including the written documents, transcriptions of oral histories, artifacts, and photographs from Beaver Island in order to understand the effects of the prosperous fishing industry on the local community. I conducted additional oral history interviews with Beaver Island residents who are descendants of the original Irish settlers of the Island. The information gathered from the oral histories and archives was used to determine the extent of the relative distribution of wealth of the various Beaver Island families during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This information also helped me to determine the extent of class-consciousness and social hierarchy on Beaver Island during this time.

I reviewed historical documentation, photographs, and other archival material that pertained to the other industries on Beaver Island in order to analyze the local economy as a whole. In addition to this, I read scholarly articles and books on the economies of Butte, Montana and San Francisco, California to gather information for a comparison of the three communities. To get a sense of the types of employment women were engaged in, as well as their marital status, I analyzed aggregate data and raw census enumerations

ranging from the years 1870 to 1930. I also read scholarly articles about prominent nineteenth and twentieth century cultural ideologies and understandings of gender in order to better assess the role of women in each of the Irish American communities.

Comparative Analyses of Gender Roles and Relations

San Francisco, Butte, and Beaver Island are geographically, physically, and historically distinct from one another. They each developed Irish-American communities within varying socioeconomic climates and circumstances. As a result, particular gendered roles and social relations emerged in each of these locales. The following data contextualizes the gendered social relations that developed in San Francisco, Butte, and Beaver Island during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The statistics and examples provided illustrated the differences in the socioeconomic and cultural settings created by each of these communities.

Occupational Roles for Women in San Francisco

In the aftermath of the Gold Rush in the mid-nineteenth century, San Francisco experienced increased population growth and urbanization (Burchell 1980). This population growth created an influx of job opportunities for both men and women (Burchell 1980: 57; Sparks 2006). At the same time, greater economic disparity between classes emerged, as did greater class-consciousness. Even though there were more job opportunities, many women still only worked within the home because of the valorization of domestic duty by the increasingly popular Victorian ideals and the cult of domesticity permeating middle-class America at the time (Kazin 1987; Beetham 1996; Sparks 2006).

In San Francisco, single women typically worked as servants, teachers and laborers (Burchell 1980; Sparks 2006). One common employment opportunity for Irish women was to work as a laundress. While women dominated the laundry industry, it was the men who were employed in the higher-level management positions, and women were left with the lower paying jobs (Burchell 1980: 57; Sparks 2006: 49). In the apparel trades, female apparel proprietors dressed well and "often interacted intimately with the most sophisticated ladies in urban society", which would have seemed like a beneficial opportunity for second generation Irish women because it was a means of separating themselves from their Irish heritage, and establishing themselves as Americans (Sparks 2006: 53). Women who had been teachers prior to marriage usually had to stop teaching "in the name of upholding the sanctity of marriage and women's unpaid work in the home" (Sparks 2006: 65).

In San Francisco, it was simply self-preservation that acted as the motivation for women to own their own small businesses (Burchell 1980; Sparks 2006; Garvey and Hanning, 2008). However, it is important to note that the owning of small businesses was not a particularly lucrative endeavor. Small business ownership was considered "a humble economic achievement, one that often afforded a 'respectable' income but accorded proprietors little status in the eyes of class-conscious women" (Sparks 2006: 48; Garvey and Hanning 2008: 28). Irish women were able to obtain small proprietorship largely because they made up a large portion of the city's working population.

In 1880, the San Francisco "Irish of both [first and second] generations married other Irish 90 percent of the time" (Burchell 1980: 52-60; Emmon 1989: 82). In San Francisco, married women generally turned to tasks that were more amenable to their responsibilities in the home. Typically, if married women worked outside of the home, they would work as laundresses and merchants (Burchell 1980).

The effects of the national ideologies about domesticity and true womanhood were adhered to quite ardently among many of the middle and working class Irish in San Francisco. One of the industries that emphasized its "maleness" was the construction industry. In San Francisco, many of men who worked in the industry felt that a married woman should only work outside the house "when the alternative was their own or their children's starvation" (Kazin 1987: 77). Men did not expect respectable married women to work. Their concept of self-respect was "thus equated with the Victorian domestic ideal" (Erie 1978; Kazin 1987:

77). The women who married the leaders of the San Francisco Building Construction Trades Council "seem to have faithfully adhered to this [Victorian domestic] model themselves" (Kazin 1987: 77). These women stayed within "the 'separate sphere' of their home and children and took little apparent interest in their husbands' career" (Kazin 1987: 77). Men were determined to maintain construction work as an all-male industry, and as a result of excluding women, they "made their own power over the building industry a symbol for what 'true men' could achieve" (Kazin 1987: 78).

Another interesting set of data that illustrates the strength of certain domestic ideologies in San Francisco are the divorce cases. The records of divorce cases demonstrate the expectation that a married woman was to work within their households (Sparks 2006). Men would most often accuse women of "desertion, or 'dereliction of domestic duty'" (Sparks 2006: 76). Even the state courts upheld the male expectation that wives are primarily homemakers, as evidenced by the fact that women were convicted of desertion more often than men (Sparks 2006: 76).

San Francisco was a highly urbanized, heterogeneous area in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Burchell 1980; Kazin 1987). As such, San Francisco was exposed to and influenced by a wider variety of people and opportunities. As it began to do so, the city's inhabitants adjusted by adopting the popular American gender ideologies. Butte, Montana became similar to San Francisco in the ways its growth led to an embrace of American identity and ideology by its citizens.

Identifying the Roles of Women in Butte, Montana

By the late nineteenth century, Butte developed into a successful, industrial mining town. As the prosperity increased in Butte, the job opportunities and population grew. Because the mining was by far the most dominant industry in Butte, much of the women's roles were developed as a means of meeting the needs of the male miners (Emmons 1989; Mercier 1994). Although there was an economic disparity between the business and working class, the Irish in Butte tended to be more concerned with trying to maintain the strength of their Irish enclave as opposed to adhering to a strict social hierarchy (Emmons 1989).

Similarly to San Francisco, single women in Butte were able to find a variety of employment opportunities prior to getting married. In Butte, "ninety percent of [single women] worked as maids, domestics, kitchen helpers, seamstresses, or launderers" and the other ten percent "included teachers, nuns, shopkeepers, and boardinghouse managers"(Bureau of Census, *MS Census*, 1900,1910; Diner 1983: 20-29, 72, 120-121, 126-29; Emmons 1989: 76). However, most women would eventually get married, and their responsibilities and economic opportunities would change.

There were "3,300 immigrant Irish in Butte in 1900. Out of those 3,300, "2,100 were single. Of the nearly 1,200 whom were married, fewer than 100 married before immigrating to the United States" (Bureau of Census, *MS Census*, 1900; Emmons 1989: 189). According to Emmons, memories of "evictions, emigrations, mine closures, and enforced idleness" did not fade away for the Irish because there was still not a sense of financial security or stability (Emmons 1989: 189). The Irish were relatively conservative and cautious, especially when the family was particularly large (Emmons 1989). The majority of Irish men and women that arrived in Butte were unmarried and below the age of the thirty when they emigrated (Emmons 1989). Marriage to other Irish was an important aspect of becoming part of the Butte Irish enclave (Emmons 1989; Mercier 1994). Once married, some women "earned income by housing and feeding bachelor smelter workers"(Mercier 1994: 31). Some of the women "constructed and leased small cabins on the tiny lots behind their houses, while others rented rooms despite cramped family living space" (Mercier 1994: 31).

In regard to conserving traditional Irish culture in Butte, the men were more concerned with passing down the Irish folk traditions and memories than were the women. The Irish women were seemingly "more realistic in their approach to life in America", and they more readily forgot the traditions and memories of Ireland (O'Sullivan 1989; Dowling 1989: 59). They focused more on cultivating their American identity rather than "dreaming of returning to Ireland" (O'Sullivan 1989; Dowling 1989: 59). This is significant because the men had a higher death rate than their wives, and as a result, "the folk culture of Ireland that was

the staple of the Gaelic League did not form an integral part of community life" among the Butte Irish (Dowling 1989: 59).

Considering the extremely hazardous nature of Butte's primary industry, it is not surprising that widowhood was fairly prevalent in this mining town (Dowling 1989: 58). In Butte, widows received support from neighbors, but did not receive much from the Anaconda Company itself. Some of them rented out rooms in their homes; some had enough money to start boardinghouses or small businesses, and most had to work from home so that they could also tend to their children. The following is a passage from David Emmons's book *The Butte Irish* (1989, 71). This illustrates the prevalence of widowhood in Butte as a result of the dangerous work in the mines:

> In 1900 there were 153 Irish widows under fifty years of age with a combined total of 392 children living at home; in 1910 the figures were 434 and 1,117. A closer look at what these numbers meant can be had by considering the 100 block of East La Platta Street in 1910. There were ten homes on the block, eight of them occupied by Irish widows. The women ranged in age from thirty-two to fifty-five; six had been born in Ireland, two in Michigan of Irish parents. Four of them rented rooms to single miners; three had working children; one sold milk and eggs; and two were without visible means of support. A combined total of forty-eight children had been born to the eight; thirty-four of them were still living, and thirty-two of those, ranging in age from two years to twenty-four, were living at home.

The description of the high concentration of widows could perhaps lend some insight into why women were more willing to let go of their Irish culture and to become American (Dowling 1989). The women were aware of the precariousness of their situation, and knew that it was more practical to concentrate on having stability in America, rather than imagining a return to Ireland.

Whereas the women of Butte and San Francisco were more pressured to adhere to certain expectations permeating popular American culture, on rural and agricultural Beaver Island, women were less constrained by such social norms. The rural nature of the Island created opportunities for women in the economic sphere. Women were able to adopt in a wide range of occupations in order to help sustain the community.

Marriage and Women's Roles on Beaver Island

During the late nineteenth century, rural Beaver Island became a prosperous Irish community that thrived off of a successful commercial fishing industry (Conners 1999; Vandenheede 2002). Despite the relative increase in prosperity, there was no significant class-consciousness within the community. The communal nature of Beaver Island remained because of the strong familial ties amongst the Irish. Both men and women had a variety of economic outlets in order to sustain a certain standard of living (LaFreniere 2011). Outside influences, including the prominent American ideologies popular in more urban settings did not have as strong of an impact as they had in Butte and San Francisco. In contrast, Beaver Island society had a separation of roles similar to that on Ireland. On Beaver Island, men and women would have separate gatherings; they formed separate sub-societies based on their gender (Cashman 2012). Men would have more formalized meetings, but women would also have designated social time where they would discuss the "foibles of men" (Cashman 2012). Social dynamics on Beaver Island may have allowed "some women to join the workforce to authenticate their choice of the women's subsociety as the source of their identity and value" (Cashman 2012).

Thus, women's roles were not as rigidly defined as they were in those more densely populated areas. One woman in particular, Sophia Boyle, demonstrates the ways in which women were able to find unique opportunities to make a living on Beaver Island. Sophia became a business owner prior to getting married, and continued to run a store alongside her husband once she eventually became married (Connaghan 2011;

LaFreniere 2011). She was able to stay in the business world after marriage because of the limited number of people on the island and the demand for her merchandise. In this sense, the Beaver Island community created unique economic opportunities for women during this time.

Because of the virtually homogeneous Irish population on Beaver Island, the vast majority of the marriages were endogamous, with a few exceptions. Almost "eighty-five percent of the island population in the mid-1880 was of Irish extraction, and the persistency rate of Irish households, between 1870 and 1880, was around eighty percent" (Conners 1999: 155; Duke and Rotman 2011). Furthermore, more than "eighty percent of all island marriages between 1866 and 1898 were endogamous" (Connors 1999: 155; Duke and Rotman 2011). Most of Irish families that settled on Beaver Island were related to one another, and as a result, a very close-knit community was maintained. The community-oriented nature of Beaver Island is well reflected by the process of marriage and remarriage on the Island. In the following interview excerpt, Fr. Dan Connaghan (2011) explains how the Irish on Beaver Island responded to widowhood by recounting the story of his great-grandmother:

> Now, what they did on the island, and primarily through Father Peter Gallagher and his so-called Bachelor Club…they would figure out what available men were there that could marry this widow with her children and provide support for them. So, they picked my great-grandfather, Hugh Connaghan, who was in his forties, and she was in her twenties, and they proceeded to have another six children, six more children. Then he died at the age of sixty-four in 1894 of a heart attack. Now, she's a widow now a second time with eight children of which the youngest was about five or six years old, Mabel Cull who later lived next door here. So, for the second-third time, for the second time, Father Gallagher got them together and said "Now what are we going to do with the widow Brigid?"…They found Larry McDonough, who was a bachelor, much older. He married her…and they raised the eight children.

Fr. Dan Connaghan's anecdote demonstrates the Beaver Island Irish's strong orientation toward community. They took great care of members of their community who were in need. This unrelenting commitment to the welfare of everyone in the Irish community is what differentiates Beaver Island from the Irish communities in Butte and San Francisco.

Conclusion: Demography, Class, and Gender

A key factor of the gender roles and ideology that are established in these Irish American communities is the difference in the conception of class within each of these groups. The job availability in each location played a part in determining what type of work women were allowed to partake in and what kind of work held social prestige (Burchell 1980; Emmons 1989; Mercier 1994; Sparks 2006). The economic foundations of each community and the class structures that developed influenced the capacity of women's roles and opportunities.

Having developed as a prosperous city earlier than Butte and Beaver Island, San Francisco was much more hierarchical in terms of social status (Kazin 1987; Sparks 2006). In the aftermath of the Gold Rush, San Francisco experienced rapid population growth (Kazin 1987; Burchell 1980). There were already well-established families by the mid to late nineteenth century that formed the elite and middle classes, and then as more and more immigrants flooded the city, greater class divisions and stricter distinctions developed (Burchell 1980).

In Butte, there were class divisions similar to San Francisco. For example, the West Side was understood as designated for the Irish aristocracy, where the middle and upper class Irish resided. The working-class Irish lived in another part of the town (Emmons 1989: 79). Butte, like San Francisco, grew rapidly and was influenced by the domestic ideals promoted by American society. Thus, there were certainly

class divisions and class awareness in Butte. However, differences in class among the Butte Irish were overlooked to some degree in an attempt to protect the "prosperity and stability Irish enclave (Emmons 1989: 156). The merchant class and the working-class miners were both striving to maintain a degree of social prestige within Butte as Irishmen. The recognition of the need for preservation of the Irish enclave, with the threat of the increasingly heterogeneous population of Butte, allowed the Irish to reconcile socioeconomic differences in an attempt to retain the strength of their Irish community (Emmons 1989). Nonetheless, there is no question that socioeconomic distinctions were acknowledged, and helped determine what roles both men and women could have in order to maintain their social status (Mercier 1994; Emmons 1989; Dowling 1989).

Beaver Island did not have the strict class divisions observed in San Francisco and Butte. Because of rural nature and relative isolation of Beaver Island, the Islanders were able to avoid conforming wholly to national ideologies more easily than the more heavily populated, industrialized areas. The occupational roles on Beaver Island were not even so much reflective of being Irish as of being an Islander. Island economies in general function differently than those on the mainland (Connors 1999). Because there was less of a chance of something drastically unexpected, or dangerous, happening on Beaver Island, the Irish were willing to fully commit to settling there. Among the Irish on Beaver Island, there was a "stronger sense of 'this is what we've got so let's accept it, and incorporate it into our way of life'" than there was in San Francisco or Butte (Cashman 2012).

The gender spheres in Ireland were articulated differently than they were in America (Hull 2006). There was a separation of spheres in Ireland that translated to the Irish Beaver Island community, but it did not revolve around the American notion of domesticity. Rather, it seems to have reflected the nature of agricultural labor (Hull 2006). Similarly to the Árainn Mhór community, the Beaver Island community necessarily had to be supportive and act as a cohesive whole in order to survive (Connaghan 2011; LaFreniere 2011; LaFreniere McDonough 2001). Living in an isolated, rural area, women and men worked together in order to have the various industries function properly. The Islanders, particularly the women, did what they could to survive and contribute to their family's well-being. Women like Sophia Boyle were looked upon as savvy businesswomen (LaFreniere 2011; LaFreniere McDonough 2001). Sophia was able to continue working in the business world even after she was married. She did not confine herself to unpaid work in the household. She was able to work alongside her husband in certain business ventures, and this collaboration was not looked down upon. The idea of living up to, or maintaining, a certain social status was not a major concern for members of the community (Connaghan 2011; LaFreniere 2011; O'Donnell and Smith 2011).

Class-consciousness was not as prevalent on Beaver Island in part because most of the families were related, and the community was very close-knit (Connaghan 2011; LaFreniere 2011). Beaver Island reflected the Old World patriarchal views of Ireland rather than New World views. Like nineteenth century rural Ireland, Beaver Island women had more unique opportunities for employment that coinciding with their need to survive and support their family and the community (Hull 2006). While men and women constituted distinct social groups, women were found working both independently and alongside men on the farms and in the stores as merchants in order to maintain a certain standard of living.

In many ways, even though the Irish Beaver Islanders took up capitalistic ventures and participated in the larger fishing and logging industries, the community as a whole still very much reflected that which they had on Árainn Mhór. The middle class ideologies of cult of true womanhood did not apply as strictly to those on Beaver Island as they did in the middle classes of Butte and San Francisco. With greater urbanization and industrialization along with the increasingly heterogeneous populations, Butte and San Francisco lent themselves more readily to national trends and ideologies than did Beaver Island (Sparks 2006; Kazin 1987; Burchell 1980).

Job and resource availability was greater in Butte and San Francisco than on Beaver Island (Burchell 1980; Emmons 1989; Sparks 2006). Men and women of Beaver Island took advantage of the opportunities that were presented to them. The idea of status was less important than maintaining a sustainable community.

A uniquely strong support system in Beaver Island emerged from the nature of Island living, the shared Irish heritage, and the familial connections. Even those who were not Irish could not help but be influenced by the Irishness of the Island community (Connors 1999). The island adhered to gender ideologies that more closely mirrored Old World views rather than New World views (Thomas and Rotman 2011). Thus, being in a rural, physically isolated place, having a virtually homogenous population, and the degree of familial relatedness on the Island can account for the shaping of the distinct nature of gendered social relations and the employment opportunities for women on Beaver Island.

Essay 2: Irish-American Iconography; A Study of Symbolic Plasticity
by Adam Lake

The Irish-American experience of the 19th and early 20th centuries was one marked by prejudicial disadvantage. After suffering abject poverty, an unyielding caste system, and political muteness while in Anglo-dominated Ireland, a substantial fragment of the Irish community immigrated to an America that greeted them with a similarly disenfranchised voice while concurrently inviting them to become exploited and disposable labor.

Longstanding cultural stereotypes that predated the Irish Diaspora were transmitted across the Atlantic and found home in the racialized minds of 19th century Protestant Americans – who formed the hegemonic system of the United States at the time. These racialized caricatures – similar to the Native American and African-American stereotypes – have remained in some form or another with many contemporary Americans' conceptions of race and ethnicity. Modern-day mass media and popular stereotypes often depict early Irish-American immigrants as stoic underdogs as they attempt to overcome their lower socioeconomic status in the *land of opportunity and freedom*; however, a plethora of historical research exhibits evidence contrary to this parochial conception of the *romanticized* American Irishman.

The early Irish-American immigrants were simply people, individuals and families trying to make new lives in the New World. Upon entering this new land they brought with them their culture, along with their literal and metaphorical baggage. It is within these spaces of Irish community that Irishness defined and generated itself. In order to understand contemporary Irish identity a historical perspective on symbols – specifically iconography – may be utilized to analyze the genesis of Irish images and what led to these symbols' radically transformed meanings throughout 20th century American history. This analysis can be applied to two profoundly homogenized Irish communities, Beaver Island, Michigan and Butte, Montana.

Symbolic Anthropology

Symbolic Anthropology, also known as Interpretive Anthropology, investigates the mechanism by which symbols – be they objects, rituals, words or even colors – generate meaning and how they establish structure in an organized social system while also sustaining cultural identity itself. Symbols act as explicit landmarks that link something intangible or transcendent (such as *cultural memory*) with something tangible, so we can attempt to comprehend our complex social selves (Turner 1967).

Symbols are by necessity both geographically and temporally variable, as those who find value in these symbols define them and people themselves are highly plastic creatures. For example, the swastika is a widespread religious symbol of the sun. It functions as a Vedic symbol of holiness frequently seen on religious depictions of Brahmin priests, which serves a symbolic purpose tantamount to Catholic christenings and anointments (Parker 1907:541). Yet following the Nazi employment of the swastika, it has no longer become an acceptable or at best benign/meaningless image in Western iconography – a testament to symbolic fluidity. What remains of interest to anthropologists is the question as to *how* and *why* this metamorphosis of meaning occurred. The swastika provides a clear-cut example of such an evolution, but within the context of Irish-American iconography there are much deeper and enigmatic drives for iconographic change.

As will be seen, the unfavorable and racialized symbols of the pugnacious, Irishman were gradually transposed into commercial symbols, with their original hate-inspired origins being rendered innocuous. By nurturing the symbol of the shamrock and the *romanticized* Irishman, the Irish-American community was able to retain their unique *Irish* identity and develop a strong community of rather heterogeneous mix, based simply ethnic backgrounds, i.e. having Irish blood. Almost a century as past since these images of hate have been readily used, which has caused the Irish community to forget the original seeds of hate represented by these today, popular images.

Whiteness and Cultural Power

> *"Few things have been as constant in the histories of Ireland and America as Irish immigration to the United States"*
>
> -- (Meagher 2005:3)

What would the United States be like without the Irish? Such a question is almost inconceivable – as the Irish-American community has become an integral part of the very definition of America. In the 2009 US Census, approximately 39.6 million individuals claimed Irish ancestry – nearly nine-times the population of Ireland, a testament the almost ubiquitous presence of Ireland in the United States ("Irish-American Heritage" 2011).

Though this connection is of paramount importance to today's views, the Irish-Americans of the 19th century were recognized by the Nativists as little more than human. The Irish were subjected to harsh criticisms and placed on the lowest echelons of society, unable to survive let alone thrive. Many common caricatures of the Irishman were found in popular magazines, generally describing him as, "a gorilla, stovepipe hat on his head, a shamrock in his lapel, a vast jug of liquor in one hand and a large club in the other. His face was a mask of simian brutality and stupidity" (Burns-Bisogno 1997:11). As seen in Figure 8.1, such Irish caricatures were commonplace in even popular magazines such as *Harper's* (Nast 1871).

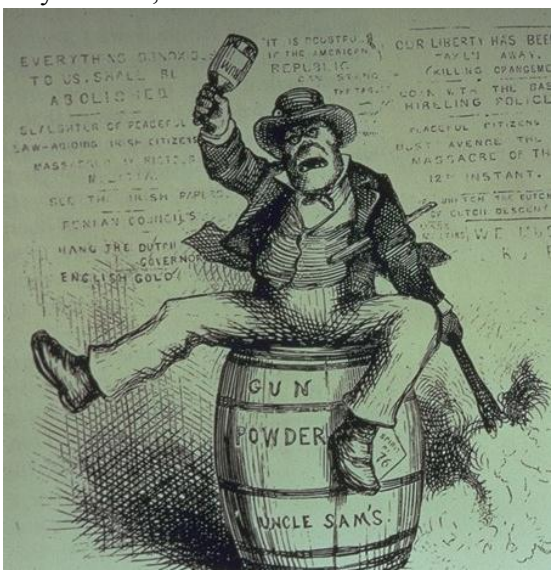

Figure 8.1: "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things"

One way of describing societies is by alterity systems – in which groups of individuals are defined via one another. For there to exist an upper-class there then by definition *must* be a lower-class. Some postcolonial theorists have used this idea to compare the Orient and the Occident (the West) as a global system of alterity, in which the West and East are used to define what the other *is* and more importantly *is not* (Said 1978). In the United States this idea was racialized in terms of *whiteness.* The definition of *whiteness* is much more than racial though; it is not about the color of one's skin but instead about one's ideologies – particularly religion – and acceptance within the definition of *white*. *Whiteness* may then be used as a definition of cultural power in America, setting up a system of *white vs. non-white* communities. Its been purposed that the early history of the Irish-American community *is* the history of the changing definition of *white* (Ignatiev 1995).

Using this definition of *white* "… the white race consists of those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society" the historical point-of-view of the Irish can be described (Ignatiev 1995:1). Strangely, the exceedingly pale white skin of the Irish did not make them *white* in the eyes of the Protestant majority, a seemingly puzzling oddity to familiar conceptions of *whiteness* as a merely physical

characteristic. *Whiteness* and *Americanism* in many senses are synonymous with one another, as they are both formed by an amalgam of clashing cultures and ideologies.

What the 19th and 20th century histories of the Irish demonstrate is the redefinition of this *whiteness* by the Irish community's accruement of political and economic power, which then led to Irish-American power over defining their own stereotypes. But this gain of *whiteness*, some scholars believe by necessity comes at a price – perhaps a loss of cultural awareness. "Their *green* if you will, would be slowly diluted from bright Kelly to tepid variations of lime until they had no color at all that distinguished them from other white Americans" (Meagher 2005:7).

Transition Period to Whiteness 1830-1890

Prior to this 20th century accumulation of power, the image of the Irish brute was both deriding and unifying for the Irish-American community. A community facing such harsh criticisms, as many such subaltern racialized groups do, rallies together in a joint front against the stereotypes and becomes stronger for it – or the community falls apart. The Irish took this harsh response to form a powerful community in part surrounded by this reaction against the negative image that encompassed their being. In what still remains a historical mystery, the Irish resisted the anomie created by their oppressors and in fact became a stronger community that in the course of two – and in some cases only one – generation were able to become the leaders of the very cities in which they were treated as the lowest of animals (Doyle 1990). The *white* Protestant world attempted to shut the Irish off from not only socio-economic power but from the fledgling idea of the American Dream. "While cautiously encouraging mainstream Americans that it was all right to strive to get ahead in the world, pamphleteers and novelists offered no such encouragement to marginalized groups and, in fact, used pious or outright Biblical fiat to state that it was God's will that they should not" (Dunne 2002:9). For Nativists, the Irish were not thought Irish-Americans, only as Irish.

Figure 8.2: Engraving of the "Rioters in Kensington" from A Full and Complete Account of the Late Awful Riots in Philadelphia: John B. Perry, 1844

This image of the virtually sub-human Irishman was a point of acute conflict between the *Catholic* Irish and the *Protestant* Americans. The multitude of writers of Nativist pamphlets and clerical periodicals considered the Irish Catholic immigrants to be undemocratic and a threat to the Protestant homogeneity. These Nativists criticized the ignorance and brutality of Irish Catholics, deciding that they were undeserving of economic and political rights that native-born Americans enjoyed (Dunne 2002). In the *Gazette of the United States* the *Irish-Problem* was seen in its harshest form, "As well might we attempt to tame the Hyena as to Americanize an Irishman" (Wilson 1998:47). Such venomous rhetoric was common and manifested itself in literal cultural battles, many of which sprung up in Hartford, Connecticut and Philadelphia in 1844. The Philadelphia riots, sparked by the perceived *Romanization* of the public schools led to at least 20 deaths and nearly 100 injured rioters (Charlton 2010) (Figure 8.2). Though these riots are usually seen as being religious in nature, these blood baths witnessed American Protestants at arms against the Catholic Irish and not the city's densely inhabited German Catholics, suggesting that Catholicism was not simply the only qualm the Protestants had against the Irish (Dunne 2002:47).

Slowly and almost inevitably the Irish gained power in the United States. This was done through a variety of political and economic maneuvers as well as the simple fact that the United States had experienced an Irish-American population surge brought about by the Famine. The hope of the Protestants for homogeneity in the United States was falling completely out of reach. Because of a natural increase in the population and intermarriage between Irish and other ethnic groups, the Irish population gained large numbers. A 1980 census found that among present-day Irish-Americans over half of individuals claimed another European ethnicity along with Irish – a powerful statistical observation supporting the intermarriage practices during the 19th and 20th centuries (Hout 1994). The Irish were far less *foreign* than other immigrants arriving in the United States during the 19th century, as they were one of the few immigrant cultures arriving in America who had experience with Anglo-American structures of government, including parliamentary elections and trials by jury (Meagher 2005:184). The political socio-political power of the Irish came in part by their intense sense of community, which was born in Ireland and only made stronger in their new American home. "The early labor unions, therefore, should be regarded not so much as Irish institutions, in the way they later became, but as institutions for assimilating the Irish into white America" (Ignatiev 1995:103).

This ubiquitous characterization of *us vs. them* developed quickly and remains today. The Irish have been accustomed to organization against their government. With a series of mass movements, such as the Catholic emancipation in the 1820s and the Act of Union repeal in the 1840s helped empower the Irish peasantry and expose them to the techniques of organization (Meagher 2005). Undoubtedly, the Irish-American was instilled with this knowledge through their cultural history in Ireland and utilized this skill set to gain much of their political power in the 19th century. This obtainment of *whiteness* was manifested in the Immigration Act of 1924, which imposed harsh quotas on immigration from many nations but not Ireland (Office of Historian). This shows that the *dirty* blood of the Irish race was no longer perceived as negative but as *white*.

By taking control and owning their situation, the Irish portrayed their own experiences. "Irish Americans figured prominently in the urban culture of the turn of the century, from vaudeville skits and songs to early movies and comic strips, and a recurring theme was the chaotic transition from a working class community to "lace curtain" middle-class respectability" (Meagher 2005:180). The Irish presence within the early history of film was particularly important for caricaturizing the caricature, and using their own oppression for their advantage. American society enjoys comfortable cultural stereotypes in media – particularly in film; the Irish knew this and used it for changing their racialized caricatures (Holte 1984). Thus, the ubiquitous representation of the Irish community at odds with individuals with power became a greater symbol than the actual denigration of Irishness.

The response to this new power was not as saintly as often is depicted in contemporary media. The Irish, finally feeling the first rung on the social ladder in America was indeed ready to climb as high as they could. Unsurprisingly, the Irish were set up against their formed subalterns during the 19th century. Prior to this cultural footing the Irish and Afro-American communities, "fought each other and the police, socialized and occasionally intermarried, and developed a common culture of the lowly" (Ignatiev 1995:2). This formed a community of subalterns they were seen in the 19th century Trinity House system, in which free blacks, Irish, and the poor would live on top of one another (Ignatiev 1995:129). But soon after this power was gained, Irish and Black racial tensions became heated and their common past was put on the wayside. The previously compliant communities suddenly found themselves at economic odds with one another, leading to intense hatred. The Irish-Americans and the African-Americans were often fighting for the same jobs, with the Irish usually obtaining jobs that were "too important" to trust with a recently freed slave (O'Grady 1973:43).

Once the foothold was established and the Irish gained a voice in American society they could establish their own identity, defined by them. Irish national culture was also flourishing. Yeats attempted to trace" the lineaments of the Irish face rather than the broad caricature of an imposed stage-Irish mask" (Burns-Bisogno 1997:9). Irish literature, written by both Irish and Irish-Americans became an important tool

for remembering their past and reclaiming it by gathering the collective ethos of Irishness and taking this storehouse of experience and creating more (Foster 2001:231).

The restructured voice of the Irish led to an unexpected mutation of the Irishman's caricature. Instead of altogether squelching these prejudicial images, the Irish community embraced these images as their own and formed them into something not only inviting but actually economically valuable. The image of the Irish became a symbol of the underdog, the pariah of society who lives for family and the Church – a new definition of *white* and of *American*.

But as the Irish became *white* their image evolved, "from an ape to a leprechaun, a figure of gentle fun instead of the crude, rude, filthy monster" (Burns-Bisogno 11). The paramount symbol of Irish-American power and *whiteness* – particularly the Catholic image – was the rise of John F. Kennedy Jr. to the presidency, sometimes called America's "Catholic Moment" (Segers 2000:111). The Irish were no longer seen as the antithesis of America, but instead had in fact become the leaders of the country.

Sadly, as the Irish-American community gained more power many took more advantage of their positions in society and they themselves formulated their own form of Nativism that rejected newer immigrants. The adage, *remember your past or you are doomed to repeat history*, did not stick. The Irish had taken their place in the newly redefined American hegemony, and as such became the oppressors. This is seen in the Irish community's response to the Civil War, where few Irish-Americans signed a petition against slavery in the 1840s. Irish leader Daniel O'Connell lamented that the Irish-American community had ended their international solidarity with victims of oppression and joined the 'the filthy aristocracy of skin" (Garner 2007:121). Many Irish communities, particularly in metropolitan areas, would be in constant tension with the Polish, Italian, Chinese and Japanese immigrants of the late 19th century (O'Grady 1973:113).

The Irish gained little from taking part in the Civil War; in fact it was economically disadvantageous for them to do so. The Irish community did not need an influx of newly freed cheap labor to complete against them. However, the political power inadvertently given to the Irish – who experienced the horrors of the Civil War – was an undeniable stepping-stone to *whiteness.* The war gave the Irish-American community the opportunity to say that they were Americans too, thus destroying much of their racialized images and setting the stage for their rise to power (O'Grady 1973:46).

Contemporary Irish Image

Interestingly, the iconographical caricatures of the Irish remain a contemporary problem, but not for the same negative, racialized reasons. Within the complex system of governance in the United Kingdom during the latter half of the 20th century, the British utilized old stereotypes to destabilize Irish political symbols and their messages (Burns-Bisogno 1997). Though the Irish had overcome this prejudicial reaction in the United States – for the most part – the goal of the British was the same, to use the stereotypical images to deride and squander the power of the Irishman. In an almost neo-colonial sentiment, the United Kingdom reinserted these sub-human images and implemented a dramatic eviction from the class of *whiteness* in order to keep Ireland within their domain and under their power.

In a pessimistic view of contemporary Irish-American culture, the once *Green* Irish-American has become the *White* Irish-American. What was lost in the transition between *greenness* and *whiteness*? This is a loaded question that may never be fully appreciated, but in terms of iconography this transition is visually overt.

The once culturally defining ideology of *us vs. them* has manifested itself in many of the symbols of Irishness. The image of the scrappy and aloof Irishman in the community pub is all that popularly remains of this once special cultural image of the political freedom fighter. The leprechaun serves a similar function. The University of Notre Dame, a French but markedly Catholic institution utilizes this iconography and uses the "Fighting Irish" as the school's famed mascot. The leprechaun, a salient image of Irish culture was appropriated a rough and belligerent demeanor, an image Irish-Americans should be offended by, yet aren't. Certain institutions, such as the University of Illinois with their former mascot Chief Illiniweck, have

incurred harsh criticism for their usage of cultural and ethnic stereotypes in an abusive manner; the University of Notre Dame's mascot has received almost no criticism.

As sociologist Andrew Greeley suggests, "It is fashionable … to articulate, objectify, and expiate the racist, sexist, and anti-Semitic feelings one might have had in the past; but there is rather little propensity to do the same thing on the subject of anti-Catholic Nativism" (Dunne 2002:112). The Irish prejudicial feelings of the 19th and early 20th century no longer have efficacy to evoke hate, and instead have become caricatures of the caricatures.

This is testament to the power of the Irish-made iconography of the 20th century. What once were negative have become symbols of power and pan-American symbols of scrappiness and the power to overcome those groups that strive to bring the lower classes down. This image of not only the Irish caricature but also the American caricature.

In fact, the *Colombia Literary History* includes many writings from marginalized groups and lists many specific groups, but omits Irish Catholic immigrants (Dunne 2002:111). The normalcy of the Irish caricature is indeed so common that it has become part of American culture.

Catholic Iconography

Within the United States prejudicial feelings against the Irish were strong, but particularly strong were these anti-Catholic feelings. Irish *Catholic* immigrants were perceived as subversive, clannish, lazy, and shiftless, and yet a threat to the job security of Americans, "un-American because they were regarded as mindless tools of a foreign and anti-republican church that wanted to remove the Bible from public schools and turn the US into a Catholic satellite of Rome" (Dunne 2002:3). And for the Irish, to be Irish was to be Catholic (O'Grady 1973:108).

The Nativist political leaders wrote abundantly as to why the Irish were simply subjects of an evil Roman theocracy set out to destroy the Protestant United States. This conflict between the Papal institution and the newly and most importantly Democratic nation was perhaps inevitable, as the two ideas run countercurrent with one another. How can you live in a republic when one man in Rome also rules you? Where does the loyalty of the Irish community truly lie?

In Samuel Moose's *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States*, the Irish are displayed as Catholic pawns. "The emigrant Catholics generally are shamefully illiterate, and without opinions of their own. They are and must be under the direction of their priests." (Dunne 2002:34). Similarly, they were thought to have had no right to be in America, according to these writers, because they were not here as independent citizens but as pawns sent under the control of their priests, who were themselves the agents of European governments (Dunne 2002:35). The very idea of being Catholic was anti-American and anti-*white*. One of the principle goals of the American Protestant Association (APA) upon its foundation was the awakening of attention to the threat of Romanism, and the APA actually spent significant resources to spread this message – sending 20,000 copies of their *First Annual Report* pamphlet to various communities throughout the United States (Dunne 2002:41).

Similar pamphlets were common throughout the 19th century. These pamphlets often portrayed the superstitious and enigmatic Catholic religion under extremely unfavorable light. In contrast, the Protestant missionaries were lauded as martyrs who gave their lives to help the poor Catholics.

The Catholic image became a main point of attack on the Irish, as it was the one thing – besides being Irish – that defined the entire community. The Nativist song *George Shiffler* describes the heroic acts of the Protestant martyr who was killed at the scene of a Catholic riot where Irish were trampling joyfully over the American flag (Dunne 2002:53).

The Protestant and Catholic divide has existed since the Reformation, but in the United States these two groups were forced to live side-by-side and interact with one another on a daily basis.

The Catholic Symbol; the Clover and Saint Patrick

Shamrocks and four-leaf clovers are symbols of pre-Diaspora Irish culture, dating back to pre-Anglo ruled Ireland. They represent not only luck but also a feeling of Romanticism towards an untamed and verdant island with her people untouched and pure of colonial aggression. The clover is the natural symbol of the Green Isle, tying the Irish to their home and reminding Irish immigrants of their roots. The symbol ties Irish-Americans back to their homeland, reminding them where they came from.

The three-leaf clover, also originally a symbol of the near mystical qualities of ancient Ireland, was transformed into a symbol of Catholicism. Naturally and almost uncannily perfect, the three-leaf clover represents the Trinity within its very arrangement. To say that Irish and Catholic during the 19th and 20th centuries is no exaggeration. The appropriated symbolic importance of the mystical clover was push to the side as the Catholic iconography took its place.

Like the transformation of the brutish Irishman, these powerful Catholic symbols of Ireland were similarly changed. The Irish, "wanted to acculturate themselves while at the same time reinforce their Catholicity and native customs. The notion of 'making it' in American was ecumenical and multicultural" (Dunne 2002:70). By shifting the image of the clover and of Saint Patrick from a saliently religious symbol into a pseudo-pop culture image, the Irish Catholic images lost a significant portion of the symbols' original and ethereal significance.

For contemporary media vernacular, "Irish and Irish Catholic are treated as synonymous… but the majority of Americans calling themselves Irish in recent surveys are either Protestant or had ancestors that were" (Meagher 2005:4). Today, the commercialization of Irish iconography and stereotypes, has taken place of these older meanings. The Aer Lingus corporate logo is a simple three-leaf clover – an undisputable symbol of Irishness. The local Shamrock Bar and Restaurant contains the symbol within both its name and logo. The shamrock has begun to lose its original meaning, instead being replaced by a meaning of everything that is Irish.

Saint Patrick, regardless of his historical validity or lack thereof, and the eponymous festivals originating from him has become a sign of this commercialization and inter-ethnic blending of pan-Irish cultural performance. On Saint Patrick's Day everyone is said to have a little Irish in them regardless of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Saint Patrick's Day, some could argue, is a holiday maintained just in order to go to the pubs and get a drink. The tumultuous times of the early Irish immigrants are over and yet this tradition continues.

The idea of unity and cohesion is particularly strong in the Irish household and within the larger Irish community. This observation stems from the great *us vs. them* mentality that propagated during the 19th and 20th century immigration from Ireland – a rather homogenous cultural and ethnical population – to the United States. Coming to the United States was met with its own problems, but with the failure of the crops, millions of families had no other choice but to go on this migratory journey.

From Symbol to Icon – Beaver Island & Butte

This idea of shifting iconographic meaning is most apparent in the communities that uniquely collect themselves in a homogenous Irish-American population. Beaver Island, with its unique brand of Irish-Americanism and *Islander-ness* contains many of these symbols of Irish identity; however, as aforementioned, these symbols have a contemporary meaning that differs greatly from the original meanings.

The presence of Irish iconography starts even before arrival to the Island, with a ride on *The Emerald Isle* ferry, with its prominent three-leaf clover emblazoned on the side, which ushers passengers from Charlevoix to the Island ("The Beaver Island" 2011) (Figure 8.3). The island itself currently has an array of Irish related shops and restaurants in the main city center. Restaurants on the island include *Donegal Danny's Pub* and *The Shamrock Restaurant and Pub*, both utilizing names that deflect a powerful Irish heritage.

Figure 8.3. The Emerald Isle ferry to Beaver Island.

The Irish images on Beaver Island do not harp on about the greater historical sentiment of *being* Irish, instead the symbols are used in a more commercial sense. The Irish identity on the island once was extremely deep seeded to the homeland. A 1890 printing of the *Irish Nationalist Publication* that was found in the historical society was printed in both Gaelic and English. It included lectures on Ancient Irish history, reports on the Irish Nationalist movement as well as lessons in Gaelic. Also found at the Gallagher Homestead were "blue willow" pattern plates. A traditionally Irish print, these plate fragments were found exclusively with the First-Generation of Irish and not in the Second-Generation (Rotman 2011). The Second-Generation was likely more attune to the plate's relatively *tacky* image, of which even Charles Dickens pokes fun at while the First-Generation likely saw the "blue willow" as a talisman of sorts. The shifting meaning of "blue willow" plates represents the rather common shift in meanings in Irish-American iconography.

This appropriation of Irish iconography to the realm of commercialization should not be seen as negative. It shows that the Irish community has not only overcome the prejudices of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and they have instead flourished and grown into a vibrant community where they can use these images to rally around. By using these images of Irishness the Beaver Island community has rallied around this collective identity of Irishness. This strong sense of Irish community, which is not hidden but instead valued, has helped develop a unique tourism. The island's nickname is "America's Emerald Isle" for a reason.

The fifth-largest city in Montana according to the 2010 US Census, Butte has a population of roughly 40,000 individuals. Butte has long been a heavily Irish city, and today it still brands itself as "Ireland's Fifth Province". The Irish-American immigrants gained significant control over the mineral wealth of this region, which allowed for an autonomous and homogenous Irish-American culture to flourish. A visit by Douglas Hyde, soon to be first President of Ireland discovered a city where the Irish language was thriving, Irish music and dancing were abundant and Irish Gaelic football was a popular sport (Shea 2011:9). A study of the Butte phonebook in 2008 found that there were roughly 100 Sullivan families, 43 Sheas and 32 O'Neill's (Everett 2008).

Perhaps even more so than Beaver Island, Irish iconography is used to its max potential for commercial identity – with pubs named *The Irish Times Pub* and *Maloney's*. The Irish caricature of the

drunkard is given some power by the fact that this markedly Irish town had nearly more bars than any other city in the United States during the early 20th century – with such comical names as *The Cesspool*, the *Graveyard* and *Pay Day* ("Social life" 2008). St. Patrick's Day in Butte is an all day affair, consisting of elaborate parades, traditional Irish dancing and the obvious alcohol consumption (Emmons 1989:141). The Irish image of being boisterous and scrappy is no more apparent than on this day, with many bars in the city unable to accommodate the masses that flock to the many pubs. Butte's first St. Patrick's Day parade was one of the earliest in the country, starting in 1882 – led by the newly formed Ancient Order of the Hibernians (Astle 2002). These elaborate and importantly *Irish* parades serve more than just displays of Irish identity, and have been evaluated as public displays of community (Irish) power within a society (Marston 1989).

The image of the Irish *Catholic* identity is particularly powerful in Butte. For early immigrants, "Faith and the Catholic Church was for the Butte Irish much the same as in Ireland, the center of their world" (Shea 2011: 8). There were – and remain – a significant number of Catholic Churches within the city limits, a historical testament to the Catholic foundations of the city. Beginning as an important mining town, religion even affected colloquial slang. Among the Irish miners waste rock was given the scornful nickname *Protestant ore* ("Social life" 2008). But as with the changing conflicts of America, Butte's Catholic and Protestant tension faded.

For example, in 1921 Miss Mary MacSwiney, the widow of Irish Nationalist hunger striker Terrance MacSwiney, was able to collect $10,000 for Irish relief, a testament to the powerful sense of cultural identity that existed within the community (Astle 2002). Today the Saint Patrick's Day parade is equally impressive and draws thousands to the streets, but the feeling of connectedness to Ireland and the Irish cause is no longer the direction of the day.

Symbols and Community

Iconography is an important aspect of nearly every culture, and for the contemporary Irish-American community the inherited symbols of Ireland - be they the scrappy Irishman or the verdant clover – signify profoundly different things than they once did. But regardless, these symbols helped shape the Irish-American community and acted as rallying points about which the community could recognize itself and express their Irishness. The mechanism by which the Irish became *white* is engendered in these symbols, which remain as a testament to the strength of the Irish-American community to come together and overcome any circumstances.

Essay 3: The Changing Face of Identity
by Ariel Terpstra

Identity always mattered to the Irish, as did religion. How identity was expressed, changed depending on the influences that were affecting them. In Ireland and again in America they were faced with opposition to their religion. They were also originally viewed with trepidation and distrust. Organizations like the American Protective Association were created which was anti-Catholic and so anti-Irish. This eventually passed because although "the Irish were the first white population in the US to face significant challenges to their racial identity,"[i] their "whiteness was rarely called into question, but rather the quality of whiteness."[ii]

Because of the importance of family ties the Irish practiced a type if immigration called "chain migration."[iii] Because the Irish emigrated as either families or equal amounts of young unmarried men and women, they were able to create communities for themselves. Women were more independent in Irish-Catholic society, and came with the intent of settling down. Thus they played an important role in the household by acting in a mediator role teaching Americanized children "old ways" and helping husbands deal with "power shifts" in the household. They also liked being involved in politics, and so used politics and religion to create niches for themselves. Furthermore they equated Irish nationalism with American

ideals of freedom, and viewed America as the final haven from religious persecution. As the Irish grew in size they began to demand their own schools, these took shape as parochial schools. Therefore by 1900 while the Irish were no longer a concern to men as immigrants, they were still a huge problem as Catholics. In fact in 1915 when the KKK was revived, they branded Catholics as "subversive foreign elements" and banded with James Hamilton to close the Catholic schools.[iv]

While the assimilation of the Irish is wonderful, the biggest question that arises is how did they manage to retain their identity and culture while fighting persecution and assimilating. A good example of culture retention and yet assimilation can be seen through the education and beliefs in education that they Irish applied to their lives in America. Another example of Irish-ness and adopted American-ness can be seen in the consumption patterns of the Irish in terms of pottery. This essay will look at these two things in the context of Corktown in Detroit and Beaver Island, Michigan.

Beaver Island, Michigan

Irish settled on Beaver Island almost homogenously after the Mormons were chased off in 1850. The settlers were primarily from the Island of Arranmore, and thus brought with them much of their Irish traditions. According to the census records from 1860 on the schoolteachers on Beaver Island were lay teachers and often from Ireland. The great emigration to the island in the 1880s all brought out by their now Americanized relatives. England in those days, glad to be rid of the Irish patriots whom she considered patriots passed what was called "The Free Act" i.e. passage was free.[v] This post starvation group was made up of the most educated emigrants due to the national school system.

In 1880 Myra E. Day was the schoolteacher for the village of St. James. Both she and her parents are listed in the Census as from New York. Patrick Boyle was the schoolteacher for the Township of Peaine. He was Canadian, but his parents were from Ireland. John Day Jr. was the Superintendent of Schools from 1880-1881. The archives also say that at a town meeting held on July 23 1881, it was decided that they were going to build a schoolhouse on Lighthouse Point with money coming out of the town funds specifically those related to the liquor tax.

In 1898 Mel "Big" Owen is listed as teaching a school. The children who were in attendance are as follows: Frank Gallagher b. 1883, age 15, Ron Malloy b. 1886, age 12, Mike McCafferty b. 1885, age 13, Ron Donlevy b. 1884, age 14, Margaret Donlevy b. 1886, age 12, John Donlevy b. 1888, age 10, and Joe Donlevy b. 1890, age 8. Helen Pike notes that the rules in Michigan state: wherever there were seven or more children of school age a teacher and a school must be provided. This is important to note because Beaver Island was part of Michigan and thus was under the designation of their school rules.

In 1897 rules about education were generalized. It laid out certain rules for training teachers, choosing books etc. "The legislature shall…provide for and establish a system of primary schools, whereby a school shall be kept without charge for tuition, at least three months in a year, in every school district in the state; and all instruction in said schools shall be conducted in the English language."[vi] It was written that the Board hires teachers and must specify wages in the contract that they sign.

The rules pertaining to teachers are as follows. Teachers must keep track of pupil's ages and days in attendance. Teachers must have legal certificates, and teach at least twenty days a month. The boards can license anyone age 17 or older that has attended the public exams, has good moral character, learning and ability to govern school. Anyone aged 21 and older who can pass the exams, but isn't from the U.S. can also be qualified.[vii] There was a normal school in Ypsilanti was specifically designated for training teachers. The Board of Education was looking to create uniformity between the central Michigan and the Ypsilanti Normal schools. This was incredibly pertinent, because pupils from Beaver Island were ending up in both Normal schools, and Beaver Island was attracting teachers from other parts of Michigan who attended one of these training schools. University certificates could be issued to any who had studied the materials necessary to teach. Teacher certificates could also be granted to all graduates of college in the state without examination.

The Board for each township had the ability to choose books and what is taught therein, "as long as

instruction in physiology and hygiene is given. Specifically in regards to alcohol and narcotics."[viii] The town boards were allowed to purchase books if the families cannot. Schools were to teach orthography, spelling, writing, reading, geography, arithmetic, grammar (language lessons included), national and state history, civil government, and physiology and hygiene. While the state did not choose certain books that all schools had to use they did stipulate that "books be uniform by district".[ix] However they did suggested a certain level of books, those that were on par with Harrington's Spelling book, Swinton's readers, Milnes' arithmetic, Frye's geographies, Hyde's grammars, Hutchingson's physiologies, Fisk's Histories, Thorpe-King's Civil government of the U.S. and Michigan, Wentworth's algebras, Gage's physics, and the Eclectic copy books.[x] Finally they introduced the kindergarten curriculum. The state also specified the objects that needed to be in each schoolroom namely "all schools must have a set of wall maps: (grand divisions, U.S. and Michigan), globe, dictionary, reading chart, bookcase, looking-glass, comb, towel, water-pail, wash-basin, and soap."[xi] The last few items show just how important hygiene was in the classrooms.

The rules also stated that any child 5 and older could go to school no matter what their race or color. In fact they stipulated that children had to be in school a certain amount of time a year. Rural children between the ages of 8 and 14 had to be in school at least 4 months a year. City children between 7 and 16 had to be in for that amount of time or more.

Religion and its Effect on Education

Important to the educational structure on Beaver Island is Father Zugelder. In 1833 the Diocese of Detroit was established. It was the Diocese that served all of Michigan, until 1858 when the Upper Peninsula became a vicariate apostolic. From then until 1882 Beaver Island was under the rule of the Upper Peninsula. In 1883 the Diocese of Grand Rapids was set up, of which Beaver Island is a part.[xii] However Beaver Island had a hard time keeping well-trained teachers, because it was so isolated. Therefore when Father Zugelder was assigned to Beaver Island in 1899, he petitioned Bishop Richter for the Dominican Sisters of Marywood, Grand Rapids, to come teach in the schools.

Father Zugelder was the resident priest from 1899-1950. Born in 1869, he came to United States at 19 and went to seminary in Milwaukee, WI, then the Grand Seminary in Montreal. He was ordained on January 29, 1893 in Grand Rapids. He first served in Cadillac for 1 and half years, then Provemont for four, and then finally on July 4, 1899 was sent to Beaver Island. "Father Zugelder brought to his life work a mind well disciplined by scholastic training and his ripe scholarship and indomitable labors have won for him a conspicuous place among the successful pastors of the diocese in which he now labors."[xiii] Father Zugelder felt that "with the help of the sisters he was competent to handle it [the difficult task of Beaver Island]. In fact, he could even tell him of two sisters ready and willing, if only Mother Aquinata would send them."[xiv] Four sisters offered to come over and they arrived on September 6, 1899.[xv]

The Governor agreed to pay the nuns the same as any public teacher, because he could not get any to stay on the island. Therefore, the sisters came and taught in the grade schools of McKinley and Sunnyside. However the little red schoolhouse continued to have lay teachers until it closed in 1941. In 1908 McKinley high school was added.[xvi] The sisters were paid by the state, which was not a problem because the inhabitants of the Island were homogenously Catholic. Cultural life on the Island was based around the schools and the church. Dances, plays, Irish music, and square dances made up much of the interaction.

Beaver Island schools constantly had the highest scores in the county. The school always had a fine reputation throughout the county. However the schools only went up to the 11th grade until 1918. Before that pupils had to head to the mainland in order to graduate. Education was very important to the Islanders. They were prominently featured in the *Biographical Index of Northern* Michigan. William W. Boyle, Son of William and Honora (Mallory) Boyle of Ireland was described therein as "very proud of Ireland, well versed in local lore, and always on the side of progress".[xvii]

Interestingly enough the nuns also had to pass the public examinations. The sisters themselves never taught in St. Ignatius, the church turned school after blood was spilt in it; this school was only staffed by lay

teachers and was closed in 1900. Sunnyside school was built in 1875 remained a log cabin until 1900. "The teachers were men and women from the island who knew how to read and write a little bit. They received $25.00/month for their work. The children went to school all winter and a few days in the spring. In those days, they had to work for their living and didn't have much time to go to school."[xviii] The third school on the island the "Little Red Schoolhouse" was converted into a dancehall in the 20s and burned in the 30s. While religious education was just as important as secular, it was taught outside of school hours.

The curriculum was centered on the mainland's standards. Therefore the curriculum of the high school was "literature, grammar, writing skills, Latin, history, geography, and natural sciences".[xix] Peaine Township: had 2 districts, one of which had non-resident pupils subjects taught arithmetic, civil government, general history, geography grammar, orthography, penmanship. The St. James Township subjects taught were arithmetic, civil government, general history, geography grammar, orthography, and penmanship. Unfortunate that very little recorded information about the development of education on Beaver Island can be found.

McKinley School had a very interesting history on the island. The first schoolroom was the lower room of county seat (i.e. the jail). In 1900 plans were drawn for a new school, complete with a high school, gym, and kitchen. However it was scaled down because there was not enough money. Therefore the high school, at least 9-11 grades were located in the church hall, and music was taught in the living room of a house in town. Grace Cole, interviewed by Robert Cole, went to elementary and middle school at McKinley, and remembers attending high school in the church hall.

The sisters lived outside of town, and thus had a horse and buggy to come and teach downtown. (In 1924, they acquired their first automobile). Although they needed to ride into town, Sunnyside was close to the original convent. Therefore they walked there to teach. Originally a log cabin where men and women of the island who knew how to read and write a little taught, the log schoolhouse was torn down in 1903 and a brick building was built. In 1910 a flagpole was erected, and in 1914 a drinking fountain was installed. This was also the year that the first set of Sunnyside children went to St. James High School. Although from 1901-1920 the salary was $30-$35 per month, it was finally raised in 1924 to $80.[xx] The final school on the Island, Roosevelt had all lay teachers.

Island Curriculum

From the 1870s on the Michigan State Teacher's Association had pushed Temperance teachings. How much these lessons were stressed on the Island is unknown, however the students scored very well at the turn of the century on the exams that had a portion on hygiene (the medium through which temperance was taught). Within the Beaver Island Museum are some school books used in the schools: Harper's U.S. Reader 1872, Ray's Practical Arithmetic, Elements of Inorganic Chemistry 1894. Starting the 1910s and beyond, girls who graduated either married or left the island to attend Nursing school in Chicago. Education continued to play a huge role in the island. The Charlevoix Courier for Wednesday June 5, 1918 contains a list of students from Beaver Island who passed the 8th grade exams and can attend high school, 113 pupils wrote, and most of them passed. I found one mention of Gaelic, and that stated that Gaelic survived well into the 20th century on Beaver Island.[xxi] However no further documentation has been found to collaborate this note. Nor has any indication of the children learning Gaelic been found within the annals of education on the Island.

Island Culture and Consumption

As can be seen religion, education, and music began to be the things that held and defined the culture of the Irish, but what about consumption and outside influence. Beaver Island was on the shipping lines, so they had access to the products of the time, as well as outside influence from letters and newspapers. They also had magazines and on occasion could see pictures and other showings of what the styles were. In

keeping with Victorian ideals one would expect to see lots of bric-a-brac and other inexpensive whimsical items in the archaeological remains from the Gallagher Homestead. This was not the case. While there were the expected remains of blue willow patterns there was much more evidence of the white-bodied ceramics and china. In fact I would argue that the Irish of Beaver Island were at the height of culture since by 1870 having white dishware was "the height of style."[xxii]

While a well-stocked parlor had meant that one was at the height of style in the Victorian era there was a shift to simplicity that made the home space seem more homey and welcoming. Another argument that rises comes from the fact that Detroit was mass-producing cheap, sturdy, white dishware. Yet the largest factor was social status, and many things affected that. While people consume what is meaningful to them within that which they can afford, racial identity reinforces racial hierarchy, and sometimes the objects bought reflect the racial identity of the purchaser.[xxiii] However race is the largest affecter of social status and social status affects consumption.

Yet we did not find as many cultural markers as we had hoped to find. There were only a few times in the archaeological record where the blue willow pattern turned up. Nor were there as many tools or dishes that one assumed to see based on the objects found in Irish digs. However it must be taken into account that diet in the U.S. cities and on Beaver Island may have changed, which would have affected the type of vessels used.

Corktown Detroit, Michigan

The Irish were very welcome in Detroit, because French Catholics founded it. They did create their own place in Corktown, which was broken up based on county in Ireland.[xxiv] Originally the Irish attended the French parish of St. Anne's (the second oldest Catholic Church in the U.S.), but soon moved to their own parish Holy Trinity. At the 100th anniversary of the Diocese of Detroit sermons were given in English, French, and German.[xxv] By the 1840s most of Michigan was answerable to Detroit and the bishop for the running of schools. Once the University of Michigan was founded (by Catholic priests) it was believed that Michigan would one day be known as "the Catholic State."

In Detroit among the Catholics there was much interest in schools.[xxvi] In fact the Irish were all about education, and were incredibly involved in the church. A majority of the parishes founded from the 1850s on were begun by Germans or Irish including the first Irish parish created by Bishop Rese on Woodward Avenue.[xxvii] It was then moved to Cadillac Square, but first Holy Trinity Church was used as a children's hospital for the cholera outbreak. In 1835 the church was dedicated as such and all the priests who served the community were Irish.[xxviii] Detroit was broken into racial parishes so different Catholic communities filled different roles such as the families that made and sold fine Irish linen Alter cloths.

Yet as strong as the parishes were the parents were worried about lack of religious instruction. In fact it was believe that no religious instruction led to "loose morals and lewd pictures."[xxix] Therefore Bishop Gallagher started religious education for children not in parochial schools.[xxx] In fact it was suggested in 1840 that religious education take place before or after regular school hours so that the schools would be publicly funded but the children's religious education would not be neglected. 40 years later this would be what the Beaver Island public schools were modeled after. Another plus for parochial schools was that they were very patriotic.

Education

In 1821 the University of Michigan was established as the head of youth education.[xxxi] Thus began the long struggle for a Michigan school system, as the government battle against and tried to incorporate the different cultures that made up the state. From 1842-1846 school curriculum was organized and grading figured out. By the end of this period there was a 9-year union school and 3 year classical high school system established. This made it easier for children to transfer schools, and also made it possible to

standardize curriculum and books. With these standardizations it became possible to provide the children with free books. It was also in 1842 that a free public school act was passed making education accessible to all. By 1872 20% of the children enrolled in the Detroit Public school system were Irish, and thus the Irish parents came onto the scene.

The Irish believed that education led to improved opportunities.[xxxii] However some parents believed that free education made the children uppity, and feared that they would have no work ethic.[xxxiii] Therefore they pushed for the addition of manual training and domestic sciences into the high school curriculum because it was believed that rote memorization was not good or healthy because "children were not taught to think, but simply to do."[xxxiv] In 1899 these classes were added to the curriculum in high schools and in 1900 Jr. high schools were established with vocational training and traditional classes. Another class that was added to the curriculum in Michigan schools was a mandate in 1867 that history be taught at all levels in all schools. Here the Irish pushed for cultural recognition, demanding that Irish history be taught along with Irish language. They attempted to plant Gaelic in US, even going so far as having an Irish language paper the *Gael* printed in New York. However by 1900 only 4 out of the 32 pages were in Irish.[xxxv]
Yet even the Catholic schools refused to teach Gaelic and Irish history as part of the curriculum.

In 1870 the legal source of school support was interest from the primary school fund, 2 mill tax, district taxes, discharge of any lawful debts, and non-resident tuition.[xxxvi] Furthermore schoolhouses were supposed to be situated in pretty, healthy places, which was not always the case. Nor were heating, lighting and ventilation up to par. After 1870 schoolhouses were made of brick, frame or stone, logs were no longer acceptable. This is because "the schoolhouse was an index to the culture and resources of the district" and a symbol of town wealth and pride.[xxxvii] Each school was supposed to have a library: "Now what is needed is a well selected working library in each school… to be used not as a circulating library so much as a reference library and an inspiration to the pupils."[xxxviii]

In April 1887 the diocesan held exams and handed out16 diplomas to lay teachers. Interestingly enough lay and religious teachers were examined separately. There was also note of a demand for uniformity of textbooks and that perhaps the Polish and German readers ought to be done away with. Holy Trinity had a well-attended school of music. It was also noted that there were 150 books in the library of the 4-story brick building.[xxxix] Yet by 1899 it was necessary that the Pope ordered that Catholics needed to attend parochial schools, at that point many children moved out of the public school system.[xl] This rule was enforced through fines that were levied on parents if their children were not in class, and in 1911 another 1800 Catholics left the public schools.[xli] Some priests began to withhold sacraments from the parents in an attempt to get the children in.

In 1888 the archdiocesan created a secondary school system because it was believed that "education which excluded all religious instruction was to be considered a definite threat to faith and morals."[xlii] Tuition was placed at 0-75 cents a month and by 1922 competitions between schools on spelling, geography, and religion had been instigated by Father Linskay. In 1919 St. Joseph College founded for the education of women was founded in an attempt to help women who could not get into University of Michigan because the were female and Catholic educated. Catholic nuns and priests helped immigrants assimilate to American culture, and academies for children who were more rural were established so they could get education even in the winter.

The public scholastic history of Corktown is just as varied. The first public school in Corktown was the Houghton school, which was opened in 1852. Originally called the 8th Ward school, it was on the SW corner of 6th and Abbott in the heart of Corktown. There were 12 rooms in the building and space for about 598 children. In 1901 there were 1064 students and 13 teachers, so in 1908 the site of the school was changed and the school was expanded.[xliii] Other elementary schools that serviced the area were Chaney School, which opened in 1887 and was always overcrowded. Webster was built in 1897, which housed 695 students and 13 teachers. However as Corktown grew it was expanded in 1901, and the new wing allowed for the accumulated accommodation of 1038 students.[xliv]

In 1901 the Superintendent of schools reported that there were 67 elementary schools, 3 high schools and 36 kindergartens. English language lessons begin in Kindergarten, although many schools also taught another of the romance languages. These schools were structured just like in Ireland (manual labor), which shows how much influence the Irish had on the system. The curriculum was structured in such a way that history and literature classes build off of one another. An example of the curriculum is as follows: by 4th grade the students were reading Uncle Tom's Cabin, learning specifics of skeleton and muscles, and studying music which was considered incredibly important.

After much fighting education became compulsory in 1913 and the law stated that children ages 7-16 had to be in school. In 1918 the problem of what language the school was taught in was solved, because a federal law was passed that mandated English was the language of the schools.[xlv] In 1920 Detroit started to build the schools to meet the needs of the children.

By 1949 the shape of Corktown had changed. Corktown was no longer a homogenously Irish neighborhood but there was a competition for who was more Irish. This shift from Irish to others occurred at the turn of century when Corktown was a haven for Catholics. In 1926 it was noted that the recent waves of Irish emigrants were very involved in politics, but not those of Ireland. They held "Irish sympathies as American citizens".[xlvi] They thoroughly enjoyed music and piping, but have all adopted "American dress, American manners, and most of the discussions are on American affairs. The majority of those who were here in 1917 have war records".[xlvii] While the Irish of yesteryear clustered together, these immigrants were all over. Thus by 1935 it was called "Old Corktown" to refer to the time when it was homogenously Irish. Thus it can be seen that education really affected the cultural identity of the people who went through the system. It is really true that "what immigrants thought about education, what it ought to be, and what they did about it tell much about how they became American."[xlviii]

Consumption

Detroit, since it is a larger city, really represents the consumer culture of America and it's effects on other cultures to a larger extent than that seen on Beaver Island. By the 1920s and 30s Detroit was becoming highly industrial. One study looked at looked at Stroh Brewing Co. in Detroit. The people living around the factory were working class, Anglo-Irish and in the privies were found the remains of plain, undecorated ironstone. Therefore the lower class had access to mass-produced plain white table ceramics, and while there was access to higher-grade ceramics there were virtually no remains to be found. Since through catalogues and ads it is known that fancier patterns could be gotten relatively cheaply it is obvious that socioeconomic rather than market access really affected variation.[xlix] However fine objects were still indications of status, and thus white ware must have been held in lower status because it is seen discarded much more frequently.

Variety in teacups was not necessarily proof of wealth, especially since some expensive ceramics were inherited. In fact it was ideal to have a set because that created a "respectable table setting."[l] In fact due to department stores, catalogues, and low fixed rates, the 19th century saw a rise in amount of ceramics both acquired and disposed of as they became outdated. There was also a rise in 2 set households one utilitarian and one fancy set; fancy was used for friends and plain for every day.[li] Progressivism had an impact on consumption because it affected living standards, fair cost, decent goods and high standard of life. Consumerism also grew as it began to mask differences. While there were certain ethnic markers like the Irish blue willow, this was noticed less and less. Department stores also became a place for women to assert their power, leading boycotts if prices were unfair. Department stores also allowed the middle and poorer classes to have styles similar to those the upper class was able to afford.[lii]

It is interesting to note that more tea wares were found in Irish privies than elsewhere. As already stated consumption can show and mask who we are, and the Irish had long ago adopted the tea culture of the English in an attempt to seem more refined.[liii] However by mid-19th century the role of ceramics had changed. Mass produced earthenware was easier to replace, and it was a sigh of prosperity and pride to have

all the plates on the table match and assign one per person."[liv] It was also a sign of success if you had one decorated, unused plate.

The industrial revolution changed the workplace, which affected the home life because there was now segregation of the two. The home became the woman's sphere, making meals ritualized and leading to many more decorations until 1840, when it turned to plain and gothic, and the living area became more welcoming and homey. It is here that consumerism and access to good through department stores became increasingly crucial. Women had more time to go out and look at other's objects and try to mimic, and more economic ability to do so.

Conclusion

It is now plainly obvious that the lives of the Irish in Detroit were much different from those who ended up in isolated areas like Beaver Island. However many Irish retained their spunk and 'old ways'. A great example of this can be found in Mae Shine who was the oldest of 13 from County Leitrim. She left Ireland at 18, and went to Duluth, MN in 1927. It "puzzled the Conlon's (family) and friends that she was going to Duluth and not Chicago, New York Boston or even Detroit".[lv] However in 1928, she moved to Detroit and married an Irishman.

Born in 1909 she attended a Marist Convent school until the 7th grade. At 12 her mother told her "there'll be no more school I need you here."[lvi] The nuns took the views of mock gentry to heart. Her sisters Kitty, Midge, and Gertie remembered "the humiliation of being sent home from school by the nuns to get the money that they were supposed to have brought to the school to help pay for coal to heat the classroom…when they returned without it they were scolded again in front of their classmates."[lvii] As a kid received "second-hand toys all parceled up to look like new…she was a servant. No matter how hard she tried to imagine otherwise it was the only life she could see ahead of her."[lviii] Thus she emigrated in the hopes of finding a better life.

Mae remained very superstitious her whole life and kept her Catholic beliefs close to heart. She had her children educated in a Catholic school, and believed that baptisms should occur as soon as possible, thus every so often she stole off and did "kitchen-sink baptisms".[lix] It is east to see from these anecdotes that certain things that marked people are Irish were carried into America, specifically family ideals, the importance of education, the strength of religious beliefs and superstitions.

With all of this information the question arises as to what it all meant to the identity of the children. Irish parents, it can be seen, were adamant that their children learn English, although they saw nothing wrong with the children speaking the mother tongue they realized that English was necessary to their continued success. Education was also important and it was there that a lot of cultural identities were shaped.

The importance of religion can also be seen throughout the entire fight with the education system in Michigan. One need only look at the rules that were passed and the arguments that arose in the teaching and creating of religious schools. At times one gets the feeling that being Irish is tied up more in religion than in anything else. Take for example Mae Shine. She carried with her all her old world superstitions, but the one that always stuck out to her son was religion. She sent her children to a Catholic school, and believed so strongly in baptism even going as far as baptizing children in the kitchen sink just to be assured that their souls would be saved.

Does this idea of Irish-ness being tied up in being Catholic carry over to Beaver Island? I would argue that indeed it does. Which is why with "the return of the Irish to the island is where we can establish a true beginning for the Catholic church, and the growth of the schools sure to follow in its wake."[lx] It was the Catholic priest who brought over nuns to teach in the school knowing that there would be support for it. Furthermore this just proves how important education was to the Irish. Even when they couldn't keep a State school teacher, the people of the community that knew some reading, writing, and arithmetic would teach the children. When schoolhouses burned down or there just wasn't one available people would happily open up their houses to be used as schools.

The things that the children are taking after school were just as important to their education both culturally and thematically (book learned). In Ireland it was common for children to take music lessons, the same can be seen in Beaver Island and in Detroit. Do the schools enculturate the children and influence their cultural identity? Emphatically yes! While the curriculum in both places is controlled by an outside source, the people teaching carry the same ideals that are so important to the Irish, namely tenacity, thriftiness, Godliness. Even though religion was not taught in the schools, it still would have come through in small ways, the ways that are important.

Beaver Island began to lose some of the Irish influences that came from the teachers, when it became more nuns teaching, but they still received it at home. It is amazing to see how ideals began to change as more opportunities were opened up to the scholars. In Ireland a good student could go on and become a teacher. In Beaver Island a good student could go to university on the mainland. Music and dance taught in Detroit and on Beaver Island were the largest forms of Irish identity after religion. In America, even more than in Ireland, parents believed that an education and the ability to learn English were the most important objectives in recognizing one's own potential, and in that case Beaver Island was very Irish.

Goods and access to certain objects also shaped the cultural identity of the children who were growing up on Beaver Island and in Detroit. They saw the objects like blue willow that were the cultural markers for their parents, but they also saw the ads for the different objects and one must assume they too partook of the delights of wandering through a department store. Furthermore they were able to get more things because objects were being mass-produced and were cheaper. There was no need to use iron wire to fix willow plates like there had been in Ireland.[lxi] Lots of the things used in Ireland were merely functional and not decorated, but there was increased vessel complexity in the U.S.

While there were many factors that shaped the identity of the Irish in the U.S., the most prevalent were those of education and consumerism. Access to both of these factors was increased in the U.S. and after the mandate that children had to be in school; much more time was spent in the care and under the influence of people from different cultures. Thus the Irish decided to reshape their culture to have certain things be the center of importance. These were music and religion. Objects shifted because as the generations passed more and more attention was paid to the trends that were sweeping the nation in general.

Appendix information

Irish Songs Used in Beaver Island School ca. 1930s

- 1. It's a Great Day to be Irish
- 2. Little Town in the Ould Country Down
- 3. That's an Irish Lullaby
- 4. The Rose of Tralee
- 5. Kathleen Mavoureen
- 6. Mother Machree
- 7. When Irish Eye's are Smiling
- 8. A little bit of Heaven
- 9. Come back to Erin
- 10. Believe me if all those Endearing young Charms
- 11. By Killarney's Lakes and Fells
- 12. It's a long way to Tipperary
- 13. I'll Take you Home again Kathleen
- 14. The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls
- 15. The days of the Kerry Dancing
- 16. O Paddy Dear (the Wearing of the Green)

- 17. There's a Dear Little Plant
- 18. That Old Irish Mother of Mine
- 19. Sweet Molly Malone
- 20. When I dream of Old Erin
- 21. That Tumble Down Shack of Athlone
- 22. Ireland Must be Heaven
- 23. My Wild Irish Rose
- 24. If I knock the L out of Kelly
- 25. Where the River Shannon Flows
- 26. Galway Bay
- 27. You don't have to be Irish to be welcome in an Irishman's home
- 28. It takes a great big Irish Heart to sing an Irish Song

Teachers and salaries

1900 Census

- Sr. Clementine from PA. parents Irish
- Sr. Gertrude both herself and her parents French Canadian
- Sr. Hildegard Born in Michigan of German descent
- Maggie Gordon Born in Michigan of Irish parents

1910 Census

- Nora L. Berry, MA
- Mamie Gallagher (Peaine), MI
- Sr. Genevive, French Canadian of Fr. Canadian parents
- Sr. Reginald, MI dad Irish mom French Canadian
- Sr. Leo, MI dad French Canadian mom MI
- Sr. Thomasine, MI parents Canadian/Irish
- Sr. Clementine, PA parents Irish

- 1913 – Jane DuBois $45 a month
- 1916 – Mabel McDonnald, Maxi McCarthy, Mary Mahoney, Emma Steffins, Mary Donaghue ($300 a month or year(?)
- 1917 – Dominican Sisters: 1245.60
- 1919 – Dominican Sisters Nov. 3: $250, Dec. 15 $300,
- 1920 – Jan. 30 $500, May 31 $58.30, Oct 8 $500, Dec. 20 $500, Apr. 15 1921 $400.
- School census 1927 – 125 children

Graduating Classes from Beaver Island Community School

- 1918 – Clementine McCauley
- 1919 – Mae Tilly
- 1920 – Grace Bonner, Veronica Gallagher, James McCann, Bridget McDonald, Lloyd McDonough
- 1921 – Christina Larsen, Alexander McCauley, Mary McDonough, Frank Nackerman, Maud Tilley
- 1922 – Ernest Allers, Lucielle Gillespie, Mary Greene, Gerald Left, Marguerite McCann
- 1923 – Violet McCafferty, Nellie McDonough, Arthur Pischner

- 1925 – Florence Gibson, Catherine Greene, Anna Left, Catherine McCann, Mary McCann, Justin McCauley, Helen McDonough
- 1926 – Theresa Boyle, James Gallagher, Grace Gillespie
- 1928 – Earl Gallagher, Margaret Gallagher, Edwin McCann
- 1929 – Daniel Greene, Aelred McCann
- 1930 – Edna Belfy, Marguerite Gallagher, Sadie Gallagher, Omer McCann
- 1931 – Norbert Gallagher, Charles Pischner, Giles McCann, Betty Cull, Anna Mielke

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[i] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 65.
[ii] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 67.
[iii] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 65.
[iv] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 145.
[v] Anonymous, *Beaver Tales.* pg. 8.
[vi] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*, Robert Smith Printing Co., State Printers and Binders, Lansing Michigan 1897. Pg. 8.
[vii] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 51.
[viii] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 22.
[ix] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897.* Pg. 70-71.
[x] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 73.
[xi] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 24.
[xii] Beaver Island Historical Society, *Journal of Beaver Island History Vol. 3,* 1988 pg. 165-166.
[xiii] *Biographical history of northern Michigan, containing biographies of prominent citizens* ...[Indianapolis]: B.F. Bowen & company, 1905. Pg. 793.
[xiv] *"Times of their lives: Dominican sisters on Beaver Island".* pg. 178.
[xv] *"Times of their lives: Dominican sisters on Beaver Island* ". pg. 177.
[xvi] Journal Vol. 3 1988. pg. 171-172.
[xvii] *Biographical history of northern Michigan, containing biographies of prominent citizens* ...[Indianapolis]: B.F. Bowen & company, 1905. Pg. 607-608
[xviii] Rodger H. Ricksgers, "*History of Sunnyside School*" pg. 4.
[xix] Murray, Lorrie A. *A Brief History of Education on Beaver Island, Michigan*, 26 July 1996. Pg. 7.
[xx] *Sunnyside.* pg. 3.
[xxi] Metress, Seamus P. and Eileen K. *Irish in Michigan.* Michigan State University Press, 2006.
[xxii] *Race and the Archaeology of Identity,* 168
[xxiii] *Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*, 15.
[xxiv] Detroit News, 14 March, 1940
[xxv] The Michigan Catholic, Detroit Michigan, Centennial of the Diocese of Detroit 1833-1933 Dec. 21, 1933 (86 pgs), Converted to film by University of Kentucky, 1960, pg. 5.
[xxvi] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 8
[xxvii] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 18
[xxviii] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 7
[xxix] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 268.
[xxx] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 59
[xxxi] *Public Education Detroit Growth of City Schools*, 47.
[xxxii] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 211.
[xxxiii] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 214.
[xxxiv] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 227.
[xxxv] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*. 22.
[xxxvi] *State Control of Public Instruction*, 64.

[xxxvii] *The Michigan search for standards*, 21.
[xxxviii] *The Michigan search for standards*, 131.
[xxxix] *1st annual report of the Diocesan School board of the Diocese of Detroit, MI 1887 (Detroit publishing Co. 1888)*, 24-25.
[xl] Scrapbooks on Detroit History V. 1, 3-5, 5a-7. January 1, 1899 *Detroit Free press*. V. 6 pg. 124-126.
[xli] Scrapbooks on Detroit History. Burton. Microfilm no. 227 reel 11 from *Journal* October 7, 1911.
[xlii] *History and Development of the Catholic Secondary school system in the Archdiocese of Detroit 1701-1961*, 50.
[xliii] Histories of the Public Schools of Detroit 1967.
[xliv] Ibid Histories
[xlv] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 145.
[xlvi] Detroit's New Irish Americans *Saturday Night* December 25, 1926.
[xlvii] Detroit's New Irish Americans *Saturday Night* December 25, 1926.
[xlviii] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*. iii.
[xlix] *Consumer Choice in historical Archaeology*, 73.
[l] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 23.
[li] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 152.
[lii] *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, 352.
[liii] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 2.
[liv] *The Archaeology of American Capitalism*, 72-73.
[lv] Shine, Neal. *Life with Mae: A Detroit Family Memoir,* Wayne State University Press, 2007. pg. 11.
[lvi] *Life with Mae*. pg. 3.
[lvii] *Life with Mae*. pg. 9.
[lviii] *Life with Mae*. pg. 7.
[lix] *Life with Mae*. pg. 75.
[lx] *Brief*. Pg. 3.
[lxi] *Unearthing Hidden Ireland*, 56.

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Since this is a student-centered project, it is anticipated that many more students will write senior theses, present posters at conferences, contribute to the project website, and otherwise be integral to the exploration and dissemination of the history of this unique and wonderful island. These various products will be made available to the public as appropriate and ultimately curated with the Beaver Island Historical Society. Interested individuals are also invited to view projects online at http://blogs.nd.edu/irishstories.