The Changing Face of Identity
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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,"[1] their "whiteness was rarely called into question, but rather the quality of whiteness."[2]

Because of the importance of family ties the Irish practiced a type if immigration called "chain migration."[3] 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.[4]

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.[5] 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 Peanine. 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."[6] 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.[7] 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."[8] 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".[9] 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.[10] 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."[11] 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.[12] 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."[13] 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."[14] Four sisters

offered to come over and they arrived on September 6, 1899.[15]

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.[16] 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".[17]

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."[18] 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".[19] 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.[20] 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 on 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.[21] 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."[22]

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.[23] 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.[24] 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.[25] 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.[26] 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.[27] 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.[28] 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."[29] Therefore Bishop Gallagher started religious education for children not in parochial schools.[30] 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.[31] 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.[32] However some parents believed that free education made the children uppity, and feared that they would have no work ethic.[33] 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."[34] 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.[35] 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.[36] 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.[37] 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."[38]

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.[39] 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.[40] 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.[41] 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."[42] 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.[43] 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.[44]

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.[45] 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".[46] 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".[47] 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."[48]

Consumption

Detroit, since it is a larger city, really represents the consumer culture of America and it's affects 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.[49] 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."[50] 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 everyday.[51] 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.[52]

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.[53] 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."[54] It was also a sign of success if you had one decorated, unused plate. (successful that you would have an un used 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".[55] 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."[56] 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."[57] 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."[58] 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".[59] 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 through out 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."[60] 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 are 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 loose 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.[61] 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 form 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

<u>Graduating Classes from Beaver Island Community School</u>

- 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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[1] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 65.
[2] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 67.
[3] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 65.
[4] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 145.
[5] Anonymous, *Beaver Tales.* pg. 8.
[6] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*, Robert Smith Printing Co., State Printers and Binders, Lansing Michigan 1897. Pg. 8.
[7] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 51.

[8] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 22.
[9] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897.* Pg. 70-71.
[10] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 73.
[11] *General School Laws of Michigan 1897*. Pg. 24.
[12] Beaver Island Historical Society, *Journal of Beaver Island History Vol. 3,* 1988 pg. 165-166.
[13] *Biographical history of northern Michigan, containing biographies of prominent citizens* ...[Indianapolis]: B.F. Bowen & company, 1905. Pg. 793.
[14] *"Times of their lives: Dominican sisters on Beaver Island".* pg. 178.
[15] *"Times of their lives: Dominican sisters on Beaver Island* ". pg. 177.
[16] Journal Vol. 3 1988. pg. 171-172.
[17] *Biographical history of northern Michigan, containing biographies of prominent citizens* ...[Indianapolis]: B.F. Bowen & company, 1905. Pg. 607-608
[18] Rodger H. Ricksgers, "*History of Sunnyside School*" pg. 4.
[19] Murray, Lorrie A. *A Brief History of Education on Beaver Island, Michigan*, 26 July 1996. Pg. 7.
[20] *Sunnyside.* pg. 3.
[21] Metress, Seamus P. and Eileen K. *Irish in Michigan.* Michigan State University Press, 2006.
[22] *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, 168
[23] *Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*, 15.
[24] Detroit News, 14 March, 1940
[25] 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.
[26] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 8
[27] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 18
[28] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 7
[29] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 268.
[30] *The Michigan Catholic* pg. 59
[31] *Public Education Detroit Growth of City Schools*, 47.
[32] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 211.
[33] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 214.
[34] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*, 227.
[35] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*. 22.
[36] *State Control of Public Instruction*, 64.
[37] *The Michigan search for standards*, 21.
[38] *The Michigan search for standards*, 131.
[39] *1st annual report of the Diocesan School board of the Diocese of Detroit, MI 1887 (Detroit publishing Co. 1888)*, 24-25.
[40] Scrapbooks on Detroit History V. 1, 3-5, 5a-7. January 1, 1899 *Detroit Free press.* V. 6 pg. 124-126.
[41] Scrapbooks on Detroit History. Burton. Microfilm no. 227 reel 11 from *Journal* October 7, 1911.
[42] *History and Development of the Catholic Secondary school system in the Archdiocese of Detroit 1701-1961*, 50.

[43] Histories of the Public Schools of Detroit 1967.
[44] Ibid Histories
[45] *Race and Ethnicity in America: A Concise History*, 145.
[46] Detroit's New Irish Americans *Saturday Night* December 25, 1926.
[47] Detroit's New Irish Americans *Saturday Night* December 25, 1926.
[48] *Irish-American and Italian-American educational views and Activities*. iii.
[49] *Consumer Choice in historical Archaeology*, 73.
[50] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 23.
[51] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 152.
[52] *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, 352.
[53] *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, 2.
[54] *The Archaeology of American Capitalism*, 72-73.
[55] Shine, Neal. *Life with Mae: A Detroit Family Memoir,* Wayne State University Press, 2007. pg. 11.
[56] *Life with Mae.* pg. 3.
[57] *Life with Mae.* pg. 9.
[58] *Life with Mae*. pg. 7.
[59] *Life with Mae.* pg. 75.
[60] *Brief*. Pg. 3.

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[61] *Unearthing Hidden Ireland,* 56.