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Irish Immigrant Involvement in Collective Violence in New
York from 1845 to 1875

by

Hugh E. O'Rourke

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal
Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New
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Abstract

Irish Immigrant Involvement in Collective Violence in New
York from 1845 to 1875

by

Hugh E. O'Rourke

Advisor: Professor Larry Sullivan

During the period of Famine and post-Famine immigration from 1845 to 1875, New York City experienced a large number of riots involving Irish immigrants. The popular press and official records indicate that the Irish community was more likely to riot than the German immigrant community that also began arriving in the 1840s. German immigrants were less likely to engage primitive rioting than the Irish, because they arrived in America with a more modern social tradition than the impoverished rural Irish. This dissertation will show that the traditional culture of the pre-Famine Irish was responsible for the over representation of the Irish immigrant community in collective violence. As the effects of modernization, which can be measured in the growth of political power, occupational advancement, increased leisure and recreational opportunities, and the increased stature of

the Roman Catholic Church in the immigrant community, were felt in the last quarter of the century, the Irish community left the more problematic aspects of the older culture behind and collective violence declined.

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Introduction.

This dissertation will show that the Irish immigrant of the 1845 to 1875 period acted according to a cultural tradition that accepted collective violence as both a problem solving technique and a recreational activity. Collective violence in New York City and the surrounding counties was a continuation of traditional behaviors that were common in pre-Famine Ireland. As the Irish immigrants and their American-born off-spring adjusted to life in the city and to the requirements necessary for success in an industrial setting, their traditional behaviors changed. They dropped or modified those behaviors that were incompatible with life in an industrial society.

This dissertation, by using a cultural theory, will differ from most of the studies on immigrant criminality. Many historians and social scientists explain immigrant crime as being related to the poverty and living conditions found in immigrant ghettos. Social disorganization theory, formulated by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay of the University of Chicago, has long held prominence in explaining immigrant criminality. Crime was the result of the disorganization found in transitional communities, which lacked the ability to integrate the immigrant into American life (1999, pp. 65-70). Alternate explanations view

immigrant crime as being linked to conflict with laws created by the powerful in a capitalist society. These theories, based on Marxist theory, attempted to explain immigrant crime by examining the conflict found in capitalist societies and depicted criminal behavior as a reaction to the power elite. The powerful in society manipulated the laws to prevent the lower classes from achieving success in society. Crime and collective violence then are a reaction to the inherent conflict in capitalist societies (Cullen and Agnew, 1999, pp. 295-301).

This dissertation will diverge from sociological and conflict theories that view collective violence and crime in general as a result or reaction to stressful living conditions found in the new environment or as a reaction to social inequities. Although the impoverished Irish immigrants found their new surroundings harsh and the economic structure exploitive, their quick resort to collective violence was not caused by these factors. Rather their violence was a continuation of traditional patterns of behavior that were common in rural Ireland. The crowded urban environment of the Irish immigrants placed immigrants in close proximity to other rural Irish people. Living close together facilitated and continued traditional culture and behaviors in the community. The formation of factions,

which in America were represented by neighborhood gangs, fire and target companies, and local political organizations, continued in New York as they had in Ireland. When problems arose, these new groups responded with the traditional faction fight response. As faction fighting in Ireland had a strong recreational component, collective violence in New York was an appealing technique to Irish immigrants.

The traditional behaviors and culture changed at the end of the 1845-1875 period. Increased social control associated with the more industrialized and commercialized New York society after 1875 affected the Irish immigrants. The increased efficiency of the expanded New York City Police Department helped prevent or control collective violence and other unacceptable behaviors. As the Roman Catholic Church grew in stature and power, it could shape and affect traditional behaviors as it socialized its members. The increased status of the Irish community after the Civil War pressured the newest and more traditional immigrants to adjust to the norms of the modernizing Irish community. Sports grew in importance and offered alternate means of dealing with youthful aggression. Finally, the economic success in the industrial city changed traditional

behaviors that were incompatible with the new society.

Popular images of Irish immigrants.

The popular press, which was almost universally critical of the new immigrants, reported many instances of collective violence by the Irish from 1845 to 1875. Editorial writers lamented and condemned the behavior of the new immigrants who seemed responsible for a great increase in the disorder of the city. From 1861 to 1865 Irish immigrants who were 25% of the city population represented 50% of the inmates of the city prison.

Arrests by nativity 1861-1865

Nativity	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
Ireland	24,275	25,371	18,350	17,740	19,636
USA	9,932	10,477	8,754	8,648	12,310
Germany	3,592	2,876	2,773	2,580	4,405
England	1,450	1,164	1,025	955	1,636
Scotland	623	550	431	363	540
Others	1,575	861	1,259	745	1,089
Total	41,447	41,299	32,592	31,231	39,616

(Compiled from reports of the warden of the New York City Prison contained in the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction, 1861-1865, as follows:

1861 p.156; 1862, p. 115; 1863 p. 106; 1864, p. 74; 1865, p. 12.)¹

Even the newly established Irish immigrant press condemned the behavior of some immigrants. The diaries of New York elites also contain a great deal of critical information on the collective violence of the large Irish community. During this period Irish immigrants to England were also involved in collective violence, including large scale fights between Irishmen from different parts of Ireland (Thompson E. P., 1966, p. 431).

In examining the over-representation of the Irish immigrant in the nineteenth century riot, a fundamental question becomes apparent. The most basic question was, "why the Irish rioter and not the other immigrant groups?" Of course some riots had participants from other groups, but overall, the popular view of the nineteenth century riot was that it was usually an Irish affair. Germans who arrived in large numbers at the same time as the Irish Famine immigrants were rarely involved. Jewish or Italian immigrants, who were not present in great numbers during this period, were not regular participants in collective

¹During the period of the 1850s statistics on inmates of the city prison listed native born and "foreigners" without any further ethnic breakdown.

violence.

Newspapers consistently complained of the riotous behavior of the Irish. The New York Times was particularly harsh in its treatment of the Irish immigrant community. However, the popular accounts were often ideological representations of the reality of New York life instead of objective news accounts. In an editorial, "Irish Character and the Late Riot" the writer, commenting on the Orange Riots of July 12, 1871, described the Irish as having "Fondness for glare, glitter, and noise, for somewhat puerile forms of excitement, and for fighting considered as some pastimes are equally distinctive of the Celt of remote history and the nearest approach we have to his lineal descendants" (July 16, 1871 p. 4).

While German immigrants initially faced hostility in New York, New Yorkers soon recognized them as industrious, clean, honest, hard working, and orderly members of society. Native New Yorkers tolerated German immigrants. In contrast, they viewed the Irish as "... rowdy ne'er-do-wells, impulsive, quarrelsome, drunken and threadbare" (Higham, 1971, pp. 25-26). Except for a riot in July 1857 to protest the killing of a German New Yorker by a police officer, the German community was generally not associated with collective violence ("The riots," July 14, 1857, p. 1).

In contrasting the German-American parade celebrating the end of the Franco-Prussian War and the Saint Patrick's Day Parade of 1867 and a 1871 parade to welcome the released Irish Fenian prisoners to New York, the editorial writer asked the reader to compare German and Irish New Yorkers.

...it was a relief to the patriotic observer to note what a vast and stalwart throng of respectable working men and small shop keepers lie concealed usually in German quarters. Such an army of decent, cheerful mechanics and tradesmen, never marched through our streets. Every one was happy, even hilarious, and yet no one drunk. New York seemed to have put off its earnest American aspect, or its *rowdy Irish expression*, and to wear a look of broad, healthy, German merriment.

("A Balance to the Irish Vote," 1871, April 13, p. 4) (*italics added*)

The German-born cartoonist Thomas Nast, who campaigned against the Tweed Ring, drew many anti-Irish and anti-Catholic cartoons. His cartoon, "The Day We Celebrate," was a stinging criticism of a Saint Patrick's Day riot in 1867. In the April 6, 1867-edition of Harper's Weekly, he depicted simian featured Saint Patrick's Day marchers assaulting

police officers (Keller, 1968, p. 103). References to Irish disorders filled the diaries of New York elites. George Templeton Strong commenting in his diary on the Draft Riots of July 1863 stated that the riots had damaged the reputation of the Irish community. "No wonder. The atrocities those Celtic devils perpetrated can hardly be paralleled in the history of human crime and cruelty, and were without shadow of provocation or excuse" (Nevins, 1962, p. 352). Many New Yorkers undoubtedly shared his opinions.

Philip Hone, a mayor of New York with strong anti-Irish feelings, in an entry in his diary in April 1842, described a riot in the Sixth Ward between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. "The combatants in this scrimmage consisted of two factions of Irish who, to keep up a pleasant recollection of their interesting amusements in their own country, retain the designations which they had there of Catholic and Orangemen, or as the terms are softened down here, "Spartans" and "Faugh-a-ballaghs" (Hone, 1970, p. 596).

Undoubtedly, racist attitudes and traditional anti-Catholicism of the Anglo-New Yorkers influenced their negative views of the impoverished Irish immigrants. However, there is a great deal of evidence that supports the connection between Irish immigrants and collective

violence.

Collective violence.

Collective violence is an all-encompassing term that includes such activities as riots, multiple murders, revolutions, coups d'etat, insurrections, and guerilla warfare (Rule, 1988, pp. 11-12). It can also include minor violence such as large scale barroom fights, tenement house battles, neighborhood and gang fights, and brawls between workers on a construction site. This dissertation will use the term collective violence to describe those forms of violence with multiple participants. Although many definitions of riots or collective violence exist, I will use the definition that describes collective violence as "events having many people engaged, often resulting in injuries and property damage, and presenting a great threat to public order." These collective events are not attempts to take over the power of the state. Although many of these incidents appear unplanned, they often include planning that has taken place out of the view of the authorities. Discerning the motivations of rioters is problematic and opens a methodological Pandora's box. Did Irish voters riot in the Election of 1834 to achieve greater political empowerment or as a form of traditional recreational

violence? The danger is in imputing a motivation that was not there (Bowen and Masotti, 1968, pp. 10-14).

An extensive history of American rioting in the nineteenth century exists. Much of it is associated with economic grievances; electoral disputes; anti-African-American ethnic, and religious prejudices; and moral fears over prostitution, drinking, and gambling. However, Irish immigrant riots are more difficult to interpret. Although the poverty-stricken Irish had much to be unhappy about, their collective violence was rarely a response to injustice. They appear not to have been appeals for justice, but attacks on a variety of rival groups. The immigrants may have engaged in these actions as a historic clan or geographical rivalry. Often riots by Irish workers on canals, railroads, and construction projects were not against unfair wages or treatment, but attacks on other Irish workers from other parts of Ireland (Grimsted, 1972, pp. 390-393). Other riots that may have appeared to be based on elections, industrial strife, or on gang warfare were in fact based on ethnic, religious, or racial antagonisms (Hofstadter and Wallace, 1970, p. 13).

Collective violence seemed a possibility wherever a group of immigrants gathered. Violence occurred at labor confrontations in the era before unions. It also occurred

when nativist groups confronted the Irish immigrant. These instances of violence perhaps could be considered understandable. However, there is evidence of a great deal of violence at gatherings that lacked a hostile undertone. Parades, picnics, target shooting excursions, political meetings, and elections often resulted in riotous behavior. Collective violence also marred Saint Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July celebrations. The Irish often celebrated with drinking which resulted in brawls, often with fatal results. Of course, Irish criminal gang activities often resulted in gratuitous violence.

Charles Tilly (1969) classified this form of collective violence as primitive. Primitive violence is most often associated with local people dissociated from a central power. The violence is usually directed against members of rival groups and includes feuds, brawls, and religious rivalries. However, the notion of traditional enemies can be only a pretext for the collective violence. Much of this violence is for "the fun of it" or recreational and is often present at fairs, funerals, feasts, and other events that bring together local antagonists. It also served to reinforce group solidarity. Primitive violence is usually nonpolitical and intensely local in objectives and motives.

Recreational battling can be considered as a form of

team sports in an era before organized athletics. Membership in the group could achieve the goal of physical activity, danger, and excitement (Feldberg, 1980, pp. 76-78).

In contrast to primitive violence, reactionary collective violence involves small groups in conflict with representatives of the powerful. Anticonscription, antitax, antiland enclosure movements, and Luddite actions are a few of the reactionary and backward looking forms of violence associated with people attempting to hold onto rights that they fear are in jeopardy. Reactionary collective violence is often directed against the central power or the elites in society. It is political in the broad sense as it attempts to influence powerful elements in society to allow the less powerful to continue in their traditional manner without interference.

Modern collective violence is usually the most well organized and with the most obvious political or economic purposes. Modern collective violence involves strikes and political demonstrations, which attempt to achieve new rights or powers. Labor issues, temperance, and suffrage movements are typical causes that have resulted in modern collective violence. Many of these demonstrations are mainly shows of force, but can result in violence, especially when governmental authorities overreact to them

(Tilly, 1969, pp. 13-29). Most of the violence connected with the Irish community during the 1845-1875 period was primitive.

New York during this era was a less disciplined society than it would become in subsequent generations. The city's working class culture was organized around drinking in saloons, gambling, theaters, brothels, and physical violence. Camaraderie was intensified in a saloon culture that included rat-bating contests, dog fights, and fist fights organized by saloon keepers (Greenberg, 1996, pp. 161-162). One reason for the lack of discipline was the lack of an effective police force for most of the period. Feldberg (1980) suggests that rioting declined in American cities after 1870 as municipal governments developed effective police forces (pp. 1-6). However, the lack of external control is insufficient explanation for the frequent riots that occurred in the Irish community. The lack of external control apparently did not affect German immigrants who arrived in large numbers with Irish Famine immigrants. The quick resort to collective violence was often used as a criticism of the Irish community by those who were unhappy with the changes that were occurring in New York during this period.

Astor Place and Draft Riots

I will not examine two infamous riots of this era. The Astor Place Riot of 1849 occurred as a part of a protest against Charles Macready, an English actor, playing Macbeth at the Astor Place Opera House.² Although seven of the twenty-two killed were Irish laborers, the riot was a nativist attack on what they perceived as a foreigner taking work from Americans. Edward Z. C. Judson, a nativist writer better known by the pseudonym of Ned Buntline, was a leader in the riot (Monaghan, 1952, pp. 168-181). He was also present in nativist anti-Irish riots in Brooklyn in 1854.³

The Irish community was also heavily involved in the antidraft riots of 1863. However, native New Yorkers and other immigrant groups were also active in the riots. The Draft Riots involved many issues and appear to have been more than the traditional Irish response to challenge from outside forces against the interests of the community. A detailed examination of these riots would also overwhelm this study of the many lesser known incidents, which I

²Macready may have been Irish by "birth and sympathy," having originally arrived in New York in 1826 with a letter of introduction to Thomas Addis Emmet, an Irish revolutionary and leader of the Irish community in New York City (Emmet, 1915, p. 469).

³Buntline is best remembered for his success with the publishing the western "dime novel" and the popularizing of William "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

believe are more typical of the Irish traditional use of collective violence.

Conclusion.

Collective violence or rioting is a continuing problem in many societies. Its causes are complex and social scientists have offered many explanations to explain its occurrence in society. They view the modern collective violence as a method to improving the human condition of those involved. Political and labor related violence as modern as it is viewed as an attempt to improve the human condition. Reactionary rioting is an attempt to hold onto a perceived right that is under attack by more powerful elements in society or government. Primitive rioting involves attacks on other groups and is often inspired by the recreational aspect of fighting. Irish traditional culture supported primitive rioting and its continuation in New York is based on the acceptance by the immigrants of these behaviors as legitimate forms of recreation or as an acceptable problem solving technique.

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Chapter I

Cultural theories in criminology

Introduction.

The study of the patterns of behavior by various immigrant groups to the United States is rich in theory and historical events. This is especially true when examining crime rates and criminal histories of the various racial and ethnic immigrant groups. Remnants of ethnic and racial stereotyping still affect the Irish, German, Italian, Chinese, Hispanic, Jewish, and African-American communities. These stereotypes are in part related to the experiences of these groups as early immigrants or migrants. Each group has its own history of how well the group adjusted to the social and economic realities of life in New York City. Ethnic or racial traditions either eased or deterred the adjustment to life in an industrializing city. This chapter will briefly examine the major criminological theories. I will review cultural theories, which hold that group behavior is heavily influenced by the cultural past. The academic review links ethnic or racial history with the patterns of behavior of several groups. This review also establishes the methods of studying Irish immigrant behavior and its connection to collective violence.

Cultural criminology.

Cultural criminology views the etiology of criminal behavior to be within the norms and values of the group. It disputes the notions that relate crime to physiological disturbances or organic and genetic issues. This theory also rejects the idea that crime is a result of psychological or emotional disturbances. It also rejects environment theories that relate crime to adverse living conditions such as social disorganization and poverty (Miller, 1994, chap. 28). Cultural criminologists also reject radical theory that relates criminal behavior to the injustices of the capitalist society (Quinney, 1994, chap. 16).

Also rejected is the argument that crime is always a result of individual rational thought. Classical criminology views crime as the result of the individual decision to commit or not commit crime after a rational weighing of the benefits versus the pains associated with the possible criminal penalties. All rational people seek pleasure and avoid pain (Bentham, 1994, chap. 12). If we were to accept this theory, we would be forced to explain why so many more Irish immigrants believed violent collective behavior was the correct rational choice and so few of the other immigrant groups agreed with this course of behavior.

We find that the crime rates of the different immigrant groups varied greatly. Of course most of the nineteenth century immigrants came to socially disorganized slum communities and suffered equally from the effects of poverty, discrimination, and alienation from the dominant culture. However, all groups did not behave the same while living in stressful surroundings. The types of crimes committed by different groups have also varied greatly.

Sellin believed that norm conflict contributes to criminality. Conflicts between the norms of different cultural codes in multi-cultural American cities may cause clashes on the borders of contiguous cultural areas. We exacerbate this problem when we extend the laws of one cultural group over the territory of another (1994, p. 188). Irish ethnicity contained "... a collective, inherited, cultural identity buttressed by social structures and social networks and often formulated in opposition to competing social groups" (Katowice, 1993, p. 454). Thus the more raucous elements of the rural Irish peasantry created a serious clash with the prevailing culture of the increasingly modern nineteenth century American cities.

Civic religion and cultural heritage.

However, America, a polyethnic pluralistic nation, allows its citizens to assume a dual identity. Immigrants

express loyalty to the country by accepting citizenship and expressing a "civic religion" which requires the observance of official symbols, myths, missions, and the carrying out the duties of citizenship such as voting and serving in the armed forces. The hyphenated identity, Irish-American, was acceptable and it allowed the immigrants to construct a subculture that continued many traditional beliefs and behaviors. Informal networks of clan, county, and region continued to have importance in America. Ethnicity also served as a basis for building support in the political area (Belchem, 1995, pp. 103-136).

This clash of cultures is most evident in difficulties of enforcing the prohibition laws. In attempting to end the use of alcohol, the United States criminalized an activity supported by a large percentage of the American population. While that segment of the population that was middle class, rural, Protestant, and Republican supported Prohibition, it failed to win the support of most Catholic European immigrants who arrived without cultural, political, or religious prohibitions against alcohol. Many Americans labeled German and Irish Catholic immigrants, who failed to share these views, as deviant and out of step with the larger culture for their failure to see alcohol in the same light. The continued use of alcohol criminalized immigrants who failed to share the cultural values of the more powerful

temperance movement (Gusfield, 1985, pp. 364-372).

Cultures and criminal group histories.

The cultural backgrounds of the immigrant groups played a significant role in their adaptation toward criminal behavior or their ability to resist criminal temptations. A review of crime statistics reveals that various racial and ethnic groups have had differing crime rates. Traditionally, Chinese and Japanese immigrants have had low crime rates while African Americans have had higher rates of violent crime than other groups.

The difference between the arrest rates of persons of various racial groups is of great interest to criminologists; yet little attention is paid to ethnic differences. Social scientists for the last two or three decades have ignored attempts to explain differing rates of crime among ethnic groups. Early in twentieth century commentators expressed interest in the criminal involvement of the Irish and Italian populations, with special attention given to the criminal activities of Italians. However, contemporary criminological theory supports the notion that racial and ethnic differences in crime rate are a result of the lower socioeconomic status of the groups with the elevated crime rates. This perspective holds that ethnicity and race are related to social class. Methodological

difficulty in gathering statistical data on ethnicity and crime also has impeded research in this area (Hawkins, 1993, pp. 89-91).

The Uniform Crime Reports list 10,516,707 arrests for 1997. Asians represented 1.2% of those arrested, but constitute 3% of the American population. African Americans, however, represented 30.4% of those arrested while constituting 12% of the population. Furthermore, blacks account for 56.4% of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter arrests and 41.1% of all violent crime (Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 1998, table 4.10, Arrests by offenses charged, age group, and race, United States 1997, p. 342, and Marshall, 1997, pp. 4-12 and p. 16).

However, Hawkins argues that ethnicity or race variables are in fact "proxies or near proxies for social class status" and are directly related to economic deprivation, social inequalities, marginal socioeconomic status, and political subordination. These theories view the higher involvement in criminal behavior of African American and Hispanic groups as the result of joblessness, historic discrimination, social structural problems, and poverty rather than the cultural differences between the groups (Marshall, 1997, p. 27).

Cultures and subcultures.

In connecting group violence and group culture, the Parsonian notion views culture as:

. . . .a quasi-objective entity in which values and norms are objects and invariant points of reference to which people orient their actions. Such values and norms give everyday interactions its stable qualities, give moral and affective meaning to social relationships and role performances and control choices by indicating the relative merit of different courses of action. Culture is the most general factor in a hierarchy of control and also the least variant analytic component of action (Horowitz, 1990, p. 40).

Culture is a combination of all that a group knows, possesses, and does. The content of the culture is a combination of religious beliefs, manners, art, songs, morals, customs, and ideas. The nature and quality of a culture relates to the dimensions and forms of its various elements. National cultures are never monolithic. Societies are composed of many subcultures. Factors such as ethnicity, income, educational levels, religion, and residence divide subcultures into identifiable groups. Large societies, such as the United States, contain hundreds of subcultures with varying value systems based on

variations of the larger culture or based on cultural systems brought with them from their country of origin (Cantor and Werthman, 1968, p. xxi).

Cultures or subcultures interpret the world in a unique way with their own vocabulary and idiomatic expressions that give special social meanings to daily events. A culture has its own history and ideology, which group members use in evaluating interactions with the outside world. Events are evaluated in terms of the norms and values of the culture, which give the members a feeling of security and offer a structural base for interaction with the greater society (Roebuck and Komanduri, 1996, p. 37).

Lewis (1996) associated multi-generational poverty among Puerto Ricans with a unique subculture. He identified a "subculture of poverty" associated with poverty and a life style characterized by a lack of planning for the future and an inability to learn from the mistakes of the past. The continual lack of success causes members of the subculture to live a day-to-day existence. Since success seems unattainable, little effort is expended in working toward distant goals. The subculture is the result of an adaptation and a reaction to its members difficulties in achieving success in a stratified and capitalistic society. When a subculture comes into existence, the children who grow up in it perpetuate it. Once they have absorbed its

values, they face psychological difficulties in changing to meet opportunities or take advantage of economic changes. Members tend to remain in poverty and the cycle repeats itself.

A subculture can be an enduring phenomenon. Vigil and Long (1990) highlighted the self-perpetuating feature of culture in a study of violent Californian youth gangs. In studying communities with violent youth gangs, sociologists find that underlying community cultures support violent youth gangs. Vigil and Long found that many Mexican American gangs in California have existed for more than fifty years. Many gang members are third-generation family members. The long history of the individual gangs suggests that the community supports the existence of the gangs. The supporting culture of these Californian Mexican-American gangs is referred to as the "cholo" subculture, which is a combination of Mexican, Anglo, and African subcultures. Gang membership then is not an act of deviance but a continuation of the values of the larger group (pp. 55-68).

Ethnic groups are composed of people whose race, religion, or national origin can be differentiated. The group develops into a subsociety in the greater American culture that allows social interaction to occur among its members who share a sense of group solidarity. Elements of history, family life, feelings, interests and formal

organization contribute toward solidifying ethnic styles. The ethnic styles persist over generations and even influence individuals who do not consciously identify with their ethnic group (Fallows, 1979, pp. 17-21). Glazer and Moynihan (1964) also found that ethnic group members remain culturally linked to each other past the third generation. Cultural backgrounds influence the group members, who can differentiate them from people of other cultural backgrounds (pp. 13-14).

Clark (1991) believes that traditional behaviors and beliefs of the nineteenth century Irish are still identifiable in many third and fourth generation Irish. Ethnic persistence often exists in parallel with assimilation, a process of change that represents an accommodation with the dominant culture and that results in a general degree of social homogeneity. Tradition was transmitted with Irish or Irish American identity. Tradition in Clark's view is information about the group, a social history, a set of views, and a process to fulfill their own values, all of which resulted in an awareness of group affinity (pp. 3-5).

A culture and its ethnic traditions are composed of a distinctive fund of historical experience and a particular array of symbols, usages, and attachments assumed to be part of the relevant heritage. These traditions are not static

nor slavishly repetitive, but are part of a changing heritage influenced by innovation, social differentiation, and responses to changing conditions. Ethnic traditions are linked to a place, a society, a people, and a legacy of recollections. For the Irish this has meant reference to Ireland, its history, its internal social variations, and the phenomena of emigration. The Irish American tradition has been a compound of folk and popular perception and objective reality (p. 3).

Walter B. Miller (1994) in his classic study of teenage gang delinquents found that delinquents in some lower class communities in a large eastern city were following the norms and values of their lower class communities. Rather than identifying these norms and values with the culture of individual immigrant groups, he viewed them as forms of a generalized lower class culture. These norms and values, which Miller called "focal concerns," had a strong influence on delinquent males. The deviance was related not to a specialized delinquent subculture, but to the more general lower class culture of the community. Miller identified six focal concerns valued in the lower class culture: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. He hypothesized that persons holding these focal concerns would be more likely to engage in law violating behavior than would persons who held more conventional middle class values

(chap. 28).

Cultural theorists argue that economic status of the group is not the dominant factor in criminality or delinquency. Low crime rates are related to cultural backgrounds that stress sensitivity to the opinion of others, strong family associations, and ancestral pride. Jewish, Chinese, and Japanese families also have a great appreciation of educational opportunities and have traditions of educational success. They quickly exploit economic opportunities in America. Quick educational and financial success acts as a strong social control to prevent criminal behavior (Chang, 1976, pp. 21-22). Feldman reported that in the 1960's San Francisco's Chinatown had the lowest income levels, the highest TB rate, and the worst housing. Yet in 1965, only three persons of Chinese ancestry were sent to prison in all of California. Similar statistics hold true for the Japanese community in San Francisco (1993, p. 246). Americans of Japanese and Chinese ancestry have been labeled the "model minorities" in part for their low rates of reported criminal activity (Hawkins, 1993, p. 83).

Joselit (1983) found that a degree of petty crime occurred among New York Jews in the late nineteenth century; yet little violence resulted. Street criminals snatched handbags and stole watches, but rarely used force or

physical violence. The Jewish avoidance of violent behavior was a form of "cultural inheritance" that was handed down from generation to generation. Eastern European Jews viewed violence as "un-Jewish" and they trained children to avoid violence. The lack of violent conduct set Jews apart from the more volatile non-Jewish world (pp. 42-43).

Celtic traditions and southern violence.

Several criminologists have explored the cultural and criminal histories of American subgroups in relation to their region of the country. Cultural theorists believe that examinations of the individual offenders fail to explain the patterns of violent crimes that exist in a society. In America violent crime is more often associated with those living in large urban areas, rather than suburban or rural areas. Regional differences seem to play some part in crime rates. Violence, especially homicide, has also long been associated with a subculture of the South.

Gastil(1989) attributed the high homicide rate of the South to a clearly defined southern culture. The culture features a frontier mentality and a long history of violence. Of course, violence and southern culture were associated with the existence of slavery. Gastil describes the culture as "addicted to violence." Southern violence is

of a particular style with an emphasis on lethal assaults marked by cruelty and a desire to punish the victim. Other cultures such as the Mediterranean are marked by verbal violence. Scandinavians and Japanese cultures are associated with internalized violence that results in higher rates of suicides. Traditional Irish violence emphasized the fist fight. These fights may be frequent, but they are rarely deadly as the participants do not intend deadly consequences (p. 1473).

The movement of people in the twentieth century has caused a mixing of cultures throughout the United States, particularly in border states and large cities of the North. Gastil (1971) has established an "Index of Southernness" to measure the adherence of people to the traditional southern culture and its high rate of violence. The variable of "southernness" is a strong indicator of regional differences (p. 418). Washington, D.C. would be an example of a city with a strong southern culture and a high rate of homicide.

Of course, other variables such as race, age, educational, and income levels affect the levels of violence in an area. However, Gastil (1971) states that a considerable portion of the variance still comes from cultural traditions. The southern culture and its identification with mob violence, personal vengeance, and the availability of hand guns explain violence in northern

cities with large migrations from the South.

A high incidence of homicide among African Americans living in northern cities can be partially explained as a result of their regional southern culture, which came north with them. The murder and nonnegligent manslaughter rate of the United States in 1996 was 7.4 per 100,000. However, Washington, D.C., a city with a large of African American population, had a murder and nonnegligent homicide rate of 73.1 per 100,000 in 1996. The nearest state to this homicide rate is Louisiana with 17.5 (Sourcebook of criminal justice statistics 1997, table 3.115 Rank order of States according to rates per 100,000 population of violent crime, murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated assault, and forcible rape, p. 273).

African Americans then are more "southern" than their neighbors in the northern cities and their higher rate of homicide can be traced to the southern culture of violence.

If we accept the notion of a culture of violence as a part of a more generalized southern culture, we must ask what is the origin of this culture and why does it differ from the regional cultures of other areas. McWhiney (1989) argues that the fundamental cultural differences between the South and the North are related to the immigrants who first settled these areas. Immigrants to the South in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were mainly from Celtic

regions of the British Isles, such as Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall. These settlers continued to observe their traditional customs in America. By 1860 they outnumbered settlers from other countries and their Celtic traditions became the traditions of the South. Thomas Jefferson noticed the differences and characterized:

"...Southerners as hotheaded, indolent, unstable and unjust; Northerners as cool tempered, sober, persistent and upright" (pp. xiii-xviii). Emigrants from England settled northern colonies. They did not bring the more riotous Celtic culture with them to the northern states.

McWhiney contrasted Celtic culture of the South and the more English culture of the northern colonies. Northern farming involved intensive agronomy with the planting of food crops. Land was limited and farmers attempted to maximize land use. This was difficult manual work and needed dedication to the work associated with farming.

Celtic traditional agriculture was more associated with the less intensive grazing of livestock. Celtic groups in the British Isles were more likely to be cattle or sheep herders. Seventeenth and eighteenth century immigrants could continue their Celtic ways in the South as the traditional ways were coming under pressure in the British Isles. Under the guise of improving the rural societies, common lands were enclosed in Great Britain. In the Scottish highlands,

thousands were cleared from their properties and encouraged to migrate to the American South or Canada. Many of these settlers arrived in America before the Anglicizing efforts of modernization and the changing agricultural methods had a chance to take effect. In the South they continued herding cattle, sheep, and pigs in a country with inexpensive land. The need for expanding grazing land also stimulated the pioneering tradition associated with the Scotch-Irish who pushed the frontier ever westward.

When they required heavy farm labor, the Celtic settlers in the South could rely on the muscle power of slaves. Cotton cultivation required intensive labor, which was furnished by slaves and to a lesser degree by the Celtic settlers.

The leisure associated with herding and farming with slave labor left the Celtic immigrants time for activities other than agriculture. They indulged in hunting, horse racing, cockfighting, drinking, and other forms of rough socializing (chap. V). In a land without restrictions on firearm ownership, violence flourished. McWhiney compared Celtic traditions of clan warfare with violent incidents in the South and he found them remarkably similar. Duels, quarrels between groups, and affairs of honor went unpunished in a culture that accepted such behavior. Cattle rustling and the thefts of livestock were common. Again,

such activities had their origins in Celtic traditional behavior. Some practiced cattle raiding in both Ireland and Scotland. Many Irish classical folk tales, such as "The Cattle Raid of Cooley" involved the theft of cattle. The Scottish folk hero Robert Roy MacGregor was in fact a cattle thief at one time in his career.

Crime patterns in the South tended to be the reverse of those in the North. Historians have found that cities in both Europe and the North have traditionally recorded more property crimes than the rural areas. However, the Southern cities, such as Charleston and Savannah, recorded higher levels of violent crime than property crime. This is despite the fact that much interpersonal violence was considered to involve "personal" honor and rarely resulted in arrest. Irish pre-Famine immigrants arriving in the commercial cities of the South added to the violence. In addition to the traditional violence of the Irish countryside, the new immigrants quickly armed themselves with lethal weapons. An Irish visitor to Savannah in 1851, noted that the Irish "... were the grand movers in all disturbances. The green horns or 'Country crackers,' suffered when they got among the Hibernians ... this all appeared to me very natural," except that the Irish were now armed, "... here, Bowie knives, Revolvers, and Clubs were used, and with us fists only" (Ayers, 1984, pp. 99-101).

It may be understandable that a Celtic culture remained for several generations among white southerners. What effect did this Celtic culture of violence have on the African Americans who lived in this society? Butterfield (1995) studied the influence of southern culture on one New York family. The Boskets are a New York African American family with convicted murderers in each of the past three generations. In his study of the Bosket family Butterfield traced the family history from New York to antebellum Edgefield County, South Carolina. The area was settled by Scotch Irish or Irish Protestant immigrants from the north of Ireland. Butterfield researched the social conditions in South Carolina both before and after the Civil War. He found an appallingly long tradition of violence by both the white and African American populations. The county had a strong tradition of the use of force as a way of dealing with problems. The elite and the lower classes were equally likely to use weapons in petty disputes. Homicides were often the result of duels that stemmed from minor social frictions. Street fights, shootings, drunken brawls, and an exaggerated sense of manhood resulted in the very high rate of homicides in Edgefield County.

Butterfield estimated the homicide rate of Edgefield County to have been four times the rate of Massachusetts for the period from 1800 to 1860. Prosecutions for rapes,

assaults and murders made up 60% of the cases in South Carolina as compared with 18% in Massachusetts. New York City with its multitude of social problems, averaged only three to seven homicides per 100,000 throughout the nineteenth century (pp. 8-9).

A review of the coroners' records in Edgefield County shows that the homicide rate from 1844 to 1858 was eighteen per 100,000 (p. 8). This rate compared with modern homicide rates would rank it among the highest in the country. According to the 1996 Uniform Crime Reports, the highest homicide rate in the country was 17.5 per 100,000 in Louisiana. South Carolina continues to have high rates of violent crime. Among states it is second only to Florida in overall crimes of violence with 996.9 per 100,000. The United States has an overall rate of 634 per 100,000. For murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, South Carolina is eleventh in the nation with 9.0, well above the average of 7.4 per 100,000 (Sourcebook of criminal justice statistics 1997, table 3.115, Rank order of states(per 100,000 population)of violent crime, murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated assault, and forcible rape, p. 273)

Edgefield County compared with the other forty-six counties in South Carolina, is still has a high rate of murder and violent crime. In a crime analysis by county in

1997, Edgefield County with a population of 19,800 had a murder rate of 15.0. Only four counties have rates exceeding the rate of Edgefield County (Crime in South Carolina, Uniform Crime Report, Annual Report January-December 1997, pp. 4-6).

Cultural violence.

Ferracuti (1968) also noticed varying rates of crime in his study of immigrant groups within Europe. He found that the cultural or subcultural norms of the migrants from southern Europe would be separate and distinct from the norms of the dominant groups in the more industrialized societies. The subculture of the minority group provides variations in life styles, socialization process, interpersonal relationships, and a political world view. Although the minority group members share many of the dominant group's views, a subculture that supports violence will provide the background for such behavior. This is especially true when the group becomes frustrated and unable to solve a social dilemma (pp. 189-218). Violence becomes legitimized by history, custom and values.

Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) have used the term "disputatiousness" to describe a cultural resort to violence to resolve personal challenges or affronts. They found that some cultures were likely to support a resort to violence if

a negative outcome in a social setting would be offensive to a person. Thus many assaults and murders are products of "character contests" in which at least one of the participants resorts to violence to maintain or restore identity (p. 423). This disputatiousness is most pronounced when challenges are made in public settings. Perhaps the cultural support of disputatiousness affected the high rate of assaults and homicides among Irish nineteenth century immigrants in saloons and other public settings.

Closely related to the cultural support of the idea of disputatiousness is Anderson's street code of the urban African American male. In attempting to explain the high rate of violent crime in the African American community, especially among males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, Anderson hypothesizes a "code of the streets" that provides cultural support for violent behavior. In measuring victimization leading to death African American youths in this age group in 1997 were victims of deadly assaults at a rate of 143.4 per 100,000 as compared with 15.1 for whites (Sourcebook of criminal justice statistics 1998, table 3.139, Rate per 100,000 persons in each group of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter victimizations, p. 295).

As a result of living in an environment where crime is common and economic opportunities limited, young black males

have evolved an oppositional street culture with norms consciously contrary to the norms of the greater society. The culture has created rules for the use of violence in everyday encounters. They view challenges to personal status as "disrespect" and disrespect cannot be accepted. One gains respect by, among other things, one's demeanor, appearance, clothing, jewelry, and manner of walking. No one gets respect easily and a good reputation can be quickly lost if a young male allows another to criticize or mock him. Even holding eye contact too long can be viewed as disrespect. When an incident involving perceived disrespect occurs, a young African American male in this culture is required to resort to violence to maintain his status or respect in the community. Anderson considers this a significant contributor to black on black violence.

The code of the streets is a cultural adaptation to the serious lack of confidence in the police services and the judicial system serving the African American community. An idea of "taking care of oneself" by resorting to violence is a result of this lack of confidence in the criminal justice system. This code requires the careful maintenance of one's reputation in the community. Any challenge or disrespect will damage hard earned status. This is especially true in public settings and assaults or fights to the death are supported by this code of the street (Anderson, 1999, pp.

107-116).

Modernization theory.

The conflict between the culture of the growing industrialized modern cities of nineteenth century America and the rural traditional culture of the Irish immigrants is reflected in the crime problem. The nineteenth century was a period of rapid modernization with traditional societies being absorbed.

In dealing with the notion of modernization, we can define it as a theory based on a structural-functional basis for society with a strong sense of rationality and determinism (Adelman, 1993, p. 347). We view traditional and modern societies as representing distinct social orders. In attempting to explain the Irish immigrants and their resort to collective violence, exploring the connection between the traditional and the modern industrial society is necessary. A combination of factors accomplished modernization. The rise of New York City as an industrial center, and the growth of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution helped modernize the Irish immigrant. The developments of an effective criminal law, and the establishment of the New York City Police Department also changed the more problematic aspects of their traditional behaviors. Irish success in the obtaining industrial work

in the growing nineteenth century New York and increased opportunities for recreation and leisure activities were also factors in the modernization process.

The development of the notion of the interdependence among groups assisted in the modernization and civilization of urban groups. Norbert Elias defined elements of the civilizing process to be the formation of an effective state, the recognition of interconnectedness of all groups in society, the balancing of power between groups in society, the formation of a functional democracy, and the refinement of manners, which is a symbol of exercise of self-control over sexuality, aggression, and emotion (1986, p. 13). Clearly, the rough and violent behaviors of the rural Irish peasant were under great pressure to change. This was especially true in the post-Civil War era when Irish American leaders began to obtain positions of prominence. The elites in society were the first group to adopt improved manners and increased self-control. This behavior was soon copied by those who surrounded the elites and spread downward through society (Elias, 1987, p. 97).

Orestes Brownson examined the connection between Irish immigrant collective violence and modernization. Brownson, a nineteenth century convert to Catholicism of English heritage, was uncomfortable with the common connection of Roman Catholicism and the Irish immigrants. To increase the

acceptance of the Catholic religion, the Irish would have to improve their behavior. He recommended that the Irish give up their target companies, brawls, faction fights, political violence, and support for Irish nationalist causes. In short the Irish should stop being so Irish and become more like the more modernized Protestant New Yorkers. He urged the Irish, if they wanted to be accepted in America, to become less "Irish" and more American. He used the unfortunate term "miserable rabble" to describe the more undesirable among the Irish immigrants. The controversy that followed alienated him from the bulk of the American Catholics (Holden, 1958, pp. 195-198).

Brownson's idea on the proper manner to integrate the Irish into American society was sometimes referred to a "Catholic Know-Nothingism." Although he made an ally of the editor of the Boston Pilot, a paper that supported the Irish immigrants, he was attacked by the Irish community and was forced to leave Boston for New York (Potter, 1960, pp. 589-591).

Emile Durkheim, Henry Maine and Ferdinand Tonnies have popularized this dichotomous conception of modern and traditional societies. The view holds that *Gemeinschaft* or traditional societies are stable. Personal contacts among all members mark agrarian societies. Traditional societies are static, hierarchal, homogeneous and ritualistic. This

is in contrast to the *Gesellschaft* or modern society that we describe as highly organized and based on a functional social structure. Industrial society demanded worker discipline and a strict division of labor. The social structure, government, and religion supported the modern industrial society (Stewart, 1978, pp. 507-508).

German immigrants who arrived at the same time as the Irish were more "modern" and industrialized. They apparently had greater discipline when living in urban settings. They also may have had greater social control as a part of their cultural heritage. Riots and attacks on other groups were not a frequent response by this community. Ernst (1994) states that many German immigrants of 1848 were skilled industrial workers from urban areas who were leaving because of unemployment associated with the introduction of machinery in large scale manufacturing. The use of modern machinery in turn caused unemployment among the more skilled artisans. Did a more "modern" and urban orientation contribute to their less violent behavior in antebellum New York?

Not only were Germans less likely to riot, they also were less involved in overall criminality. In 1859, 23% of all arrests in New York City were of native Americans, 55% were born in Ireland, 10% in Germany, 7% in England and Scotland, and 5% in other countries. Ernst (1994) stated

that Germans were known for their lack of involvement with crime. Also, the Jews during this period had low crime rates and were usually classified as Germans in the crime statistics (p. 58).

While modernization theory offers a holistic conception of society and allows for a more interdisciplinary approach to the explanation of historic events or trends, it is not without its critics. Originally, modernization theory stressed the utilization of structural examinations in historical analysis. However, as many historians turned to the social sciences for increased analysis of the past, social scientists have attacked the historical use of modernization theory as deterministic and reductive. Historians on the other hand view rejected the deterministic criticism and viewed modernization theory as a "conceptual framework" that allows for a method of organizing and synthesizing historical data. It permits the historian to link the data to the society under study and to explore cultural foundations as possible explanations for historical events. The historical use of modernization theory now is more likely to use an anthropological approach and an examination of culture than a study of social structures (Adelman, 1993, p. 347).

Conclusion.

Ethnic and racial group behavior was greatly influenced by the traditional cultures of the immigrant groups. Traditional behaviors and cultures persisted in America. Immigrants did not suddenly "melt" into the new American, but continued to be influenced by the cultural traditions which may have hindered or facilitated their integration into American society. Cultural criminology states that the law violating behaviors can be traced to the cultural heritage of the group. Some racial and ethnic groups were criticized and often stereotyped because of law violating behaviors. Late nineteenth and twentieth century Italian Americans were often stigmatized as criminal due to the activities of organized crime groups whose origin was in nineteenth century Italy. Other groups such as Asian and Jewish immigrants were less often linked to criminal behaviors. Nineteenth century Irish immigrants would be stereotyped because of their frequent involvement with collective violence, which was related to their traditional rural Irish culture.

Chapter II

Traditional rural Irish culture

Introduction.

By the nineteenth century a unique peasant culture had formed in rural Ireland. One of the characteristics of this culture was a propensity for violence as a recreational device and as a method of addressing grievances. This culture had developed during the period after the seizure of the land by the British planters after 1691 and was influenced and shaped by colonial rule, the Penal Laws, weak local government, and rural lifestyles. The Irish immigrants arriving in New York brought their culture with them. They found an unsympathetic political establishment similar to the one they left in Ireland. This led to similar discrimination and similar violent reactions. With their traditional cultural behaviors they addressed discrimination and competition from other groups in the violent manner most familiar to them. The immigrant community closed ranks and maintained their culture while beginning life in the "New World." This attitude strongly influenced the Irish community in America from 1845 to 1875.

Traditional Irish culture.

To understand the over-representation of the Irish in these affairs the cultural and historical traditions of the

Irish immigrants must be examined. A cultural view of history leads to the study of the group and is less interested in the individual. Cultural history has a long range approach because time adds much to the culture. Time also strains out the effects of individuals and leaves only the cultural forms or behaviors to investigate. The individual is less important than the collective or the group. Cultural historians seek patterns that often occur. Thus, rioting in New York is a continuation of rioting in Ireland. The cultural activities of the group are not the product of the living population but of its preceding generation. The behavior of the nineteenth century Irish in this analysis is viewed as an iceberg with the activities of the living population represented by that portion above the water. The submerged 7/8 of the cultural history of the group is responsible for the greatest portion of their behaviors.

Arthur (1997) described the Irish culture as demotic or popular and without a reliance on "great men" or texts for leadership and direction. Irish people viewed themselves as a downtrodden and as a victimized people who were expected to physically resist oppression. The Irish defined greatness in this culture in terms of defiance of the external enemy. Great Britain of course was the enemy and the cause of most problems. Rather than great men or texts,

the culture was one of aural and oral with a selective reading of history. The Irish Republican Army and earlier nationalist groups used history as memory, not only to keep the past alive but also to sustain a sense of loss, deprivation, and marginalization. Nationalism stressed affronts, discrimination, prejudice, and blamed Great Britain as the source of most of Ireland's problems. History and culture have helped to sustain the feeling of the Irish as victims of a well-defined enemy (pp. 234-240).

Kirby Miller (1985) in describing the sense of victimization of the pre-Famine Irish points to the lack of the word "emigrant" in the Irish language. Irish peasants before the Famine were extremely reluctant to leave and the Irish word *deorai* was used to describe one who left Ireland. The word actually meant "exile." Irish poetry and literature are also filled with lamentations describing the pain involved in leaving Ireland (p. 105).

The traditional Irish culture of the pre-Famine immigrants affected the ideation of the immigrants and their subsequent behavior. Berkhofer (1969) recommended a behavioral approach to historical analysis. In his model external behavior is viewed as the product of ideation that is the conscious internal component of human action. External action is the product of ideation and we must study both. Cultural values and norms greatly influence ideation

and are the causes of behavior (p. 10).

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a leader of the Young Irelander movement and rebellion of 1848, and Orestes Brownson, a Catholic intellectual, both blamed the Irish for incurring nativist resentments by their poor behavior, bad habits, and their refusal to be assimilated into the American scene. They criticized the Irish for being too "Irish" and not modernizing (Shaw R., 1977, p. 304).

The traditional Irish culture of the Famine immigrants also lacked elements of social control that would prevent collective violent behavior in his new setting. In fact there is evidence that the culture encouraged or accepted violence as an acceptable problem solving technique by a colonized people with little access to governmental assistance in Ireland. This is especially true when the Irish immigrants confronted American Protestants who reminded them of their oppressors in Ireland.

Prior to 1500 European popular culture was everyone's culture. British land owning elites were not interested in the creation of an orderly working class culture that would assist the development of a commercial era. The aristocrats were similar to the rural peoples in that they were not interested in restraint, the deference of gratification, sobriety, and thrift (Simpson, 1998, pp. 182-183). Eventually the clergy, the nobility, the merchants, and the

educated abandoned and attempted to suppress the traditional popular culture. In the end even the lower classes lost interest. Changes in the commercial life of Europe also caused the end of fairs and the popular activities associated with them. The fear of the lower orders after the French revolution by the British elites caused them to withdraw support for community-based recreation. Dueling, violence among the elites, was also suppressed by both government and the Church (Burke, 1978, pp. 203-204 and Spierenburg, 1991, pp. 196-200).

The commercialization of entertainment, first by tavern owners and later by the music halls in England, also caused a decline in popular cultural activities. The growth of commercial sports, including boxing and prize fighting, also reduced the traditional forms of entertainment (Storch, 1982, pp. 1-19).

Governments were also anxious to end group activities that often turned violent. Rowdy continental European peasants often used traditional gatherings to complain about a variety of issues, which the government was not interested in addressing. However, the popular culture of the Irish was less scrutinized than the cultural life of the Germans, the immigrant group which arrived at the same time as the Irish. Many landlords did not live in Ireland and the Irish, with the Act of Union in 1800, lacked a strong

functioning local government to deal with issues such as disorderly fairs, and faction fights. The government and the elites did not attempt to change the popular culture in this country. The Roman Catholic Church prior to the Famine was also less a factor in social control than in other European countries.

A strong case can be made that German immigrants were less traditional and more modern, both in their industrial skills and in their cultural beliefs. German peasants lived in close proximity to the social elites who were of the same ethnicity and religion. Political conflict between the numerous German states and conflict and competition between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches created a climate of greater social control. The colonized Irish peasant, living on the fringe of European society, existed in their traditional manner without the modernizing influences of an effective local government or of an intrusive Roman Catholic Church. It also lacked the interests of the more elite elements of society and it existed without an advanced economy.

The nineteenth century Irish Famine immigrants were almost an entirely rural and Catholic people. They were united in their view that they were a persecuted people and that their persecutors were English and Protestant. In a letter to the editor of the New York Herald, "An American

Roman Catholic" wrote an explanation of the Catholic - Protestant conflict in 1871. "The Irish have such deep seated national feelings that they can never be brought to look at any question except through an Irish medium." (An American Roman Catholic, 1871 July 12, p.4). The "medium" was the Irish immigrant world view that reflected the personal and social histories of the group. The group consciousness included shared historical events, myths, and folk memory. The "medium" influenced the group to such an extent that violent conflict with traditional Protestant enemies was a natural result of conflict in New York.

The Anglophobia of the Irish immigrants may have been a part of the "vicarious nationalism" that developed as a result of the shock or guilt associated with their flight from Ireland (Belchem, 1995, pp. 109-111). In any event it demonstrated itself in frequent attacks on persons and institutions that were associated with England. English immigrants were often the target of Irish attacks in New York. One can only guess at the real cause of individual assaults on English immigrants by Irish immigrants. The New York Times reported an attack on an four English immigrants, who were stabbed by a group of Irish immigrants on the Jersey City ferry. The report stated that the attackers denounced England and the English as they escaped. (A man seriously stabbed on a Jersey City Ferry boat, 1861,

December 30, p. 8) Was the attack a result of some personal dispute or as the New York Times suggests was it based on ethnic hatred?

The transmission of Irish ethnic culture in America.

History is not the only means of remembering the past. Folk memory gives an unofficial sense of history and establishes an order to it. The order is not sequential or even rational, but agglutinative. Memories do not line up in a rational sequence, but rather live either in the mind of the individual or the group (Arthur, 1997, pp. 234-291). Victimization is a powerful force in Irish folk memory.

This sense of victimization intensified the Irish sense of peoplehood. Immigration to New York did not entirely alleviate this feeling of victimization as the newly arrived Irish found a similar Anglo-Protestant culture that continued to dominate them. Their ability to speak English and their growing sense of political power helped them to adapt to the outward forms of American culture. However, they retained their cultural distinctiveness. Irish culture has reflected a recognition of Irish history and a memory of grievances. Nineteenth century Irish immigration was a "serial immigration" with a continual flow of people arriving in New York. While assimilation may have begun for the earlier arrivals, they continually renewed folk

traditions by the newer immigrant generations.

Irish American traditions and culture contained elements of folk traditions, popular perceptions, and objective reality (Fallows, 1979, pp. 2-3). This heritage was maintained by the continuation of family and personal consciousness of these elements. This could be achieved in America without any disability for multiple generations, especially after the larger society accepted Irish presence in America. Ethnic traditions continued in parallel with assimilation, a process of change that represents an accommodation to the dominant culture and results in a general degree of social homogeneity. Although assimilation may reduce pluralism, it is rarely complete and it does not erase ethnic or historical memory (Clark, 1991, pp. 3-6).

The existence of social organizations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), county organizations, social, cultural, athletic, and a host of nationalist groups helped maintain an Irish point of view for their members. Irish New Yorkers in the 1830s formed the Repeal Society in New York mobilized behind Daniel O'Connell's movement to repeal the Act of Union of 1800. More radical political involvement would result in the formation of the Fenian movement in 1858, an organization that was founded to raise American support for Irish revolution (Loughlin, 1998, pp.189-190).

Organizations associated with the Roman Catholic Church also retained an Irish cultural view. The strong connection with the Roman Catholic Church and the Irish caused problems for other Catholic immigrant groups who resented the domination of the Church in New York by the Irish clergy (Ernst, 1994, pp.136-137).

Family lore spread the consciousness of a common past. Family lore established an agreed upon body of historical information that linked the young and the old. This body of information provided a world view and established a basis for interaction with others in New York. The experiences of the Famine horrified the survivors. They handed down to their children strong hatreds for the people and the system who they believed caused the tragedy. The traditional stories of eviction, starvation, and of the perilous journey greatly affected the way in which the Irish Americans viewed people who reminded them of the Anglo-Protestants who, they believed, caused their troubles. Not all Irish Americans were very knowledgeable of their past, but a version of history surrounded them that identified the British, more specifically the English, and the Protestants as the enemy. They memorialized these beliefs in tales, speeches, recitations, and ballads that were handed down for generation (Clark, 1991, pp. 8-30).

Irish culture and traditions were expressed in "an

intense and distinctive vernacular culture, a culture expressed in music, song and dance, social amusements, shared superstitions, marriage and funeral customs, housing styles, seasonal observances, (and) organization of craft work" (Williams, 1996, p. 52).

Music.

Folklore and cultural ethnic studies have an intimate and important relationship. The songs, tales, and oral literature tell a great deal about the beliefs and subsequent behavior of the group (Thompson S., 1953, p. 587). Elements of the traditional culture can be found in Irish music. All music is a reflection of the interactive relationships among music writers, performers, audience, and the social context in which they live (Robinson, Buck, and Cuthbert, 1991, p. 13). In examining contemporary Irish music a continuing theme is found of anti-British sentiment and glorification of past revolutionaries. In reviewing the contents of a contemporary two volume collection of two hundred different Irish ballads, One Hundred Irish Ballads (1985) and One Hundred Irish Ballads Volume 2 (1987), forty-five ballads have nationalist or anti-British themes. Many ballads relate to events in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition many ballads celebrate the Irish revolutionary activities in the twentieth

century. The interest in battles won or lost in past centuries is an enduring phenomenon in the Irish American community and is related to a substantial support for nationalist groups in Ireland.

Irish songs in nineteenth century New York.

The songs that were popular in New York during the second half of the nineteenth century reflected traditions and customs associated with Irish immigrant life. Art imitated life. Issues involving life styles, historical events, comical events, Irish nationalism, nostalgia, and problems, both past and present, are all found in Irish American songs. Immigrants could sing tunes that recalled life in Ireland, "Erin is My Home," lost love, "My Own Eileen Bawn," mother, "Handful of Earth from Mother's Grave," exile, "Why Must we Leave Our Home," revenge for past injustices at the hands of the English, "When Ireland Has an Army and a Navy of Her Own," and many comic songs (Delaney's Irish Song book, nd, and Wehman's Irish Songster, nd).

This genre of music has been referred to as music of the "Stage Irishman," which originated in the seventeenth century English theater. Irish characters typically were called Pat, Paddy or Teague and were dressed in a stereotypical fashion with torn clothing, a battered hat,

and often in an early nineteenth century style with knee breeches and buckle shoes. They were often comic buffoons and represented the lower classes in acts that appealed to the middle class audiences. However, the genre was immensely popular with both the Irish community and the other groups that made up the New York City population.

Moloney (1992) attributes the acceptance of the image of the riotous Irishman to the tendency of oppressed people to accept negative images that their oppressors have presented. By parading negative images the Irish were playing at obsequiousness and false deference, both defense mechanisms used by the powerless. These behaviors became incorporated into the Irish and Irish American stage (pp. 135-137).

Sensitivity to the image of the Irish in America did not develop until the turn of the century when Irish nationalist groups and the growing middle class of modernized Irish and Irish Americans resented the image of the brawling or comic Irishman.

Popular among the contemporary stage Irish songs were songs that celebrated both drinking to excess and violence as recreation activities. None of the 158 popular tunes in Delaney's Irish Song Book No. 3 or the 200 in Wehman's Irish Songster, both published around 1890, denounced or warned against these behaviors. Apparently, the audience for these

song books found the treatment of drinking to excess and violence humorous; it seemed that few in the community felt particularly ashamed of singing these songs.⁴

A continual theme in these late nineteenth century songs is the fun that was had at a wedding, wake, or party. Usually the song would begin with the description of the cause for celebration and a long list of guests with typically Irish names would be presented. The affair would have an abundance of food and alcohol. Someone would then insult a fellow reveler and the battle would commence. The narrator would describe a list of crude weapons and of the injuries inflicted. Usually a participant narrated the song the day after the event. The general theme of these songs was to relate what a good time everyone had at the affair.

"Twas Dooley Raised the Fight" tells of a party given by Barney Hogan for his wife. Problems led to a great fight with numerous injuries. The chorus contains the following lyrics:

Cassidy struck the fiddler and the fiddler struck

⁴The story of the violent but fun party was a standard theme in traditional poetry. Hugh McGowran's "The Description of an Irish feast, or O'Rourke's Frolic" was a poem written circa 1700 which contains the traditional elements of drinking to excess and good natured fighting. It is very similar in style to the nineteenth century popular songs in content (Hoagland, 1962, pp.165-166).

O'Rourke

Mary McGraw was hit in the jaw with a half a pound
of pork;

Legs and wings of chickens, and things were flying
round like rain

And Mickey Malone was hit with a bone and severed
his jugular vein (Harding, nd, p. 18).

"The Irish Row," "The Flaming O'Flanagans," "Bowled Irish
Pat," are also variations of the party and fight themes. In
"Paddy Connor's Wake" the usually solemn wake results in
collective violence.

Now Paddy Connor died just as the day was dawning.
His friends that all assembled, quite dacently to
wake him-

A score of Paddy's friends, they dropped in
unawares.

And sat down the top of the floor, because there
was no chairs.

Chorus.

Now young and old none with fear be shakin',
Men with courage bold at Paddy Connor's wakin'.
There was little dumty Mike, Tim Murphy and his
brother.

And there was Bill Barlow and also was his mother;

There was Tom Gleason, (shure wasn't he a bold
one?)

Had on a shirt, bran new, made out of his father's
old one.

There was a row began, the whiskey it was boiling.
Eyes were punched out, and children they were
squalling;

The coffin got capsized with a pot or a big paver,
The corpse got two black eyes-oh! Bad luck to such
behavior! (Delaney's Irish Song Book-No.3, p. 3)

"Tim Finnigan's Wake," a fight at the wake song set in
Dublin, is still in publication and still in the repertory
of many modern Irish ballad singers.

The demand for Irish songs in the expanding music hall
and vaudeville allowed non-Irish composers to create music
for the Irish American community. Pleasant ballads such as
"The Little Irish Girl" were written by artists with the
decidedly non-Irish names of Edward Teschemacher and Hermann
Lohr. However, the drinking and fighting themes were so
popular that non-Irish writers also felt free to contribute
to the genre. Many writers with German or Jewish names fed
the demand for humorous songs with drinking and fighting
themes. Pauline Lieder wrote "Widow Clancy's Party," which
includes that standard fight and drinking theme. Alberto
Himan's "McCarthy's Silver Wedding" describes drunken

behavior with people falling down and injuring themselves. Other apparently non-Irish writers produced tunes that also appealed to the growing Irish market but did not necessarily include the standard drinking and fighting theme. Irvin T. Bush's "The Same Old Home," Edgar Seiden's "Irish Through and Through," and N. Weinstein's "Sweet Dreams of Erin," are all sentimental tunes written for the growing vaudeville style venues (Delaney's Irish Song Book No. 3).

Stereotypes must be based on some truth for them to be successful and accepted by the audience. While songsters and vaudeville presentations depicted an Irishman who was found of alcohol and occasionally fought, the newspapers, both immigrant and popular, repeated stories of Irishmen and Irish groups behaving in a manner similar to the most unflattering songs of the era. The very successful series of plays with the theme of "The Mulligan Guards" by Edward Harrigan was based on the activities of Irish target companies. Later chapters of this dissertation discuss some violent behaviors and alcoholic excesses of these companies. "The Mulligan Guards" series could not have been successful if it were totally fictional and not based on the social reality of the time (Moloney, 1992, 149-150).

In an analysis of the songs of Samuel Lover, an Irish song writer and poet of the period, Williams (1996) reviews the strong stereotypical treatment given to the stock

"Paddy" character. However, Symington, the biographer of Lover, suggests that the depiction of the Irish peasant was, " ...as he is, (*italics in the original*) with his keen relish for a joke and innocent delight in its own absurdity, his tender pathos and racy humor, the comical twists in his reasoning, his quick-sightedness, warm heartedness, and droll arch-impudence" (p. 77). He could have added his tendency to fight over trifling issues.

Traditional Irish rural violence.

An examination of the violent behaviors of the Famine immigrants in New York requires a review of Irish rural culture and its associated acceptance of collective violence. Culture is learned from previous generations. As culture is heavily influenced and conditioned by its past, it is therefore the best understood by taking a historical approach. Cultural history is oriented toward exploring the history of a group, ordering and classifying the information and integrating it into the existing body of knowledge (Bates and Julian, 1975, p. 24).

The Irish culture included traditional behaviors or folkways that supported faction fighting and brawling. Neiburg (1972) describes recreational violence as "agonistic," a term used to connote violence that is ritualistic, playful, and symbolic (p. 84). This violence

is recreational in nature and continues on in modern society in the guise of organized sports.

Spierenburg (1998) suggests that these fights could be linked to the concept of masculine honor. Insults, directed at an individual or a group, necessitated physical violence to maintain the honor of the individual or individuals. Irish peasants were similar to other preindustrialized Europeans in the need to maintain a reputation for violence and bravery. Honor demanded that insults must be answered, property defended, and friends or family members supported (pp. 1-17).

While looking for deeper meaning for human activities, more obvious explanations may be the most persuasive. Conley (1999) explained faction fighting as a response to the monotony of rural Irish life. As the legal system tended to turn a blind eye to the activities of the Irish peasantry, faction fighting and recreational brawling flourished (p. 59). Conley would generally be in agreement with Jack Katz who examined the relationship between fun, pleasure, and criminal activity. Katz uses the term "seductions of crime" to describe the situational inducements that led to violence. Fighting is exciting and fulfills personal needs (Siegel, 1995, p. 115). Rural Irish peasants, without exciting recreational outlets such as sports, used collective violence as a socially sanctioned

recreational source.

The head of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Colonel J. J. Kennedy, missing the recreational aspect of the problem, defined faction fighting as "... fights which took place in Ireland in consequence of the quarrels arising from local circumstances, increased by one family joining another and taking the part of another" (Potter, 1960, p. 61). However, the minor quarrels were perhaps excuses for the fighting with the recreational aspect of the fight the primary cause. The family or the clan was at the heart of the faction. Minor issues or local problems associated with the land could be settled by faction fights. The fights also served as a primitive form of social organization which united the participants in an era after the passing of the formal tribal relationships of Gaelic Ireland. The participants were united by region as well as by family relationships. It also offered leadership opportunities for faction leaders who received the loyalty of the faction members. Although the faction was view as chaotic by the ruling classes and by the British administration, it, in addition to its recreational incentives, offered organization and minor problem solving possibilities that were lacking in the formal social structure.

Factions were intensely local and caused the participants to turn inward. Rural peasants had little

knowledge of the world beyond the local village and the average person rarely traveled more than ten miles from his residence. There was no national political organization for the peasant before the political organizing of Daniel O'Connell. Loyalty for the Irish peasant was to the family or to the faction. The parochial and tribal nature of the rural peasant set the stage for continued factional disputes. Persons with different accents, customs, or manners were suspect. Irishmen from different parts of Ireland had great difficulty in viewing themselves as one people in America (Mitchell, 1988, p. 23). The result was large scale factional fighting at work sites in industrial America.

The Irish resort to collective violence was a primitive form of rioting in that it involved violence against hostile neighbors, other religious groups, and persons from other ethnic or regional groups. It was not an attempt to change government or improve the living conditions of the rioters. It also was not an attempt to protest the loss of some previously recognized right. Collective violence also had a strong recreational character. This behavior continued in the United States and dissipated as the Irish adapted to life in New York.

Reactionary rioting or violence.

Reactionary rioting or violence also was a part of the Irish tradition. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland experienced a host of secret organizations formed to oppose the British government or to protest local agrarian problems. Rural violence could also include planned assassinations. Beams (1978), in a study of assassinations related to land disputes in County Tipperary between 1837 and 1847, found 27 murders during the period. The assassinations were committed by rural peasants organized into secret agrarian organizations known as Whiteboys in County Tipperary (pp. 75-91).

Rather than attributing all violence to the nationalist view that peasant struggles were always attempts to throw off the yoke of the British and Protestant establishment, many of these secret organizations during the years 1760 to 1850 targeted a variety of victims including other rural Catholics. Local issues such as the occupation of land and other agrarian issues were more likely to motivate the rural secret societies than were issues of the Irish nation. Secret societies also attacked Irish land agents, Irish peasants moving onto land following an eviction, and a variety of Irish middlemen. Those who disrupted the rural traditions of land holding and land use violated the "moral economy" and were fair targets (Kenny, 1998, pp. 18-19).

The Kilkenny Journal of August 11, 1858 reported a

reactionary riot by upwards of 4,000 men whom the introduction of machinery had thrown out of work in agriculture. The mob entered the city of Kilkenny in such numbers that the local authorities were powerless to remove them from the streets. However, they caused no damage to the city. The next day they marched into the countryside and destroyed the reaping machines of several farmers (The riots in Ireland, 1858 August 28, p. 1).

Catholics formed secret societies that called themselves Ribbonmen, Defenders, Terry Alts, or Whiteboys. The Northern Irish Protestants also organized similar groups. The Peep o' Day Boys and the Loyal Orange Order, a secret organization modeled on the Masonic Order, were organized to counter the Catholic organizations. A Catholic group, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), organized in New York in 1837 to protect Catholic Churches from nativist attacks, claims that its origins are with the Irish secret agrarian organizations (Ridge, p. 9). This connection has not been historically proven and may be an "invented tradition," which has been defined as attempts to establish a continuity with a suitable historical past when in fact the connection may not exist (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983, p. 1).

Their communities in Ireland widely supported both Catholic and Protestant secret societies. Versions of the

secret societies moved with the immigrants to diverse immigrant cities. The AOH represented the traditional rural Catholic secret societies in America. The Protestants brought the Loyal Orange Lodges with them to Scotland, the United States, and Canada. Clashes between the Hibernians and the Orangemen in New York City resulted in riots that caused sixty-two deaths in 1871 (Gordon, 1993, p. 140).

The AOH in Pennsylvania served as a cover for the Molly Maguires who represented the exploited coal miners. The Molly Maguires was a primitive labor organization that killed mine superintendents, assaulted their enemies, and destroyed property before being betrayed by an informer working for the Pinkerton Agency. Although the Molly Maguires were clearly engaged in a labor struggle against the coal and steel capitalists of Pennsylvania, traditional animosities were also in play. Miner owners were of English stock and most of the mine supervisors were Welsh. They viewed both these British Protestant groups as enemies in Ireland and the hostilities were a continuation of political and cultural traditions (Kenny, 1998, pp. 164-165).

Alcohol abuse and violence.

A continual criticism of nineteenth century Irish immigrant behavior involved the abuse of alcohol. The drunken image of the Irish immigrant was a prominent feature

of political cartoons and newspaper articles. This image was perhaps exaggerated by anti-Irish publishers, but it represented a historical reality. The Roman Catholic Church continually urged its Irish immigrant members to avoid drunkenness (Byrne, 1969, chap. IX). The nineteenth century Irish did in fact have a subculture which accepted or encouraged heavy drinking. This subculture thrived in cities with large Irish communities. Barrett (1977) reproduced a report from the 1836 Parliamentary committee enquiring into the state of the Irish poor in England. The report stated:

On Saturday night, when they receive their wages, they first pay the score at the shop ... and their rent ... and when their debts are thus paid, they go on drinking spirits as long as the remnant of their wages holds out. On Monday morning they are penniless...(p. 155).

Alcohol abuse continued to be a problem in New York. Jno. C. Covel, warden of the city prison, reported in 1855 that of the 30,691 persons who were lodged in a city prison that year, 25,371 were "intemperate." Irish immigrants comprised more than 50% of the inmates at that time (Second annual report of the Governor of the alms house, 1855, p. 57).

While Handlin (1959) and others explained this excessive drinking on the squalid slum environments and social pathology that surrounded the immigrants, Barrett (1977) suggests that the problematic drinking was a continuation of the popular culture of the Irish traditional rural society.

Traditional culture viewed whiskey in a positive light. Laborers seeing an intoxicated man viewed the individual with envy since he was thought of as in a happier condition than themselves. Whiskey was an important goodwill gesture that accompanied marketplace transaction and it was used as a medicine to treat a host of ills. It was sold legally throughout Ireland in small shops or illegally in unlicensed taverns or "shebeens." In 1833, one licensed liquor seller operated for every forty families in Ireland.

Coexisting with the legally licensed whiskey producers and sellers was an extensive illegal industry. The manufacturing of whiskey was a cottage industry, especially in the more impoverished west of Ireland. Whiskey could be illegally manufactured in private stills. This untaxed whiskey was known as "poitin" and was an important source of income for many otherwise poverty stricken peasants whose rent was based on their agricultural output. The more they produced on the rented land, the higher were their rents. Illegal whiskey was an important secondary source of income.

The extent of illegal manufacture is impossible to accurately measure, but an estimated 10 million gallons were produced in 1832 and tax was paid on only three million gallons (pp. 155-179).

However, the connection between alcohol and violence has long been established. Alcohol affects moods, emotions, and perceptions and these changes are often the preconditions for violence. Culturally accepted behavior leads to drinking. The drinking produces a mood that colors the interpretation of activities surrounding the drinker. When incidents occurring in a social setting are viewed as threatening, a violent response will often occur (Blume, 1981, p. 129).

Conclusion.

It is impossible to understand the violent behavior of the famine immigrants without a review of traditional rural Irish culture. The Famine immigrants arrived with a robust peasant culture that accepted or perhaps exalted in collective violence. Impoverished peasants without recreation outlets or sympathetic governmental structures to adjudicate minor disputes resorted to the faction fight. Other forms of collective violence were used as an all round response to a host of grievances. The Irish immigrants in New York, who rarely traveled ten miles from their homes in

Ireland, soon found groups who reminded them of enemy factions in Ireland. Nativists, English immigrants, German immigrants, Protestants, and even groups from other parts of Ireland were viewed as fair game for a faction fight. Later, when the Famine immigrants became more integrated in American life, they continued to use the faction fight response as a problem solving technique. This quick and continued resort to collective violence stereotyped the group and delayed their acceptance in American society until after the Civil War.

Chapter III

Excursion and holiday violence

Introduction.

The Irish immigrants often resorted to collective violence during these recreational events as they had in Ireland. Life in nineteenth century New York was difficult for the immigrants and the lower classes. Recreational opportunities were limited and often revolved around saloons and drinking. However, excursions to the seaside or rural areas were popular and a large number of ferries, boats, and railroads were available for excursions on weekends and holidays. In an era of six day work weeks civic holidays such as the Fourth of July were celebrated vigorously. These events were popular with the Irish immigrant community as they were similar to holiday events in Ireland. Market fairs and religious excursions were familiar to the Irish immigrants who quickly adopted the American excursion tradition. However, the violence often associated with immigrant excursions was frequently reported in the press and assisted in stereotyping the Irish immigrant community as violent prone.

Recreational violence in Ireland.

Collective violence was often a problem in rural

nineteenth century Ireland. It often occurred at market or "fair" days, patterns or patron saint celebrations, and at any large gathering of people. Often groups would associate with each other and old or new feuds would flare up. The generic term "donnybrook," which is now used to describe a large fight or melee, is taken from the Donnybrook fair. The village of Donnybrook, near Dublin, was known for its raucous fair that usually resulted in numerous individual or faction fights. The fair lasted one week each year during August. Opposition to the fair resulted in a consortium's purchase of the charter, which they then surrendered in 1855 (Garnham, 1998, p. 153).

The disorder of the Donnybrook fair probably made it popular with the rural people who were seeking diversions from the monotony of marginal agriculture. The Irish Parliamentary Gazetteer in 1845 described the fair as "... for generations a perfect prodigy of moral horrors a concentration of disgrace upon, not Ireland alone, but civilized Europe. It far surpasses all other fairs in the multitude and grossness of its disgusting incidents of vice; and in general it exhibited such continuous scenes of riot, bloodshed, debauchery and brutality, as only the coarsest taste and the most hardened heart could witness without painful emotion" (Evans, 1961, p. 256).

Patterns were local religious celebrations at a site

associated with a saint. Often these ceremonies were at the place of a holy well and were continuations of pre-Christian religious practices associated with the elder religion of the rural population (Pattern, 1998, p. 436). Patterns and fairs were also popular sources of sociability, recreation, and commerce for the people. They were occasions for dancing, music, drinking, and presented opportunities for young people of the countryside to get together. A form of a pattern many have continued in New York. The New York Times reported the congregation of the Church of St. Charles Borromeo of Brooklyn traveled to Saint Ronan's well where it also held a picnic (Pic-nic, 1852, August 3, p. 3). The location of the well was not listed but it can be assumed that it was somewhere in rural Brooklyn. Many patterns disintegrated into drunken revels and lost support of the Church, which in the post-Famine era was reestablishing its control over the rural Irish.

Although governmental authorities made few serious attempts to curb faction fights and other disorders at rural Irish gatherings, there is evidence that the people would strongly resist these efforts. In one faction fight in 1813 the observer reported:

I witnessed "the gathering" as it was called, of a faction, for the purpose of deciding some matter of right, which had been disputed annually for

more than forty years; where about twenty men were armed with muskets and fowling pieces, and others with scythes and bayonets stuck on poles. I think it was three years afterwards the same parties met at Ballyvourney in the west of the County Cork, when a sub-sheriff, having notice of their intended meeting, arrived with a few dragoons for the purpose of preserving the peace. On his appearance, the contending parties seemed to forget their former animosity and uniting into one body, made so unexpected an attack with stones and other missiles, the women and children even joining in the assault, that the officers empowered to disperse the assembly were compelled to make a rapid retreat (Crofton, 1968, p. 231).

A great deal of collective violence in New York City and in the surrounding communities may be a continuation of the festive traditions of agricultural fairs and religious pattern day celebrations. However, in America the Irish no longer had fairs or routinely celebrated patterns at holy wells, but they still had Saint Patrick's Day. All New Yorkers celebrated the Fourth of July and the Irish could view it as a secularized pattern. As a form of a pattern it called for a trip to another part of the city to celebrate

in the traditional manner. Fair days and patterns usually involved a small journey. The trip to the location was an accepted part of the celebration. This custom also continued in America. New Yorkers of all ethnic groups enjoyed the excursion to a more rural environment where they could picnic and participate in sporting events. Several locations in the greater New York City area were ready to welcome the excursionist. The New York Times listed advertisements for excursions by boat or railroad. The steam boat Thomas Collier announced that it would make three trips a day to Fort Monmouth in New Jersey. The passengers would enjoy "... a cool and pleasant sail through the Narrows and across the Lower Bay near Sandy Hook, passing Forts Lafayette, Hamilton, etc." They also advertised excursions to Coney Island with cars leaving the Brooklyn terminal of the Catherine and Fulton street ferries (Thomas Collier, 1862, July 24, p. 7).

The New York Times devoted an article to inform its readers as to the best summer trips and how to take them. Highly recommended among the day trips was a sail to Staten Island where the traveler can visit the woods at Clifton Park. The New York Times also recommended a sail to the beach at Coney Island, although at that date there were few amusements to be found in Coney Island. Trips up the Hudson to Fort Lee, Sing-Sing (now known as Ossining, New York),

Tarrytown, West Point and Newburg were also popular. Trips to New Jersey included visits to Shrewsbury and the other villages in the Atlantic highlands. In New Jersey the Erie Railroad could take the traveler to the mountains of New Jersey. The railroad could be used for trips to Long Island. The article concludes with a recommendation that "...it is better to pay the ferryman than the physician as the fresh air can ward off Cholera" (Summer trips and how to take them, 1854, August 3, p. 6).

Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey was a popular destination for all New Yorkers. All immigrant groups used the athletic fields to play their national games and to socialize (Ernst, 1994, p. 127). Once at the excursion location immigrants could visit many hotels and bars that were awaiting their business. In an advertisement placed the owner of the Colonnade bar and restaurant, offered a variety of amusements " ...calculated to inspire the audience with useful knowledge." Acts that appeared at the Colonnade included the "fakir of Angelina" whom the newspaper described as the greatest magician of the age, singers and dancers and the American Brass Band, led by Mr. Shelton (The most fashionable resort, 1845, August 25 New York Herald, p. 2). The Elysian Fields became even more popular when the New York City authorities attempted to stop alcohol sales on Sunday. The New York Times reported that the "...enforcement

of the Prohibitory law in New York (is) expected to cause the outpouring of greater multitudes than usual this season to visit Hoboken" (Hoboken Resort to Elysian Fields, 1855, April 24, p. 2). No such attempt at prohibition was in force in Hoboken.

Excursions were soon noted for their disorderliness and drunken behavior, especially in the Irish community. The Irish American was first published on August 12, 1849, as the huge number of Irish immigrants began to arrive in New York. The paper first published weekly on Sunday but later added a weekday addition. In the very first edition the editor, Phelim O'Leary, who used the name P. Lynch in publishing, addressed the embarrassing tendency of the Irish excursionists to engage in collective violence.

In the first edition the editor decried the tendencies of his fellow Irish to get drunk and rowdy while on excursions. A story on page 3 discussed the bad behavior of some members of the "Victory Association" while on an excursion to Greenwood, Brooklyn. Apparently, the immigrants attending the "Victory Association-Moonlight excursion and Cotillion party" went to the Branch Hotel in Greenwood in Brooklyn where they planned a dinner and dance. Unfortunately, "...the majority, being young men, and we fear intoxicated, refused to accede to this very reasonable request (present a paid ticket) and forced their way into

the supper room, where a scene which baffles all description was enacted. They smashed windows, wrecked the bar, thrust the dishes and champagne wholesale through the windows, to their backers outside, insulted the females, assailed and beat the passers by, and though the Committee whose names we have, certainly did utmost to check their rowdy followers, succeeded in doing an amount of damage which is very considerable, indeed and very much deplored, because of the animus it has engendered in Gowans." The disorders continued outside the hotel where the rowdies continued their bad behavior. Neighbors joined together and attacked the Irish and forced them back to the ferry to Manhattan (Disgraceful riot near Greenwood Cemetery, 1848, August 12, p. 3).

The second incident mentioned in the first edition of the Irish American was the riot at Jersey City by the Kelly Guards, a target company. Thirty-three members of the unit, organized and named for Alderman Kelly of the Sixth Ward, went on a target excursion to Jersey City on August 6, 1849. Also, on the excursion were about one hundred friends and family members. After firing at targets the unit and friends went to Lynch's Thatched Cottage for lunch and refreshments. Unfortunately, several members got into a fight with factory workers in the vicinity. Local workers assembled in front of the restaurant and threatened violence

against the New York group. The local Chief of Police, Alderman Bumsted, arrived and suggested that he and his few police officers march with the Guards to discourage an attack by the factory workers. The unit assembled and marched to the ferry, but instead of immediately boarding the ferry, they stopped at the Philadelphia Hotel for additional drinks. An officer from the Kelly Guard stood in the street and provoked the locals who were assembled in great numbers. When the Guard finally marched to the ferry, the workers threw stones and commenced a general melee. Members of the Guard assaulted Alderman Bumsted, as he attempted to keep the Guard on the ferry. However, seven of the Guardsmen were so intent on attacking the locals they jumped from the ferry as it left the dock. They were stranded in Jersey City and captured by the local police. Alderman Kelly returned to Jersey City and attempted without success to get his guardsmen out of jail. Rumors abounded in Jersey City that the Kelly Guard would return to free its captured members. This presented a challenge to law enforcement in Jersey City as it had only eight police officers and no militia companies. However, the Kelly Guard did not return (Terrible riot at Jersey City, 1849, August 7, p. 5 and The riot at Jersey City, 1849, August 8, p. 1).

The editor of the Irish American wrote that he regretted that in the first edition he had to report such

shocking conduct and expressed hope that he would not have to make such a report in the future. However, reports of excursion violence would be continual items in his paper.

Lynch was not without recommendations how to prevent this misconduct. He suggested that on each excursion a committee be appointed to keep the peace. "If a difficulty arises or a row takes place between any individual member of a company or body and an out-sider or out-siders then the whole are impelled to take sides, and scenes disgraceful to civilized community are the consequence. The remedy is to appointment of a committee of every such gathering whether of recreations or target shooting, whose authority during the excursion would rule supreme. We give this suggestion for what it is worth and hope that in the future it be acted upon" (The late riots, 1849, August 12, p. 21).

In stating that the whole of the party felt compelled to join in the affray, Lynch saw the connection with this type of collective violence and the faction fighting of rural Ireland with its tradition of family groups or groups from a locality joining in a fight with outsiders.

Newspapers of that era frequently reported on the lack of disorder at German excursions. Many in the German community in New York also celebrated traditional fairs as they had in Germany. A group of German immigrants reenacted a fair in East New York on the same date as they would

celebrate the fair in Germany. They held the fair on the grounds owned by a German immigrant. German immigrants from downtown Brooklyn and Manhattan came in great numbers. The New York Herald reporter found items for sale, amusements, organ grinders, monkeys, puppet shows, singers, and dancers. There was also a great deal of drinking as "... wine and beer flowed like young rivers." The affair continued until 9:00 P.M. when the train arrived to take the parties back to the city. No report of fights or collective violence was reported (Grand German fair at East New York, 1845 September 16, p. 2).

The New York Times reported a picnic with 23,000 German participants, who assembled at Bellevue Gardens at the foot of East Eightieth Street on the East River. They described the group as "... a crowd of jolly, good natured, honest and honorable Teutonic brethren, as scarcely any City in old Germany could get assembled in an equal space of ground." Included in the crowd were many Germany target companies. Again the reporter found no violence or disorder to report. "...not one drunken satyr did we encounter, marring by boisterous brutality the rational enjoyment of the scene" (The Germans, 1856 June 17, p. 8).

The Germans assembled large but peaceful crowds. The New York Times reported 30,000 in attendance at a picnic in Elm Park. The picnic, sponsored by the Saengverein Society,

remained orderly despite "... such a pouring down of lager bier." When the crowd exited the picnic grounds, the news account reported that there were no brawls or disorders among the people returning home (Germans in America, 1855, June 27, p. 1).⁵

The possibility of violence on many excursions led to the practice of having police or even militia troops accompany the group. The Loyal Orange Lodges of New York on their July 12, 1874-excursion to Iona Island, in the Hudson River near Bear Mountain State Park, had a police boat, the Seneca with forty-five police officers on board, and company B of the 84th Regiment to escort the 2,500 Orange excursionists. Of course there was a real fear of attack on this group as a riot killed 62 in a protest of the 1871 Orange parade (The Orangemen's excursion, 1874 July 14, p. 5).⁶

⁵The only account of violence at a German outing was the result of an attack on the Germans by nativist and Irish gangs in Hoboken in May 1851. The Germans in this incident were not the aggressors and were the victims of anti-German sentiment. (Hofstadter and Wallace, 1970, pp. 309-312)

⁶In a similar excursion of the 2,000 employees and families of the Hooped Skirt Manufactory, the organizers found it prudent to have 25 Metropolitan police officers on board for the trip to Davis Island in New Rochelle. (Great jollification of crinoline, 1858, August 17, p. 8)

Target companies.

Target companies were popular nineteenth century organizations. Without a clearly defined status, they were not strictly speaking militia units. Often sponsored by a fire company or an ethnic organization, they had similarities to gangs and ethnic secret societies (Bridges, 1984, p. 76). Members of target companies dressed in elaborate military uniforms and played at being a militia. The real purpose for these companies was social, as membership guaranteed recreation and companionship. The companies gave dignity to the members who may have worked at any number of laboring occupations. When attired in their military uniforms, they transformed themselves into patriots and warriors. They marched in parades, attended sharpshooting competitions, and civil ceremonies. Many target companies recruited members from within their ethnic group. Germans, Irish, and native Americans all had target companies. The Napper Tandy Light Artillery Company, attired in green jackets and yellow braid, was widely admired in the Irish immigrant community (Ernst, 1994, pp. 127-128). In April 1857, a general parade of all target companies took place. One hundred twenty-seven companies turned out with 12,000 men under arms (Costello, 1997, pp. 190-191).

Some of these informal military and social organizations did unite and in April 1850 created the Irish

Volunteer Regiment, which became the 9th Regiment of the New York State Militia. A further expansion led to the creation in 1851 of the second Irish regiment, the 69th Regiment of the State Militia. By 1853, 2,600 of the 6,000 militia members were Irish (Potter, 1960, pp. 557-558).

However, the majority of target companies remained social organizations unaffiliated with the militia. Excursions were popular with target companies. Between 1855 and 1861, ten to fifteen were common on weekends. On Thanksgiving and Christmas Day, they would exceed 100 in number (Costello, 1997, pp. 190-191). They often combined picnics with trips to shooting ranges outside the City. A typical excursion of a target company for target practice and picnic was reported in the Irish American. The Montgomery Guard traveled to Keyport, New Jersey with a party of several hundred including women and children. The festivities included food with music and dancing. It may have been atypical in that there was no report of collective violence (Annual excursion of the Montgomery Guard, 1849, September 2, p. 4).

However, the Irish American reported the August 1852 picnic excursion of the Fanning Guards to Yonkers. After the picnic, as they were boarding the boat for the return trip to the City, someone in a carpentry shop next to the entrance to the boat terminal threw a piece of wood that

hit a member of the Fanning Guard. As a consequence, "...an altercation ensued, which ended in a regular knock down and drag out operation, in which at least a dozen were concerned. They threw stones and brickbats and they demolished the windows of the shop. There were no arrests reported." (Serious row at a Pic-Nic, 1852, August 5, p. 3).⁷ Target company rows could turn deadly. On Thanksgiving Day, 1858, the Fox Musketeers, who were associated with a fire company, under the command of Captain O'Meara, traveled to rural Harlem with 90 members from the First Ward. There the company fired at targets and drank in the River House saloon, near 132 Street. By 2:00 P.M. some of the men, who had been drinking, became belligerent and small fights broke out. The police were called to the scene and restored order. At 5:00 P.M. the company formed for the return trip and to award prizes for sharpshooting. A dispute over the prizes led to a faction protesting the manner in which prizes were awarded. Some members announced that they would not carry their muskets back to the First Ward. A generalized row ensued at this breach of discipline. Daniel Stackpole, listed in the news reports as an outsider, struck Charles Moore in the head with a club. A party of Fox

⁷In a similar incident the Irish American also reported a picnic outing to Biddles Grove by the Shields Guards, an Irish target company. A party of drunken rowdies joined the party and insulted the women. This resulted in a large fist fight. (More outrages, 1852, July 17 p. 1)

Musketeers then chased Stackpole who was surrounded and stabbed. The police arrived and they carried him to the Twelfth Precinct Station House where he died. The police arrested three for the homicide (Murder at the River House Harlem, (1858, November 19) p. 4).³

While the target companies played at being military organizations, one would expect better behavior by the 69th Regiment of the New York State National Guard. The "Fighting 69th," which had made its reputation in the Civil War and was viewed as an exclusively Irish organization, had their annual picnic on July 4, 1874 in Jones' Wood, an area popular for outdoor recreation in upper Manhattan. After parading the unit, the families of the soldiers, the Emmet Legion, the Irish Volunteers (both associated with Irish nationalist groups), and a large delegation of Ancient Order of Hibernians congregated at the picnic area. About 1,600 people were present.

Captain Gunner of the Nineteenth Precinct must have expected problems as he assigned a sergeant and thirty-two police officers to keep the peace at the event. He also

³In a coroner's hearing David Fox, Charles Moore, and A. D. Thompson were held to answer for the death. It appears that the deceased and his assailants were members of different political factions. Stackpole, although only twenty-two, was deeply involved in politics and had worked for the election of a politician opposed by most of the members of the Fox Musketeers. He was also a member of a competing target company, the Brady Guards (The murder at Harlem, 1858, November 20, p. 1).

held a reserve of 100 police officers near the site. The New York Times reported that as evening approached, many participants were intoxicated and unruly. The New York Herald's account of the picnic blames the violence on the apprehension of two pickpockets by members of the 69th and their supporters. The crowd beat the thieves until the police responded. The fight now shifted from the assault on the pickpockets to an attack on the police, who were blamed for inflaming the situation. Sergeants Robeson, Officers Murphy, Dugan, and Phillips were all injured in the melee. Finally, a large contingent of police under the command of Captain Gunner of the Fifty-ninth Street station house arrived and arrested Patrick Roach, Thomas O'Hara, Terence Mooney, and John Collins. None were members of the regiment. However, the police identified Private John Bracken as a participant. With the cooperation of Colonel Cavenagh, Private Bracken was marched to the Nineteenth Precinct station house and arrested (Riot in Jones Woods, 1874, July 5, p.5 and The Sixty-Ninth Regiment Picnic, 1874, July 5, p. 7).

Ferry trips back to Manhattan.

Excursion trips back to Manhattan on weekends could be dangerous, as many travelers would have been drinking. In perhaps a typical incident an Irish party consisting of two

men and three women returning to Manhattan from Elysian Fields got into a dispute with two bargemen. Andrew Byrne and Timothy Shea attacked the bargemen over a slight directed at Shea's wife. Timothy Shea was stabbed and seriously injured (Stabbing affrays, 1857, September 1, p. 8).

Fatalities occurred in ferry quarrels. On Sunday, August 24, 1857, Thomas Quinn, a hack driver, died of stab wounds that he received in a fight on the ferry Josephine, which was returning to Manhattan from Staten Island. The physician, George S. Kator, who treated him at New York Hospital, stated that the patient was so drunk that he did not feel pain when the physician performed an operation to return protruding bowels into his abdominal cavity. The coroner's jury heard conflicting accounts of how the participants received their injuries. Testimony in the hearing indicated that Thomas Quinn and friends, Andrew Donnelly, John McCarthy and others not identified, were drinking in Staten Island on a Sunday. Andrew Donnelly testified that "... I was so drunk that I remember nothing more that happened." John McCarthy testified that Donnelly got into a fight with an individual only identified as "Mose." Quinn attempted to separate the belligerents, but was stabbed by "Mose," whom they arrested for murder.

"Mose" testified at the coroner's hearing that a gang

of drunks assaulted him without provocation and that he resorted to violence only to defend himself. Jacob F. Smith, superintendent of the Staten Island ferry boats, supported him in his account of the fight. He reported that Quinn and his friends were drunk and disorderly when they came on board the ferry. They assaulted and harassed several unoffending passengers. Smith said that he attempted to stop this behavior but was unable to stop the disturbance. "Mose" indicated support for the Superintendent and was attacked by the Quinn party and knocked down. The corner's jury made note that Mose's face was blackened and showed signs of an assault (The late fatal affray, 1857, May 28, p. 1).

Attempts by groups of excursionists to board ferries without paying resulted in a great deal of collective violence. In one instance a group of fifteen to twenty men armed with clubs pushed their way onto the ferry Thomas E. Hulse at Fort Lee and fought the crew. The nonpaying passengers were identified as Ninth Ward Boys led by one Maleny, first name not recorded. During the melee about 500 passengers were attempting to get away from the fight. Captain Annet of the ferry fired a shot to frighten the rioters, but struck a woman passenger in the arm. Maleny was stabbed in the arm during the fighting. This was the second occurrence by the same group. They reported several

injuries (Rowdies, 1858, July 28, p. 4).⁹

Wakes and funerals.

Wakes and funerals in nineteenth century rural Ireland were important social occasions. They have been viewed as therapeutic forms of recreation that enabled the mourners to cope with the death of a family member. The drinking, eating, and socializing associated with Irish wakes was based on pre-Christian beliefs that required merrymaking to placate the spirit of the deceased and to prevent evil spirits from entering the body of the deceased.

ÓSúilleabháin described traditional wakes as having food and drink, singing, dancing, contests of strength, storytelling, and a wide variety of amusements. Frequently, fights would occur at the wake or at the funeral (1976, pp. 71-72).

The Catholic Church as early as the Synod of Armagh in 1614 tried to end the traditional merrymaking associated with wakes with little success. Periodic condemnations of the traditional wake practices continued to be an issue until the Synod of Maynooth in 1927 (ÓSúilleabháin, chap.

⁹Other news reports of violence among groups on outings involve the return of a target company, the Hound Guards, at the Fulton Street ferry (Rowdyism, 1856, October 22, p. 8), a large group fight with a stabbing (A man dangerously stabbed in a street fight, 1962, August 19, p. 6), a large fight at a picnic at the New Utrecht woods in Brooklyn (Fight at a Pic-Nic, 1861, August 30, p. 5), and a case involving three Irishmen that resulted in an assault on an African American. (A great row, 1854, July 11, p. 1).

X). The wake customs continued in America, but were under attack by forces pushing for the modernization of the Irish immigrant. Small apartments in crowded tenements were less suited for the rough housing that was associated with the rural Irish wake. During a cholera epidemic in 1849, the Boston Pilot in 1849 condemned the traditional wake as inconsistent with American life (Clark, 1983, p. 115).

The English travel writers, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Carter Hall, in their 1841 book on Irish customs described the importance of a "fine wake" and a "decent funeral" in the culture. Often poverty stricken peasants would withhold money or garments from everyday use to be saved for their funeral. Wakes and funerals would provide tobacco, alcohol, and food to those in attendance. The funeral and the trip to the graveyard would be well attended by those who felt affection for the deceased and by those wishing to show respect for a neighbor. Others attended because of the possible entertainment and social value associated with spending a day with relative and neighbors. The time lost in attending a funeral was of little consequences in an agricultural economy without industrial styled discipline. The Halls described fights between groups of mourners who arrived at the grave yard at the same time. A superstition involving supernatural duties assigned to the most recent burial caused funeral parties to fight for the right to bury

their loved one first. These fights often resulted in injuries or death (Scott, 1984, pp. 85-87). These traditions came with the Irish immigrants to America. The first funeral related riot was recorded in June 11, 1837 when an Irish funeral procession in Boston clashed with a volunteer fire company. A militia unit was required to restore order (Handlin, 1959, p. 187).

Funerals in the immigrant community involved religious ceremony, familial obligations, fraternal respect, and elements of an excursion, as the cemeteries were usually in Queens or Brooklyn. Getting to the cemetery was a journey and funerals were usually a day long affair. As customary in Ireland, alcohol was often consumed during the day.

Fights at a funeral, or in a tavern immediately thereafter, were sometimes reported in the New York press. In one report a fight occurred between two factions of Irishmen who were attending a funeral in Flatbush in Brooklyn. The press reported the arrests of James Smith, Michael Dowd, and Patrick Dowd who were sentenced to twenty-nine days in jail (Fight at a funeral, 1855, January 9, p. 5).

Reports of funeral related violence were mostly accounts of funeral parties returning to Manhattan from Calvary Cemetery in Queens or one of the many cemeteries in Brooklyn. In September 1852, a fight was reported between a

group returning from a funeral and a milk wagon driver. A carriage with mourners collided with the milk wagon and angry words were exchanged. Two of the mourners assaulted the milk wagon driver while 200 to 300 people gathered around. There were "indications of a general row" when the police arrived and arrested the two Irishmen involved (Scene at a funeral procession, 1852, September 21, p. 8).

Rioting during the trip back from the funeral was a recurring theme. The delay boarding the ferry from Queens to Manhattan was a frequent danger point. The police arrested twelve Irishmen for a riot that occurred returning from Calvary Cemetery. "Edward Brown, Peter Collins, Tim Hannegan and nine others, all Irishmen ... " were arrested after creating a disturbance on the ferry in which they beat the crew of the ferry, took possession of the boat, and caused serious damage to the ferry. They were arrested when the ferry docked at 23rd Street in Manhattan. The article reported that the participants were intoxicated (Serious riot on ferry boat, 1853, May 26, 1854, p. 8).¹⁰

¹⁰Funerals and visits to cemeteries brought immigrant inhabitants of the inner city into the countryside. Disturbances with local farmers was a possibility.

Residents of Newtown, Queens complained about thefts from farms in the area. Visitors to Calvary Cemetery were blamed for thefts from fruit trees as they walked in the neighboring roads. In a Sunday afternoon row with two farmers, a group consisting of eight men and two women, who were visiting the cemetery, attacked a farmer who demanded that they stop picking fruit from trees. The visitors beat the farmer with stones and sticks (Calvary cemetery-visitors

A similar incident of funeral or wake related violence occurred in New York in April 1862. A family held a wake for an individual in a flat on Mulberry Street. As was the custom, many family and friends of the deceased gathered to pay their respects to the family of the deceased. However, William O'Connor attended against the wishes of the immediate family who requested other mourners to remove him from the flat. Another mourner, named Murphy, and a group of men evicted the protesting William O'Connor. In the street the altercation continued and he was badly beaten. He was taken home and died the next day. The police arrested Mr. Murphy (Homicide at a wake, 1862, April 6, p. 6)."

Holiday disorders and rioting.

Abingdon Square Riot.

assaulting a farmer, 1854, August 23, p.8).

"Funeral violence is still reported in Ireland. However, it does not occur in the modernized population but among a subgroup commonly called travelers. The travelers, also referred to pejoratively as "tinkers," are thought to be descendants of Irish agricultural workers who were dispossessed from their lands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The group is genetically indistinguishable from the settled population. They seem to prefer living a nomadic way of life and travel throughout Ireland and England in caravans or mobile homes. They have preserved a way of life over many generations despite many attempts by the Irish government to have them settle (Tinkers, 1998, p. 542). In many way their beliefs, which include many aspects of the older "elder religion," and their customs and traditions are reminiscent of the nineteenth century rural culture.

In a society where a six-day work week was the norm, people enjoyed the respite associated with holiday celebrations. New Years, Christmas, Thanksgiving, and especially the Fourth of July were days for celebration.

All New Yorkers enjoyed the celebration of the Fourth of July. Groups would assemble in the various neighborhoods and march as a unit to lower Manhattan, where they would hold official observances. The Abingdon Square Riot, as it became known, occurred on July 4, 1853 at the intersection of Eight Avenue and Hudson Street, as 300 to 500 members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians marched down Eighth Avenue to lower Broadway.¹²

The new organization undoubtedly faced the antiimmigrant and anti-Catholic hostility of the nativist

¹²New York Irish immigrants in 1838 organized the Ancient Order of Hibernians in lower Manhattan. Facts surrounding the founding and the early years of the organization are sketchy. It appears that the group followed the Irish tradition of secret societies. Ridge (1986) quoted a report in The Truth Teller on January 14, 1843, that discussed the secret societies and identified a Shamrock Benevolent Society, which denied that it was a secret society. Ridge also suggests that the AOH was a secret organization with symbols, passwords, etc. The tradition of Irish secret societies was a result of groups organizing to protect their members from community problems in a society where they could not depend on government for help. In America the problems facing the new immigrants were most likely threats from nativist groups who resented the influx of poverty-stricken immigrants. Ridge, in an official history of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, suggests that the organizers of the AOH received a charter from an illegal secret society in Ireland, but the original copy is no longer in existence. However, the origins of the organization are murky and the AOH cannot verify many of its claims.

New Yorkers. Anti-Catholicism, with roots in religious and national rivalries, xenophobia, the fear of foreigners, and their unfamiliar traditions, increased as the flow of Catholic immigrants arrived. A feeling that America had lost its ability to control its national destiny triggered nativism during the middle of the nineteenth century (Higham, 1971, p. 166). It was also a continuation of the Anglo-American traditional fear and hatred of Roman Catholicism. Nativists feared that Catholics, whom they believed would undermine American democracy, were accustomed to living under European despots and monarchies.¹³

Other issues exacerbated the division in society between the native born and the immigrant population. The problem of the public schools and the use of the Protestant Bible caused Archbishop John Hughes to create a separate Catholic school system. The American Republican party, created in 1843, called for a 21-year probationary period before naturalization, the election of only native born persons, and the reading of the King James Bible in public

¹³The Daily Budget, a nativist newspaper, commented in its May 23, 1854-edition:

Of all the people that flock to this land of liberty, the Irish Catholics are well known to be the least desirable citizens. They are ignorant, quarrelsome and every way disagreeable. Besides it is not at all unlikely that the people of Europe, glad to rid themselves of these worthless creatures, drive them to America (Anti-Irishism, 1854, June 3, p. 2).

schools. Temperance and abolitionism were also issues that separated the Irish immigrant community and the nativist New Yorkers (Anbinder, 1992, pp. 11-19).

The Ancient Order of Hibernians, in addition to defending the community, offered companionship and recreational activities. The organization first came to the attention of the greater community with the Abingdon Square Riot. James Saunders, an Irish tavern owner, was the apparent leader of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the 1850s. The membership of the AOH assembled at James Saunders' tavern on 369 East 12 Street at 10:00 A.M. on July 4, 1853. A group of between 300 and 500 members assembled into three divisions to march to the larger New York City parade on lower Broadway. The group carried a twelve-foot high banner of George Washington shaking hands with Daniel O'Connell. It was the custom of local groups to assemble in their own neighborhoods at taverns or meeting halls and to march to the larger event. The route of march for the day was 12 Street east to the Bowery, north on Bowery to 14 Street and then west to Eight Avenue. The group would then march south to Canal Street and east to Broadway, where the group would fall behind the military for the parade (The alleged riot, 1853, July 23, p. 6, Ridge, pp. 10-14 and Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 828).

At the intersection of Eighth Avenue and Hudson Street

a coach from the Kipp and Brown stage line drove into the ranks of the marching Hibernians. Whether this was accidental or intentional is unclear. Ridge, who writes a flattering official history of the organization, describes a dispute between the marchers and the stage driver that led to on lookers becoming involved. Many hostile, and possibility nativist bystanders, attacked the Irish who responded in kind. The Ninth Ward police, who responded to a report of rioting, beat the Irish marchers. Captain Stevenson of the 16th Ward on duty and covering the area reported that the police were attacked by the Hibernians and that two fire companies aided in subduing the riot (Alarming riot, 1854, July 5, p.1).

The New York Herald blamed the marchers for the riot. The article reported that the stage coach horses became frightened at the firecrackers and the driver, Edward J. Carpenter, lost control of the coach, which crashed into the ranks of the marchers. James Saunders on horseback ordered the coach to back out of the parade route, but the driver was unable to do so because the horses were frightened. Saunders then ordered the marchers to attack the driver. The marchers in this account attacked the driver, pulled him from the coach, and assaulted him. Several bystanders rushed to help the driver, but the Hibernians assaulted them

too. The police from the Ninth and Sixteenth Wards arrived and attempted to end the melee. In the fight the Hibernians armed themselves with sticks, " ... cart-rungs, staves and paving stones." The police were unable to control the crowd and some local citizens joined with the police to end the affair. Two unnamed fire companies also responded and helped the police in controlling the riot. During the battle a paving stone struck down Lieutenant Seabring of the Ninth Ward Police. Stones and other missiles also severely injured three police officers.¹⁴

At a subsequent hearing S. J. Webb gave evidence that he was on the coach when the horses entered the line of march. The marchers grabbed the horses and beat them with staves. Other marchers threw stones at the driver. Another witness, Richard J. Bush, saw a marcher strike the driver three times. Others giving witnesses gave testimony that suggested that the AOH was responsible for the violence¹⁵ (Statement of witnesses, 1853, July 9, p. 8).

James Saunders was convicted of exciting a riot and sentenced to one year in prison and fine of two hundred fifty dollars (Notable criminal cases, 1855, January 1, p.

¹⁴The police arrested thirty-eight persons, including James Saunders. The authorities eventually dropped the charges against most of the marchers (Ridge, 1986, pp. 19 - 20).

¹⁵Edward M. Dawson, 620 Hudson Street, Samuel Rowland, 201 W. 13 Street and Robert Sutherland, 26 Greenwich Street.

3).¹⁶

O'Dea in his three volume History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America and Ladies Auxiliary (1923) which the AOH published, did not report the incident in his work. However, in a later interview with the Irish American, he suggested that the Hibernians were the victims of an attack by nativists who lived in the Ninth Ward. He may have been correct as a history of Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant tensions existed in the Ninth Ward or the Greenwich Village neighborhood. In 1824 a riot between Irish Catholic and Orangemen celebrating the 12th of July resulted in many injuries and arrests (Emmet, 1915, p. 464). The Irish American quoted O'Dea as charging the Orangemen and other anti-Catholic elements in the Ninth Ward were the aggressors in the 1853 incident (Ridge, 1986, p. 20).

The Greenwich Village neighborhood, home to many native-born professionals and artisans, was well known for supporting its favorite son, William Poole, who lived at 164

¹⁶The New York Times, always suspicious of the Irish community, found fault with the performance of two of the police officers. "Only two policemen both Irishmen - proved traitors. These men turned upon their officers and took part with the rioters. Their names are Patrick Kelly and John Cusick. They are charged with doing all in their power to release such as were taken into custody by the other officers." (Statement of witnesses, 1853, July 9, p. 8). It is interesting to consider why these two Irishmen risked their jobs in protecting the Hibernians. Perhaps they witnessed a great injustice in the police and community handling of what they may have perceived to be a minor traffic problem.

Christopher Street. Poole was a gambler and gang leader of a Protestant faction that often fought with the Irish Catholics. Associates of John Morrissey, an Irish Catholic prize fighter, gang leader, gambler, election fixer, and later a member of the U. S. Congress eventually murdered Poole in a saloon. New York nativists admired Poole for his last words, which the newspapers reported to have been, "I think I am a goner. If I die, I die a true American; and what grieves me the most is, thinking that I've been murdered by a sot of Irish-by Morrissey in particular." The phrase, "I die a true American" became a nativist rallying cry and the phrase appeared on Poole's casket (The pugilists' encounter, 1855, March 3, p.1).

O'Dea suggested Bill Poole's followers and the nativists of the Ninth Ward turned out and wiped the street clean with any man wearing white trousers. Hibernians wore a uniform of white trousers, black frock coats, and high silk hats (Ridge, p. 20).

There may have been some truth to the allegation that nativists attacked the Hibernians. Poole was associated with several nativist associations that marched in his funeral procession on March 11, 1855. The procession included 155 carriages and 6,000 mourners. The newspapers listed the Howard Engine Company No. 34 and the Live Oak Engine Company No. 44 as being in the procession. They may

have been the unnamed two fire companies that helped the police in attacking the Hibernians. Poole was also the leader of a target company called the Poole Guard, which was also in the procession. The Order of United Americans (OUA) was a nativist organization associated with the Know Nothing movement. The Hancock Chapter of the OUA and representatives of the Continental, Ironsides, Ethan Allen, New York, Excelsior, Empire, Henry Clay, Bunker Hill, Champs, and Jasper Paulding chapters of the OUA marched in the procession.

The AOH held a meeting on July 12 in Grand Street Hall to state its side of the incident and to rescue its badly damaged reputation. The officers of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and other prominent Irish leaders, including Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Young Ireland movement leader, denied that the AOH had caused the riot. They blamed the Ninth Ward residents for the attack (Ridge, pp. 19-20). However, P. Lynch, the editor of the Irish American agreed with critics within the Irish community of the AOH. The aggressive driving of the stage driver did not warrant an attack. Marching units do not have a monopoly on the right to use the streets. The assault on the driver was therefore, "...a cowardly and a dastardly act, demanding the repudiation and disgust of all who love fair play and manly proceeding." Lynch stated that the AOH and other Irish

organizations on parade should never retaliate when provoked. Public opinion must be considered if the Irish were to gain the respect of the people of New York City (Ancient Order of Hibernians, 1853, July 23, p. 2).¹⁷

¹⁷The police department suspended two police officers for their actions in the riot. Sergeant Patrick Kelly and Police Officer John Cusack faced an investigation and hearing in front of the Police Commissioners on charges that they failed to take proper action in suppressing the riot. The Board of Police Commissioners, established April 12, 1853, included the mayor, the recorder and a city judge, who were responsible for disciplinary hearings (Stokes, 1967, p. 211). The first witness against Police Officer Cusack, John J. Van Clief stated that he requested Cusack to arrest a marcher who had punched a citizen. Cusack refused and told the witness "... to go on about (your) business." Cusack's lawyer Alderman Busted, asked the witness if he were a member of the Order of United Americans, a Know-Nothing group. The witness replied that he would not answer that question. This was the usual response for Know-Nothings to deny or refuse to answer any question about their organizations or affiliations with the movement. The term "Know-Nothing" comes from their frequent response of "I know nothing" when asked about the organization. Another witness, Edward Thumedry, testified that Van Clief said to him that they should appoint no Catholic to the police department. Cusack also received support from Lieutenant Lealy and Judge Beebe who stated that he was an efficient policeman. Several other witnesses testified that he had tried to make arrests during the riot.

Several police officers testified that Sergeant Kelly had ordered them to release Hibernians who they had arrested and prevented them from stopping the riot. Witnesses complained that Sergeant Kelly instructed the policemen on the scene to stop clubbing the Hibernians. For the defense several Hibernians testified that they did not receive preferential treatment from Kelly. Edward J. Carpenter, the stage driver, also testified that Kelly saved his life from the beating. They quoted some police officers, who testified against Kelly as questioning whether they should have promoted him to Sergeant (The ninth ward riot, 1853, July 19, p. 4).

The commissioners of police found Sergeant Kelly and Police Officer Cusack guilty and imposed to a thirty-day fine (Decisions by the commissioners of police, 1853, July

Lynch and McGee were clearly trying to change the traditional behaviors of the Famine immigrants. Both men were gaining leadership positions in the immigrant community and were interacting with the larger community. Their continued response to traditional behaviors was to urge the immigrants to consider their new surroundings. Urban New York was not rural Ireland and traditional behavior with its recreational violence was no longer acceptable.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Saint Patrick's Day Riot of 1867.

The parade organizers did not hold the Saint Patrick's Day Parade on the traditional date of March 17 in 1867. Since March 17 fell on a Sunday, the organizers postponed the parade to Monday, March 18. The marchers enjoyed good weather and an estimated 20,000 marched in the parade that lasted for three hours (Saint Patrick's Day, 1867, March 19, p. 1).

As the Brooklyn contingents of the Ancient Order of Hibernians were assembling on Grand Street before the start of the parade, a horse drawn wagon tried to make a delivery. They told the driver, George M. Burgess, that he could not bring his wagon to the front of McKensies's store because

28, p. 5). This may have been considered a minor penalty as many police officers were fired during this period for rather petty offences.

AOH Division 3 from Williamsburg was forming up at that location. Burgess parked the wagon across the street and started to deliver the goods on a hand truck. However, the marchers resented his entering in the assembly area and cutting through the ranks of the marchers.¹⁸ Several members of Division 3 attacked the driver. The altercation attracted the attention of Police Officer August Hersemann of the Thirteenth Precinct who rushed to protect the driver from the assault. This angered the members of the AOH and members from Divisions 3, 4, and 7 attacked the police officer and the driver.

Roundsman William E. Brown of the Thirteenth Precinct was a block away when he noticed the assault. He assembled

¹⁸Apparently, cutting through the line of marchers was considered an insult to the Irish immigrants. This situation resulted in violence at several AOH sponsored parades. In the Saint Patrick's Day parade in Jersey City in 1872 a pedestrian, Theodore Smith, attempted to cross the street through an AOH unit. He was assaulted by the members of the marching unit. When Police Officer Bowe came to Smith's aid, he was struck by Patrick Dolan, a parade marshal. Fortunately, Patrick Joyce, a Hibernian official, intervened and save the police officer from the marchers. Dolan was arrested. At another point in the parade another pedestrian, William Francis, was stabbed when he attempted to cross through the marchers. In the Newark parade similar problems developed. A street car, driven by Moses Miller, attempted to pass through a gap in the parade. "The Hibernians broke ranks instantly, seized (the driver's) horses and fell upon the driver and beat him insensibly." Approximately two thousand marchers gathered around and threatened the driver with further violence. A squad of police officers was able to prevent further violence (The day in New Jersey, 1872, March 19, p. 8).

a squad of police officers and rushed to Police Officer Hersemann's defense. However, the marchers who greatly outnumbered them surrounded and attacked them. The Hibernians armed themselves with sticks and clubs and severely beat the police officers. A parade marshal from the Hibernians drew a sword and struck Police Officer Barrett, also of the Thirteen Precinct, and inflicted a severe wound.

Captain John C. Helme in command of the area gathered most police officers and charged the combatants and ended the fighting. The New York Times listed nineteen police officers as injured.

Another assault occurred at E. Broadway and Gouverneur Street in the Seventh precinct when the same AOH groups attacked a citizen. The marchers assaulted and cut Police Officer Martin with a sword during that altercation.

A short time later as the AOH marchers reached Clinton Street on East Broadway, the group attacked Police Officer Cole, whom the police assigned to the parade route. The Hibernians beat and stabbed him with a sword. Roundsman Whitcomb and a small squad of police officers rescued him. Here the police arrested Thomas Newman who was a mounted marshal. Others attempted to prevent the arrest and again attacked the police. In the affray they also arrested Bernard Clark, John Wall, James Ryan, and Thomas McLoughlin. The Superintendent of Police reported eighteen police

officers as severely injured and fifteen slightly injured (Superintendent Kennedy's report, 1867, March 25, p. 2).¹⁹

Saint Patrick's Day parades became a target for anti-Irish sentiment. The parades had been small and localized affairs until 1849 when the laborers' United Benevolent Association began participating. In 1851 seventeen societies and new labor organizations formed the Convention of Irish Societies and parade with an annual Grand Marshal. By 1853 the parade was big enough to block off traffic and bring business to a halt. With this much public interest, politicians of all persuasions could not afford to ignore the day and the tradition of Tammany Hall participation began (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 828).

The New York Times reacted to a report that the day was to be made a legal holiday with an editorial denouncing the parade and Tammany Hall support for the parade with City tax money (Our illegal holiday, 1871, March 13, p. 6). In another editorial the New York Times was probably correct in its assertion that the parade was being used as a platform to show the strength of the Irish community in New York.

¹⁹It would appear that the riot severely injured many police officers. New Yorkers established a Riot Relief Fund and \$3,050.00 was collected for distribution to the injured police officers. The awards ranged from \$250 to Captain Helme, \$150 to Sergeant Barnett to \$50.00 awards to the less injured police officers. The money was presented to Mr. Acton, President of the Metropolitan Police Board (Awards of the Riot Relief Fund, 1867, April 19, p. 5).

The Irishman's celebration of Saint Patrick's Day, according to the editorial writer, "... has been perverted to the apparent purpose of displaying his numerical strength, and to manifesting his consciousness of his own power" (St. Patrick's Day, 1872, March 19, p. 4). Nativist elements continually criticized the parade for interfering with traffic and for the loss of commercial productivity due to the thousands of participants.

Conclusion.

Irish immigrants to New York found a very different world from the rural society that they left. While struggling to gain a foothold in America, they continued to follow the cultural practices, behaviors, and recreational activities of the Irish countryside. Although these behaviors were ignored by governmental authorities and social elites in Ireland, they caused great resentment by the native New Yorkers and other immigrant groups. Raucous behavior during holidays celebrations and in transportation facilities was widespread and condemned by the mainstream and Irish newspapers. These behaviors continued until the Irish immigrant community established itself in New York.

Chapter IV

Racial, ethnic, and religious collective violence

Introduction.

A great deal of the collective violence during the period of 1845 to 1875 involved conflict between the Irish Catholic immigrants and other New York groups. Prior to massive immigration of the Irish fleeing the Famine and the German migration of 1848, New York society was generally a Protestant society, reflecting the culture and biases of the original Dutch and English settlers. Although New York City has been a multicultural community since its founding in 1625, the pre-Famine Irish immigrants tended to remain a minority group within a Protestant city. Threats or challenges to the dominant Anglo-Protestant society were few and, with the exception of anti-African American rioting in the eighteenth century, little intergroup violence occurred. With the huge influx of Irish Catholic and German immigrants in the late 1840s, New York City soon experienced a great deal of intergroup conflict. The Irish Catholic community was soon in conflict with Protestants, American born New Yorkers, other immigrant groups, and with the more established African American community. Chapter V will discuss Irish and African American violence on the work site. This chapter will review collective violence that

seems to reflect the faction fight or group against group violence so prevalent among the Irish immigrants of the era.

Immigration patterns.

During the nineteenth century, immigration accelerated as newcomers from many countries arrived in New York. Their reasons for immigration varied, but economic considerations were usually primary. The most numerous of the mid nineteenth century immigrants were German and Irish. Both suffered from the great economic and social upheavals of the 1840s. Others immigrated to escape anti-Semitic policies or to avoid political oppression in various European states. Adventurers were drawn to the novelty of travel or the possibilities of Californian gold (Ernst, 1994, pp. 1-11).

The Irish were the largest immigrant group during the 1845 to 1875 period. The census of 1850 listed 26% of the city's population, or 133,730 people, as born in Ireland. By 1860, more than 200,000 Irish-born were residents of New York, a city with a population of 800,000. By the end of the era of the great migration, 1844 to 1877, New York became "the most Irish city in the Union" (Diner, 1996, pp. 87-91).

However, the Irish were not the only expanding immigrant group in the City. Immigrants from Europe, Canadian colonies, and Caribbean islands were present. This mix of cultures, languages, religions, and races presented

the foundation for intergroup rivalry and conflict. Perhaps the New York nativists presented an even greater danger to the Irish immigrants. They resented the changes rapidly occurring in the expanding New York.

Although Irish immigrants in 1800 lived around the East River docks, they soon moved inland and were predominant in the Sixth Ward. As cheap housing was always at the northern edge of the city, the Irish soon expanded uptown and settled in and above Greenwich Village. However, the Irish were to be found in all the city wards (Gilje, 1996, 74-75).

A review of the foreign-born population by wards in the 1855 census is remarkable in showing the integration of Irish immigrants in New York. The 22 wards of New York City had a total foreign-born Irish population of 175,735. The ward with the largest population was the Seventh with 14,815 and the ward with the fewest Irish was the Second Ward, which then was mainly a commercial district, with 1,164 (Ernst, 1994, p. 194).

There was perhaps less intergroup violence than one would expect during this turbulent era. Much of the collective violence was between young males who were often drinking. Collective violence was often intragroup. However, Irish often fought with other ethnic groups at work sites and those living in close proximity. They also fought with other Irishmen from other provinces in Ireland. It may

have been that any group that represent a new or strange element was a fair target for an American version of the faction fight.

We should note that newspapers usually identified individuals by nationality when possible. They always identified natives of Ireland. Reports identified Germans as Germans or "Dutchmen" as New Yorkers mistakenly called them. Persons not identified by ethnicity were apparently "Americans" or native New Yorkers.

Catholic and nativist conflict.

The Irish immigrants and the nativists often battled each other. Political and religious rivalries led to collective violence and death on more than one occasion. Irish Catholics found their bitterest enemies among the Irish Protestants, who harbored ancient hostilities and continued their antagonisms in New York. The transplanted Irish Protestants brought the Loyal Orange Lodges to New York to continue traditional hostilities, which included faction fights. Nativist Americans founded the American Protestant Association (APA) in 1844. It exacerbated religious conflict by attracting a wider range of American Protestants to their battle against Catholicism (Higham, 1971, p. 61).

Although the APA was originally anti-immigrant, Irish

Protestant immigrants flocked to join it and they soon were closely associated with its leadership. The APA borrowed much of its rituals and symbols from the Orange Order and it became known as an Irish Protestant organization.

Membership in the APA and other nativist organizations enabled the Irish Protestants to continue their cultural anti-Catholicism. Perhaps what is more important, it allowed the membership to distance themselves from the more poverty stricken and despised Irish Catholic immigrants. The APA continued long after the Know-Nothing movement died out and in 1874 the APA still had three hundred lodges and fifty thousand members. In 1899 it still boasted ninety active lodges (Berthoff, 1968, pp. 190).

The anti-Catholic rhetoric used in open-air preaching by Protestant evangelicals, who were associated with the American Protestant Association and other nativist groups, was also a dangerous source of intergroup violence. Irish immigrants were familiar with attempts to convert them to Protestantism. A vigorous evangelical campaign in Ireland to convert Catholics lasted from 1829 to 1860. Led by the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, William McGee, the established church unsuccessfully attempted to bring about a Second Reformation to Irish Catholics (Bowen, 1978, pp. ix-x).

Collections were solicited from New York City

Protestants to convert Catholics in Ireland. The Reverend Doctor Heather, Secretary of the Irish Home Missionary Society, who attempted to raise \$30,000, visited New York and spoke at local churches seeking support for the efforts of the 101 Protestant missionaries in Ireland (The Irish mission, 1854, November 20, p. 1). Efforts to convert the Irish Catholics were generally unsuccessful.

Ethnic disputes.

The growing numbers of Irish immigrants stimulated resentment and hostility among native New Yorkers. As large sections of the city were turned to Irish neighborhoods, violence often flared between the Irish and the native New Yorkers. Irish immigrants retained a traditional distrust and resentment of "others." In Ireland peasants fought with people from other sections of Ireland, with Protestants, and with those who would obtain land or employment in their area. In America many other groups of people would represent a challenge to the immigrant community.

Irish intergroup collective violence could result in death. A typical example occurred on January 11, 1853 when between 1:00 and 2:00 A.M. a dispute between a group of Irish and Germans led to the death of an Irish participant. A group of seven Irish men was walking on Fulton Street in downtown Brooklyn. The group had been drinking in a grocery

in the vicinity and had decided to go to another location in Brooklyn. At Fulton and Adlephi Streets they encountered a group of three Germans, walking in the opposite direction. John Ward and the German group exchanged harsh words. A scuffle broke out and Ward, identified as an Irishman by birth, twenty-six years old, married with two children, received a fatal knife wound. John P. Eagan, one of the Irish party, in his account to the coroner's jury testified that the German defendant warned Ward not to attack him or he would use his knife. The German stabbed Ward who had continued to harass him. The police arrested "a German," Lewis Greve. There is no evidence that ethnic animosities were at the bottom of this incident. It may have been a typical alcohol related argument that led to violence. However, the harsh words exchanged between the groups probably were ethnic insults (Murder-The guilty party arrested-coroner's inquest, 1853, January 13, p.6).²⁰

On July 26, 1854, a large scale riot between Irish and Germans occurred in the Sixth Ward. The original account reported a parade of 200 Germans marching down Centre Street from Turner Hall on Canal Street. The Turners, or *Turnverein*, were a German society that combined politics and

²⁰In a similar incident a saloon fight between three Irish immigrants and six or eight Italians resulted in one death.(The James-street affray, 1854, April 25, p. 8).

gymnastics. Founded in Berlin in 1811, the organization was mildly socialistic. The first American center was opened in 1824 (Hofstadter and Wallace, 1970, p. 309).

The Turners marched to the Shakespear Hotel, where they were to attend a lecture. However, they became involved in a riot with the local Irish population. At the corner of Anthony and Centre Streets a fight started between some Irish onlookers and the marchers. Apparently, some Germans were wearing white hats, associated with the "Wide Awake Movement," of the Order of Free and Accepted Americans, a nativist group²¹ (Harlow, 1931, p. 303). In the original account of the incident, the police blamed the Germans for insulting a young Irish woman, and thereby provoking the Irish, who attacked with great vigor. The Germans retreated to the Shakespear Hotel on the corner of Duane and William Streets. At 11:00 P.M. as they left the hotel, another battle began with a group of Irish on the corner of Canal Street. The affray lasted twenty minutes with 400 to 500 Irish involved. The Germans allegedly used knives and clubs in the fight and they severely injured two in the Irish group.

Captain Brennan of the Sixth Ward, anticipating trouble, had assembled a large contingent of police. He

²¹The group was known for accompanying Protestant preachers to Catholic neighborhoods and protecting them from attack. The rallying cry of the group was "Wide Awake."

dispersed the rioters and arrested eight Germans and one Irishman (Affray between the Turners, 1854, July 26, p. 5).

In a subsequent account of the incident a new version of the event emerged. Apparently, Justice Bogart, while walking in the neighborhood, witnessed the riot. He testified that the report of the Germans insulting a young Irish woman was false and that "a group of loafers and rowdies" attacked the procession at two locations on their march. He also reported that a group of 50 and not 200 as originally reported were involved. The court released the arrested Germans (The affray between the Turners, 1854, July 27, p. 8).²²

African American and Irish conflict.

The strained relationships between the Irish immigrants and the African American community often led to collective violence. Although Hodges (1996) found some intermarriage between blacks and Irish women in the Sixth Ward between 1830 and 1870, other evidence points to a strong animosity by the Irish toward the African Americans. In an incident in Jersey City a mob of 300 Irish men and women collected at

²²A similar attack on marching Germans occurred on July 6, 1857 when a gang of about 200 Irish men and boys stoned a German target company. The target company was marching west on East Thirty-ninth street when attacked at 7:30 P.M. by local residents. Several of the marchers were severely injured (Irishmen attacking, 1857, July 15, p. 1).

Monmouth and South 8th Streets and stoned the house of Elizabeth Daniel, an Irish woman who was rumored to have married a light skinned African American sailor. The mob dispersed when Reverend Kelly of the local Catholic Church assured the community that the couple had not wed (Upper wards of Jersey City, 1857, September 4, p. 4).

Many historians of the era found that Irish immigrants clashed with the New York African American community on many issues. Irish immigrants did not support abolition, black suffrage, and were in direct conflict for employment with the more established African American community (Hodges, 1996, p. 105). Irish and African American rioting occurred in other cities. The Buffalo Advertiser reported a large fight that resulted in serious injuries to several African Americans. The issue appeared to be nothing more than anti-African American sentiment by the Irish mob (Irish and Negro row in Buffalo, 1854, June 7, p. 2).

The new immigrants quickly adopted the preexisting racist attitudes of New Yorkers. The Irish saw that by distancing themselves from the blacks, who shared their low status, they could begin a climb from the lowest class to something that might approach middle class status (Ignatiev, 1995, pp. 2-3). Political differences also exacerbated the gap between the two communities. The Irish were strongly Democratic and believed the Republican Party supported

nativist issues. To an extent this was true, as the Republican party absorbed many Whig party and Know-Nothing party platforms that included several nativist issues (Sharp, 1954, p. 270). The Irish also viewed abolition as a threat, because it seemed to favor African Americans over themselves. The Irish also sympathized with the southern states in opposing the intrusive powers of the federal government. The Irish American in February 1861 denounced the idea of Irishmen fighting against the South. In that spirit John Mitchel, Irish revolutionary, journalist, and grandfather of the New York City mayor, John Purroy Mitchel, moved to Tennessee and joined the Confederacy (Spann, 1996, pp. 193-194).

On Saturday, August 2, 1862, an Irish group attacked Watson's factory in Brooklyn, which employed 20 African Americans, mainly women and children. The attack seemed to be a precursor of the more well known attack on the African American Orphanage during the Draft Riots in 1863. The reports described this attack as a cold and calculating vicious assault on an unoffending group. The precipitating incident that set off the violence is lost in the accounts of the incident.

A group of 400 to 500 people stoned the factory on Sedgwick Street. Patrick Keenan, a keeper of a "low groggery" on Columbia Street and a candidate for Alderman of

the Sixth Ward directed the attack. The attack began with a barrage of stones that broke all of the windows in the building. The neighborhood group, shouting, "Kill the d--n naygurs," entered the building and attempted to drag out Charles Baker, an African American worker. As the mob was beating Baker, the police arrived and saved him from possible death. The mob refused to disperse and set the building on fire. The battle shifted to a fight between the police and the mob. However, they eventually extinguished the fire and quelled the disturbance with police reinforcements. Another local factory, the Lorillard tobacco factory, which also employed African Americans, quickly closed to prevent another attack. The New York Times reported a rumor that predicted that the Irish would attempt to drive all African Americans from all work in the city. The paper also stated that a portion of the New York and local press had been indirectly urging such an onslaught (Excitement in Brooklyn, 1862, August 5, p. 8).

A New York Times editorial blamed the event on the local "secessionist" press which had been indirectly urging such action. Reports of race riots in Cincinnati and Chicago also fanned the flames of anti-African American feeling among the New York Irish. The New York Times also attacked the notion that the African Americans were the cause of the war. The editorial denied that "...Abolitionism intended

to establish the equality of the races (and) that the poor whites are to be crowded out of the shops and marts to make way for the blacks" (Mob law and the police, 1862, August 7, p. 3). Indeed the Irish resentment of African Americans reflected a white American idea that the African American should be inferior to that of the least favored white man. The Irish being the least favored group were particularly susceptible to this reasoning (Feldberg, 1980, p. 41).

Anti-African American tensions remained high during the week. On Wednesday, August 6, 1862, an African American cart driver ran over and killed a white boy, Henry Kraingle. A crowd quickly gathered and called for the police to hand the driver over to them for instant justice. However, the quick action of Police Officer Hangvan prevented a riot by taking the driver into custody to escape the mob. Witnesses stated that the driver was not at fault for the accident (Fatal accident-almost another riot, 1862, August 7, p. 3).

In another editorial the paper denounced the Irish who would attack the African Americans. "...neither among the foreign or the native-born white citizens is there any class or nationality as free from offences against the laws. None but the devil could insult them." The editorial continued with an opinion as to how best to control the Irish mob. "There is one body of men who could exercise a great moral power on this question-we refer to the Catholic priesthood"

(The diabolical riot in Brooklyn yesterday, 1862, August 5, p. 4).

The Roman Catholic Church did not send a strong message on the issue of abolition or the treatment of African Americans. The Church did not view slavery as intrinsically evil and insisted that it be tolerated as an unavoidable evil. The economic impact of its abolition and social problems associated with freeing the slaves were seen as impediments to abolition.

The Catholic Mirror of Baltimore on February 20, 1864 compared the lives of factory workers in England with the Southern slaves:

The honest opponents of Negro-slavery would do well to compare the overworked, whipped, half-starved and crippled free child of Manchester with the whistling, dancing and singing, Negro-slave boy of the South; or the wretched, sickly, crooked and stunted miner of Cornwall, with the hale, erect and good humored Southern fieldhand...The contrasts are fair and just; and not far fetched or exceptional (Sharp, 1954, p. 281).

Archbishop John Hughes was hostile to the abolition movement. In a letter to Journal des Debats a French newspaper, he gave his views on abolitionism and slavery.

I am decidedly opposed to Abolitionism as it is

understood in America. The Abolitionists have not the right to touch Slavery in the United States, except as individuals expressing freely their personal opinions. There are in the Southern states 4 millions of slaves. Abolish slavery all of a sudden and what will become of them? What will become of their masters? What will become of the products of their labor, of which Europe has such need? The Abolition party of North America takes no account of all this (Archbishop Hughes on the American Struggle, 1862, February, 20, p. 5).

Hughes was also critical of Daniel O'Connell and other Irish leaders who attacked slavery in the United States. Although he wrote that he "was no friend of slavery" he was opposed "any attempt of Foreign origin to abolish it." In an unusual letter to the Secretary of War in October 1861 Hughes seemed to support the slave trade in certain instances (Hassard, 1866, pp. 435-436).

Archbishop John Hughes may have exacerbated racist behaviors of the Irish New Yorkers. His antiabolitionist position also may have increased anti-Irish sentiment by Protestant New Yorkers and given additional fuel for nativist-Irish conflict.

Religious violence.

The efforts of Protestants to evangelize and the prevailing nativist attitudes led to violent clashes between native-born Americans and the Irish Catholic immigrant community. The preaching of the Englishman, John S. Orr, who called himself "Angel Gabriel," produced confrontations on several occasions.²³ Orr, who appeared in white robes and was accompanied by brass trumpets, originally preached in Boston where his activities resulted in violence. On Sunday, May 7, 1854, his preaching led to a riot between his supporters and the Irish. Orr's Protestant supporters attacked a Catholic church in Chelsea. The local police prevented him from preaching again and he moved to New York City (Bloody riot in Chelsea, 1854, May 9, p. 8).

Orr was particularly incensed at the visit in 1853 of Gaetano Bedini, apostolic papal nuncio to the court of Brazil, to the United States. The papal nuncio came to deal with the issue of trusteeism in parish churches and to convey the pope's interest in the growing Roman Catholic Church in America. However, to Protestant evangelicals, the visit was seen as a part of a Roman plot to destroy republican liberty. "Forty-eighters" from Germany, Austria, and France also denounced the involvement of Rome in American affairs (Nevins, 1947, p. 324). The Church had

²³Sharp (1954) referred to him as Saunders McSwitch Orr (p. 273).

attacked Italian liberals in 1848, leading Protestants to believe that the reactionary Roman Catholic Church would attack American democracy. Archbishop Bedini was accused of involvement in the death of anti-Papal revolutionaries in Italy and the suppression of Italian reformers. Protestant evangelicals, protesting his presence in America, followed him from city to city. In most cities where the evangelicals appeared, increased attacks on Church property and battles erupted between Protestant and Catholic mobs. On October 30, 1853, Bedini stayed with Archbishop John Hughes in New York and attended the consecration of Bishop John Loughlin of Brooklyn and Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Newark. Bedini abandoned his tour of America after an assassination attempt in Cincinnati in December 1853, and sailed in secret from New York in February 3, 1854.

Alessandro Gavazzi, a former Roman Catholic priest and a rabid anti-Catholic, arrived in America in March 1853. The North American Protestant and the American Protestant Association sponsored his lecture tour of America. He preached against the Pope, Catholicism, and the opposition to the use of the Protestant Bible in public schools (Sharp, 1954, pp. 271-272). At the height of the anti-Catholic fervor, a mob seized a block of marble that the Pope had donated for building the Washington Monument and threw it into the Potomac River (Berthoff, 1971, p. 281).

Gavazzi earned the hatred of the New York City Irish community by his attacks on the Irish as puppets of Rome. As such, the Irish could not be trusted to be loyal to republican principles or to the United States. Gavazzi urged Protestant employers not to hire Irish domestic servants as they were "spies of Rome and Jesuits in disguise." P. Lynch of the Irish American accused him of being in the pay of British abolitionists (Gavazzi the destroyer, 1853, June 18, p. 4).

In New York an individual calling himself "Moses," and who presented himself as "Secretary of the Angel Gabriel," took to preaching in City Hall Park. During his preaching, members of the crowd took offense to his anti-Catholic rhetoric and fights began between Irish and Protestant New Yorkers present in the crowd. The police reserve was called to quiet the disturbance, during which Roger McLaughlin was arrested for stabbing another in the arm with a dirk (Preaching in the park, 1854, May 23, p. 3). Thomas Jackman was also arrested for trying to rescue the prisoner (Preaching in the park, 1854, May 22, p. 8). In the following week a few fights occurred but there were no riots in City Hall Park. The Protestants, who assaulted several Irish bystanders, were the more aggressive party that Sunday. Two arrests were made, James W. Hyatt and James T. Taylor, both described as "native Americans" and carpenters

by trade (Street preaching, 1854, May 29, p. 1).

The growing antagonisms led to assaultive behavior between Irishmen and those who they believed were Protestants. Violence spread throughout New York. "Four stout Irishmen" accosted a man walking through the Washington Parade Ground, near Waverley Place, and asked him if he was Catholic or Protestant. When he refused to reply he was accused of being a "d--d Know-Nothing Protestant." One of the assailants attempted to stab him with a long knife. The victim warded off the blow with his hand and received a serious wound (A cowardly attack, 1854, July 4, p. 8).

The practice of wearing white felt hats by Know-Nothings and militant Protestants, who were associated with the "Wide Awake" movement, led to Irish collective violence on numerous instances. Daniel J. Dorn was assaulted while wearing a white hat by a party of 12 to 15 Irishmen in Highbridge in the Bronx on the assumption that he was a Protestant (Another victim of a white hat, 1854, June 19, p. 8). On another occasion a party of Irishmen assaulted everyone wearing a white hat near the Battery, as well as a New York Times reporter who was wearing the offending symbol (Street preaching excitement, 1854, June 12, p. 4.). Five Irishmen were arrested for an assault on a Grand Street Ferry. The victim was asked whether or not he was a Know-

Nothing before he was beaten²⁴ (Riot and assault, 1854, July 24, p. 3).

Similar Sunday disturbances were occurring in Brooklyn. The Bishop of Brooklyn, John McLaughlin, advised Catholics to avoid attending or harassing the street preachers, who were preaching at Smith Street and Atlantic Avenue. The location was in the midst of an Irish neighborhood.

Moses, "Secretary to the Angel Gabriel," soon joined the Brooklyn street preachers. On May 28, 1854, he brought a crowd over from Manhattan to listen to the preaching of the Reverend John Beach of the Primitive Methodist Church on Bridge Street, who spoke to 6,000 on the corner of Smith Street and Atlantic Avenue. The New York Times reported that the Irish Catholics interfered with the Sunday preaching and attacked the Protestants as they returned to the ferry for Manhattan (Street Preaching Disturbances, 1854, May 29, p. 1).

The New York Herald, however, reported that the 300 Protestants from Manhattan were the more aggressive group. The Brooklyn Daily Eagle also concluded that "...had it not been for the procession from New York, headed by the secretary of the Angel Gabriel, there would have been no

²⁴Three Irishmen were arrested: Michael McCarthy, Patrick Rowantry, Terence O'Hare, Patrick O'Hare.

excitement whatever" (Purcell and Poole, 1941, p. 43). Protestants assaulted an Irishman who was arguing with the preacher. Other Irish bystanders were also beaten. As the New York contingent marched to the ferry for Manhattan at the end of the day, they continued to attack Irishmen in the street. A crowd of Irishmen responded to the reports of fighting and attacked the Protestants as they awaited the ferry at the Catherine Street terminal. The fighting finally ended when the ferry removed the Protestants to Manhattan. The Brooklyn police arrested six (Preaching in Brooklyn, 1854, May 29, p. 1). The street preaching disorders worsened. On the next weekend, June 4, 1854, the Irish were ready and attacked the Protestants. The militia was required to calm the situation. In a battle between the Irish and the Protestants, and their Know-Nothing supporters, 40 to 50 persons were seriously injured.

The Protestants and their allies brought 300 people from Manhattan on the ferry. Rumors circulated among the Irish that the group would make an attempt to burn down Saint James Church on Jay Street, the seat of the new Diocese of Brooklyn. To meet the challenge of disorder, the Mayor of Brooklyn, Edward A. Lambert, called up the 14th Regiment to suppress fighting between the two groups. The preaching went on without disturbance at the usual location on the corner of Smith Street and Atlantic Avenue. The

topic of the sermon was uncertain. Some reported that it contained nothing offensive while others reported that it was anti-Catholic in tone (Purcell and Poole, 1941, p. 44). The service concluded at 7:00 P.M. One drunken man was arrested at the scene for interrupting the service. However, as the New York Protestants and their Brooklyn supporters, a group of perhaps 1,500 persons, walked down Fulton Street to Main Street and onto the Catherine Street Ferry, they were followed by an estimated 5,000 Irish. As the procession reached Front Street, stones were thrown at the marchers and a general melee broke out in the street. The marchers were prepared and drew revolvers, which they fired at their opponents. Three boys in the crowd were shot, as was Police Officer James McGrath, who was shot in the knee and a bystander was injured severely by a paving stone.

Fights occurred throughout the area, with an estimated 20,000 people involved. The disorders continued for longer than necessary when the ferry captains, to avoid the fighting, refused to pull into the dock in Brooklyn. Thus the Manhattan Protestants were trapped in Brooklyn and left to deal with their Irish antagonists.

Forty-eight arrests were made. Most of those arrested were Irish (Street preaching in Brooklyn, 1854, June 5, p. 8 and Still another account, June 5, p. 1, and The Sunday rioters sentenced, 1854, September 22, p. 5).

Mayor Edward A. Lambert tried to warn the population that continued violence would not be accepted. He issued a proclamation on June 6, 1854 that cautioned "... all persons from any attempt to interfere with the rights guarantied to all our citizens to meet together for public worship." It also cautioned "... all persons from making any demonstration which would tend to excite ill feeling among our citizens by organizing and moving in procession in the public streets to such places of worship." Person violating the proclamation could expect to be arrested (The Brooklyn riot, 1854, June 8, p. 4).

P. Lynch of the Irish American also appealed to the Irish community to avoid attending the open-air services. "With pain I am forced to say you act most criminally by attending these gatherings. And when you unfortunately, happen to be present, you act more criminally still by interruptions and indulging bouts of passion" (Street preaching riots, 1854, June 10, p. 2).

Street preaching continued on the following Sunday, June 11, both on the steps of City Hall in Manhattan and in Brooklyn. John S. Orr published an announcement in several New York papers calling for support by the Protestant community:

America for the Americans-Purgatory for Popery and the Pope, and scorn for those who rob us of our

rights. Mr. J.S. Orr, the open-air orator, intends to exercise the right of speech next Saturday, in Atlantic street, near Hoyt street, South Brooklyn at 5 o'clock P.M. To speak to Romanists, Orr has no hope. This invitation is to Protestants (The street preaching excitement, 1854, June 12, p. 4).

John S. Orr preached at 3:00 P.M. on the steps of City Hall. Later he rushed to Brooklyn and at 6:00 P.M. spoke to a crowd of 2,000 at Smith Street and Atlantic Avenue. The Reverend Booth of the Primitive Methodist Church of Brooklyn assisted him. His sermon followed his previous themes. He proclaimed "... my hatred against Lordship, Devilship and the Pope, which if we do not put down there can be no liberty." Mayor Lambert was quick to raise a strong force to prevent bloodshed. He again called out the 14th Regiment of the militia, the police, and a group of 150 special police officers who were hired for the day. The sheriff also hired 100 special deputy sheriffs for the anticipated disturbance.

While only brief scuffling was reported at the scene of the preaching, dangerous rioting again occurred as the Protestants marched down Atlantic Street to the ferry. Stones thrown by Irish residents, who waited for the marchers, injured several persons. After the marchers

departed for Manhattan on the ferry, the special police were attacked by the Irish and were "severely used" until another detachment of special police and the militia came to their rescue. Several shots were fired at the Irish and two were superficially injured. Twenty-six arrests were made (The Street Preaching Excitement, 1854, June 12, p. 4, Brooklyn rioters sentenced, 1854, June 13, p.8 and Sunday rioter sentenced, 1854, June 17, p.8).

The Freeman's Journal of June 7, 1854, a newspaper supporting the Roman Catholic Church and the Irish community, viewed the disorders as a result of ancient Irish problems with England and Protestantism. The riots and "... their promoters are mostly Englishmen and Irish Protestants. This is an ascertained fact. We have, moreover, good grounds for our assertion that these foreign servants of England are in the pay of the British government" (Sharp, 1954, p. 274). Michael Doheny, an Irish nationalist leader, wrote to the editor of the New York Times and noted that English and Protestant troublemakers never attacked Jewish, Italian, or German immigrants. He declared that agents of England directed the continual abuse of Irish Catholic immigrants (The Brooklyn riot, 1854, June 8, p. 2). With this view popular among the Irish in Brooklyn, the faction fight response was predictable.

The belief that Great Britain continued to harass the

Irish in American had strong support. After the Orange riot of 1870 the Irish American charged that

... agents were sent out of Great Britain to establish 'Orange Lodges' here and the officers of these 'Orange Lodges' hold their commissions under a charter granted by the 'Grand Orange Lodge' on the other side, the officers of which swear to support the Hanoverian succession, which includes the sovereignty of the American colonies. Every 'Orange Lodge' is therefore a 'Tory' camp, maintained by men who repudiate American citizenship and are always ready to swear allegiances to monarch and claim British protection (The Twelfth of July 1870, July 23, p. 4).

Archbishop John Hughes issued a pastoral letter to the New York Diocese on December 15, 1853 concerning the rioting between his flock and the street preachers. Hughes requested the New York Catholics to "... avoid all such preachings and to leave the parties who approve of them to the entire and perfect enjoyment of their choice." However, he concluded his pastoral with a statement that could be interpreted as supporting riotous conduct in certain instances.

You, dearly beloved brethren, will be careful to

avoid even the appearance of offence in regard to measures that might lead to such a result(a riot). But if, *in spite of your forbearance, it should come, then it will be lawful for you to prove yourselves worthy of the rights of citizenship with which you are invested, by a noble defense of your own property, as the same is declared by the laws of the country* (Italics added) (Kehoe, 1865, p. 721).

This statement is similar in spirit to his statement to Mayor James Harper in 1844 in which he suggested that New York would be a second Moscow if one Catholic Church was burned down by nativist rioters. Hughes blamed the Catholics of Philadelphia for allowing some of their churches to be burned. "They should have defended their churches, since the authorities could not or would not do it for them. We might forbear from harming the intruder into our house until the last, but his first violence to our church should be promptly and decisively repelled" (Hassard, 1866, p. 276).

However, the June 11, 1854, disorders were the last of the "Angel Gabriel" disorders, although street preaching continued with other preachers. John S. Orr was arrested later that summer in Boston for rioting. He departed from New York City to Europe on the steamship Glasgow on January 20, 1855. He died in prison in British Guiana in 1857, where

he was serving a sentence for rioting and sedition (Departure of the Angel Gabriel, 1855, January 22, p. 3 and Sharp, 1954, p. 275).

Minor skirmishes occurred in the City of Williamsburg, Brooklyn on July 9, 1854 between the open-air preachers and the Irish community. At North Second and Fourth Streets a preacher, Daniel Parsons, was preaching to an audience of 1,000.²⁵ A large contingent of police and sheriff's special deputies was also present. Someone called in a false report of a fire and Engine Company 5 responded. The company was described as composed of all Irishmen. As the engine passed the scene of the preaching, the driver ran the engine so close to the sidewalk that the handles of the pumps struck some of those attending the open-air service. The police arrested seventeen of those running with the engine. The firemen resisted arrest and injuries were inflicted to the police officers (Street-preaching in Williamsburg, 1854, July 10, p. 1).²⁶

While violence subsided in August, it flared up again

²⁵Parsons was a well known preacher who attacked immigrants and Catholicism. He was arrested in December 11, 1853 for inciting riot. He was thus a martyr to the nativists who flocked to his sermons (Purcell and Poole, 1941, p. 40).

²⁶On July 24, 1854 the Brooklyn Common Council disbanded Engine Company 5 and expelled James Fitzgerald, Bernard Swift, John Law and John Curlow from the Brooklyn Fire Department (Engine Company No. 5 Disbanded, 1854, July 26, p. 5).

in September. Several preachers continued to speak in the area around City Hall and City Hall Park in Manhattan. On September 9, 1854, near the Hall of Records, "Paul" gave "... a long and tedious discourse" while a man named Mills spoke on City Hall steps on the incomparability of Roman Catholicism and republicanism. He also declared that Roman Catholics could not be true Americans. No disturbance occurred during these talks. However, a report of a riot at the Battery sent the crowd into a panic and a riot between the Irish and the Protestants began.

An associate of the "Angel Gabriel" was preaching to a crowd of longshoremen, boatmen, and others when another battle began over the wearing of white "Wide Awake" hats. The "Wide Awakes" fled up Broadway where they met friends who helped them battle their Irish attackers. However, as they were outnumbered, they were seriously beaten. A second attack occurred at the Battery when an "American by birth" James Wood, was stabbed by an Irishman. Several pistol shots were also fired during the melee. The police arrested three at City Hall, Ebenezer Esquel for assault, and Samuel Lemon and William Marsh for inciting the mob to riot (Street preaching, 1854, September 4, p. 8).

The city governments of Brooklyn, Williamsburg, and New York tired of the violence and attempted to restrict the right to open-air preaching. The New York Times in an

editorial also called for restricting the issuance of preaching licenses. "Privileges of this sort (the right to preach) ought not to be granted to persons who have distinguished themselves by violence and inflammatory character of their polemical harangues and whose track is always marked by rioting and public disquiet" (Street preaching and rioting, 1854, June 5, p. 4). Mayor William Wall of Williamsburg was successful in persuading Daniel Parsons not to preach the next Sunday in Williamsburg (Suspension of street preaching, 1854, July 11, p. 1). When persuasion was unsuccessful, arrests were made. William Yeager, a German street preacher, was arrested in Williamsburg for violation of the Sabbath ordinances for selling religious books on Sunday. He was found guilty and fined \$10. Not able to pay the fine, he was sent to the county jail for ten days (Street preacher jailed, 1854, September 28, p. 8).

Open-air preaching declined in popularity during the following years, until the New York Evangelical Alliance instituted a series of open-air religious meetings throughout the New York area. Beginning on July 2, 1861, preachers of various Protestant denominations commenced a program of religious worship (Open-air preaching, 1861, July 3, p. 5). By this point the authorities, fearing renewed conflict, required a permit from the mayor for preaching.

The mayor would deny a permit if violence was anticipated. The well-known preacher, "Moses," was arrested on the next Sunday, September 17, 1861, for preaching without a permit and for selling religious tracts. Mayor Fernando Wood, who courted the Irish vote, banned anti-Catholic religious meetings that might result in violence. In an era less sensitive to first amendment rights, he issued a restrictive permit to preach. "The New York Evangelical Alliance are permitted to hold open-air meetings on the Sabbath, for the purpose of promulgation of religion provided *no religious sect or its opinions be denounced or public disturbances occur in consequence*" (Italics added) (Open-air meetings, 1861, July 14, p. 5). This mayoral order was issued on June 26, 1861 and was used to prevent religious speech, which might result in violence.

Although a large percentage of the German immigrant community were Catholics, Germans were seldom involved in the violent conflicts over the open-air preaching. This is not to say that they were not at times offended by anti-Catholic preaching. Unlike the Irish immigrants they could protest in nonviolent ways.

On September 24, 1854, William Yeager, the Protestant German street preacher, spoke to a large crowd at the corner of Ewen Street and Montrose Avenue in Williamsburg. After he had finished John Baker, a German Catholic, took the

stand and spoke in opposition to William Yeager. The crowd loudly cheered Baker's remarks, which greatly concerned the police on the scene. Expecting violence, the police told the crowd not to cheer the speaker. When the crowd continued cheering, six persons were arrested and removed to the Third Ward station house. A crowd of more than 1,000 persons marched to the station house in support of those who were arrested. However, no attempt was made to rescue the prisoners. Friends of Adam Plattey, who was arrested, offered \$20,000 bail but were refused. There was no violence at this mainly German immigrant affair (German street-preaching arrests, 1854, September 25, p. 4). Would the Irish have been that peaceful in a similar situation?

Orange and Green violence.

Newark.

While collective violence between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants who were associated with the Loyal Orange Lodges or APA can be logically viewed as based on religious rivalry, other factors also enter into the antagonisms between the groups. Political, economic, cultural, and historical factors make it difficult to state that the problems are solely religious. However, in America the political and economic discrimination suffered by Irish Catholics was beginning to be alleviated. What remained was

a religious rivalry and ancient animosity toward Protestants.

Although often criticized for its involvement in riotous disorders, the Orange Order in the British Isles had support from governmental bodies. Its intense loyalty to the monarchy and its opposition to Home Rule and republican movements gave the order political power. It had strong support from the middle and landowning classes and was viewed as a powerful counterbalance to reform elements in Irish society (Senior, 1998, p. 415). The Order expected and received support, sometimes grudgingly, from the British government.

In an official history the Loyal Orange Institution traces its origins to 1795. The organization was formed following the "Battle at the Diamond" near Loughgall, Co. Armagh in Northern Ireland. At the time the local Protestant factions were in conflict with local Catholics who were members of another secret society, the Defenders. The Orange organization was probably a continuation of another Protestant secret society known as the "Peep O' Day Boys," which engaged in faction fights with local Catholics. The secret society organized formally and Lodges spread throughout areas in Ireland with large Protestant populations. It also followed Irish immigration of the post- Napoleonic War era to England, Scotland, Canada, and

the United States (Long, 1979, pp. 1-5).

Although no official record exists of Orange Lodges in New York City in 1824, a serious riot took place between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants who were celebrating the Twelfth of July in Greenwich Village. Many of the Irish Catholics who attacked the marching Orangemen were arrested (Emmet, 1915, p. 464).

By 1850 five states had Orange Lodges and in 1869 the governing body in Ireland granted the Orangemen in the United States the authority to create an independent Association of Orangemen in America. In 1874 enough Irish Protestants had settled in New York State for the establishment of State Grand Lodge of New York. The new organization incorporated the local lodges and the American Protestant Association into a new entity (Long, 1979, pp. 6-7).

With warrants from Ireland, Irish Protestants in New York formed Lodges and continued the cultural traditions associated with Orangeism. The celebration of the Twelfth of July and victory of King William of Orange over the Stuarts at the Battle of the Boyne in 1688 is the most important day on the Orange calendar. Accordingly, Orange lodges throughout the world celebrate with parades and picnics. On July 12, 1868, Orangemen in New York paraded for the first time without incident in full regalia to

church and to a picnic on the East River (Protestant picnic, 1868, July 14, p. 6).

The Orange ritual parading and the sectarian music are a continuation of the European tradition of "rough music." Rough music was usually described as a cacophony of music or perhaps near music with or without an elaborate ritual. The rough music is usually directed against an individual (or individuals) who offend against certain community norms. Rough music is used to mock the target individuals and to assert the legitimacy of the people in more powerful positions. It can be a form of displacement of violence or an acting out of violence and conquest without injury to the victims. With the protection of the authorities in Ireland, the Orangemen could and still enact this rough music in Catholic areas. However, when this tradition crossed over to American, the limitations of violence were lost in a land with an armed citizenry. The willingness of the authorities to protect the Orange Order was not as strong and violence was inevitable (Thompson E.P., 1991, pp. 467-491).

Religious rioting spread in September 1854 to Newark, New Jersey, a city with a large Irish and German immigrant population. Nativist and anti-Catholic sentiment resulted in a riot that destroyed a Saint Mary's Catholic Church at the corner of Williams and High Streets and caused the death of two Irishmen.

Newark in 1854 was a growing industrialized city with a large immigrant population. Many Irish and German immigrants were attracted to the city for its employment opportunities. In 1854 the city had a population of 54,000, approximately half the citizens were foreign born (Atkinson, 1878, p. 328). The Irish population was substantial. The Irish community had celebrated its first Saint Patrick's Day parade in 1834 (p. 199). On Tuesday, September 5, 1854, the American Protestant Association organized a parade and luncheon for the growing organization. The occasion for the celebration was the anniversary of the first sitting of the United States Congress in September 5, 1774. The parade was the first New Jersey parade for the APA and lodges from New York City, Brooklyn, and other cities in New Jersey attended. The Newark Lodge of the APA, which was only founded six months prior to the parade, greeted the arriving lodges at the New Jersey Rail Road train depot. Lodges from New York City and Brooklyn crossed the Hudson by the Jersey City ferry and took the train to Newark.²⁷

²⁷Robert Miller from the Mayflower Lodge No. 2 of Patterson, New Jersey was listed as the Grand Marshall of the day. Other marching units included: Washington Lodge of Patterson and the Patterson Brass Band, Newark City Lodge No. 3 with the Jefferson Brass Band, Empire Lodge No. 1 of New York with Turl's Band, Washington Lodge No. 2 of New York, New York Lodge No. 3 with Manahan's Band, Jefferson Lodge No. 4 of New York with the Brooklyn Cornet Band, Jackson Lodge No. 5 of New York with Kidd's Band, Brooklyn City Lodge No. 6 with Baxter's Band,

The Newark Mercury stated that the organization was made up of Irish Protestants and was secret and benevolent in character. On the other hand the organization was described by the new Roman Catholic Bishop of Newark, James Roosevelt Bayley, as an "Orange Association" (Yeager, 1947, p. 131). The regalia and banners were similar to those used by the Loyal Orange Lodges of Ireland. The Bishop was accurate in his description. In an official history of the Loyal Orange Institution in America, the American Protestant Association was described as a continuation of the Orange tradition in America (Long, 1979, p. 8). The organizational structure and secrecy were also similar to the Orange Lodges.

Some reports of the Newark parade indicated that the bands were playing traditional Orange tunes such as "The Protestant Boys." However, many of the traditional themes associated with Orange Lodges were changed to American themes. Instead of King William of Orange the banners now had George Washington, but the militant Protestantism of the Irish immigrants continued in America, as did their conflict

Oliver Branch Lodge No. 7 of New York,
Waldense Lodge No. 9 of New York,
Henry Clay Lodge No 10 of New York with Whitworth's Band,
Harmony Lodge No. 17 with a 12 horse omnibus for its
members,
Jersey City Lodge No. 5 with the National Brass Band.
The parade included an estimated three thousand marchers
(Terrible riot and bloodshed, 1854, September 6, p. 1).

with Catholicism. The Newark Mercury described the banner carried by the Washington Lodge No. 1 of Patterson as having a figure of George Washington on the front. On the back was a bust of Washington and the inscription:

Twas for the truth our fathers bled
With God their defender
We take our stand upon its side-
Our Bible-no surrender.

The Bible and references to "no surrender" were and still are popular themes associated with Loyal Orange Lodges and their banners (Houston and Smyth, 1984, p. 193). The newspaper report also referred to the fact that most of the marchers seemed to be armed with pistols (The American Protestant Association, 1854 September 7, p. 1).

Militant Protestant organizations existed in New York since at least 1830 when The Protestant, an anti-Catholic weekly newspaper, began publication. The New York Protestant Association was founded by Reverend W. C. Brownlee the following year (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 544). The APA was believed to have been organized in 1844 by a group of Protestant ministers in Philadelphia, who were supporting the use of the King James version of the Bible in public schools. A similar organization in New York, the American Protestant Union was headed by S. F. B. Morse. The anti-Catholicism of these organizations was stimulated by the

disputes over religion in the public schools (Burrows and Wallace, p. 631). P. Lynch of the Irish American believed the origins of the APA were in the Berrian Society of New York, an organization with the aim of propagating and sustaining Irish Protestantism (The late riot at Newark, 1854, September 16, p. 2).

After meeting at the train station the marchers paraded through Newark to the Military Hall where a lunch was served. No problems were encountered on this march. The Newark Mercury reported that the lodges reassembled for the march back to the train station at 3:00 P.M.. The lodges marched down Broad Street to William Street to High Street. At the corner of Williams Streets and Shipman Streets the parade encountered a large crowd of Irish Catholics, who jeered and verbally abused the marchers. As the last units reached the intersection, a stone thrown from the onlookers injured a marcher. Simultaneously, there was a report of "one or two shots were fired from the Catholic church occupying the space between Shipman and High Streets" (Celebration by the American Protestant Association, 1854, September 6, p. 1).

Many in the crowd of on-lookers were Irish working men employed in the neighborhood. Employees of Halsey and Taylor, shoemaking factory, were identified as throwing stones. The marchers immediately retaliated by throwing

stones back and by firing pistols at their assailants. Several of the marchers chased Thomas McCarthy into a brick building where he was shot twice and killed. Another marcher stabbed Thomas Lennon with a sword. Both Lennon and McCarthy were employed at the Halsey and Taylor factory. Another Irish victim of the violence was Michael McDermott who was stabbed five times by the marchers. He later died.

Some news accounts charged that stones and shots came from Saint Mary's Catholic Church and implied that the Catholic Church was responsible for the riot, as it assented to the stone throwing from the Church property. The stone throwing and close proximity of a hated Catholic Church led to an attack on the church by the APA. Father Nicolas Balleis, pastor of the mainly German Church, stated that the church was empty and locked when a mob broke into the church and confronted an elderly German woman, who was cleaning the building. The mob assaulted the woman and destroyed the interior of the church, which had opened earlier that year. The building replaced an older wooden building that had been destroyed in a fire (Shaw W. H., 1884, p. 509). Windows, doors, and the altar were damaged and the sacred utensils were destroyed. Pictures of the Madonna and a crucifix were smashed. Father Balleis expressed surprise that the APA would attack his church as "there were few Irishmen connected with his congregation" (The Newark riot, 1854,

September 7, p. 1). Apparently, he viewed the disorders as a riot between Irishmen and was surprised that the APA would attack a German institution.

However, a report of the incident in the Newark Daily Advertiser on September 6 suggests that the Irish workers ran into the church after stoning the marchers. This in turn incited the APA members to attack the church (Particulars of the riot, 1854, September 7, p. 1). Another account of the incident from a person who signed his letter to the editor, "An Eye Witness," reported that the Church was locked and no Irish were in the building. The APA attacked the building with the intent of damaging Church property (To the editor of the Herald, 1854, September 7, p. 1).

In an editorial on September 6 the Courier and Enquirer, a newspaper hostile to Irish immigrants, blamed the Irish Catholics for the riot and charged that "... the ecclesiastical overseers of the Irish Catholic population of this country with tacit connivance at if not assent to the alleged attack from a Catholic Church upon a peaceable procession of American citizens." James Roosevelt Bayley, Catholic Bishop of Newark, wrote a strong rebuttal to the editorial that stated the stone throwing and pistol shots came from the Church grounds. Using testimony for the coroner's jury, he pointed out that both Catholics and

Protestant witnesses denied that stones or shots emanated from church property. He also denied that he had the power to control the behavior of all Catholics (The Newark riot, 1854, September 13, p. 6).

The Newark watch was ill equipped to deal with a riot of this size. However, the watch arrested John H. Cowan, a member of the Seventeenth Ward police of New York City Police Department, who was held on \$200 bail, and Edward Hall, held without bail (The Newark riot, 1854, September 7, p. 1).

Unlike the vigorous response of Mayor Edward A. Lambert of Brooklyn to religious-based rioting, the authorities in Newark were weak in the face of disorder. The Newark watch was inadequate for the task of dealing with urban riots and authority for calling up the militia resided with the Governor, who was too far away to be of any help. The Mayor of Newark, Horace J. Pinter, stated that all he knew of the incident was what he read in the papers and from a "negro" who was hired to carry a banner in the APA parade. The City Attorney was also absent on the day of the riot (Newark riot, 1854, September 8, p. 4). The problems associated with the inability of Newark to control this riot resulted in the formation of a modern police department in 1857 (Rice, 1977, p. 68).

The Coroner's Jury in Newark was unable or unwilling to

come to a conclusion regarding the death of Thomas McCarthy. It reported that he was killed by "a person to the Jurors unknown." The jury did not attempt to determine which side was responsible for the riot. No other investigations were undertaken to study this riot (The Newark riot, 1854, September 8, p. 4). A second victim of the violence, Michael McDermott also died. Although he had been stabbed several times by unknown APA members, the corner's jury claimed that the cause of death was cholera.

Orange and Green violence.

New York

In 1869 a group of New York City Orangemen traveled to New Jersey to join another lodge in a picnic in Jersey City. On the trip to the Jersey City ferry the Orangemen were accompanied by the New York City Police Department to discourage violence from the Irish Catholic community. As the group returned at 8:00 P.M. from Jersey City, it planned to march to its headquarters in Military Hall at 193 Bowery. However, it failed to meet its police escort. As the group marched with a band playing traditional Protestant tunes and with Orange banners flying, it spread out as the weary members marched up Chatham Street through Chatham Square and onto the Bowery. The tunes and the banners attracted and incited the Irish Catholics of the district. Protestant

marchers in the rear of the parade were soon attacked. At Hestor Street the stragglers were stoned by the Catholic spectators. Units in the front of the parade countermarched to come to the aid of the rear units. A running battle now occurred as the Orangemen fought their way to the Hall. The Orangemen shifted from the defensive to the offensive as the situation warranted. A police squad from the Tenth Ward police station finally arrived to calm the situation.

Unfortunately, in front of the Military Hall the Orange band struck up "The Battle of the Boyne," "...a tune above all objectionable to the Irish Catholics," as the officers of the Lodge waved their swords and banners. The tune gloried in earlier Protestant victories over the Catholics:

Come let us all, with heart and voice,

Applaud our lives' defender,

Who at the Boyne his valor showed,

And made his foe surrender.

To God above the praise we'll give,

Both now and ever after,

and bless the glorious memory

Of King William that crossed the water

(Gordon, 1993, p. 32).

The tune whipped the crowd into a fury. A crowd of perhaps 3,000, men, women, and boys made a determined attack on the Orangemen with stones, missiles, and clubs. The

police attacked both parties and with great effort ended the affray. The Orangemen took refuge in the Hall and waited for the crowd to disperse before leaving in small groups for their homes. One Orangeman, John Meharg of 7 Pitt Street, was severely cut from a thrown stone and fifteen to twenty others were less seriously hurt. A large crowd remained milling on the Bowery until 10:00 P.M. (Riot in the Bowery, 1869, July 13, p. 7).

The editorial writer of the Irish American commented on the riot with the observation that the Orangemen were now in America and could not expect the support of the British authorities who allowed Twelfth of July celebrations that resulted in "... men shot, convents and churches assailed and houses wrecked." Here in New York the Irish Catholics were achieving political power and could turn to the authorities for support, as "...there are no 'loyal' Orange magistrates in New York to guarantee them immunity for their deeds; there were no 'loyal' constabulary to arrest their opponents for daring to defend themselves." The writer did not condemn the faction fight response of his fellow Irish Catholics, but he saw the value of a city government that would come to the aid of the Irish community (The Twelfth of July, 1869, July 24, p. 4).

Orange and Green violence.

Elm Park Riot.

The difficulties of 1869 were but a mild preview of problems to come in the following two years. On July 12, 1870, the Orangemen again under the banner of the APA marched from Cooper Union to Elm Park, which was located between Ninety-first and Ninety-second Streets and between Ninth and Tenth Avenues, for a traditional parade and picnic. Elm Park was established in 1860 as a dance and picnic location and it was popular with all groups of New Yorkers. The parade route was up Broadway to West 59 Street and then continuing north on Western Boulevard, as Broadway north of 59 Street was then known.

Marching with the APA members were the Enniskillen Lodge No. 29, the Gideon Lodge, the Prince of Orange Lodge No. 339 and an Orange Lodge from Newark. The marchers wore Orange regalia and were accompanied by bands playing traditional Orange tunes that were inflammatory to Catholics. The Lodges were named after Protestant heroes or victories over their Catholic enemies in Ireland and as such were offensive to the Irish Catholics in New York. The traditional Protestant tunes contained words that mocked the Irish Catholics or celebrated Protestant power (Gordon, 1993, pp. 31-32).

As the parade passed Fourth Street, a group of perhaps 200 Irish laborers, who were working on street construction

projects, quickly assembled and followed the parade. The two groups taunted each other as they marched north on Broadway. At Fifty-ninth Street a large number of Irish laborers, who were working on the Croton water main, quit work and joined in those following and taunting the Orangemen. Unfortunately, the route that the Orangemen were following took them through an area heavily populated by Irish Catholics. The New York Herald, while condemning both sides for the violence, reported that "... if the procession had not gone through the Boulevard and stirred up the feeling against them that reached a tumultuous and fatal climax afterward, there would have been no difficulty" (The Boulevard riot, 1870, July 14, p.5).

At Fifty-ninth Street the parade passed Saint Paul's Roman Catholic Church. The New York Herald reported that in addition to inflammatory flags and music and jeers, the marchers fired into Father Heckler's Church. Whether or not this actually happened is impossible to prove at this point. Another rumor spread among the Irish Catholics that the Orangemen planned to demolish the windows of the church. These reports quickly spread throughout the Irish Catholic community and were the probable causes of the subsequent attack at Elm Park.

As the marchers continued north, they passed other Catholic construction crews on Sixty-ninth Street and

Eighty-third Street. The construction workers, who were outraged at the insulting songs and language, quit work and followed the Orangemen to Elm Park (Gordon, 1993, pp. 34-35).

McGlimpsey estimated the Orange party in Elm Park at 4,500 (1982, p. 45) while Gordon placed the numbers between 2,500 and 3,000 men, women, and children (1993, p. 36). Many of the Orange group did not march in the very long parade, but went directly to Elm Park. It appears that the wives and children of the marchers were in the Park before the marching contingent arrived.

The New York Herald reported that the assembly listened to the Worshipful Grand Master John J. Bond address the crowd, many of whom were boasting of their ability to repel any Fenian or Catholic attack. The attack was not long in coming.

The first attack was at the south fence of Elm Park. A group of perhaps 400 laborers threw stones into the park and attacked the south fence. Yelling "Down with the Orange" etc., the Catholics attempted to tear down the fence and enter the park. The Protestants and Catholics fired an estimated 60 to 70 shots at each other. Daniel B. Crowley was killed by a pistol shot as he attempted to scale the fence. At 3:30 P.M. the New York Herald reported that a man named Brophy led an attack of 400 Irish Catholics on Elm

Park. Testimony at the coroner's inquest by construction foremen, John R. Lawson and James Hodges, described the assembly of the attacking parties. The attackers were armed with a wide variety of lethal construction tools.

Construction gangs from Fifty-third Streets, Fifty-ninth streets, and from a site between 104 and 105 Streets on Broadway were the main combatants in the attack.

This first phase of the riot was the attack at the fence, which ended the picnic. The second phase occurred at 4:00 P.M. as the Orangemen and their families desperately attempted to escape. The Orangemen now counter attacked and fighting raged both in the park and on the adjacent streets. Men ran in all directions and fighting took place from Tenth Avenue east to Central Park and from Ninety-fourth to Eight-second Streets. A group of Catholics was chased by armed Protestants into Central Park. A construction worker, William Kane, who had not taken part in the riot was attacked by the Orangemen, who fired at him. Missing with the pistol the Protestants fatally stabbed him in the back. Another Catholic, who was not a participant in the riot, Charles Brady, was shot in the chest on Ninety-second Street between Eight and Ninth Avenues (Gordon, 1993, pp.35-39).

The last phase of the riot took place along Eight and Ninth Avenues as the Protestants fled the scene on streetcars. While the police responded to the Elm Park

disorders, the areas south of Elm Park, along the escape route, were not policed. The New York Times reported that "the cars as they came up were densely crowded, and the Fenians, mad with rage, rushed upon them, dragged out women by the hair, and whenever an Orangeman stood up to defend them he was ruthlessly collared, knockdown with a bludgeon and hammered on the head by three or four in succession" (Gordon, 1993, p. 40).

The Tribune reported that "Stones and bullets were fired through the windows into the cars literally packed with men, women and children and the fire was liberally returned from the inside." James Brady, a Catholic, was found dead at Ninetieth Street. It is unclear whether he was attacking the streetcars or was a spectator (Gordon, 1993, p. 40).

As far south as Fifty-ninth Street and Eight Avenue, a crew of construction workers, who had remained working, attacked a streetcar. The Irish broke the windows with stones and clubbed the occupants. Francis Wood was badly beaten and he died the next day. Thomas Burnett sustained less severe head injuries and Daniel Collins was shot in the jaw. Outside the street cars Thomas Murray, who was not involved was approached by an Orangeman who said, "You're one of them you Papal son of a b----; I'll fix you." The man shot Murray in the face and

beat him with the pistol (Gordon, 1993, pp.40-41) .

Fortunately, a summer thunder storm ended the violence as all participants sought shelter or escape. The police made few arrests. John Boyd, Robert Dawson, Patrick Daly and Peter O'Brien, members of the assaulting party, were charged with disorderly conduct. Stephen K. Hogenboom, apparently with the Protestants, was charged by John Murphy of attempting to shoot him while he was working on Sixth-ninth Street. No records of these cases remain and the dispositions are unknown (Gordon, 1993, pp. 39-42).

Two other deaths were connected with the incident. Patrick Brady, sixty years old was found shot in the chest and John Gardiner, found with an Orange badge in his pocket, died of injuries on July 14 in Bellevue Hospital. He was described as twenty-three years old and had lived in New York for three years (That fiercely fatal feud, 1870, July 15, p. 6). The July 19 coroner's jury investigated only six of the eight deaths and concluded that the deceased, "... came to their deaths from injuries received at the hands of a person or persons unknown at Elm park, Ninety-second street and Eight Avenue on July 12, 1870" (Gordon, 1993, p. 42).

The collective violence associated with the Elm Park incident continued with the funerals of at least one victim. Francis Wood's body was taken to his residence at 623 East

Ninth Street for a wake. When the Irish Catholic neighbors learned of the deceased's association with the hated Orangemen, a large crowd congregated around his building and threatened violence against the Wood family. Nine police officers were required to hold back the protestors (Excitement in the Eleventh Ward, 1870, July 14, p. 5).

The next day the funeral procession from Wood's residence was escorted by members of the No Surrender and Enniskillen Lodges of the American Protestant Association. The procession included 37 carriages and was escorted by 600 police officers who were required to prevent an attack by the Irish Catholics. Superintendent Jourdan was also present to supervise the security for the funeral. The procession started at the residence of Francis Wood and proceeded to the Catherine Street Ferry for the trip to Brooklyn. Superintendent Jourdan took steps to notify the Chief of Police of Brooklyn of the procession (The funeral of Wood this afternoon-precautions of Superintendent Jourdan, 1870, July 15, p. 8 and The Orange funeral, 1870, July 16, p. 3).

The Police Department was severely criticized for its lack of preparation in the face of probably rioting. The Department knew the history of the animosity between the groups, but it still failed to act. Superintendent Jourdan was in particular criticized for failing to have sufficient

police officers ready at Elm Park to prevent the riot. Captain Killilea was also criticized for failing to request the reserves after he was aware of the danger of rioting at the park and throughout the west side (The Elm Park slaughter, 1870, July 15, p. 8).

Superintendent Jourdan resigned shortly after the Elm Park riot. In his announcement he stated that he was resigning "... because of the lack of support or sympathy that he had received by his subordinates in his task of improving the force, which there is a general apathy and lack of discipline throughout the force, which he finds himself powerless to remove and that the Board of Police, not consulting him in making appointments, he is held responsible for the conduct of imbeciles whom he did not put into the Department, and cannot get out of it" (A public loss, 1870, July 16, p. 3). His remarks were undoubtedly true. The politically dominated Police Department was not his to administer. However, he was held accountable for the poor performance of his Department on the day of the Elm Park riot. He was replaced by James Kelso, a career police Captain. (See Appendix A for a listing of those killed in this riot.)

Orange and Green violence.

The Twelfth of July Riot 1871.

After the Elm Park riot all New Yorkers were aware of the possibility of violence whenever Irish Protestants marched in the City Streets. The solutions to the problem were not readily agreed on by the various factions in the City.

The possibility of the Irish Catholic traditional response with collective violence to perceived Orange challenges was always present. The bulk of the Irish immigrant community was greatly influenced by the traditional culture. A challenge to the Irish Catholics could always be met by a New York version of the faction fight. To that end the Ancient Order of Hibernians organized an armed response to the Orange parade. The AOH organized regiments of Hibernian Volunteers and planned for "a grand target excursion in July." On July 8 the AOH held a meeting in Constitution Hall on the corner of Twenty-second Street and Third Avenue to drill and distribute arms to about 50 men (Gordon, 1993, p. 62). Other AOH units also planned to assemble their members to protest the parade. Unstated was the threat of physical violence against the Orangemen.

However, by 1871 leadership elements in the Irish Catholic community were becoming aware of a newer form of power in modern New York. The City of New York with a total population of 942,292 had 446,043 foreign-born residents.

The 201,999 natives of Ireland represented 45.3% of the foreign born. Furthermore, in the 1870 census the U. S. Census Office asked questions concerning the origin of the parents of persons born in the United States. Of the 942,292 residents of the City 781,745 reported that they had at least one foreign-born parent. Although the place of birth of the foreign parent was not collected in the 1870 census, probably just less than 50% of the 781,745 had an Irish born parent (Rosenwaike, 1972, pp. 70-74).

Tammany Hall recognized the power of the foreign vote and quickly responded to it. As early as the first half of the 1840s Tammany Hall began to respond to the Irish immigrant community and its growing political power. To insure political control of the City, Tammany Hall required the Irish vote (Werner, 1968, pp. 60-62).

George Templeton Strong made an entry in his diary on December 19, 1868, which reflected the observations of many non-Irish New Yorkers who resented the growing Irish political power. He wrote, "The New Yorker belongs to a community worse governed by lower and baser blackguard scum than any city in Western Christendom, or in the world, so far as I know. Our rulers are partly American and partly Celtic scoundrels. The Celts are predominant, however, and we submit to the rod and the scepter of Maguires and O'Tooles and O'Shanes ..." (Nevins, 1962, p. 236).

By 1871 Tammany Hall was under great pressure from the New York Times and reform elements in society. William Tweed, leader of Tammany Hall, was under investigation for municipal corruption and he needed the Irish vote. If the Orangemen insisted on marching on July 12 in 1871, the Irish Catholics would insist on help from Tammany Hall.

A. Oakley Hall, the Tammany Hall mayor, tried to justify his desire to support the more numerous Irish Catholics. In a letter to the Police Superintendent, Hall blamed the Orangemen for the Elm Park violence. The Orangemen were responsible for "... primary and proximate cause of the disturbance that resulted in the loss of life... (Their) right to parade becomes limited when there exists valid reasons to believe that the intentions of the procession were not wholly pacific or that their route of march or method of accessory is calculated to provoke a breach of the peace." The Mayor also referred to a state law that was designed to prevent any person from using "... threatening or abusive language or gesture in the public streets" (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 10).

Tammany Hall would have a problem in simply banning the Orange procession. The Grand Master of the Orange Institute in America defined the issues in a letter to the New York Times on July 1, 1871. He asked whether the Orangemen would be protected while parading on July 12 or "...shall they be

murdered for being Protestant citizens who celebrate the anniversary of freedom from priestcraft and the tyranny of King James II." Despite the provocative language, a first amendment right existed to parade and assemble. The question was whether or not the City administration would protect the marchers. Bond appealed to "...the community at large, and we especially appeal to the Protestants to aid us in maintaining the Protestant freedom our fathers bequeathed us in days gone by--shall we be permitted to enjoy the freedom of the land, or shall we be permitted to be martyred for a cause which was achieved centuries ago, and if we cannot enjoy that achievement, then Protestantism has become a dead letter in America." He concluded by asking "Is America able to guarantee freedom in peace, law and order to her Protestant citizens and supporters, or is she not?" (A demand from the Orangemen, 1871, July 3, p. 5).

Bond appealed directly to Protestant unity in the face of the growing menace of Catholicism. Bond stressed the Protestant Saxon heritage of the Orangemen and encouraged support of all American Protestants. It was not only an Irish faction fight between immigrant groups, but also a showdown between the American Anglo-Protestant tradition and the Catholic immigrant hoards. The Orange Order and Irish Protestants in general were a small minority in the large cities of America. The Orangemen were powerless against the

larger Irish Catholic community, except when they received support from American Protestants. With support from their American allies, who used the dispute between the two groups as an opportunity to put the Irish Catholic immigrants in their place, the Orangemen were guaranteed their right to march and to flaunt the ancient victories of the Catholics in the streets of America (Sullivan, 1991- 1992, pp. 54-55). By including the Constitutional argument, Bond could stimulate sympathy from American groups uninterested in the Orange marching problems. The Orangemen won support by wrapping themselves in the American flag and appealing to traditional American values.

A further complication involved the New York Times attack on the Tammany Hall machine, which would result in the arrest in September of William Tweed and other leading members of city government and Tammany Hall. With demands for investigations into corruption, Tammany Hall could not offend the Irish Catholic electorate. In correspondence with Grand Master John J. Bond, Mayor A. Oakley Hall on July 6 asked if "... it would not be more politic for you and your friends to forgo any popular or public demonstration of the event to which you and they attach so much importance?"

The Mayor also denied any constitutional right to march. He stated that groups could not inflame the passions of other groups and expect support from government. "It has

been said from the bench that no individuals ought ever to be permitted to publicly assemble with banners whose inscriptions would be calculated to inflame the passions of other men." Finally, the Mayor appealed to Bond's sense of patriotism and suggested that the unity of all New Yorkers was more important at this time (Letter from A. Oakey Hall, 1871, July 15, p. 4). Bond refused and replied that the "Orangemen are prepared and ... if they are attacked they will stand their ground and will not show the white feather" (Gordon, 1993, p. 60).

The Mayor and Tammany Hall were clearly in a dilemma. Violence was almost a forgone conclusion on the Twelfth. The Tribune reported that rumor of preparations for an attack on the Orangemen. "Roman Catholic secret societies were organizing, arming, and drilling bodies of men preparatory to a bloody fight with the Orangemen who hold their annual pic-nic on July 12" (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 56). Other rumors suggested that the heavily Irish 69th Regiment would join in the attack on the Orangemen (Gordon, 1993, p. 57). The memories of the Draft Riots were still fresh in the minds of most New Yorkers and the fear of a repeat of those riots was real. Would the City government safeguard the rights of the Orangemen to assemble and parade with a massive display of force, or would they succumb to political pressure which the Irish Catholic community was

now wielding with great skill?

George Templeton Strong perhaps expressed the feelings of many upper class New Yorkers.

Prospect of a faction fight on a large scale next Wednesday. The Orangemen turn out in force on that day to celebrate the Battle of the Boyne... the Fenians, Ribbonmen, Greens and miscellaneous Irish scum of the popish persuasion propose a grand target excursion and picnic for the same day and avow their design to break up the procession and to bait the skein of the ugly bones of the processionalists...the police and military are said to be ready for action. I hope they are. The lawlessness, insolence, arrogance and intolerance of these homicidal, ruffianly popish Celts must be suppressed somehow. If all the braves of both factions could be brought together, well-armed within the enclosures of the Union Racecourse and kept there to fight it out...until both parties were exterminated, criminal justice in New York would be administered a greatly reduce expense (Nivens and Thomas, 1952, p. 368).

Peter Sweeny, an Irish Catholic immigrant and wealthy Tweed Ring member, persuaded the Mayor to have Police Superintendent James J. Kelso to issue General Order No. 57

which banned the parade. Believing that it would look less like the administration was caving into the Irish Catholic demands, the City government was happy to allow the Protestant police Superintendent to sign his name to the order. Kelso stressed that the ban on the parade was issued to "...not aid any street celebration that involve feuds and animosities belonging solely to the history of other countries other than our own, and which experience has proved to endanger the public peace abroad and at home" (The Orange parade declared illegal, 1871, July 15, p. 4).

With the ban on the New York parade, the Governor of New Jersey invited the New York Orangemen to march in Newark under his protection. However, with New York State Governor John T. Hoffman's intervention in the controversy, the New York Orangemen canceled their planned participation in the Newark parade (A fatal riot, 1871 July 14, p. 1). The Orange parade in Jersey City was protected by a large contingent of police and the militia stood by in their armory. Several shots were fired at the marchers but no injuries were recorded. The police arrested 32 protestors for a variety of charges (In Jersey City, 1871, July 14, p.1).

The Governor of the State of New York, John T. Hoffman, responded to the calls for support of the Orangemen's right to march. Although he had received the support of the Irish

voters and was viewed as a loyal Tammany man, Hoffman viewed this as an opportunity to spread the base of his political support.

Hoffman issued an order countermanding Kelso's ban on the parade.²⁸ With this directive the city government was forced to make plans for the deployment of peacekeeping forces. Governor Hoffman authorized the mobilization of 12 infantry regiments, the Washington Gray Troop cavalry and Batteries G and C. The 4,266 officers and enlisted men assembled at their respective armories armed and equipped for active service. Later the call up was increased by four more infantry regiments and another cavalry regiment. The additional troops brought the troop total to 5,327 for service on July 12 (Gordon, pp. 89-90). In addition 1,500 of the 2,200 members of the New York City Police Department

²⁸The proclamation stated: I hereby give notice that any and all bodies of men desiring to assemble and march in peaceable procession in this city to-morrow will be permitted to do so. They will be protected to the fullest extent possible by the military and police authorities. A military and police escort will be furnished to any body of men desiring it, on application to me at my headquarters (which will be a Police Headquarters in this City) at any time during the day.

I warn all persons to abstain from interference with any such assemblage or procession except by authority from me; and I give notice that all the powers of my command, civil, and military, will be used to preserve the public peace and to put down, at all hazards, every attempt at disturbance; and I call upon all citizens, of every race and religion, to unite with me and the local authorities in this determination to preserve the peace and honor of the city and State (Proclamation of Gov. Hoffman, 1871, July 12, p.1).

were detailed for the protection of the parade (The recent riot, 1871 July 14, p. 1). It was probably no coincidence that the traditionally Irish 69th Regiment was not called to active duty, but was restricted to its armory for the day. Thus, the armed Irish Catholics were not put in a position of defending the hated Orangemen (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 46).

Irish crowds converged on Eighth Avenue and West Twenty-eighth Street, where the parade was to begin. The Orangemen assembled at Lamartine Hall, a four-story brick building that housed three separate Orange Lodges on the top floor. Five Orange Lodges were well represented. Gideon, Chosen Few, Derry Walls, Prince of Orange and Enniskillen assembled with a few members from other lodges. Approximately, 150 men and 30 women assembled for a ceremony which included a prayer and after that the woman and children were sent home (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 47).

The Orangemen assembled on Eight Avenue dressed in traditional Orange regalia with orange sashes, scarves, badges and insignia. The traditional banner with King William of Orange was in the center, but other banners with American themes were also carried. The band was instructed to play only American patriotic tunes such as "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean."

The parade route was south on Eight Avenue to West

Twenty-third Street where the parade would turn east to Seventh Avenue and then south to Fourteenth Street to Union Square. The marchers would then turn south again to Cooper Union where the group would disband (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 49).

The Orangemen in their street formation were surrounded by the police and military units. The sidewalks on Eighth Avenue from Twenty-eight Street south were packed with people protesting the parade. Many were armed with a variety of weapons. Police squads attacked the crowds on the sidewalks who were jeering and threatening the Orangemen. Police officers on foot made baton charges on the unruly crowd and mounted police officers knocked people over in attempts to clear the sidewalk.

The procession started at about 2:30 P.M.. As the parade marched down Eighth Avenue, it was immediately engulfed in a shower of stones, bricks, bottles, and old shoes. The crowd on the sidewalks, estimated at 5,000 in the New York Times account, cursed and jeered the procession as it passed. However, the missiles fell most often on the police or military units that surrounded the outnumbered Orangemen. While the crowd had some sympathy for the police officers who were viewed as doing an unpleasant job, the militia was greatly resented. The crowd noted that Company B of the 84th Regiment saluted the Orangemen as they came

out of Lamartine Hall by placing their hats on their bayonets and cheering the Orangeman. Members of the 22nd Regiment also cheered and encouraged the marchers. The officers assigned to the regiment did nothing to prevent the show of support for the Orange faction (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 49).

The procession had hardly moved when reports of shots fired from roof tops were spread among the militia. Brigadier General J. M. Varian, who commanded the militia units, authorized the 7th Regiment, marching on the west side of the procession, to fire on snipers who were reported to be in buildings on the east side of Eight Avenue. However, individual soldiers began firing at persons in the surrounding buildings and on the roofs. One soldier from the 22nd Regiment fired without authorization at a boy on a roof who had thrown a bottle at the procession.

The procession proceeded haltingly down Eight Avenue. Before it had moved one block, a pistol was fired into the procession from West Twenty-ninth Street and Eight Avenue. Police officers rushed the assailant and beat him and his friends with their batons. The crowd pushed in on the procession from all sides and blocked the forward progress of the procession. Police officers would then attack the crowd with batons and clear the street. When forward progress was blocked, the barrage of missiles increased as

the Orangemen made better targets when stationary.

A pattern emerged as the Orangemen proceeded in fits and starts. Periodic pistol shots would cause the militia to fire, which in turn was greeted by increased volumes of stones, rocks, and other missiles. The police would then charge the crowds surrounding the procession and the volume of missiles would decrease. Additional shots fired at the procession would start the events again (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 49).

At the intersection of West Twenty-fourth Street several shots were fired from the windows and roof tops of buildings at members of the 84th Regiment, injuring three members of the Regiment. Pistols were also being fired by persons on the sidewalk. A shot fired at the Orange leader, John Johnson, who was on horseback, missed and struck a soldier in the 84th Regiment. An elderly woman, apparently cheering for the Orangemen from the sidewalk was shot from behind and killed (The recent riot, 1871, July 14, p. 1). These few deaths were but previews of the carnage to occur in the next few minutes.

The crowd now fired at the procession from windows and roofs of the houses on either side of Eight Avenue. Shots were also being fired by spectators on the sidewalk who were surrounding the militia, police and Orangemen. Stones and other missiles fell without a stop. Two more members of the

84th were shot and Company K Commander, Captain James Douglas, was hit in the head by a brick. The procession was halted and the Orangemen were ordered to lie down to protect themselves. The police made repeated charges into the crowd to stop the firing.

It is uncertain who, if anyone, gave the order to fire the first volley into the crowd. Company K, led by the now injured Captain Douglas, fired primarily at the upper stories of the buildings at the northeast corners of Twenty-fourth Street. The New York Times account of the incident listed three witnesses who stated that Captain Douglas gave the order to fire into the crowds (The recent riot, 1871, July 14, p. 1). The rest of the 84th regiment now believed that a general order to fire had been given to the regiment. The regiment fired at the surrounding crowds at point blank range. The 6th, 7th, 9th, and 22nd regiments also join in on firing at the crowds. The police, the rioters and the observers were all caught in the crossfire and sent sprawling to the ground (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 50).

While some reports described the militia fire as indiscriminate and reckless, others observed the militia members as firing with determination to kill members of the mob. A correspondent from the Sun reported that some of the troops fired indiscriminately, but claimed "...others appeared to take deadly aim, and fired directly into the

crowd of men, women and children, mowing them down in a shocking manner" (Sullivan, 1991-1992, p. 50).

When the militia finally stopped firing, the crowd looked with shock on the carnage. The Sun reported that the street literally ran with blood and for fully ten minutes nothing was done for the dying . The sidewalks were dangerous to walk on due to the slipperiness caused by the blood.

Many of the dead and injured were not protesting the Orange parade, but were in the vicinity of the disorders or were casual observers. Edward Clark, a physician from Omaha was shot in the foot. Thomas Dugdale and Patrick Slattery were running errands when shot; James Clark just left his business and was returning home when he was shot. All three would die of their injuries. An African American sailor, Richard Douce, and William Hamburg, Conrad Sieger and Frederick Hiners, all Germans, were probably not rioters, but interested spectators when shot. The Orangemen suffered surprisingly few injuries. Only one reported an injury from a stone (Sullivan, pp. 50-51).

After the militia volleys into the crowd General Varian, showing little concern for the dead and dying, continued the parade. He even left his own wounded in the street. Marching east on West Twenty-third Street the enraged rioters reassembled and attacked the rear of the

parade. They were beaten off by the police. There was sporadic rock throwing along the route to Cooper Union, but the worst of the battle was over. The casualty list for this brief parade included 62 civilian and three militia deaths. One hundred five civilians, 24 militia members, and 34 police officers were listed as injured. One hundred three arrests were made (Gordon, 1993, pp. 221-243).

Mayor A. Oakey Hall in an interview subsequent to the riot reaffirmed the wisdom of his original decision to ban the parade. He stated that "Mayors, peace officers, and police officers are like surgeons, they must extirpate the cause of disease, without regard to whether the disease be a chronic ulcer or an acute rheumatism." The ban on the parade was an attempt to get at the cause of civic violence and prevent it (Mayor Hall speaks, 1871, July 14, p. 3).

However, the State legislature disagreed and restricted the power of mayors to forbid unpopular parades. The legislature passed a law, Chapter 590 of the Laws of 1872, "An act to regulate processions in the cities of the State of New York" to recognize the right for groups to parade and to regulated local governments' control. (Laws of 1872, 1872, May 11, p. 11) .

The act, passed on May 7, 1872, attempted to clear up some of the problems caused by A. Oakey Hall's decision to ban the Orange parade. Parades that would interfere with

traffic were forbidden unless a written request was made to the chief officer of the municipality. The request would include the object of the parade, the time and the route. The police could decide how much of the street the parade could use and would provide an escort. Persons parading without permission were guilty of a misdemeanor (An act to regulate processions, 1872, pp. 1431-1432). The act did not clear up the question of whether the mayor could ban a parade.

In 1872 the Orangemen planned to march again. William McGee, Grand Master of the Orangemen, sent a letter to the Board of Police on June 26 that gave notice to the Police that the Orangeman again planned to march on July 12 with "about 5,000 persons, with the object of celebrating the anniversary of civil and religious liberty ... " Mayor Hall again tried to prevent or delay the parade by requesting an opinion by the attorneys for the Board of Police and the Corporation Counsel as to the meaning of Chapter 590 of the Laws of 1872. The Board of Police, consisting of President Henry Smith, Commissioners Joseph Bosworth, Benjamin F. Manierre, Thomas J. Barr, and Mayor Hall, voted his motion down. In another attempt to prevent the parade, the mayor proposed a resolution that required further information from the Orangeman:

Resolved, That Wm. McGee, Grand Marshal and

District Master of Prince of Orange District No. 1 Loyal Orange Institution, U.S.A., be respectfully requested to inform this Board upon the specific purpose of the parade proposed by him, its definite objects, what particular triumph of civil and religious liberty the parade celebrates, and whether the parade proceeds with the simple object of meeting, parading and dismissing or of holding any public meeting, and whether any military or semi-military organization is expected to take part in the proposed parade, and whether any banners, legends, or inscriptions are to be used or carried on parade, and if so, their character. This information being requested with the view of the Board becoming fully aware of the extent of the escort needed, and what, if any, special attention is necessary toward preventing breaches of the peace and disturbances of thoroughfares, as well as promoting the convenience of the public during the parade.

Again his attempt was voted down by the Board of Police. The Commissioner of the Board then moved to send the application to Superintendent Kelso with instruction to ensure a proper escort and to restrict the procession to

"... not more than ten feet in width on the right side the street next to the curb, or less than ten feet should it interfere with the passage of the rail-road cars." The motion passed with only the Mayor voting against it. Interestingly, the next order of business before the Board was an application from an Italian society, *Assoziane Donnarumma*, for a procession. The Mayor, staying consistent, voted against the application. However, the Board approved it (The Orange Parade, 1872, June 27, p. 2).

The police were clearly caught off guard during the 1870 march and subsequent Elm Park riot. The performance of the police and the militia during the 1871 disaster was the source of a great deal of criticism. By the 1872 the Police Department was prepared to keep the peace during the Twelfth of July Parade. The Prince of Orange and the Chosen Few Lodges marched from their Hall at 327 Bowery to Lafayette Place and Eight Street where they joined Derry's Walls No. 2, the Gideon Lodge No. 10, and other members from various lodges. The procession contained about 350 marchers. A band accompanying the group was careful to play only patriotic and nonsectarian tunes. The routes were from Lafayette Place to Eight Street to Broadway to Union Square, round the Washington Monument to Fourth Avenue to Sixteenth Street to Irving Place and Lexington Avenue to Twenty-third Street. The parade proceeded on Twenty-third Street to Madison

Avenue to Thirty-fourth Street, and west to Fifth Avenue. The parade marched south on Fifth Avenue to Tenth Street and from Tenth Street to Broadway to Great Jones Street. From Great Jones Street the group marched to 327 Bowery and dismissed. Only one arrest was made for an attack on a supporter of the Orange marchers. Other New Yorkers who observed the parade either ignored it or were discreet in their support (The Orange parade, 1872, July 13, p. 8).

The Police Department was prepared to maintain order. The 84th Regiment, which caused so much bloodshed the year before, was called up, but did not march with the Orangemen. The Regiment with 900 members was kept on reserve at location removed from the parade. The entire police force not on regular patrol duty was called up. Sixteen hundred sixty members assembled at Police Headquarters where they received instructions. Every Captain and Inspector was present. The police again surrounded the marchers on all sides and successfully prevented any attacks on the parade. The increase in professional disorder control can be seen in the extensive preparations and execution of the plan (The police preparations-incidents of the March 1872, July 13, p. 8). The disorders of 1870 and 1871 forced the Police Department to increase its efficiency in the face of urban rioting. Undoubtedly, the modernization of the police had an impact on the suppression of the primitive rioting of the

Irish immigrant community.

At a meeting April 18, 1874 at the Prince of Orange Lodge No. 1, the question of the annual parade was discussed. It was agreed the proper commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne did not require a parade in the city streets. Since the Orangemen had made their point and were supported by the governmental authorities, future parades were unnecessary (Meeting of Orange Lodges, 1874, April 20, p. 8).

However, the Orangemen celebrated a subdued Twelfth that year. At 8:00 A.M. on Sunday, July 12, 1874 the Orangemen met at the Derry Walls Lodge on East Thirty-fourth street and Fourth Avenue. About 1,000 members were organized into two districts.²⁹ The Orangemen marched without banners or regalia to the Church of the Holy Trinity on Madison and East 42 Street, where they were met by their families. They marched without bands and without a uniformed police escort, although 150 police officers in civilian clothes from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-first Precincts were present. There were no recorded incidents during their march. At the end of the religious

²⁹ District No. 1 was represented by The Prince of Orange Lodge No. 1, Derry Walls Lodge No. 2, Chosen Few Lodge (Brooklyn) No. 3, Union Lodge No. 18 and Crimson Banner Lodge No. 80. Another contingent organized as District Two consisted of Gideon Lodge No. 8, Joshua Lodge No. 11, Washington Purple Star Lodge No. 50 and Monahan True Blues Lodge No. 56.

observances the Orangemen and their families dispersed to their homes. On the next day the lodges sponsored an excursion and picnic to Iona Island. (See page 69)

The lack of violence by their Catholic opponents is difficult to interpret. Were the Irish Catholics rejecting violence or was the early Sunday march not conducive to a gathering of the Catholic faction fighters?

It is interesting to note the contents of the sermon preached by Reverend S. H. Tyng D.D. of Holy Trinity Church. Doctor Tyng in his address stressed that the Orangemen assembled in his Church were "... America Protestants and no longer Irish Protestants." He urged them to have done with the enmities, to cast aside the prejudices born in those hours of trial and "... to advance the interests of the land in which they were now enrolled." It was a sermon to a group that was in the early stages of transition from the raucous Irish traditional style of group behavior to the more successful and accepting behavior that was required of a group in a modern urban society (The Twelfth of July 1874 July 12, p. 8 and The Orangemen, 1874, July 13, p. 8).

The Irish American Orangemen and their children quickly accepted their status as American Protestants. They no longer saw any necessity for militant Protestant organizations such as the Loyal Orange Institute or the American Protestant Association. Although Orangeism

remained a force in Canada until the end of World War II, the Loyal Orange Institute in America went into a decline as it failed to attract the American-born children of Irish Protestants. As it was viewed as an Irish organization, it also failed to attract to its membership non-Irish Protestants. Orangeism, with its roots in Ireland and its connection to the British monarchy and Empire, was inherently incompatible to life in the United States (Houston and Smyth, 1982, p. 193). The Protestant Irish, who began to refer to themselves as Scotch Irish to distance themselves from the poorer Catholic Irish immigrants, blended quickly into the Protestant Anglo-American population. The Scotch Irish as a group has practically disappeared from American society as a distinguishable ethnic entity (McGlimpsey, 1982, p. 56).

In July 1875 the violence associated with the Twelfth of July seemed to be over. On the Twelfth the Orangemen celebrated in private and avoided any further conflict with their opponents. The lodges from New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City, and Williamsburg held a picnic in Alpine Grove, New Jersey. Religious ceremonies were again held at the Church of the Holy Trinity at Madison and East 42 Street. The Orangemen of thirteen lodges met at the Derry Wall Lodge No. 453 on Fourth Avenue where they organized for a parade to the Church. However, the marchers wore no regalia and

obviously were trying not to draw attention to themselves (The Orange Anniversary, 1875, July 12, P. 8).

Although there was a serious two and a half hour anti-Orange riot in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1875 with Irish Catholics attacking an Orange group returning from a picnic, Orange and Green collective violence had ended in America (A Bloody Orange Riot, 1875, July 13, p. 1).

Conclusion.

The Irish immigrant violence toward other groups in New York was a continuation of the history of Irish traditional collective violence that accompanied the Famine immigrants to New York. Violence against other groups of Irish people was common in pre-Famine Ireland. It was a method of problem solving and a recreational activity in a land without diversions for the impoverished masses. Collective violence was accepted in the pre-Famine culture. Protestant factions were fair game for violence in Ireland and the tradition continued in America. If the Irish immigrants could fight among themselves, they could unite and fight against others (Ernst, 1994, p. 107). Protestants, Germans, African Americans, and other ethnic groups seemed to constitute groups that posed a challenge or threat to the Irish community. The faction fight response would have been

the response in Ireland. It continued to be the response in New York until the Irish immigrant community adjusted to life in the modern city.

Chapter V

Work related violence

Introduction.

The impoverished Irish immigrants of the 1840 and 1850s desperately needed employment in New York. They found opportunities in industries that were the most difficult and lowest paid. Although they lacked industrial experience and the tradition of unions that were more common among English and German immigrants, they had a long history in the use of violence to correct perceived agrarian injustices. Rural factions and secret societies could exist for recreational violence or to strike back at landlords or persons violating the moral economy of the agrarian society. These forms of violence would be replicated in the American workplace.

Early Irish labor experience.

The Irish immigrant arrived with few industrial skills. However, they were strong and willing workers. Without education or skill, most were absorbed into the construction industry where over half the employees were foreign born and half of this number were from Ireland (Ernst, 1994, pp. 73-74).

Irish immigrant laborers were abused by the construction industry that required their services. Many of

the large canal and railroad systems were completed by Irish immigrant laborers recruited in gangs. The work sites were in rural locations and constant movement was often required as sections of the work were completed. Most laborers lived in temporary housing without women, families, friends, or the spiritual consolation of the clergy. Alcohol abuse, inadequate wages, and violence were constant features in the lives of the laborers. Other employment opportunities in the major cities also tended to offer backbreaking labor at very low wages.

While some labor historians view workers in the first half of the nineteenth century as belonging to a distinctive working class that was in conflict with capitalism, this position does not seem true in the case of the unskilled Famine immigrants (Way, 1993, pp. 1397-1424). The early Famine immigrants had no history of industrial activity and many of the earliest unions in New York were formed by English immigrants who were influenced by the Chartist Movement. The unskilled and poverty-stricken Irish of the 1840s and 1850s were usually not prepared to organize unions until they began to gain a foothold in industry. The rioting, drinking, and interpersonal violence of the Irish canal and railroad laborers were not evidence of a class struggle. Rather than developing a distinctive working class culture, as did the more skilled white native American

laborers, the Irish working class culture initially tended to reflect the agrarian Irish rural culture. This robust rural culture was highlighted by alcohol, vigorous play, and faction fights, which continued in their new surroundings.

Classic American labor violence is most associated with the period from 1877 to 1940. Prior to 1850 little heavy industry existed in the United States. Most manufacturing took place in small factories with less than 200 workers. The owner, who knew the workers personally, was usually present.

Irish rural culture was marked by agricultural violence. Rural protests became a deep-seated tradition. Protestors developed uniforms or special dress, semi-military organization, rituals, secret passwords, codes of behavior, and rituals of intimidation and punishment (Clark and Donnelly, 1986, pp. 25-26).

The Irish immigrants were noted for their clannishness, which was a result of the disabilities that they faced in Ireland. Antagonisms turned Irish loyalties inward and created an intense local patriotism which centered on regionalism, religion, and family ties (Ernst, 1993, pp. 104-105).

The English traveler Frederick Marryat in his notes taken during his trip to America in 1837 to 1838 commented on the Irish immigrants:

It would be supposed that, having emigrated to America and obtained the rights of citizens, they would have amalgamated and fraternized to a certain degree with the people; but such is not the case; *they hold themselves completely apart and distinct, living with their families in the same quarter of the city and adhering to their own manners and customs.* They are just as little pleased with the institutions of the United States as they are with the government at home (Italics added) (1962, p. 393).

The Irish immigrants during the later half of the period began to adjust to their industrial surroundings in America. They found that they faced injustices similar to those in Ireland. During the 1860s and 1870s, the Irish laborers were in the process of organizing a working class subculture and were on the verge of establishing unions to represent their cause. However, many of their tactics had roots in Irish rural culture. The organization of coal miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania used the faction fighting and secret society format that was familiar to the downtrodden Irish workers.

When the coal miners were unable to achieve satisfactory representation by the fledgling Workingman's Benevolent Association (WBA), founded in 1868, they

reverted to the secret society and faction fight model. The Irish workers had the Ancient Order of Hibernians in their communities. The AOH provided an organization for a primitive union which would be used to formulate attacks against the mine operators. The workers adopted the name "Molly Maguires" to safeguard the WBA and the AOH. The Molly Maguires was a secret faction in Ireland that attacked its enemies during agrarian strife. Thus, while modernizing and changing to meet the needs of the industrial society, the Irish immigrants consciously used the faction fight and secret organizational style of nineteenth century Ireland. The Molly Maguires used a style of agrarian violence that originated in north central Ireland between the years 1760 and 1850. Using "retributive justice" the Irish struck back at their oppressors in rural Ireland and in industrial America. In Ireland landlords, their agents, policemen, magistrates, and other farmers were subject to assault, arson attacks, cattle maiming, and murder. Many of the same tactics were used against mine owners, mine superintendents, policemen, and municipal officials. The Molly Maguires also found that their enemies appeared to be the same English and Protestant antagonists who caused them so many problems in Ireland (Kenny, 1998, pp. 1-12).

The laborers.

The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States, first published in 1849, was an early guide for Irish immigrants. It was written by Father John O'Hanlon, a pre-Famine immigrant, to give good advice to the tens of thousands who were fleeing Ireland. Father O'Hanlon instructed the immigrant on practical issues such as travel arrangements and employment opportunities. He advised readers to avoid public works projects and warned them not to involve themselves in factional fighting with Irishmen from other parts of Ireland. Apparently, Father O'Hanlon was familiar with a great deal of this behavior in his years in America. He cautioned the immigrants to avoid associating with provincial factions and to avoid strong alcohol which led to violence. He was aware of the rivalry that was associated with immigrants from the various provinces and counties and the resultant mindless violence (Maguire, 1976, pp. 110-112).

The editor of the Irish American, P. Lynch, was ever the supporter of the Famine immigrants' cause. In 1850 Joseph Brennan, a correspondent for the Nation in Dublin, wrote an article criticizing the behavior of the newly arrived immigrants and their quick resort to violence as a problem solving technique. Joseph Brennan stated that he assumed that the Irish immigrants would have left behind

their age-old antagonisms and would have improved their behavior as they no longer faced the same stresses.

However, he found that "Religious bigotry and party feuds have crossed the Atlantic with our people. Our nature has not changed with the clime. We are the same under the 'star-spangled banner' as under the 'union jack'"

(Accusation and defense, 1850, January 6, p. 2). In answering Brennan, Lynch attempted to explain the behavior of the new immigrants by explaining that "we do not possess that 'adaptability' which Theirry attributes to the Danes. We everywhere retain our characteristic manners, virtues, and I regret to add, vices" (Accusation and defense, 1850, January 6, p. 2).

The New York press was filled with accounts of strange fights involving the immigrants. Fights could occur over trivial disputes. The New York Times reported a fight in September 1853 between a gang of Irish laborers over who was the best street paver (Williamsburg City, 1853, September 27 p. 6).

Andrew Leary O'Brien left one of the few immigrant journals from the pre-Famine immigration era. O'Brien was the son of a wealthy farmer in Moileragh, Kanturk, County Cork. He was well educated and his ambition was to be ordained as a Catholic priest. He emigrated in 1837 and enrolled in Chambly College, a seminary near Montreal.

However, he did not complete his studies and began traveling around the United States. He proved to be a competent mason and found work on the many construction projects then underway.

In his journal he discussed working on a canal project near Lancaster, Pennsylvania in May 1838. He worked for a masonry contractor in a crew of fellow immigrants from Cork. O'Brien described the deadly rivalry between the Irish workers from different sections of Ireland. A recurring theme in these disputes was the division of Irishmen into factions based on geographical regions.

Ireland is divided into four provinces: Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. It is further divided into thirty-two counties. Workers from the different sections of Ireland tended to associate with others from their native county or province. Recurring battles occurred between immigrant factions from the various regions in Ireland. This fact was well known to the contractors who usually hired entire crews from one of the factions to avoid violence (Ernst, 1993, p. 105).

O'Brien described the hatred between "Fardowns" and "Corkonians" on his construction project. Corkonians were immigrants from Cork. O'Brien incorrectly identified Fardowns as immigrants from County Kerry and other counties in the southern part of Ireland. The term "Fardown," from

the Gaelic *Fear Donn*, or dark man, was used to refer to persons from the northern counties in Ulster. It is apparent that the animosities between the two groups were so great that O'Brien had little contact with Fardowns.

He was quite candid in admitting that "...the cause of this (hatred) I could not satisfactorily discover. I never knew or heard of it till I got on the canal. One of the opposite party dare not seek employment on a contract where the other party were in employ" (Suarez, 1946, p. 30).

O'Brien described instances where one faction would attack a worker from another faction and kill him without any cause, other than the fact that he was a member of the other faction. These attacks were daily occurrences and the huts and tents of the workers required an armed watch at night to prevent attack. The problems were exacerbated by the large number of single men on the site and the availability of alcohol which was dispensed by the contractor (p. 31).

Violence against laborers from other regions was common in rural Ireland. *Spalpeens* or wandering laborers often faced violence when they arrived in an area at harvest time. The local laboring population greatly resented the competition and these laborers were often attacked (Clark and Donnelly, 1983, p. 32).

O'Brien left the job after five months. He believed

that the violence was the result of the Irish laborers themselves. He intended to "...never more live where I would be obligated to deal so largely with the lower class of the Irish in this country on public works, where liquor could be had by them at command for I take it, this is their ruin, this the cause of all their misfortunate proceedings" (Suarez, 1946, p. 32).³⁰

Other ethnic and racial group rioting in the workplace.

If Irish laborers could become violent when working with Irishmen from other areas in Ireland, they also could unite in battles with non-Irish coworkers or potential coworkers. The more docile Germans were frequent victims

³⁰P. Lynch of the Irish American was familiar with this criticism of Irish drinking habits. However, he could not recommend temperance as the answer. Ever the apologist for the immigrants, he explained the problem as being associated with the cultural background of the Irish. Accepting the use of alcohol as a part of the Irish lifestyle, he explained the problem with alcohol by blaming the poor quality of American liquors and climatic differences.

"Laborious employment naturally obliges him (the laborer) to sustain nature or physical strength by drinking ardent liquors. Now these liquors being cheap and thus accessible to the laborers of limited means are poisons which madden while they intoxicate. In nine out of ten cases the poison not the man commits the crime. In Ireland an Irishman could drink four times more purely distilled whiskey without becoming insane from it than the 'rot gut' in this country. Besides the climate makes a wide difference. In a cold, moist or temperate climate ardent liquors are not so injurious as they are in such a clime as this." (To correspondents, 1854, August 18, p. 5).

of Irish attacks. The "Dutchmen" were disliked for their use as strikebreakers. In April 1846 five hundred Irish dock workers struck for eighty-seven and a half cent a day and a reduction in hours from thirteen to ten. The employers applied to the German Society and arranged for the hiring of newly arrived German immigrants. The Irish staged a sit down strike and drove off the Germans. The Sheriff of Kings County needed the militia to end the strike (Ernst, 1993, p. 107).

On April 29, 1854, fifty Irish laborers demanded increased wages from a contractor in Brooklyn. Rather than pay the money, the contractor fired the Irish and again hired Germans from Manhattan to take their place. The Mayor of Williamsburg assigned the entire police department to the site to prevent the Irish and their allies from attacking the Germans. The Germans required an extensive police presence to escort them back to the ferry to Manhattan (Anticipated riot, 1854, May 2, p. 8).

Later in the era Italian immigrants, who were at the bottom of the economic ladder, worked as strike breakers. Italians were hired to replace Irish laborers, now better organized into craft unions, working on a railroad project near Jersey City in March 1874. They were attacked and driven from the work site. John Murray and John Ryan were arrested for assault (Labor troubles in Jersey City, 1874,

March 27, p.8). When the Irish-owned Walsh Brothers Stevedore Company reduced wages in 1874 from forty to thirty cents an hour, the Irish longshoremen went on strike. Management replaced them with Italians. The Italians required a police escort to prevent an attack by the Irish strikers (The Longshoreman, 1874, November 21, p. 2).

Laborers on the Broadway construction project also had difficulties with newly arrived Italian laborers, who had taken jobs on what had been Irish work sites. Construction was postponed during the harsh winter weather. When work was resumed in spring, the laid off Irish workers found that their places were taken by Italians, who were employed on a sewer project at West Eighty-fifth Street. The contractor reported that the Italians were better workers and worked for less money. The police uncovered a plan for attack by the Irish on the Italian workers. Superintendent of Police James J. Kelso issued orders for the entire Twenty-second, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Twenty-third, and Twelfth precincts to stand by for riot duty. Irish laborers massed at Tenth Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street in preparation for an attack. However, the Irish laborers did not attack the Italians when they learned of the police preparations (A threatened riot, 1873, March 19, p. 2).

However, the strike and the threat of violence were now a part of the industrial era. While many of the Irish

longshoremen would be quick to use traditional styles of factional violence against the Italians, labor disputes were to be seen as contractual problems and would be solved in the more modern industrial manner. The Longshoremen's Convention in 1874 was led by an elected president and used the services of a famous Irish attorney Richard O'Gorman, a former Irish revolutionary with the Young Ireland movement. At a meeting at Cooper Union, O'Gorman urged moderation and stressed that an accommodation would be reached through negotiations. So powerful was this young union that the Mayor of New York, William Burrow, addressed the meeting and gave the longshoremen his support (The Longshoremen, 1874, December 1, p. 5).

African American and Irish labor conflict.

Conflict with African Americans over jobs and over status in American society was the source of a great deal of violence. Racist attitudes prevented African Americans from employment in any occupations except the lowest levels of manual and domestic service. Shortly after the influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s, competition grew between males of the two groups for employment as laborers and waiters. Most hotels preferred African Americans as waiters. On the docks longshoreman jobs went to both Irish and African Americans. The problem of African Americans in

the role of strikebreakers inflamed the Irish on more than one occasion. In 1853 African Americans took the place of Irish laborers, striking for \$1.25 and a ten-hour day, at the Erie Railroad depot. However, the ingrained racism in American society began to give the edge to the newly arrived Irish (Ernst, 1993, p. 104). Competition with Irish immigrants may have been a factor in the decline of the African American population in New York City from 16,358 in 1840 to 12,472 in 1860 (Still, 1994, p. 131).

Competition for employment as waiters led to a labor riot that resulted in the death of an African American waiter. The Elysian Fields near Hoboken was a popular recreation area for New Yorkers. The Elysian Fields Hotel was owned in 1852 by a Mrs. McCarthy who employed African American waiters. With a great increase in Irish patrons, she fired the African Americans and replaced them with Irishmen. However, their performance as waiters was not satisfactory. She fired the Irish waiters and rehired the African Americans. The Irishmen sought revenge and 20 of the fired waiters attacked four of the African Americans with stones, sticks and knives. One of the African American waiters, was stabbed in the heart by Robert Canton, a twenty-six-year-old immigrant from Ireland who was resided in the Five Points sections of Manhattan (Serious affray and murder, 1852, July 5, p. 1).

The Bergen Hill riots.

A long series of riots occurred during the building of the rail road and tunnel in Hudson County, New Jersey. The area under construction was referred to as Bergen Hill. Many of the issues and problems that were present at other construction disorders were involved at Bergen Hill.

The series of riots occurred between factions of Irish workers at Bergen Hill. The project was undertaken by the Long Dock Company in 1856 and was completed in 1861. The work was the most extensive tunnel undertaking at that time. The tunnel was 4,300 feet long and passed through solid rock (Shaw W. H., 1884, p. 199).

A riot between two factions of laborers on Saturday, February 14, 1857 resulted in one death and several serious injuries. At the time the workers were constructing track about two miles from Hoboken, New Jersey. The violence started in the afternoon of the monthly payday. The twelve hundred Irish workers were reportedly drinking and celebrating payday. The Corkonian and Connaught factions began fighting and the disorders spread to the shanties surrounding the work site. The factions were armed with pistols, rifles, and a variety of crude weapons. Faction fighters entered the shanties of the opposing faction and beat men, women, and children. Several shanties were burned

or pulled to the ground.

The Sheriff of Hudson County, Henry B. Beatty, responded but was unable to restore order. Militia units from Hoboken, Jersey City, and Bergen were called to assist the Sheriff. Forty-five arrests were made. Eventually, the riot died out and the Sheriff and militia took control. The next day, Sunday found several thousand visitors to the area who expected to witness another battle.

An issue in the conflict was the location of shanties. The Corkonians and the Connaught factions located their temporary dwellings in separate locations. The Corkonians encroached on the Connaught area and, after a period of post-payday drinking, the Connaught men attacked and attempted to drive off the Corkonians. The battle raged from about 1:00 P.M. to midnight. The New York Times report suggested that the riot would have been worse. One half of the workers were always at work in the tunnel. The contractor prevented those at work from entering the affray by drawing up ladders and keeping those at work in the tunnel (Faugh-A-Ballagh, 1857, February 16, p. 1 and The battle of Bergen Hill, 1857, February 17, p. 5).

Sporadic violence continued among the tunnel workers. On Sunday, August 16, 1857, a large party of intoxicated Irish workers began fighting in Jersey City. The police attempted to stop the battle, but were attacked when the

Irish united and turned on them. Two arrests were made (Fighting, 1857 August 18, p. 5).

The Panic of 1857 caused financial difficulties for the contractor supervising the tunnel project. Monday, September 14, was pay day for the 1,200 tunnel workers. Unfortunately, due to the financial disorders in the money markets, the contractor, Mr. Mallory, was able to raise only \$35,000. In addition the disputes between the Corkonians and Connaught factions continued and threats of renewed violence were real. The mayor of Hudson City and the Board of Aldermen met with Mr. Mallory and a Catholic priest to attempt to prevent violence.³¹ The President of the New York and Erie Railroad Companies also addressed the workers and explained the problems in the money markets. Drinking by the unemployed workers exacerbated the problem. The New York Times suggested that "If liquor could be kept away from them, there is little fear of any outbreak occurring" (Trouble at the Bergen Tunnel, 1857, September 16, p. 5).

The financial problems in America increased and prevented the adequate financing of the Bergen Hill tunnel. Work was suspended on the project in late September when the contractor could not pay his employees. After having missed a month wages, 400 to 500 of the workers gathered to tear

³¹Hudson City was disestablished in 1870 and absorbed into Jersey City.

up the railroad tracks of the main line. The treasurer of Hudson City, Jacob Miller, addressed the crowd and promised to help them get their back pay, which amounted to about \$15,000. With that pledge the workers left the area (More trouble, 1857, October 10, p. 5).

Some of the workers left the project and found work elsewhere. The Brooklyn Water Works was at the time constructing the Ridgewood Reservoir. The workers were Irish and a riot broke out when the company hired some of the laborers from the troubled Bergen Tunnel. The New York Times reported that the project manager hired "Fardowns" from the tunnel project. The report may have been inaccurate as the Fardown faction had not been mentioned in the previous Bergen Tunnel riots. The laborers then on the project objected to the new faction and drove them off the site (Riot at Ridgewood Reservoir, November 12, p. 1).

Although the panic of 1857 caused widespread unemployment and economic hardships, the financing of the tunnel was at least temporarily secure. However, the project again ran out of funds in September 1859. When the workers were not paid their wages on September 15, they struck for one month's back wages and refused to work until they were paid. The new contractor, A. B. Seymour, promised that they would be paid at the beginning of the next month. An arrangement with Robert H. Berdell, vice president of the

Long Dock Company provided the contractor with \$5,400, which was to be used only for the payment of wages. However, the contractor did not use it to pay the workers.

With that the workers broke out into a riot and blocked the tracks. Some of the workers were satisfied with a vague promise of a month wage to be paid on October 1 and wanted to return to work. Others were not satisfied and prevented them from returning to the project. A large party of workers blocked the tracks of the Northern and Erie Railroads for three days and prevented trains from passing their barricade. Again, the militia units of Hudson County were called up to deal with the workers. However, Sheriff Beatty of Hudson County could not be found and without a direct request from him, Colonel Gregory would not leave the armory. Many of the militia members appear to have been less than enthusiastic to act against the strikers. Although the call for the militia was made shortly after the 12:00 P.M. strike, the militia was not assembled as late as 10:00 P.M. Eventually only 150 members of the six militia units responded (Another riot at the Bergen tunnel, 1859, September 17, p. 8 and The Erie Railroad riot, 1859, September 19, p.4).

The public and the local governmental officials appeared to have sympathy for the workers. The disappearance of Sheriff Beatty may have been an attempt to

avoid acting against the strikers. The project at this time employed 1,000 men. The work was characterized as "... of the laborious and exhausting character ...performed underground and when the workers emerge from the different shafts, appear like the laborers in collieries in England coming out of the mines." The workers were paid one dollar a day. If the workers missed any time at work or if the contractor could not pay them, the workers had little reserve to fall back on for relief (The Erie Railroad riot, 1859, September 19, p.4).

This inadequate wage was common for unskilled Irish immigrant labor. The great numbers of immigrants pouring into New York City depressed the wages of both skilled and unskilled labor. The New York Times reported that it would require an annual wage of \$600 for a family of four to live moderately in New York City. However, few workers could earn the \$11.54 weekly wage that would provide for this moderate level of comfort. Most laborers and factory workers in New York City earned less than five dollars a week and few worked without periods of unemployment during the year³²

³² In comparison to skilled construction workers these workers were poorly paid. A Bergen Tunnel worker at \$1 a day would have at best a weekly wage of \$6. The weekly wages of skilled construction workers in June 1854 were:

bricklayer	\$14 to \$15	mason	\$10
carpenter	\$15	plumber	\$15

(Pernicone, 1973, pp. 91-92).

Newspaper accounts reported other injustices that the workers endured. The contractor established a company store where the workers bought their food and paid for it through a stoppage of wages. The workers' complaints involved poor quality and exorbitant prices. Another problem was with the payment of liquor bills out of wages. The boarding house keepers provided alcohol to the workers and received payment directly from the monthly wages. This practice was stopped by the contractor, who blamed the poverty of the workers on their abuse of alcohol. The workers, liquor dealers, and boarding house operators opposed this action (The Erie Railroad riot, 1859, September 19, p.4).

The problem of the company store and the sale of alcohol to the laborers by contractors was widespread. Unscrupulous contractors provided food and supplies at isolated camps at exorbitant prices. Wages were then paid in goods and in alcohol which were quickly consumed.

A committee of prominent citizens assembled in Hoboken and adopted a resolution that was supportive of the strikers. None of the names of committee members appeared to be Irish. The plight of the workers had struck a cord among

painter \$15
(Wages in New York, 1854, June 20, p. 4).

some of the prominent non-Irish community leaders.³³

Mayor Collard of Hudson City, various government and railroad officials, a Catholic priest, Father Vanetta, and local police officers went to the barricades and unsuccessfully attempted to get the workers to desist. The Mayor read the riot act, but the workers shouted him down. Eventually, the militia moved against the striking rioters and after a brief battle arrested 45 strikers. Further arrests increased the total of arrested to 72. Most were arrested on little evidence and 39 were quickly dismissed in court (The Erie Railroad difficulty, 1859, September 21, p. 1).

No mention is made of factionalism among the workers. Corkonian, Fardown, and Connaught rivalries were now less relevant as the industrializing Irish immigrants were

³³Resolved, that although we respond to the call of the Mayor of Hudson City, and indorse the action of his honor the Mayor of our city in ordering out the militia of the county to enforce obedience to the laws of our State, we nevertheless, taking into consideration the necessities of the workmen engaged in the Bergen Tunnel strike, regard it as the duty of every good citizen to contribute toward supplying their immediate wants.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to ascertain the wants of the workmen.

Resolved, that the committee report tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, when a subscription will be taken up for the above purpose.

Messrs. John Davis, Rensselare Havens and John G. Gear were appointed a committee in accordance with the above resolutions (The Erie Railroad riot, 1859, September 19, p.4).

confronting a new reality, that of exploited laborers. Casting aside regional differences, the traditional violent response formerly used against agricultural opponents was now the choice of behaviors against industrial employers.

Pattenberg riots.

A riot with elements involving payday drinking, factionalism, and anti-African American racism resulted in the death of four African Americans and one Irish laborer at a work site near Pattenberg, New Jersey. The riot had elements that were familiar to other Irish labor riots.

The incident in 1872 occurred on a project to build a rail line from the coal fields of the Lehigh Valley to Perth Amboy and the New York market. The project required drilling a tunnel through the Musconetcong Mountains. The contractor hired gangs of both Irish and African American laborers. As was the custom, the two groups did not work together but were segregated into separate work forces. The 150 African Americans were recruited by the contractor, Charles McFadden, in Virginia. The western end of the tunnel used only white workers. The east end used an estimated 200 to 300 whites and the 150 African Americans laborers. The work force was in the eastern side of the tunnel experienced several quarrels between the Irish and African Americans.

Friday, September 20, 1872, was a pay day and on Saturday many of the Irish and African American workers left work early and started out for the nearest town for recreation. Some time before midnight, two parties of Irish and African American workers crossed the mill dam of the Muthockaway Creek from opposite directions. The Irish workers tried to push the African Americans off the dam and into the creek. After a brief battle the 25 Irish, who had been drinking, were defeated by the African Americans.

The Irish retreated to their shanty area and recruited assistance for a revenge attack. The Irish workers attacked the African American shanties at 2:00 A.M. and set fire to several. An attempt was also made to explode the powder magazine, which was near the African American shanties. During the initial attack on the shanties an Irish laborer, Charles Coll, was killed. At first it was believed that he was killed by the African American workers. Later investigation found that he was killed by a fellow Irish worker in a dispute over money found in an African American shanty. Seeking revenge for the death of Charles Coll, who they believed was killed by the African Americans, the Irish faction sent for reinforcements from the western side of the mile long tunnel. At 4:00 A.M. a group of 200 workers armed with guns, knives, and construction tools marched to the African American area. The Irish workers were led by

appointed captains and carried red flags.

The African American laborers had fled their shanty area and attempted to hide on an adjacent farm. The Irish group found an African American, Benjamin Desham, hiding in a chicken coop. He was dragged out and killed. It was later proved that Desham had nothing to do with the original affray. The gangs also captured and killed Dennis Powell. Returning to the work area, the gang found Oscar Bruce, who had been severely wounded in the attack on the African American shanty area. He was shot and his body mangled. After the attack the Irish fled (The Pattenberg Massacre, 1873, April 10, p.2).

The incident occurred in a very rural location and the criminal justice system was unprepared or unwilling to conduct a vigorous investigation and prosecution. The leaders of the Irish factions had fled the area after the violence. Justices Green and Anderson responded to the scene of the murders on Sunday and Monday and examined the bodies. The subsequent hearing on the murders was described as "farcical." The jury returned a verdict of death by unknown causes.

On Monday Sheriff Rittenhouse went to the work sites and arrested several men who were soon released for lack of evidence. The Sheriff had difficulty in obtaining the assistance of local constables who were afraid of entering

the work area and confronting the Irish. However, on Wednesday Governor Parker of New Jersey visited the scene and offered a \$500 reward for information concerning the riots. He also offered to call up the militia to assist the Sheriff of Hunterdon County.

A new inquest was opened by Prosecuting Attorney O. P. Chamberlain in Flemington before Judge Durham. The hearing had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining the assistance of witnesses, as the African Americans had fled back to their homes in the South. The Irish were not forthcoming with information and all of the arrested laborers refused to make statements. By December all of those arrested were indicted for murder in the first degree. However, a mistake in the indictment caused the indictment to be quashed. The case was again presented to the grand jury and new indictments were handed up (The Pattenberg riots, 1873, April 23, p. 8). Seven Irish laborers were indicted by a Hunterdon County Grand Jury for murder (Pattenberg rioters indicted, 1873, April 12, p. 1).³⁴

Several of the African Americans laborers were located in the South and returned for the trials. Several local residents also testified against the Irish rioters. However, the prosecution had great difficulty in identifying

³⁴Barney McFadden, Pat Deloy, David College, John Boyne, Pat McCoy, Cornelius McCreavor, and John Coile.

the rioters who caused the deaths and the accused were released (The Pattenberg riot cases, 1873, May 6, p. 8 and The Pattenberg riots, 1873, May 3, p. 7).

The transition of Irish American labor.

The modernization of industry and society in the last quarter of the nineteenth century created great changes in the relationships among working people. The unskilled and unorganized Irish immigrants and Irish American workers lacked the power, and perhaps the sophistication, to confront the New York employers during the period from 1845 to the Civil War. However, these laborers evolved into a skilled and well-organized workforce. By the 1870s the New York workers soon became militant and radical unionists. The leadership for this movement was to be found in the Irish community. The Irish-led movement began with an explosion of working class political radicalism and union militancy in the 1870s and 1880s, which created the foundation for the American labor movement (McKivigan and Robertson, 1996, pp. 301-320).

The movement required the cooperation of workers from all ethnic groups and the support of government. The old faction fights based on regionalism or ethnicity was out of place in this modern environment. Organized union power and political involvement were greater tools in the conflict

with management than were the old battles with other working people. With the assistance of organized labor, the work place became more organized and the violence between fellow workers declined.

Large scale collective violence did take place. What seemed to be faction fighting evolved into violence supporting the unionization of the work site. It would also be met by violence on the part of management and government which feared socialism and the establishment of a Paris Commune by disgruntled workers (Hofstadter and Wallace, 1970, p. 345).

The Great Strike of 1872 was nearly a general strike. In a city of one million, more than 70,000 workers participated in the work stoppage. The strike sought to have employers accept the eight-hour day as the standard without a reduction in pay. Although the aims of the strike were not achieved, the relationship between labor and capital had changed. It was the beginning of the unionized industrial worker (Werner, 1957, pp. 218-236).

Conclusion.

The unskilled Irish immigrant of the 1840s and 1850s arrived with a cultural acceptance of violence. Unskilled and unfamiliar with industrialized society, the immigrants often resorted to that form of collective violence used in

agrarian disputes in Ireland. Factions and secret societies were formed and violence was used when industrial problems arose. However, collective violence was also used against outsiders, whether they were members of other ethnic or racial groups or Irish immigrants from other parts of Ireland. The immigrants were clannish and fearful of sharing the workplace with others. Faction fight violence was a familiar occurrence among Irish immigrant workers. The primitive violence would continue until the Irish workers adjusted to the industrial society and organized other tactics to deal with workplace stresses.

Chapter VI

Gang violence

Introduction.

While groups of misbehaving young men have always been a problem in most cities, the arrival of the Irish immigrants fleeing the Famine exacerbated the problem in New York. Living in ghetto communities with immigrants often from the same part of Ireland, immigrant youths soon created gangs which resembled local rural factions in Ireland. As factions in Ireland were often identified by a name, so too would be the New York gangs. In a city with an inadequate police department, the gang problem was difficult to correct. As in Ireland, the gangs seemed to fight for the recreational opportunities it afforded.

Gangs and communities.

Gangs have long been a problem in New York City. Groups have been organized by occupational associations, by membership in volunteer fire companies, and by religious or ethnic affiliations. However, the most common basis for gang membership was based on the neighborhood. Young working men staked out territories within their community and picked fights in the name of upholding the honor of their small area (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, pp. 491-492).

Theories for gang formation usually stress the effects of local environment on the youth of the community. The "Chicago School" defined the gang as "... an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict." Gangs met face to face, moved through the community as a unit and planned conflict. Gangs had a sense of history and tradition. They also developed an *esprit de corps*, group awareness, solidarity and attachment to a territory. Gang activity was exacerbated by a failure of parents to exert control over their children. Dysfunctional families are believed to drive children into the gangs, which became substitute families. The gangs develop a subculture that is in conflict with the larger society (Yablonsky, 1962, pp. 121-126).

Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey developed the concept of "differential association" to explain gang activities. All behaviors, as well as criminal behaviors, are learned from the surrounding environment. "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law" (1985, pp. 176-183). Youthful behavior reflects the beliefs and activities of the older members of the community. In the Five Points and Bowery neighborhoods, the gang members were viewed as following accepted community values.

Nineteenth century gangs appeared to have been socially accepted by the adult community. Gangs played a part in the social network of the neighborhood. They represented religious and ethnic values of the community and had a role in local politics. While many legitimate members of the community rejected gang violence, they accepted the gangs as a part of the community (Yablonsky, 1962, p. 115).

Irish gangs in New York.

While the study of modern urban gangs included a variety of definitions that are mainly associated with forms of utilitarian criminality, the social history of the Irish immigrants included the faction tradition and the Irish immigrant gangs can be understood as a continuation of this tradition. This ethnic tradition reflected the long historical experience of the rural Irish peasant and the gang was a continuation of a relevant cultural heritage. The continuation of the faction tradition was influenced by innovations and responses to changing social conditions that were experienced in America (Clark, 1991, p. 3).

In the turbulent Five Points and adjacent Bowery areas, Irish gangs had a history of fighting each other and nativist gangs. In 1835 tensions were increased by the plan to raise an Irish militia company, the "O'Connell Guards." Nativists feared that a foreign armed group would put them

at risk. On June 21, 1835, a nativist gang, the American Guards, attacked Irish immigrants in Chatham Square. During the melee, a passerby was killed (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 545).

Gang activity increased with the population in the Five Points. Grocery stores sold alcohol and became meeting places. Many became the headquarters of local gangs such as the Kerryonians, the Forty-thieves, the Shirt Tails, and the Plug Uglies. The most famous of the gangs were the Roach Guards, known for their uniform of blue striped pantaloons, and an allied Five Points gang, the Dead Rabbits, with red stripes (Harlow, 1931, pp. 186-189).

The Dead Rabbits were described as having a regular organizational structure with a president, secretary, and other officers. The group used a dead rabbit hanging from its heels as a symbol. The group at the time of the riot consisted of approximately 100 to 200 members, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five. The Dead Rabbits could be augmented by community members during times of stress. The July 4 and 5 riots united community members who had heard rumors "...that the Know-Nothings and the black Republicans were coming down to destroy the Catholic Church in Mott Street" (The dead rabbits, 1857, July 7, p. 1). The rumors of attacks on the Catholic Church may have been a technique used by the gang to rally the community (Sante, 1991, p.

202).

Gang violence was also associated with political and election violence, as gangs were often used by political leaders as enforcers. Gangs were also often associated with violence among volunteer fire departments. The volunteers were recruited from the neighborhood and members were often members of fighting gangs.

Weinbaum (1975) believes that gang rioting in the nineteenth century can only be understood by examining the political connection (pp. 246-270). Malachi Fallon was a typical Irish politician of the era with connections to many community organizations. He was a volunteer fire leader and was the warden of the Tombs jail. He was also the owner of the Ivy Green saloon, a Tammany leader and foreman of the Black Joke Engine Number 23. In addition he commanded two target companies with 1,000 members, the Baxter Blues and the Black Joke Volunteers. Fallon and the Black Joke Engine Company were dismissed from the fire department after a battle involving more than 600 firemen from several other fire companies (Limpus, 1940, chap. 5).

The Chief Engineer of the Fire Department, Alfred Carson, in 1850 reported that it was difficult to discipline his members as they were so politically powerful that he was

unable to force them to comply with regulations.³⁵

Gang activity existed long before the arrival of Irish immigrants. However, with the faction tradition the gang violence increased dramatically in the Irish neighborhoods. Mayor Philip Hone continually commented in his diary of Irish gang activities. On July 4, 1838, he commented on "... dreadful accounts of a riot and battle between the Irish and the natives in the Sixth Ward ..." and "... riot, disorder and violence increase in our city: every night is marked by some outrage committed by gangs of young ruffians who prowl the streets insulting females, breaking into the houses of unoffending publicans, making night hideous by yells of disgusting inebriety, and unchecked by the city authorities-commit every sort of enormity with apparent impunity" (Hone, 1970, p. 451).

While the Irish Sixth Ward had a more homogeneous Irish population, the adjoining Bowery neighborhood was mixed with Irish, German, native born, and African American groups (Sante, 1991, p. 13). Bowery gangs included the Bowery Boys, the Atlantic Guards, the American Guards, and the True

³⁵"The firemen were a powerful and representative body of men. They were feared and respected. They could extinguish the political ambition of the most popular citizen as readily as they could put out the light of a blazing tar barrel. Their influence was far-reaching, and whenever they saw fit to indulge in a family jar, (drink alcohol) it was as a rule considered the safer course to let them severely alone, and settle their difficulties among themselves" (Costello, 1997, pp. 117-118).

Blue Americans.

The most powerful and influential gang was the Bowery Boys. It was a nativist faction, closely linked to anti-Catholic and anti-Irish violence (Harlow, 1931, p. 189). William Poole, the nativist leader, volunteer fireman, and political enforcer, was associated with the Bowery Boys and the Atlantic Guards until he relocated to the west side (Beals, 1960, pp. 2-5). The Bowery Boys may have consisted of Irish Protestant youths. The headquarters of the gang was in a saloon at 40 Bowery. The Loyal Orange Institute established meeting rooms nearby in 193 and 327 Bowery. Apparently, the organization felt comfortable in that neighborhood, as a large number of its Irish Protestant members lived nearby (Riot in the Bowery, 1869, July 13, p. 7 and The Orange parade, 1872, July 13, p. 8).

Some of the gangs were merely associations of young men with little violence attached to their names. Others eagerly sought opportunities to battle with other groups. Armed attacks were frequent with bludgeons, brickbats, clubs of all sizes and descriptions, knives, and occasionally guns were used.

News accounts frequently identified arrested suspects as gang members. A fight between a small group of Bowery Boys and Dead Rabbits at Centre and Worth Streets caused the death of a sixty-year-old passerby (Murder in the 6th Ward,

1858, August 2, p. 8). A fight between The Blues and the Forty Thieves in the Eleventh Ward was reported (Another riot, 1857, July 9, p. 1). An attack on Engine Company Eight in Chatham Street by the Dead Rabbits left one fireman shot through the ear and three others stabbed. One Dead Rabbit was arrested (Shooting affair, 1857, November 20, p. 1). Peter Young, a leader of the Dead Rabbits, was arrested for the attempted murder of his brother (A vile wretch, 1858, August 17, p. 8).

The Dead Rabbit-Bowery Boy Riot of 1857.

However, the most notorious riot between the Irish gangs and their opponents was the July 4 and 5, 1857 battles between the Dead Rabbits, the Bowery Boys, and allied gangs. The riot had a great many similarities to the traditional Irish faction fight. It occurred on a holiday, a traditional element of Irish faction fights. The groups viewed each other as outsiders and, therefore, enemies. Each held different political and religious views, and they also lived in different communities.

The newly formed Metropolitan police department faced its first great challenge on July 4. Mayor Wood disbanded the older Municipal Police Department after losing a court battle to retain local control of the police (Mayor Wood

Surrenders, 1857, July 4, p. 1).³⁶ The Fourth of July celebrations in New York were traditionally raucous affairs. Parades, picnics, fireworks, political meetings, brawls, pistols fired into the air, alarms of fire, and heavy drinking were commonplace. Without the experienced Municipals on duty, the inexperienced new department would be on its own to handle a potentially violent weekend, as the Fourth was on a Saturday. Even with the experienced Municipals, New York City probably had too few police officers. London had a ratio of one police officer to 351 citizens; New York City had one to 812 (Richardson, 1966, p. 18).

The trouble started on the evening of Friday, July 3. The night was marked by "... pistols blaz(ing) away in every direction and nervous people could not promenade in quiet." The new police department arrested a rioter in the Sixth Ward only to have the mob rescue the prisoner. The Metropolitans rallied and recovered the disorderly person (The city last night, 1857, July 4, p. 1). It was an indication of trouble to come.

The Captain of the disbanded Sixth Ward Municipals

³⁶State interference in the Tammany Hall government included the establishment of a state Metropolitans Police Department for New York, which would not be controlled by city government. On July 1, 1857 the unprepared Metropolitans took over the police functions from the disbanded Municipal Police Department (Burrows and Wallace. 1999, pp. 574-578).

offered to use his unemployed force to assist the new department. Alderman Clancy and Captain Dowling of the Sixth Ward called upon the new Metropolitan commissioners at 88 White Street and offered the services of the disbanded force without charge until Monday, July 6. Their offer was refused (Sixth ward protection, 1857, July 4, p. 8). The police commissioners also refused to appoint the disbanded police officers as special policemen. However, they did appoint 300 citizens without any training as special policemen.

Commissioner Draper defended his decision by stating that Alderman Clancy and Captain Dowling offered to assist only if they would be in charge of the police forces on patrol in the Sixth Ward (Statement of commissioner Draper, 1857, July 6, p. 8.).

The series of riots that constituted the Saturday, July 4 and the Sunday, July 5, 1857 riots began at about 1:00 A.M., July 4 with an assault on a Metropolitan police officer. The Metropolitan was attacked by a group of Dead Rabbits near Chatham Square. The injured officer ran into the saloon headquarters of the Bowery Boys at 40 Bowery to escape the gang of about 25. The officer quickly fled through the back door. The Dead Rabbits entered in hot pursuit, but were attacked by a small group of Bowery Boys who were drinking at the bar. The Dead Rabbits withdrew and

attacked the building with stones and brickbats and succeeded in breaking all the windows. Another Metropolitan police officer was spotted on the Bowery and also attacked. He sought refuge in another saloon in the basement of 36 Bowery. The Dead Rabbits switched their attack to that building. By now the Bowery Boys rallied and attacked the Dead Rabbits, forcing them back to the Five Points (Harlow, 1931, 307-308). The fighting between the two groups continued until about 5:00 A.M. Thus, ended the first phase of the riot.

The following forenoon the Dead Rabbits and the allied Roach Guards reorganized and attacked the Green Dragon Saloon on Broome Street near the Bowery, another Bowery Boy hangout. The Five Pointers proceeded to wreck the saloon and loot the liquor. The cycle began again. The Bowery Boys regrouped and attacked the Five Pointers at Mott and Bayard Streets (Asbury, 1931, pp. 112-113). A heavy shower of stones, missiles and gun fire caused them to retreat to Elizabeth Street and Bayard where they established a barricade of overturned wagons from an adjacent stable.

An unfortunate police officer tried to restore order, but he was badly beaten and striped of his clothing. When he escaped the mob, he ran to 88 White Street and reported to the Metropolitan Headquarters on the riot.

The two sides attacked each other from behind their

barricades on Bayard Street. The Bowery Boys built a barricade east of Elizabeth Street, and the Dead Rabbits' barricade was just west of Elizabeth. The fight was no longer just between gang members, as the entire neighborhood rose to repel the Bowery Boys. Women were involved by throwing objects from windows and rooftops onto their enemies on the street below. Many were injured or killed by thrown missiles and from rooftop gunfire. Local drug stores were filled with the injured and dying (Rioting and bloodshed, 1857, July 6, p. 1).

A group of about 25 police officers was dispatched to the scene to arrest the belligerents. When they arrived, they found the battle had expanded to Baxter and Leonard Streets. When the police officers attempted to make arrests, the Dead Rabbits and their supporter ended the attack on the Bowery Boys and the crowd united against the hated Metropolitans.³⁷

A shower of stones, bricks and gunfire came from the roofs. A group of Metropolitans rushed the rooftops and arrested two men and one woman. The news accounts stressed that liquor stores and saloons were opened during the fight and many in the crowd were drunk.

³⁷It appears that few Metropolitans were from the Irish community. Appendix B lists the names of the newly appointed police officers; few of the new police men have traditional Irish names.

As the Metropolitan's attempted to take their prisoners to the Tombs, a large crowd attacked them. At this point the Bowery Boys came to the aid of the police. The Bowery Boys " ... escorted the Police-nearly all of whom were more or less injured, and their prisoners to a place of safety, from which they afterward regained their head-quarters." The battle between the Bowery Boys and Dead Rabbits resumed when the Metropolitan's removed their prisoners (Order restored at midnight, 1857, July 6, p. 1).

At an inquiry into the cause of the deaths of persons killed in the riots (see Appendix C), testimony was given concerning the origins of the riot. One witness to the riots, John Smith, testified that the crowd was vociferous in denouncing the Metropolitan's.³⁸ The Dead Rabbits

³⁸The community may have been more sympathetic to the Municipal police as it had a much higher Irish component than the Metropolitan's. The idea that Irish immigrants were becoming a power in the police department was troubling to nativist elements. In a Board of Alderman inquiry in 1855, the Irish born component of the Department was second only to those born in America. Many of the American born police officers were sons of Irish immigrant parents. The new police department refused to hire the trained former Municipals and began to hire mainly Anglo-Americans (Foreigners excluded, 1857, July 4, p. 1). However, by 1857 the Irish immigrants had begun to move into policing in great numbers. The anti-Irish New York Times complained in an editorial that Mayor Fernando Wood "has shown an unaccountable partiality for men of foreign birth, as well as an easily appreciated fondness for men of his own political sentiments." The editorial listed the names of the 38 appointments made to the Police department by Mayor Wood and apparently 19 had Irish names. (Who are the new policemen, 1855, March 13, p. 4) In another editorial the New York Times reported the appointment of seven police

cheered, "Down with the black Republicans" and "Three cheers for the old police." However, other testimony indicated that some of the disbanded Municipals fought with the Bowery Boys against the Dead Rabbits. Those police officers apparently lived on the Bowery (Inquest, 1857, July 9, 1857, p. 8). The Reverend P. L. Pease of the Five Points House of Industry denied that the old Municipal police incited the belligerents to attack each other or participated in the riot (What stopped the riot? 1857, July 7, p. 1).

At about 6:00 P. M. Captain Isaiah Rynders appeared and tried to have the two sides end the day long battle. Captain Rynders, the title reflected his former occupation as a river boat operator, was a leader of Tammany Hall. He also led a gang of political thugs and operated a series of saloons and gambling locations. Although he was originally associated with nativist groups, he made political allies of the Irish immigrants when their numbers increased. The Five

officers with Irish surnames in Brooklyn and the removal of seven police officers with names that apparently were non-Irish. The editorial asked "Is it absolutely indispensable to the preservation of law and order that every Policeman should be called Patrick, or Michael or McGuire, and should have a good touch of the brogue with other national peculiarities to match? There is no reason for it except the desire to purchase and pay for their political votes" (Police appointments, 1857, January 22, p.2). There was also the problem of where the foreign-born police officers were assigned. The heavily Irish Sixth Ward had a high percentage of Irish born police officers (The police report, 1855, March 2, p. 4 and "Sam" in the Board of Alderman, 1855, March 20, p. 1).

Points citizens looked up to him as a legitimate political leader (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, p. 635). This time they would not follow his advice and end the bloodshed. He reported back to Simeon Draper, President of the Metropolitan Police, and recommended calling up the militia. At 7:00 P.M. Simeon Draper sent the following communication: To Mayor General Sanford:

Sir: There have been several assaults upon our force. Our men are attacked in various quarters. Already fatal wounds, it is feared, have been inflicted. Our force, though strong, is driven by combinations of men, seeming to be under orders of experienced policemen, and others of desperate character, from point to point. You will therefore call for the requisite force to restore order, and assist the civil force in preventing further havoc among our citizens (Rioting and bloodshed, 1857, July 6, p. 1).

The Metropolitan Police Department believed that the disbanded Municipals were playing a part in the riots. This may or may not have been true. Some reports have former police officers attempting to stop the rioting and other reports of the Municipals participating and instigating violence. One report credits disbanded Police Officer

Shangles of the Nineteenth Precinct with helping to end the riot. He approached the Bowery Boys and identified himself and several other disbanded police officers as deputy sheriffs. He was able to convince both sides to withdraw. His intervention may have helped in ending the Saturday riots (Rioting and bloodshed, 1857, July 6, p. 1).

On the other hand former police officer Philip Zeiger was accused of haranguing a mob and instigating violence in the Thirteenth Ward. The police believed that it was an attempt to draw the new police into a battle with the local toughs (Rioting and bloodshed, 1857, July 6, p. 1). Another report has former Municipal Police Officer Sherlock firing at the Dead Rabbits until he was shot in the face by a shot gun fired by a rioter named Connolly (Another cause, 1857, July 7, p. 1).

The 71st Regiment was mustered at 11:00 P.M. on July 4 in its armory on Elm Street and remained under arms until 6:00 A.M. Three hundred members remained in the armory Sunday for duty if needed. The 7th, the 8th, and the 55th Regiments were also called up. On Sunday morning the units marched behind the groups of 75 police officers who conducted sweeps through the riotous areas and forced the disorderly crowds off the streets. This ended the Dead Rabbits and Bowery Boys riot of July 4.

On Sunday, July 5, a riot involving the Dead Rabbits

and other gang members, who had fought on their side the previous day, occurred on Centre and Worth Streets in the evening. Sergeant Nathan Hicks of the Sixth Ward Metropolitans in his official report stated that " ... that there was a mob of three to four thousand persons mixed up in a general fight." Being out numbered, Sergeant Hicks and his small group of police officers again retreated to the 88 White Street headquarters of the Metropolitans.

One account reported the riot as occurring between elements of the Dead Rabbits and the Kerryonians³⁹, an Irish gang from Centre Street. This account reported that the Kerryonians assisted the Dead Rabbits in their battle on July 4 with the Bowery Boys, but for some unknown reason began fighting their old allies. The fighting began with an incursion into the Five Points by the Kerryonians. Small groups of inebriated gang members battled each other in the vicinity of Anthony (now named Worth) and Centre Streets. The community joined in the violence and reportedly 20,000 persons, spectators and participants, were present in that congested area. The police and the military did not intervene in the early fighting, which was marked by numerous gunshots fired from the adjacent roofs (Sunday evening riots, 1857, July 6, p. 1 and Police returns for

³⁹Apparently, the majority of the gang members had roots in County Kerry, Ireland.

July 5, 1857, July 7, p. 1).

A slightly different account by the Reverend Mr. P. L. Pease of the Five Points House of Industry reported that the riot began with a group of children seizing the pushcart of a resident of Centre Street. When the owner appeared he struck one of the children and the riot began between friends of the two parties. The Reverend Mr. P. L. Pease was credited with defusing the Sunday riot by mingling with the rioters and pleading with them to stop the violence. Another report credits former Municipal Captain Leonard for disbursing the rioters (What stopped the riot, 1857, July 7, p. 1 and Another cause alleged, 1857, July 7, p. 1).

Commissioner Draper called again for the 71st and the 7th Regiments to assist the police in clearing the streets. By 11:00 P.M. order had been restored to the neighborhood (Police reports of July 5, 1857, July 7, p. 1).

The police were able to make only 15 arrests for crimes connected with the rioting. Several of the arrests were the result of witness identifications made in the coroner's investigation into the causes of death during the riots (Inquest, 1857, July 9, p. 8). Of the 12 Dead Rabbit rioters arrested, mostly young men, 11 reported occupations. One was a laborer and another a bill poster. However, nine of the others were employed in occupations requiring a degree of skill. Two tailors, a clerk, a brass founder, a

bag sewer, a cartman, a liquor dealer, and a shoemaker were among the arrested. The Dead Rabbits were not all unemployed thieves and cutthroat criminals (Weinbaum, 1975, p. 253). (See appendix C for those killed and arrested in this incident.)

In addition to the serious riots in the Five Points on July 4 and 5, less serious disorders with injuries and arrests took place in the vicinity of 487 Eight Avenue and at the corner of Twenty-third Street and Eight Avenue (Names of rioters, 1857, July 7, p. 1).

The participation of the Dead Rabbits and the Bowery Boys in this riot was understandable. Both groups of young males had a history of riotous behavior and there was undoubtedly bad blood between the two groups. However, why was there such enthusiastic support by all members of the community? Asbury (1928) estimated that at the peak of the battle 800 to 1,000 people were engaged on July 4 (p. 114). Other newspaper reports estimated the number of people on the streets during the riot at 20,000, which is an improbable number in that small area. Undoubtedly, many of the Irish in the neighborhood viewed the riot as a faction fight and joined in to support their faction. The enemies again were the Protestants and their police forces. The traditional response to the traditional enemies undoubtedly seems appropriate to the Famine immigrants. The riot may

have also been viewed as a part of the celebration of a holiday as the immigrant Irish remembered celebrating fair days and patterns in Ireland.

The riots caused a reconsideration of an unarmed police force based on the London model. Perhaps New York was too violent a city to have unarmed police officers. Superintendent F. A. Tallmadge on November 4, 1857 requested permission of the Police commissioners to arm a portion of the department. The request was based on the fact that the department was too small in numbers to adequately address the crime problem.⁴⁰

Exacerbating the policing problems were the effects of the Panic of 1857 and its associated depression, which had thousands of New Yorkers unemployed. In a letter to the President of the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police District, Superintendent F. A. Tallmadge "...recommended that an appropriation be made and a resolution passed authorizing the arming of ten prudent and discreet patrolmen

⁴⁰As of November 5, 1857 the Metropolitan Police District had a total of 839 members:

On special duty with the courts etc.	119
Roundsman	43
Sergeants	29
Commanding Officers	22
Suspended	3
Sick	28
Absent	10
Patrolmen on duty	605
Total	839

with revolvers, that a sufficient force may in any contingency be called upon to suppress any riots or unlawful assemblages, without the necessity of invoking the aid of the military. ...I have ascertained that the mere exhibition of firearms in the hands of those who may legally use them produces a most potent and instantaneous revulsion in the courage of the blustering violators of law" (The police commissioners. 1857, November 6, p. 8, and Arming the police, 1857, November 6, p. 4).

The inability of the authorities to control crime and collective violence led to discussions on the formation of a vigilance committee in the Fifth and Eighth Wards. James L. Waugh conducted a meeting at the Fifth Ward Hotel to organize a Committee of Safety with the purpose of "... protecting the peaceful inhabitants of the two wards against the hand of the assassin, and the lawless depreciations of bands of ruffians and desperadoes who infest the City and render both life and property among us insecure ... "(A vigilance committee, 1857, August 4, p. 1). The group was reacting to the sense of helplessness that the citizens endured in facing the crime problem. It would take a larger and more efficient police department to create the feeling of safety in the City. Little was heard again of the committee or the Committee of Safety.

Conclusion.

Gangs of troublesome young men existed in New York before the influx of the Irish Famine immigrants. However, the Irish immigrants with their history of faction fighting and recreational violence exacerbated the problem. Acting as they had in rural Ireland, the gangs fought faction fight style battles with other Irish or native gangs. As in Ireland these battles tended to occur during the traditional celebrations associated with Irish life. In America the Irish added the Fourth of July to their holiday calendar.

The inability of the disorganized police department also was also a problem. It would take some time before the New York Police Department adjusted its tactics to successfully counter the threat of violent gang fights.

Chapter VII

Political and election violence

Introduction.

Political violence predated the mass Irish immigration following the outbreak of famine in Ireland. Election day disorders were a common occurrence in New York elections. An absence of violence was newsworthy. The New York Times reported on the elections of November 6, 1855 with a headline, "No rows, no riots, no rumpus." Obviously, this was not the normal day after the election report (Election day in the city, 1855, November 7, p. 1). The Irish immigrants with their traditions of collective violence found that elections were an opportunity to recreate the rural traditions which were a part of their cultural history. Elections campaigns were enjoyable distractions to the impoverished immigrants. The Democratic Party soon found the immigrant tendency to riot a useful addition to the rough and tumble politics of the era.

Early Irish election violence.

The first large scale use of violence by the Irish community occurred in 1817 when 200 Irish attacked a meeting of Tammany Hall in an attempt to have the Irish revolutionary Thomas Addis Emmet nominated for Congress

(Peterson, 1983, p.7).

The English writer Frederick Marryat, detailing his trip to America in 1837 and 1838, wrote:

They [the Irish] are the leaders in all the political rows and commotions and very powerful as a party in all elections, not only on account of their numbers (if I recollect rightly, they muster forty thousand at New York), but by their violence preventing other people from coming to the poll, and, further, by multiplying themselves, so as greatly to increase their force, by voting several times over, which they do by going from one ward to another (Marryat, 1962 p. 396).

Political violence in nineteenth century New York reflected political conflict as well as antiimmigrant, antiabolitionist and anti-African American sentiment. It also was affected by expressive or recreational urges of the lower classes, who were most often involved. Political violence overlapped gang, ethnic, racial, neighborhood, and ideological conflicts. It also served as a pretext to settle grudges with other groups. The election riots served to reinforce the solidarity of the group through collective violence. Election disorders continued until the 1870's and the professionalization of the police force. With a

competent police force, the would-be rioter would have to face the police rather than other potential rioters (Feldberg, 1980, pp. 5-8).

Modernization theory holds that progress leads to democracy and the idea that peaceful political development will be the norm. Less modern political entities are unstable. Third world countries with weak economic, political, educational, and social systems are often controlled by nondemocratic governments. With economic and political advancement democratic institutions such as free and nonviolent elections will develop (Kowaleski, 1993, pp. 518-519) During the period under study, 1845-1875, the development of the political institutions of New York City was incomplete and violence was often a part of elections. The problem was magnified by the Irish immigrants and their traditional behavior.

Politicians prior to the refinement of the Democratic political machine under the leadership of "Honest" John Kelly in the post Civil War period were hampered by a lack of organizational structure. Without an existing pool of manpower and local organizational structure, politicians used the existing groups in the ward for support. Volunteer fire companies, militia or target companies, and gangs were

courted by aspiring politicians. These organizations formed a loose organizational base for political campaigns. Many political leaders began their careers directly from the ranks of the existing organizations. The New York Times reported a primary election in the Fourteenth Ward that described Charles Benedict as the Engine Company 40 candidate and Michael Smith as the Dead Rabbit candidate. The election was marred by attempts to steal the ballot box, ballot box stuffing, and several injuries from gunshot and knife wounds (Primary election, 1858, November 9, p. 5). William Tweed was first elected based on support by his fellow members of Americus Engine Company Number 6. The riotous behavior of these groups also carried over into the electoral arena (Bridges, 1984, p. 75).

The year 1834 has become associated with "the year of the riots" in the history of New York. Beside election riots the City suffered antiabolition and anti-African American violence.

The voting in the election of 1834 took place over a three-day period. It was also the first year of the direct election of the Mayor. The election was particularly important as the Whig Party was in a critical race to limit the policies of Andrew Jackson, who was in favor of closing the Bank of the United

States. The municipal elections in New York were viewed as key to the success or failure of the Jacksonian policies. The Whigs intended to do everything possible to win the election.

The Whigs and their supporters apparently thought that they could intimidate the small Irish community in the Sixth Ward with violence. Whig supporters built a replica of the Constitution, mounted on wheels, and marched to the Sixth Ward. The Irish quickly rose to the challenge and counter attacked, driving the Whigs from the neighborhood. The next day the Irish attacked the offices of the Courier and Enquirer, a Whig newspaper and repulsed another attack on the polls in the Sixth Ward. On the third day of the election the Irish attacked the headquarters of the Whigs. The two sides battled at Elm and Franklin Streets until the militia responded and restored order (Burrows and Wallace, 1999, pp. 574-578). The Irish community could not be easily intimidated.

Every election was the potential source of collective violence. News accounts the day after elections would comment on the numerous instances of violence or in the lack of newsworthy assaults.

While all parties tended to nominate substantial businessmen to the office of mayor, the number of

businessmen in the Common Council dropped from 30 to 15 percent during the period from 1838 to 1850. Taking their place were small entrepreneurs, skilled craft workers, or liquor dealers. These politicians found their support among their working class neighbors. Again fire companies, gangs, militia and target companies were the sources of much needed political support.

The Democrats and the Whigs regularly turned to "shoulder hitters" or thugs to control or influence the outcome of elections. William Poole intimidated voters for the Whigs until his murder by associates of John Morrissey, who performed the same services for the Democrats.

Elected officials were rewarded with a wide variety of illegal graft. Contractors kicked back a percentage of bills for services to the city. Contracts were awarded to firms controlled by the politicians or their families. The political elite began to sell franchises to the economic elite for ferry, railroad, streetcar, gas light, and other monopolies. Piers were leased and valuable city property sold below cost to entrepreneurs who would pay huge bribes. The Common Council earned the nickname the "Forty Thieves" (Peterson, 1983, chap. 3).

Tammany Hall and election violence.

The rough and tumble Irish voters were key to most elections. These immigrants were courted by Tammany politicians who went out of their way to ensure that Irish were made to feel at home in New York City. Green flags, attendance at Irish affairs, and appearances at the Saint Patrick's Day parade were always in order (pp. 822-831).

The Democratic primary election of October 2, 1855 was typical in its use of collective violence to influence the outcome. Tammany Hall had suffered a split between the "Hard Shells" and the "Soft Shells." The issues separating the two factions included the proper position on slavery, patronage, and a host of minor local matters (Spann, 1981, pp. 356-357). John Morrissey, unhappy that he was not on the ballot as a delegate, marched with a group of supporters, or fellow gang members, on the polling location of the Fifth Ward on Hudson Street. There he seized the ballot box and would not let any votes be cast until the election inspectors agreed to allow one of his party be admitted to supervise the counting of the votes. The regular Tammany Hall inspected protested and a general fight ensued. Order was restored when Captain Carpenter and a squad of policemen arrived and restored the peace.

In the Nineteenth Ward similar disorders occurred when one faction attempted to seize the ballot boxes. At the Hudson's Railroad Hotel on Fourth Avenue and Forty-second Street, the election inspectors, who were supporters of Herrick, were attacked by a party of Wood supporters. "Some rum, not a little, was given round, and then a body of men -say from 400 to 500- made a dash at the hall door at the other end of the building, under the supposition that the ballot boxes would be removed to the private apartment of Mr. Reed, that the votes might be totaled." The melee ended only when Captain Tourney and 33 police officers arrived and put an end to the battle (City politics, 1855, October 3, p. 1).

In the Thirteenth Ward two opposing factions battled in the polling location in Onderdonk's saloon on the corner of Grand and Clinton Streets. Supporters of Thomas H. Ferris and Martin D. Bryant attacked each other with a variety of weapons in an attempt to control the ballot box. During the fight George Ferris fired a shot at Patsy McCormack, leader of the opposing faction. He missed and struck Samuel McDonnell in the thigh. George Ferris and seven of his supporters were arrested (City politics, 1855, October 3, p. 1).

The Williamsburg election riot of 1854.

More serious riots accompanied other elections. An election in the City of Williamsburg, which was upgraded from a Brooklyn village on January 1, 1852, suffered typical political disorders. The city experienced explosive growth as immigrants sought work in the city's new factories.⁴¹

Nativist and Irish antagonisms existed in Williamsburg since 1840 with the establishment of the nativist Log Cabin Party. As in New York City, the volunteer fire companies often supplied the muscle for election day disorders (Stiles, 1869, pp. 403-405). The November 8, 1854, election riot was more violent than usual for the period and it resulted in two deaths, numerous injuries, and an attempt to burn down the local Roman Catholic Church.

The disorders occurred at the first district poll of the Fourteenth Ward at the corner of North Sixth and Second Streets. The troubles were caused by attempts by Know-Nothing poll watchers to challenge the Irish voters. Charles Silkworth testified for the prosecution

⁴¹The population increased as job opportunities grew

Year	Population
1835	3,300
1840	5,094
1845	11,338
1850	30,786 (Purcell and Poole, 1941, p.13)

in the trial of the Irish rioters arrested during the disorders.⁴² He testified that the polling place was crowded with Irish voters who interfered with his attempts to challenge voters who might be ineligible to vote.⁴³

Before the riot began a man attempted to vote illegally and was arrested by the police officer on duty. However, the crowd at the poll attacked the police officer and rescued the prisoner. The police officer called upon a group of special deputy sheriffs, who did little to hide their Know-Nothing sympathies, to come to his aid. When they responded, the Irish at the polls united and attacked the group. In the melee two of the nativists, William H. Harrison and John H. Smith, were beaten to death.

⁴²The People vs. Patrick Fagan, John Lyons, Michael O'Brien, John Nolan, P. M. Doyle, William Nolan, Patrick Trains, Edward McHugh, Patrick Cooney, John Curly, Patrick McCue, (of North Second Street), Patrick McCue (of North Sixth Street), Bernard O'Neill, John Nolan, William Fagan, James Reed, Nicholas Burke and John Linsky.

⁴³He testified that, "There was skirmishing, more or less, all day, and whenever I challenged a vote, was threatened; John Lyons, John McCarthy, Michael O'Brien, and others were the persons who dragged me out. I am a resident of that ward, and entitled to vote; was beat, kicked, badly bruised, and carried home in a wagon; had to remain in bed the next day; did not notice any weapons in the crowd; the words made use of when dragging me out were, 'pull the son of a bitch out,' 'kill him,' and so forth (Trial of rioters, 1854, November 18, p. 2) .

The coroners's jury investigated Harrison's death. A witness to the riot, William H. Clinch, testified that at between one and two o'clock he "... saw several men, apparently "Americans" enter the voting place, but the crowd would not let them; they appeared to be Irishmen; some one of this crowd, an Irishman, demanded to see the inside of one man's ticket and would not let him go in to vote in consequence of his refusal."

Ten or twelve deputy sheriffs armed with clubs attempted to enter the polling place, but were attacked by the crowd now numbering around 300 to 400. The crowd was armed with spades, hoes, clubs, and barrel staves. Clinch identified a redheaded Irishman wearing a red shirt as beating a man in the gutter (Election riots, 1854, November 18, p. 7).

The unconscious man in the gutter was William H. Harrison, who was one of the deputy sheriffs. Harrison died of injuries to his head. He was forty-two years old and a spar maker by trade (The riot in Williamsburg, 1854, November 9, p. 5). His funeral reflected his activities in life. Engine Company 3, which he was a member, and delegations from nearly all the fire companies in the city attended his funeral. Two hundred fifty special deputy sheriffs also marched in the funeral procession. The fire companies and the

special deputy sheriffs were undoubtedly linked to nativist organizations (The Williamsburg riot, 1854, November 10, p. 8). John H. Smith was also a member of Engine Number 3 and a special deputy sheriff.

Based on testimony at the coroner's inquest, Oliver Lee was arrested on November 19 in Manhattan. He admitted to hitting Harrison but claimed that he acted in self defense. Lee was twenty-nine years old and a butcher by trade. He was born in Ireland and lived in Williamsburg with his father. He was convicted of manslaughter in the first degree (Murderer of Harrison arrested, 1854, November 20, p. 1, The Williamsburg election riot, 1854, December 7, p. 3, and Editorial, 1854, February 24, p. 4).

The death of Harrison and Smith at the hands of the Irish infuriated nativist elements in Brooklyn. The area had been racked by the open air preaching riots earlier in the year (see Chapter IV) and anti-Irish feelings were strong. Mayor William Wall, who by this time was experienced in handling Irish-nativist disorders, called up the 13th Regiment under Colonel Abel Smith and 250 special deputy sheriffs (The riot in Williamsburg, 1854, November 9, p. 5). The mayor also

issued a proclamation to prevent further violence.⁴⁴

On Thursday, November 9, a procession of 500 nativists marched through Williamsburg in protest. At Grand and Fifth Street they were urged to disperse by Mayor Wall and George H. Andrews, editor of the Protestant-nativist newspaper the Courier and Enquirer. However, a large number of men reassembled and marched through the Irish neighborhood, where the election riot had taken place. They assaulted several Irishmen and fired 20 shots in the air in front of Alderman John Linsky's house.⁴⁵ As few people were on the street, the group began seeking other targets. A cry of "Down

⁴⁴Whereas, Certain evil disposed persons did on the night of the 9th inst, assemble in the streets of the city of Williamsburg, and by riotous acts disturb the peace of the said city,

Now this is to admonish all persons to abstain from every act calculated to endanger the peace, and particularly from all unnecessary assemblages under any pretense whatever, from the exhibition of all party badges and from the carrying of weapons. Citizens are assured that the late unfortunate circumstances are being fully investigated with the purpose of bringing the offenders to punishment, and that the sternest measures, for which ample provision has been made will be resorted to, to preserve the peace of the city, and protect all of its citizens from any violence to their persons or property.

Given under my hand and seal this 10th day of November, 1854

Wm. Wall, Mayor

(Proclamation of Mayor Wall, 1854, November 18, p. 2)

⁴⁵Alderman John Linsky was an active participant with his Irish constituents in rioting. He had also been arrested on July 9th at an open air preaching riot on North Second and Sixth Streets (The ninth of July riot, 1855, January 10, p. 3).

with the Church" began and the crowd marched at 12:00 A.M. to Saints Peter and Paul Catholic Church on Second Street. The group tore down the iron cross over the gate entrance and broke the front windows and door. The men attempted to burn the church by lighting straw placed against the door but the arson attempt was unsuccessful. Before more damage could be done, Colonel Smith and the militia arrived at about 1:00 A.M. and dispersed the rioters (Great riot in Williamsburg, 1854, November 10, p. 8 and Shea, 1892, p. 493).

In the church at that time was a small party of armed Irishmen. Sharp (1954) identified the group as the church Sexton and a group of parishioners (p. 389). Colonel Smith found several coming out of the damaged front door. When called upon to surrender their weapons, one drew a sword and challenged the Colonel. The group was arrested and taken to the station house.⁴⁶ They were released by the Mayor with a reprimand (The plain history of events, 1854, November 18, p. 2 and O'Brien, 1921, pp. 179-192).

Rumors circulated that the Irish would retaliate by burning down the Methodist Church on North Fifth

⁴⁶David Brown, armed with a sword; Thomas Brown, armed with a musket; Thomas Smallfield, a bayonet; Jerry Dorcy, a pistol, powder, bullets and a new dirk knife.

Street. To prevent any other attacks on churches, Colonel Smith had militia members guard Saint Peter and Paul's, Most Holy Trinity, and Immaculate Conception Catholic Churches, as well as the Methodist Church (Quiet restored, 1854, November 11, p. 4). Father Johann S. Raffener, pastor of the mostly German parish of Most Holy Trinity parish rallied his congregation to guard the church from any nativist attack (The Most Holy Trinity Parish Diamond Jubilee Book, p. 10).

At the trial of the 18 persons arrested for rioting at the poll, the defense attorneys stressed the immigrant-nativist aspects of the disturbance. Defense attorneys asked prosecution witnesses whether they were members of nativist organizations in an attempt to discredit their testimony. The key witness, Charles Silkworth, was asked by Philip Crooke, defense counsel "Do you belong to a secret society?" Silkworth- "I decline to answer the question." After objections from the district attorney questioning continued and Silkworth admitted that he was a member of the nativist Order of United Americans (Trial of rioters, 1854, November 22, p. 2).

Defense Counsel H. B. Lapaugh also questioned witnesses, Charles H. Henry, as to his nativist connections. He asked a witness a series of questions:

Do you belong to any society formed to oppose
Foreigners?

Do you belong to a society prejudiced against
these defendants, they being Irishmen?

Do you belong to any organization or formed to
oppose all Irishmen?

Do you belong to the Order of United Americans?

Do you belong to the American Protestant
Association?

(The Williamsburg riot, 1854, November 23, p. 6)

In the Know-Nothing tradition, the witnesses were
reluctant to answer or to acknowledge membership in nativist
organizations. However, the defense lawyers were able to
establish that several of the witnesses were connected to
nativists' organizations or were in sympathy with them.
Four of the rioters were eventually found guilty of riot
(The Williamsburg riot, 1855, May 22, p. 1).

Conclusion.

The Irish immigrants did not begin the tradition of
election violence in New York. Its early use was against
the Irish immigrants in an attempt by nativists elements to
control their participation in the electoral process.
However, the Irish rural traditional culture with its
acceptance of violence soon was used to advance Irish
interests and to influence elections. If election violence

could increase the power of the immigrant community, then it would be used with vigor. Attempts to control or prevent the Irish from voting were quickly beaten back and the immigrant community and its Tammany Hall allies became foremost at the use of violence in controlling the electoral process.

Chapter VIII

The transformation of the Irish immigrant community

Introduction.

The Irish immigrants, who arrived in great numbers during the Famine in the late 1840s and early 1850s, achieved great success in New York by 1875. Beginning as a poverty stricken and a despised group in a city with little sympathy to the violent prone immigrants, the Irish community made great strides in increasing their social and economic standing in New York. With an increased status because of their heroic participation in the Civil War, the Irish won grudging acceptance from the older New York community. Their loyalty to the Republic was no longer in question. With their political abilities and electoral strength at the polls, the Irish won control of city government in the 1870s and held onto their power until the period after World War II. With the changes in status came a change in the traditional behaviors of the Irish. Increased employment in the private and public sector, political power, a strong Roman Catholic Church, and increased recreational and leisure activities helped the immigrants in adjusting to life in a modern city. They adopted middle class sensibilities. Often referred to as "lace curtain Irish," the new Irish middle class rapidly

rejected most of the unacceptable behaviors of the Famine generation. No longer would the raucous behaviors of that era be acceptable. With success came a search for respectability and acceptance as Americans.

A changed community.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century constitutes the middle period of the ethnic history of the Irish in America. This period of adjustment to life in America was over and the group had begun to make progress. The Irish made the necessary changes for success in America. By 1875 the Irish in America were in the critical period of transition from the poverty-stricken immigrants to something approaching middle class status for many in the community. Any study of social mobility in America must begin with the Irish and any study of adjustment to urban life must focus on their history.

By 1880 the American born Irish outnumbered those born in Ireland and by 1890 the number of American born Irish was double the number of foreign-born Irish. These American born members of the community were among the most successful. Capturing leadership positions in politics, government, labor unions, and in the Catholic Church, the Irish American community began to move into the middle class (Meagher, 1986, pp.6-7).

Large scale collective violence between Irish immigrants, their American-born children, and other groups declined drastically after 1875. The reasons for changes in criminal behavior over the long run are subject to debate among criminologists. Crime rates declined from the mid nineteenth century to the early 1960s. Walker credits the "civilizing" effect of the new urban centers and the development of disciplined behavior required for industrial work for the reduction in crime (1998, p. 275).

By the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Irish immigrant community made advances in economic power, political influence, and social standing. The Irish service to the nation in the Civil War was well publicized. The immigrant and native antagonisms never again resulted in violence as it had before the war. The common experiences of war earned the immigrants the respect worthy of citizens of the United States. Tammany Hall, now dominated by the Irish, continued its political leadership of the City. However, it grew more organizationally sophisticated and no longer relied on volunteer fire companies, gangs, and criminals to carry out the work of the party. Tammany organized its own disciplined workers and no longer needed the disorder that accompanied the use of violent prone supporters. The city government matured and recognized the necessity of providing an infrastructure for

the needs of the citizens. Tammany Hall provided clean water, schools, public transportation, clean streets, and parks as the city grew. New York City became a more civilized place and the behavior of the Irish community changed. By the end of the nineteenth century the image of the Irish community would be one of growing respectability. Rather than the riotous or comic stage Irishman, the image included a growing mercantile group, leadership positions in police and fire departments in cities across the United States, and an army of securely established school teachers and civil servants (Shannon 1966, p. 132).

The civilizing process.

Norbert Elias defined the elements of the civilizing process to be the formation of an effective state and the recognition of interconnectedness of all groups in society. The civilizing process also required the formation of a functional democracy and a recognition of the interdependence of all groups in the society. Lastly, as societies grow more civil, the refinement of manners, which is a symbol of exercise of self-control over sexuality, aggression, and emotion, becomes more important (1986, p. 13).

Clearly, the New York City government was growing more effective in administering to its citizens. The Irish

American community would soon to be out numbered by immigrants from Italy and Eastern Europe. The necessity for establishing connections between the groups soon became apparent. Of course, Tammany Hall lost no time in making the connections between the communities as it attempted to organize all New Yorkers into the Democratic Party. As an established immigrant community, the Irish became the group that interpreted America for newer immigrants. Irish American police officers, immigration officials, school teachers, and civil service officials represented America to the new groups. The Roman Catholic clergy in New York, which was overwhelmingly Irish, provided religion to Catholic immigrants, most of whom were no longer Irish.

Sports and recreation.

Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (1986) connected the decrease in collective violence in modern society to the availability of more socially acceptable leisure time activities. With economic advancement the Irish immigrant community in the last quarter of the nineteenth century gained a degree of leisure time. Music, theater, sports, and professionalized entertainment provided leisure time relief. Rather than recreational fighting, the community had alternative activities as substitutes for excitement. The quest for excitement in leisure became complementary to

the control and restraint of emotion in immigrant life. Leisure time recreation was a catharsis that reduced the desire or need for collective violence in modern society (pp. 63-90).

Organized sports were particularly effective in reducing personal or collective violence. Individuals who do not experience tension, stress, and risk in daily life are likely to seek stress and catharsis by some other outlet in either socially acceptable or unacceptable ways. Sport is a socially acceptable way of achieving eustress or pleasurable stress (Sloan, 1979, p. 228). Dunning describes all sports as competitive and, therefore, likely to arouse emotions and aggression. Team sports such as soccer, football, rugby, and ice hockey contain elements of a mock battle. These sports became an acceptable ritualized expression of violence with rules, regulations, and referees to limit and control the violence. Elias would view the controlled violence as a part of the civilizing process in that it prevents people from receiving pleasure by personally indulging in collective violence. Sports reduces *angriffslust*, or the lust for attacking others, and increases a taboo against violent conduct. However, civilized people retain a vestigial desire to engage in collective violence which participating or watching sporting activities helps control (Dunning, 1986, pp. 224-

244).

Within the Irish community team sports gained popularity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This interest in athletics and physical development was widespread in America from 1880 to 1910. The military and American colleges began to stress sports and athletics. Physical fitness was considered necessary for all who would be successful in life (Mrozek, 1983, chap. 3).

The Irish community quickly became involved in athletic competitions. Nationalists organized the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in Ireland to renew the traditional sports of hurling and Gaelic football, which had practically died out during the Famine years. The Irish also linked the movement to the greater nationalist revival of the Irish language, literature, and politics. A tour of 50 GAA athletes and officials brought the renewed games to America in 1884 (McGinn, 1997, p. 12). The GAA still functions in America and Ireland. The traditional Irish games are still played every Sunday in New York.

Other ethnic groups in New York also became very interested in sports and athletics. Cricket was popular with British immigrants and 24,000 spectators witnessed a game in Elysian Fields in Hoboken in 1859. Baseball, which was to become the national pastime, was first played by the New York Knickerbocker Base Ball Club in 1842. While the

upper classes originally played the game, its popularity spread to the working classes. The game spread nationally when Civil War soldiers played the game in camps and taught it to soldiers from other parts of America. New York was the center of the game. The New York Times estimated that there were 1,000 clubs in New York in 1869. An estimated 40,000 people attended the Brooklyn Atlantics and the Philadelphia Athletics game in 1866 (Seymour, 1960, pp. 40-42). Approximately a third of the major league baseball players in the late 1890s were Irish, and by 1915 eleven of the fifteen major league baseball managers were Irish Americans. Connie Mack, Charles Comiskey, and James Gaffney were Irish American baseball team owners (Riess, 1995, pp. 92-93).

The establishment of athletic clubs specializing in track and field events began after the Civil War. Wealthy New Yorkers founded the New York Athletic Club (NYAC) in 1868. Its members competed against the local Irish, Scottish, and German athletic clubs. The athletic ability of the Irish immigrants soon attracted the interests of the NYAC who opened membership and sponsored Irish immigrants. John J. Flanagan, Martin J. Sheridan, Matt McGrath, Jim Mitchel, and Patrick McDonald were NYAC members and Irish immigrants or sons of immigrants. All but Mitchel were also New York City police officers. The group won gold medals in

the 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912 Olympic Games. Athletic achievement greatly increased the status of the Irish among native New Yorkers (Considine and Jarvis, 1969, pp. 98-105).

Irish occupational success.

The 1890 census showed increased Irish presence in the small professional group, in trade and transportation, and in manufacturing. Civil engineers, chemists, architects, artists, authors, designers, and journalists increased in number. A large increase occurred in the number of Irish born officials and employees of banks and of collectors and agents (Hutchinson, 1956, pp. 147-148).

The Irish were no longer dominant in the lower level laboring occupations. They had moved upward to modestly respectable white collar occupations such as teachers, clerks, sales persons, and bookkeepers (Meagher 1986, p.8).

The Police Department in particular became recognized as an institution increasingly dominated by the Irish and their American born off spring. The Irish sought municipal jobs for obvious reasons. Civil service jobs had a degree of security that the average laboring jobs lacked. Employment by the City was a form of social security, which allowed the immigrant families to sink roots into the community rather than to follow construction projects around the country. The Irish particularly favored the police

department. Levine (1966) viewed the Irish immigrants' attraction to the police department as a part of the historical legacy of the Famine immigrants. The attraction was based on the respect and envy of the power, authority, and status that the police in Ireland had over the powerless peasants. The police uniform was a symbol of the helplessness of the Irish and the power of the Protestant Anglo-Saxon government. To join the police department in New York gave the Irish immigrant the status of the uniform, the security of employment, and the power that had eluded them in Ireland. The occupation also included the notion that the police officer was now a part of government, another impossibility in Ireland (pp. 120-121).

Of the 2,936 police officers as of January 1886, 1,745, or 59%, were American born and 974, or 33%, were born in Ireland. Many of those born in America were undoubtedly second generation Irish Americans. Harpers New Monthly Magazine in an article on the New York Police Department noted, "The Hibernian element, including those born in this country, is decidedly predominant" (Wheatley, 1887, p. 14).

A change in the Irish community accompanied this increase in social standing and occupational success. No longer were the traditional behaviors or responses to problems applicable. As modern industrial workers, the Irish were forced to adapt to the rhythms of the industrial

work week. Nineteenth century peasants had only a vague idea of time. The most apparent times of the day were daybreak, noon, and dusk. The measurement of other time was not important or possible to peasants without watches. Work discipline could not develop without a sense of time (Thompson E. P., 1991, pp. 353-403). Thomas D'Arcy McGee may have been correct in describing the Famine Irish immigrants in the 1850's as not being "... taught punctuality, soberness, cleanliness, caution, perseverance or the other 'minor morals'" (Shaw R., 1977, p. 236).

However, the immigrants soon found that they required those traits in modern America. Riotous drinking, fighting, and disorderly conduct could not be tolerated in an industrial society.

The Irish found work and soon dominated many segments of the economy. James Macaulay, the British editor of The Leisure Hour, a journal of instruction and recreation, serialized an account of his trip to America in 1871. In a chapter entitled "New York or New Cork?" the editor expressed surprise at the numbers and the influence of the Irish community in New York City. He found that the Irish were influential in all commercial areas.⁴⁷

⁴⁷"Is it New York or New Cork that I am in? The porter who carried my baggage from the steam tug to the custom house wharf was an Irishman. The harbor men in the boats and the lighters were shouting in Irish brogue. The hackney coachman who drove me to the hotel was Irish. The drivers of

Not all occupational success occurred among the working classes. Birmingham (1973) found that the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the beginning of an era that witnessed the creation of an Irish American elite class. Second and third generation children of Famine immigrants began to compete with the existing American elites. Irish American families such as the McDonnells (finance), Murrays (industry), Ryans (finance), Cuddihys (publishing), Buckleys (oil), Bradys (industry), Dohenys (oil), and Fords (automotive) achieved great economic successes. The Kennedy family of Boston began with a Famine era immigrant and a grocery store. By the early twentieth century that family and many others had achieved exceptional financial and social success.

Policing the city.

New York City became a safer and less violent place by the end of the 1845 - 1875 period. The city government

the omnibuses are unmistakable Paddies. On the staring signboards of the stores are familiar Irish names. The chambermaids and servants in the hotels are Irish. The Irish Chamberlain of New York told me that "the Irish vote" is 40,000. No wonder that the Irish have their share, or more than their share, in the offices and good things of the city. ...it is a rare thing for an Irishman not to improve his condition in the New World. Even in New York, where the least industrious and enterprising of the emigrants prefer to remain, instead of going to the west, there is a large proportion who live in plenty and comfort. The "leveling up" of good wages and of education affects the Irish along with the native Americans" (pp. 70-71).

became more effective and functional. An increase in the power of government is a necessary part of the civilizing process. With strong government comes monopolization of the use of force by the state (Dunning, 1986, p. 13). With increased Democratic Party power, the state government in April 1870 returned the control of the Police Department to the city (Costello, 1972, p. 240).

While corruption and police brutality remained problems, the police department made strides in improving police performance. The idea of professionalizing the police began in the 1870s with the first national convention of police leaders. The police department strove to control public disorders and created an effective detective division under the leadership of Inspector Thomas Byrnes⁴⁸ (Walker, 1977, pp. 47-49 and Astor, 1971, pp. 51-53).

Irish domination of local politics.

The New York Times, long an opponent of the Irish

⁴⁸Homicides declined or remained stable as the city population exploded.

1856	35
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1858	59
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1865	71
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1866	35
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1872	57
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1873	56 (Our statistics..., 1874, January 2, p.4)
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The population of New York City increased during this period from 629,904 in 1855 to 1,041,886 in 1870 (Rosenwaike, 1972, chapters three and four).

immigrant community and Tammany Hall, recognized the improved status of the Irish immigrant and the Catholic community. In an editorial, "How long will Protestants endure," the anti-Catholic editorial writer lamented the success of the Irish community, which according to the editorial writer, came at the expense of the older Protestant New Yorkers. Roman Catholics were becoming the majority religion in a traditionally Protestant society.⁴⁹

The editor of The Leisure Hour alleged that "In one district, chiefly inhabited by Irish, hundreds of votes had been given for years to the Democratic ticket more than there were voters, according to the census. In the tenth electoral district of the sixth ward, the total population men, women, and children was returned as 870. The vote for that district last fall, was 707" (1871, pp. 71-72).

Politics in New York changed in 1871 when John Kelly assumed control of Tammany Hall. "Honest John" was honest only in comparison to some of the more corrupt politicians

⁴⁹"The whole State is fast centering itself in the ranks of the lowest and most ignorant class of the whole community—the Irish Catholic laborers and tenement-house population of New York and vicinity. Each year gives this class a greater numerical value. They work together as a compact battalion under able and audacious leaders. They control in the City administration enormous sums of money. Where they are deficient in votes, they can create them. The timid or the ambitious Americans who have belonged to the same Party organization have not the nerve or principle enough to separate themselves from these useful associates, whom socially they despise" (1871, February 2, p. 4).

of his era. Samuel J. Tilden and Charles O'Connor, both leaders of the Democratic Party in New York State, handpicked John Kelly to rebuild Tammany Hall after the fall of William Tweed in 1871. It was said that he "found Tammany a horde; he left it a political army" (Morris, 1997, p. 11). No longer would the Democratic Party rely on the services of volunteer firemen or gangs of Dead Rabbits to control the politics of New York City. The party would organize and place its own members in each ward and district. The organization was efficient and the party would not require violence on election day. The social reformer, William M. Ivins (1887) in his attack on machine politics and Tammany Hall did not mention the use of violence at the polls as a current problem. He emphasized the advantage that the highly organized Democratic machine had in New York City was based on its ability to dispense jobs and contracts. People and businesses who benefitted from government later returned money to the Democratic Party.

Irish immigrants were familiar with some aspects of the political process. The activities of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association in the early 1800s educated the Irish peasants in the need for political organization. Irish Famine era peasants were aware of the need for working together and sacrificing for a common political cause. The

tradition of secret societies and the use of collective violence to achieve community goals served as a foundation of the Irish dominance of Tammany Hall. The Irish had a political consciousness that the later immigrants from Italy, Eastern and Southern Europe had not reached (Shannon, 1963, p. 52).

The Irish became associated with urban politics in most major cities and government. Unfortunately, reformers often viewed the typical corruption of the era as an Irish characteristic. Travelers from England frequently commented on the increased status of Irish immigrants. Charles Dickens revisited New York City in 1867-1868 and compared it with the city he first visited in 1842. Blaming the Irish for the changes in American society, he acknowledged their increased political power. "The Irish element is acquiring such enormous influence in New York City, that when I think of it, and see the large Roman Catholic cathedral rising there, it seems unfair to stigmatize as "American" other monstrous things one also sees. But the general corruption in respect of the local funds appears to be stupendous" (Forster, 1911, p.371).

Dickens' sour comments on the Irish reflected his anti-Irish sentiment. He seemed to begrudge the Irish their success and their growing influence in New York City. He was acknowledging that several aspects of American society,

such as political styles and corruption, were in fact linked to the power of the Irish immigrant community. The general corruption involved the powerful Tammany Hall political machine, which was first to enlist the Irish into its ranks. In a short time the machine's political control would be solidly in the hands of the Irish.

The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and America.

The Roman Catholic Church had a powerful role in the modernizing and in assisting the assimilation of the Irish immigrant community. While helping the immigrants to establish a Catholic identity, the church diminished the immigrants' Irish national identity. The Catholic identity replaced the Irish traditional culture of the Famine immigrants. The Church both in Ireland and America attacked traditional culture and replaced it with a system that eased the immigrants into a more modern or civilized culture.

E. P. Thompson found that the growth of Methodism had the same effect in nineteenth century England. The growth of Methodism supported the industrialization of the lower classes. The religion supported the established order and drew attention to " raising the standard of public morals, and in promoting loyalty in the middle ranks as well as subordination and industry in the lower orders of society" (1963, p. 350).

The ceremonies associated with the opening of the new Saint Patrick's Cathedral on May 25, 1879 symbolized the rapid advances of the Irish and their Church. Attesting to the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in America was the presence of seven archbishops and thirty-six bishops from throughout the United States and Canada. Also present were 116 priests (The marble temple, 1879, May 26, p. 3; An imposing ceremonial, 1879, May 26, p. 5; The new Cathedral, 1879, May 26, p. 1).

Perhaps more significant was the attendance of notable lay persons at the ceremony. Successful Irish-born Catholics were prominent among the well-known citizens on the dais. William Grace, a shipping and mining entrepreneur and future Mayor of New York City, was present. Chief Justice Charles P. Daly and Judge James T. Brady represented the judiciary. Attorney Charles O'Connor, former United States Attorney and adviser to Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York and 1876 presidential candidate, was but one of the political leaders present. Founder of the Emigrant Saving Bank and board member of the Equitable Life Assurance company, Eugene Kelly, and his associate Henry Hoguet, president of the Emigrant Savings Bank, and bankers William and John O'Brien, were in attendance. Merchant Thomas O'Donoghue and immigration commissioner James Lynch were also on the dais.

These prominent members of the community were typically

young children when they immigrated to New York City with their families who were fleeing the Famine. Several prominent Protestant New Yorkers accepted an invitation to sit on the dais as guests of the Roman Catholic Church. Cornelius Vanderbilt and the widow of the Irish-born Protestant merchant, A. T. Stewart, were honored guests. While anti-Catholic prejudice did not end, Catholics were becoming more accepted as their status increased (Morris, 1997, pp. 1-15).

The effect of religious belief as a control of criminal activity has long been of interest to criminologists. Evans, Cullen, Dunaway, and Burton (1995) found that participation in religious activities was a persistent inhibitor of adult crime (pp. 207-209). The New York Irish community was becoming a community closely linked to the Roman Catholic Church and its religious influences.

The Roman Catholic Church in both Ireland and in the United States had evolved by 1875. The popular conception of "Irish Catholicism" includes strong images of a community of pious communicants closely supervised by a stern and overbearing clergy. In this society the priest was the final font of wisdom with the keys to eternal salvation. The image also includes many religious practices centered in the parish church. Rosaries, stations of the cross, parish missions, and devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary in a dark

church with flickering candles are images associated with Irish Catholicism. So strong are these images that many believe that this was the way it always was. However, this image is of the newer reformed post-Famine Irish Catholic Church.

The devotional revolution and the Irish immigrant.

Larkin's (1972) description of an Irish national movement that he called a "devotional revolution" fits into the period between the national Synod of Thurles in 1850, establishing the administration of the sacraments and the regulation of the lives of the clergy. The second national Synod of Maynooth in 1875, increased Irish episcopal control and authority. The Archbishop and later Cardinal, Paul Cullen, dominated the period. Church historians credited Cullen with reforming the Irish church and influencing the Church in countries of the Irish diaspora. His reforms, which occurred during and after the stressful years of the Famine, changed the Irish from nominal Catholics to perhaps the most observant of all Catholic national groups (pp. 635-643).

Larkin described a pre-Famine Irish Church that suffered several defects. The most serious problems were with the clergy. The British Penal Laws had outlawed the Church until 1790 and consequently Ireland suffered a great

shortage of priests and ecclesiastical administration. The number of clergy was clearly inadequate to serve the population.

Year	Priests	Population	Ratio	Nuns
1800	1,850	3,900,000	1:2,100	122
1840	2,150	6,500,000	1:3,025	N/A
1850	2,500	5,000,000	1:2,000	1,500
1870	3,200	4,000,000	1:1,250	3,700

(pp. 625-627)

Ironically, the Famine, which greatly reduced the population, improved the ratios. The combination of lives lost and the effects of immigration reduced the population while the number of priests began to increase. By 1850 the number of priests increased to 2,500 and the population decreased to five million, creating a ratio of one priest per 2,000 Catholics. In subsequent years the ratio of priests to population continued to increase.

Not only was there a shortage of priests in pre-Famine Ireland, but also problems emerged concerning the quality of the clergy. Larkin in reading the Achieves of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) found continual complaints of priests who were drunken, disorderly, immoral, or a who possessed a combination of deficiencies. The greatest complaint of the Irish peasants

concerned priestly avarice. Many priests considered it an obligation to give money to their relatives, who may have sacrificed to pay for their priestly education. To raise money sacraments were administered for a fee, which often was more than the local population could afford. Because of these fees, many poor had little contact with the Church. The Church also ordained many poorly educated priests who were not able to instruct their congregations in the tenets of the Catholic religion. This was especially true in rural parishes. The Church often assigned more educated priests and those from substantial families to larger towns or cities (p. 631).

The rural Irish needed instruction in the Catholic religion. The Church built Irish Catholicism on top of an elder folk religion with its foundations in pre-Christian paganism. Some of the people held onto their ancient beliefs and traditions. Traditional religion included belief in the magical properties associated with stone, wood, and water. The peasants held that festivals celebrating Celtic holidays such as Beltane and Samhain, which herald the coming of summer in May and the dying of the year on November 1. A variety of rites insuring fertility and protection continued as games and customs associated with wakes and weddings (Johnston, 1983, pp. 22-23).

Larkin estimated that only a third of the population attended Mass in pre-Famine Ireland. Post-Famine Ireland has long enjoyed an attendance rate of more than 90%, that extended for over a century. The Church contained a body of poverty stricken, illiterate, and superstitious peasantry. The Irish Catholics who did attend Mass were from the more middle class elements of society, mainly substantial farmers and small merchants. Tenant farmers and landless laborers were swept out by starvation, disease, eviction, and mass immigration. Therefore, at the end of the darkest years of the Famine, the Catholic Church was in a stronger devotional position than in 1840. The remaining poor tenant farmers continued to die or emigrate, leaving a more affluent and more doctrinaire church with a pliant membership.

Paul Cardinal Cullen, who lived in Rome from his ordination in 1821 to 1850, could take advantage of the psychological impact of the Famine on those who remained in Ireland. Cullen was able to reform the post-Famine Church and created a modern and vigorous version of Catholicism. The Irish emigrants and the better educated clergy carried the reformed Church with them to America, England, Scotland, Canada, and Australia. Cullen stressed the issue of sin and God's wrath in explaining the cause of the disaster. The Irish were psychologically and socially receptive for an evangelical revival. A guilt ridden and frightened

population was prepared to turn to the Church for comfort and salvation. The Church looked powerful with mysterious and solemn ceremonies that offered hope to the downtrodden. The Church offered explanations, identity, direction and order in a fast changing world. Under Cardinal Cullen, the Church, with its organizational and liturgical reforms, could provide the religious direction required to offer hope in a changing world(Larkin, 1972, p. 639 and Morris, 1997, pp. 41-46).

However, other factors beside the negative issues of fear and guilt were involved in the devotional revolution. The Irish rural traditional culture was under attack. The Irish people had been losing their language and culture for more than a hundred years before the Famine. British economic and political controls led to a process of Anglicization. Clearly, this process included forces of modernization as a more advanced social model replaced a more primitive culture. As the Irish lost their cultural identity, they turned to the Roman Catholic Church, which cooperated with the modernization of the Irish culture. The Church provided the Irish with a substitute symbolic language and offered them a new Catholic cultural heritage with which they could be identified. The terms Irish and Catholic became interchangeable.

Despite nationalist attempts to stress "Irish" as the

inclusive term rather than "Catholic," the two terms have been linked to such a degree that they have been viewed as bound together and inseparable (Larkin, 1972, p. 649). Nationalists would have to fuse their ideals to Catholicism to have the Irish accept them. It was not always successful as the Church leadership occasionally condemned nationalist movements. Eventually, however, the concept of nationalism joined with ideas of Irish and Catholic to form a single unit (Gilley, 1984, pp. 192- 193).

The Catholic Church also attacked Irish traditional practices. It controlled rowdy behavior at wakes and fairs. It attacked bowdlerized folk songs and prevented crossroads dancing where young rural people met and danced to a local fiddler or piper. Francis O'Neill (1913), an Irish traditional musician and superintendent of the Chicago police department, claimed that the Church's condemnation of traditional crossroads dancing was so damaging to Irish traditional music that he believed that the music would disappear (p. 417). The Irish began to view all things Gaelic and Irish as degraded and embarrassing. Cullen attacked drunkenness and preached that it was a sin on the level of fornication. The Church became as passionately in favor of temperance as the English evangelicals (Gilley, 1984, p. 190). In America, Irish clerics continued the attack on alcohol. Seeing alcohol as hindering acceptance

in American society, Archbishop John Ireland campaigned for the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. He viewed temperance as an important component of a prosperous and civic minded Catholicism (Rowland, 1996, p. 6).

The Church in New York attacked Irish organizations for unacceptable behavior. Father Sylvester Malone, who served as pastor of Saints Peter and Paul Church in Williamsburg from 1840 to 1894, was a critic of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and its tendency toward violent behavior. The Williamsburg AOH was involved in the Saint Patrick's Day riot of 1867 in Manhattan. In 1878 the Williamsburg AOH was again involved in a small Saint Patrick's Day riot in Brooklyn. Father Malone attacked the AOH for causing "...St. Patrick to be the object of newspaper criticism and mockery" (St. Patrick's Day, March 18, 1878, p. 8). Armed Irish immigrants during the nativist disorders saved Father Malone's church in Williamsburg from destruction in 1854 (See pages 237-239). However, he was embarrassed by the traditional resort to violence in the modernized Brooklyn of 1878. The AOH units in Williamsburg and Greenpoint both died out by 1900 (Ridge, 1966, p. 16).

What is important to consider in analyzing the Irish immigration to New York City, is the fact that most of the two million Irish who emigrated from 1847 to 1860 were a mainly nonpracticing Catholics, if they could have been even

considered Catholics. As they congregated in ghettos in England, Canada, and America, their reputation was of ignorance, violence, and drunkenness. In Ireland and in America before the devotional revolution many priests were of poor quality. Irish bishops found America a convenient dumping ground for alcoholic, rebellious, or womanizing priests. After the reforms of Cardinal Cullen, Irish missionary priests brought with them the zeal of the newly reformed Irish Catholic Church (McCaffrey, 1992, p. 61).

Of the four million Irish who emigrated to the United States of America between 1845 and 1900, 2,300,000 came after 1860. This group had the advantage of effects of the devotional revolution and the increased ability of the Roman Catholic Church to influence its membership. The effects of the Famine also suppressed the rowdy traditional elements of the pre-Famine Gaelic culture. With the modernization of the economy and increased Church control, the later Irish immigrants to New York City did not present the problems of collective violence that came with the earliest Famine Irish.

Cullen was also able to recommend young clerics to Rome for leadership positions in the Church. Within the twenty-five-year period, the Irish Church reflected Cullen's reformist enthusiasms. Rome made few important decisions on the Church in Ireland or in the countries of the Irish

diaspora without consulting Paul Cardinal Cullen (Gilley, 1985, p. 200).

Parish life in New York.

Irish immigrants in their ethnic villages in New York City followed clerical leadership and built a strong system of churches, schools, and social organizations based on the parish. By duplicating the Protestant or state educational system with parish schools, the Irish Catholics maintained their identity. The community also reproduced on a smaller scale social service programs and philanthropic organizations. Irish fraternal organizations, the Knights of Columbus, the AOH, savings programs, mutual insurance companies, religious confraternities, and sodalities were formed to continue the connection between the Church and the Irish immigrant. Often the parish priest was an important leader of these organizations. With his attendance at meetings and affairs, Irish organizations had little chance to stray from the Church. The Irish community became "...self sufficient with its own newspapers fraternal societies, lawyers, priests, politicians, teachers, academies, booksellers, and political leaders" (Gilley, 1985, p. 196).

The rules of the Catholic church dictate where a Catholic could worship. Catholics were to be members of the

parish they lived in and could join no other parish. Catholics must submit to the authority of the church as Catholic worship requires ordained priests to conduct the services. The Archbishop of New York held the authority to establish parishes, control property, and appoint priests. Unlike Protestant and Jewish New Yorkers, the Church required Catholics to attend Mass in their parish church. While Jews and Protestants were free to worship wherever they choose, Church law required all Catholics within the geographic boundaries of the parish to attend their local church. Baptisms, first communions, confirmations, marriages, and funerals could only be held in the parish church of participants. Catholics were forbidden to attend the sacraments in other Catholic churches. Catholics from outside the boundaries of a parish could not send their children to its school or to join in the parish social organizations. Parish boundaries excluded outsiders and built strong close-knit local communities with powerful attachments to the Church and its priests. The center of the parish was the church, the rectory, the parish school, and convent (Gamm, 1999, p. 120).

Gamm in his examination of the influence of Catholic parish and Jewish synagogue as community anchors, found that Catholics were more firmly rooted to the parish church. The parish church was a permanent structure built at great

expense and sacrifice by the members of the parish. It represented a strong commitment to the religion and offered a strong territorial attachment to the parish as a community (pp. 17-21). Irish American Catholics continued to identify themselves with their parish well into the middle of the twentieth century. When meeting another Catholic, one would frequently ask, "What parish are you from?" The question was in part geographic, but it had at its heart the importance of the parish in the lives of the Irish American community.

Post-Famine immigrants found a Church in New York much like the Church they left in Ireland. The parish was the most important social center in Irish neighborhoods. Parishes functioned as a meeting place and intensified feelings of group solidarity. The importance of the parish as a focal point in the community also stressed the importance of maintaining militant respectability and enforced a behavioral code in even the roughest neighborhoods. The Irish parishioners, creating the new Irish Catholic world in New York City, moderated their drinking and violent behavior under the eyes of the parish clergy and requirements of the industrial world. They also focused their time and energies on the parish school and creating a more sheltered environment for their children. Thus, the parish sustained the impoverished immigrant's self

respect in the face of a long list of problems associated with poverty and violence.

The quest for respectability.

By the turn of the century the Irish community was still not equal in status to the more established Protestant majority. In a quest for acceptance and respectability, the Irish community campaigned by loudly articulating its patriotism and by advancing the prestige and power of the Catholic Church.

The empowered community still supported nationalist ambitions for Ireland. However, this proved difficult as the United States viewed Great Britain as a friend. Irish America, under pressure from the Church, turned from the support of the physical force tactics of John Devoy's Clan na Gael and the Fenian movement to the constitutional reform of Charles Stuart Parnell and the Irish Nationalist Party. Home Rule and constitutional reform became the acceptable solution to the Irish problem.

The Catholic Church, which was led almost exclusively by Irish clerics, was by nature conservative and sought "Americanization" in its quest for respectability. The Church was ambivalent in its support of the labor movement. While supporting the efforts of its working class membership, it opposed strikes and labor unrest. Perhaps

German Catholics could sympathize with the strikers involved in the Haymarket Square Riot of 1886 in Chicago, but the Irish could not support the murder of Irish police officers.

John Ford, editor of the Irish World, an influential Irish newspaper in New York, early in his career supported strikes, labor unrest, and attacked the Roman Catholic Church for its positions on issues affecting the immigrant community. By 1890 he reversed himself and held that the ideal Irishman was "respectable, well to do, cultured and devoutly religious." In addition they were "notably patriotic, democratic, and intensely loyal to American institutions" (Rowland, 1996, p. 4).

Irish Catholics became super patriots. James Cardinal Gibbons strongly supported the war with Catholic Spain in 1898. Archbishop Ireland, who had been a chaplain in the Civil War, wrote The Church and Modern Society in 1905 to celebrate the centenary of the establishment of the hierarchy. In it he wrote that "next to God is country, and next to religion is patriotism...it is a Catholic virtue...[and] I would have Catholics be the first patriots of the land" (pp. 8-9).

The Ancient Order of Hibernians and other Irish organizations became very critical of songs or theatrical presentations that depicted the Irish unfavorably. A riot and boycott greeted the classic Irish play, "The Playboy of

the Western World" by John M. Synge when it opened in 1911. Irish Americans, now seeking respectability, could no longer tolerate the unflattering portrayal of the Irish. In 1904 ninety-one smaller Irish societies formed the United Irish Societies and harassed acts that mocked the Irish community. The Russell Brothers were victims of the new Irish sensitivity. They performed a comic act in vaudeville dressed as female Irish domestics. The United Irish Societies organized groups to disrupt their performance and to discourage theaters from booking their act. Eventually, the Russell Brothers were forced to end their stereotypical performance (Maschio, 1992, pp. 81-93).

"Lace Curtain" Irish and "Shanty" Irish.

The search for respectability reached into the individual Irish American families. The community was beginning to be marked diversification and stratification. By the last quarter of the nineteenth-century the more successful Irish Americans were members of the second or third generation. While grandfather and grandmother may have lived in a poorly built shanty or a tenement building, their middle class grandchildren were rapidly moving away from that reality. With middle class status the second and third generations sought to led lives as did the middle class Protestants.

"Lace curtain" came into common usage in the 1890s and it described those Irish Americans who lived the middle class life in modern houses with prestige symbols of success, which included lace curtains on the windows. The term may have reflected "less an occupational status than a state of mind" (Williams, 1996, p. 203). The term included the notion of a self-conscious attempt to maintain and create a level of gentility and to escape from the reputation of the raucous brawling and hard drinking traditions of the "shanty" Irish. Lace curtain families, anxiously seeking respectability, sought to be viewed as pious, sober, genteel, and cultured. Their nagging sense of inferiority demanded a new image of themselves. Piano lessons, proper attire, and an intense interest in what the neighbors might think were signs of the lace curtain life.

As the numbers of the lace curtain Irish families increased, the popularity of comic songs that contained references to stereotypical behaviors or violence declined. Williams found that comic songs declined from an average of 36% of a sample in 1880, to 24% during the first decade of the twentieth century, to 18% in 1910. The stock figure of hard drinking and fighting "Paddy" was no longer funny or acceptable (1996, pp. 200-203).

Of course, such behavior begged to be satirized and the

plays of Edward Harrigan,⁵⁰ the "Mr. Dooley" newspaper columns of Finley Peter Dunne, and many songwriters were filled with comment on the behaviors of the upward bound lace curtain Irish (Shannon, 1963, pp. 142-150).

The influence of the lace curtain mentality cannot underestimated. With occupational success and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the Irish American community was under pressure to reform itself. The days of the "Shanty Irish" were numbered.

Collective violence in the post 1875 era.

The popular image of the riotous Irishman decreased in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Collective violence still occurred and some in the Irish American community were sometimes involved. However, it was not the recreational rioting of the Famine Irish. Collective violence in labor strikes was not the primitive rioting of the earlier generation with little discernable cause. The labor violence of the era was modern collective violence with the advancement of the workers as its goal. Not only Irish workers would engage in this style of a riot, but also most New York workers who were attempting to secure

⁵⁰Harrigan's play on the lace curtain life, Reilly and the Four Hundred, had a song "Maggie Murphy's Home." The lyrics included the line, "There's an organ in the parlor, to give the house a tone, and you're welcome every evening at Maggie Murphy's home" (Shannon, p. 143).

industrial advancement would participate (Tilly, 1969, pp. 13-29).

Irish labor became more sophisticated in its tactics. The modernizing Irish Land League in Ireland developed the boycott as nonviolent a tactic against landlords, agents, and agricultural laborers who violated the moral economy. Irish workers in New York adopted the same tact in their industrial struggles with management. The Irish leadership of the freight handlers union ended its unsuccessful 1882-1883 strike against the New York Central and Hudson River Railroads when Italian strike breakers began working. However, several Irish strikers also crossed the picket line and resumed work. Jeremiah Murphy, president of the union, began a social boycott of the Irish strike breakers. Murphy declared that the union members would picket the strike breaker's homes and they would shun them. "...you will see that this system of boycotting will go much further than using personal violence. We shall not harm them; they need not fear that" (Gordon, 1977, pp. 111-112).

Dead Rabbit and gang riots, nativist encounters, Irish regional riots, attacks on the Orangemen, workplace battles, and holiday disorders became relics of the past. Violent traditional behaviors embarrassed a community which was progressing by economic, political, and social measurements. The rowdy behaviors were suppressed in the movement toward

respectability.

Conclusion.

The vastly improved condition of the Irish immigrant community resulted in changes in traditional patterns of behavior. They curtailed riotousness and faction fighting. Sports and other forms of recreation weakened the need for recreational rioting. Success in labor, government, and civil service greatly influenced the Irish American community. Rural traditions and behaviors were inappropriate in modern cities. As the community gained middle class status, such behaviors were unacceptable. The established Irish community leaders urged better behavior by the newer immigrants. Irish police officers, immigration officials, Democratic party officials, and civic leaders were now interpreting America to new immigrant groups. The Catholic Church provided strong leadership to the new waves of Catholic immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The Irish community continued to look to the Church for religious guidance and support.

Although each of the subsequent immigrant groups presented new social problems, the Irish experience set a pattern of what was possible for the newer immigrants. Problems would be resolved as the groups advanced in American society. Problematic behaviors would become less

severe and threatening as the new groups achieved success.

Appendix A.

Killed at Elm Park Riot, July 12, 1870

Brady, Charles.

Occupation: marble polisher, married with four children, the oldest was five.

Age: 23 or 24.

Residence: Fifty-third Street and Eleventh Ave.

Cause of death: shot in the head or chest at Eight and Ninth Avenues at ninety Second or Ninety third Streets.

Brady, James.

Occupation: tool carrier.

Age: 14, 15 or 17.

Residence: Sixty-third street near Eight Avenue.

Cause of death: shot and suffered a skull fracture. Unclear whether he was an innocent bystander.

Brady, Patrick.

Age: 60

Shot in chest and stomach.

Crowley, Daniel (or Bernard)

Age: about 40, born in Ireland, single.

Occupation: laborer.

Residence: Bloomingdale Road near Sixty-eighth Street.

Shot in chest while scaling the fence at Elm Park.

Gardiner (or Gardner), John.

Age: 24. Emigrated from Ireland in 1867.

Residence, 525 W. Thirty-seventh Street.

Died in Bellevue hospital on July 14.

Kane, (or Kane, or Cain), Patrick.

Age: 31 or 40. Emigrated from Ireland in 1848.

Occupation: laborer

Residence: W. Sixty-seventh Street or Eighty-fifth Street between Ninth and Tenth Avenues.

Died in Bellevue Hospital from a skull fracture.

Kane, (or Cain), William.

Age: 31. Emigrated from Ireland in 1857.

Occupation: quarryman.

Stabbed in the back by Orangemen in Central park. Died in Bellevue on July 13.

Wood, Francis.

Age: 31.

Occupation, employed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Residence: 623 E. Ninth Street.

Member of the No Surrender Lodge of the APA. Skull fracture at Eight Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street. Died in Bellevue July 13.

Appendix B.

Appointment of Police Officers to the Metropolitan Police
Department. July 11, 1857

Second Precinct

C.L. Dodge
James Murray
John Pool
George Kyser
Harvey J. Halley
S.B. Knapp
Wm. Dubois
Hugh P. Dean
Jas A. Perkins
J. W. Reynolds
Wm. Hillard,
Frederick Horton
B.F. Denton,
Reuben Phillips

Third Precinct:

Alex. Crosette

Fourth Precinct:

D. B. Forbes
Thos. Gormon
Jno. Wilson
Jas. N. Hard
Augustus Goodrick
Chas. Farwentz

Sixth Precinct:

Joseph Knight
-Daniels
Emanuel burgess
Wm H. Bailey
John Dougherty

Seventh Precinct:

Edward Hass,
Thomas Dusenberry
R.J. Sector
Robert Walker
H.B. Shophoff
Richard Wilson,
W.B. Kellam
W. E. Buckman
Hugh McKennon,
Thos. F. Williams,
J.P. Paul,
D. B. Stevenson,
W. B. Jarboe,
George Irving
F. W. Higgins
Charles Raynor,
James Jubo
James Valentine
John B. Lockwood
John Peeny
Wm. Haggarty
Theodore Copland
John J. Tobins
J. H. Weyser,
E. B. Butterfield
B. Bennet
William M Howell

Tenth Precinct:

Charles Gardner
J.W. Holmes
W. Davis
J. W. Littell
Charles E. Freeman,
J. Wood
Samuel Frazer

Tenth Precinct cont'd:

Cornelius S. Robinson

Charles Humphrey
 James B. Smith
 George A. Daws
 Leopold Wolf
 Franklin Kasmire
 John M. Noraha

Fourteenth Precinct:

James Montgomery
 Charles Uilman
 E. F. Johnson
 Petterson Jollie
 J. N. Kenny
 Geo. Senior
 Chas. Shirer
 R. N. Webb
 Wm. J. Lawson
 Henry Lloyd
 F. W. Wolf
 Geo. S. Lucas
 Ambrose Oliver
 Wm. H. Oliver
 Martin Dimon,
 John Williams
 John Dunn
 F. S. Gall
 Bernard O'Rourke
 George Galen
 F. Timmans
 Henry H Waters
 Geo. F. Lusk
 Charles White
 A. Swift
 James Duffy
 Dennis Geraghty
 B. L. Phillips

Fifteenth Precinct:

Ralf Patterson

Seventeenth Precinct:

W. F Fountain

Seventeenth Precinct
 cont'd:

Henry Carman
 John H. Dalley
 John Compter
 Franklin Hospier
 Robert De Gronche
 M. B. Cooper
 Wm. Van Seckles
 Geo. C. Hewer
 Thom. Carle
 Geo. Hyde
 Robert Lawney
 Geo. Cook
 Hugh Lindsley
 John Conklin
 Thomas Kinkaid

Nineteenth precinct:

Richard Duncombe
 Henry Tyson

Twenty second Precinct

Charles Whitmore
 Thos. Bowles
 H. S. Phillips
 N. Hoyt
 S. Linendall
 A. A. Durfee
 Henry Paslin
 J. A. Bearer
 J. S. O'Dell
 E. Palmer
 J. W. Richards
 J. Simonson
 Jos. Cottrell
 H. W. Stevens
 B. Decker
 Lewis Pernhold
 Wm. Ewer
 Jos. Durkee
 Wm. Walker
 B. Barker
 Geo. Whitman
 John Stuart

Appendix C.

Killed in the Dead Rabbit-Bowery Boy Riot of July 4-5, 1857.

The following were killed in the weekend disorders:

William Cahill,

5 Mulberry Street native of Ireland, age 28.

Patrick Rowhan,

gunshot, 194 Varick Street, native of Ireland age 27

William Pentoney,

gunshot, 123 Hudson Street, shot while watching the riot at
78 Bayard Street, native of London

Cornelius Mahoney,

gunshot, 119 Mulberry Street, native of Ireland, age 14

J. J. Bernard,

gunshot, a barber in Whitehall Street, native of Germany,
age about 30.

William Buckley,

gunshot age 12, Bayard Street

Thomas C. Smith,

51 Worth Street

Thomas Sparks,

trauma to the head, a special policeman, 109 East Sixteenth
Street, age 40, native of the city

Patrick Kerrigan,

gunshot, 93 Baxter Street,

Henry Lautenberger,

native of Germany, about 40

Timothy Higgins,

gunshot, 11 Mulberry Street age, 16

Joseph Carr,

gunshot, 9 ½ Mulberry Street

In addition forty-three people were listed as injured.

J. J. Bernard, although a native of Germany joined with the Irish in the riot. Testimony at the coroner's inquest linked Bernard to a group throwing bricks at the police. John Myers, another native of Germany, was originally included in the riot deaths. However, a coroner's jury found that he was shot on Friday night, July 3 while committing a burglary on upper Broadway. (Singular affair, 1857, July 14, p. 1) The circumstances of the death of the other German killed in the riots, Henry Lautenberger, was not recorded.

Rioters arrested in connection with Dead Rabbit riot.

Barney Gallagher
Bernard McGovern
Patrick McBride
Owen Kivlin
Patrick Mooney
Patrick Noone
Frank Fitzpatrick
Edward Dyer
William Gill
Owen Gilmartin
James Lane
Jeremiah Ellis
Thomas McGarvey
James Jimmy

(The dead, 1857, July 7, p. 1, the late riots, 1877, July 11, p.1, The Bayard-street riot-still another dead, 1857, July 13, p. 1. and Corrected list, 1857, July 7, p. 1)

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