

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - EAU CLAIRE

“I LIFT MY LAMP BESIDE THE GOLDEN DOOR”:

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTTISH AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK
DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A SENIORTHESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

Immigration has been a hot topic in the United States for hundreds of years. Immigrants have had a large part in building the United States into the country it is today and nearly every person has roots outside of America. This paper will include a comparison of two such immigrant groups, both of which have had a significant influence on the country. Scotland and Ireland are neighbors geographically and have had intertwining histories for hundreds of years. This close relationship did not hold when immigrants from both cultures sailed across the Atlantic in order to find new opportunities and a new home. There are many reasons for this break-up but the most important ones are religion, negative propaganda, and each group's nationalistic practices. This paper will discuss the difference in treatment between the two groups in New York, as well as analyze the reasons for the drastic distinctions. The purpose for doing so is to create a comparison between two cultures which come from rather similar backgrounds. There is a lot of information available about immigration for both Scottish and Irish-Americans; however, much of it is more narrative rather than comparative. This paper will serve as a bridge between the two narrative histories and offer a new point of discussion for those who are interested in the topic.

INTRODUCTION

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

- Emma Lazarus, *The New Colossus*, 1883

The poem above is what will be forever carved into what is many people's first image of the United States. She stands tall, full of pride and full of promise, as a symbol for immigrants who will either find the American dream or American scorn. United States immigration has always been a topic of great discussion and controversy. Since the first people sailed to this land, countless millions of others have followed to build a better life in a brand new country. Two groups which have been especially important to the history of the United States are the Scottish and Irish immigrants. The two are important because of the endless contributions they have both made to the culture and history of the United States. They make for an interesting comparison because although the two countries are neighbors geographically, Scottish and Irish immigrants were given very different treatment when they arrived and settled into their new life in America. There are several reasons for this diverse treatment. The most important factors include: a difference in religion, negative propaganda, and differing nationalist ideas and practices when

they settled. This paper will compare the two groups based on the previously stated factors which aided in their positive or negative treatment.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

- Emma Lazarus, *The New Colossus*, 1883

Since the first settlers in North America, outside of the Native Americans, were technically immigrants from Britain, one could say the United States' history has been largely founded on immigration and those people who were hoping to find the "American dream." Since the first British settlers started building their lives in the colonies, there has been a steady stream of immigrants desiring American citizenship. The United States has relied on these new citizens to populate the land as well as to provide new and cheap skills and labor. The timeline of American immigration is defined in many varying ways, but for the purpose of this paper it will be defined as five separate time periods, each with varying amounts of people and with distinct differences in the variety of cultures represented.

The first wave of immigration happened during the seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries. Most that came to settle in the colonies and early United States were drawn in because of the unbelievably cheap land prices and quickly settled in to become farmers. The

other main group which first came to America did so by becoming indentured servants. Both of these show the harsh conditions that resulted in the decision to migrate to an entirely new land and to begin a new life.¹

The numbers that came through the first wave of immigration were relatively small compared to the second wave, which began in the 1820s and ran through the 1880s. During this time period more than fifteen million people sailed to the United States in order to build a new life. This was the first example of a mass migration coming to America and resulted in several segregated communities throughout the Midwest as well as in large cities such as New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. During this second wave was also when the first stirrings of intense racial and ethnic discrimination began. The discrimination was the result of several things, including religion and nationalism, both of which will be discussed in later chapters.²

The third era of immigration is typically seen as occurring at the end of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century. Many times this period is more aptly referred to as a ‘flood’ of immigrants because of the incredibly high numbers of people who sailed across the Atlantic Ocean. Upwards of twenty-five million migrants were shipped to America’s shores, most of which flocked to urban areas and began living an industrial lifestyle.

The fourth important period of immigration began in the 1920s and roughly ended in the 1960s. These years ushered in a new type of immigrant because of the strict anti-immigration

¹ Hasia Diner, “Immigration and U.S. History,” (February 2008): <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307112004ebyessedo0.1716272.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

² Hasia Diner, “Immigration and U.S. History” (February 2008): <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307112004ebyessedo0.1716272.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

laws which were put in place following the immigration ‘boom’ of the third era. The laws mostly restricted the allowance of eastern and southern European immigrants into America and gave preference to the northern and western Europeans. The laws failed to mention possible migrants from the western hemisphere, this exclusion resulted in many new American citizens from Mexico and the Caribbean.

The fifth episode of immigration is viewed as starting in the mid 1960s and running through the present day. In recent years, the debate of immigration has been a hot topic throughout the United States. Today, many Americans are still afraid of immigrants taking jobs and opportunities which they believe should be rightfully given to native born American citizens. These debates and issues have been important to history throughout the past 300 years and will most likely not be stopping any time soon.³

SCOTTISH

The Scottish began to migrate to the United States as early as the mid eighteenth century, before the Revolutionary War. Approximately 25,000 people of Scottish descent came to America between the years of 1763-1775 and most would have been called loyalists⁴ during the Revolutionary War. This trend was not unusual for newer immigrants because their loyalty was still closely tied with that of their home land. After the Revolution, it was more common for the Scots to settle in Canada rather than the United States, but there were still more than 500,000

³ Hasia Diner, “Immigration and U.S. History” (February 2008): ³ <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307112004ebyeessedo0.1716272.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

⁴ Loyalists were those who supported the British during the American Revolution.

people from Scotland who sailed to America during the second and third waves of immigration.⁵ This was one of the differences between Scottish immigrants and others from Europe. Most other groups migrated to the United States in vast numbers during the second wave of immigration; however the Scottish mostly chose to go elsewhere.

The Scottish had a profound influence over the United States and the culture which is valued today. This influence can be seen throughout hundreds of city names and in some of the most treasured past times of the American people. In fact, there are over 200 localities of 'Scottish descent' in metropolitan New York alone. Examples of these names include Albany, Edinburg, Glenmore, MacDougall, New Scotland, and Scotia. In fact, the name 'Albany' was derived from the Gaelic word 'Alba.'⁶⁷ There have also been several sporting events and athletic competitions founded by Scottish immigrants and New York specifically seemed to be a main place to start these long loved past times. Probably the most well known sporting event introduced by the Scottish is golf. One historian writes that: "its introduction is assigned in 1888, when a New York linen merchant of Scottish birth... returned from a holiday in Scotland with clubs and balls and... formed the St. Andrews Golf Club of New York." Another contribution was the introduction of the Highland Games. "The reputation of Scottish Highlanders for athletic prowess, which they were wont to display in periodical contests, led to 'Highland Games' in America. In 1836 the Highland Society of New York held its first 'Sportive Meeting' and within

⁵ Marla Gormley. "Our Scottish Ancestors," *American Genealogy Magazine* (November 2000): <http://www.genealogymagazine.com/scots.html> (accessed 10 February 2011).

⁶ A Celtic language of Scottish origin.

⁷ "Scottish Place Names around the World," (September 2006): <http://www.friendsofscotland.gov.uk/scotlandnow/issue-03/sports/scottish-place-names-around-the-world.html> (accessed 30 March 2011).

a few years Scots in Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere were holding Highland Games.”⁸These contributions of city names and new athletic events are the examples needed to prove the Scot’s influence over American culture and traditions.

Although the United States has absorbed many parts of Scottish culture, the Scottish immigrant was a rather invisible individual compared to other immigrants. They did face a certain amount of discrimination, but nothing compared to their neighbors the Irish. This is one of the mysteries which will be further discussed throughout the rest of the paper.⁹

IRISH

The Irish who came to America during the first wave of immigration were received fairly well within communities for various reasons. About 250,000 Irish citizens migrated to the newly formed United States during the mid-eighteenth century, which was significantly less than the numbers seen during the nineteenth century. These Irish immigrants from the Revolutionary era were able to blend in because of several different reasons. One of the biggest reasons for the lesser amounts of discrimination seems to be the ever present issue of religion. Although there were a number of Irish Catholics who immigrated at this time, it was nowhere near the numbers which came over during the nineteenth century. In fact, historians have concluded that only about 20-25 percent of these immigrants practiced Catholicism.¹⁰ This may seem like significant

⁸ Gordon Donaldson. *The Scots Overseas*. (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1966), 126-127.

⁹ Marla Gormley. “Our Scottish Ancestors,” *American Genealogy Magazine* (November 2000): <http://www.genealogymagazine.com/scots.html> (accessed 10 February 2011).

¹⁰ Kerby A. Miller. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 137.

number, but compared to the 66 percent who immigrated during the mid-nineteenth century it is rather small.¹¹ Because of several economic and social reasons within Ireland, most importantly the potato famine, immigrants came to the United States by the hundreds of thousands during the nineteenth century. The Irish became a driving force and a huge population within the United States during a very short amount of time and this caused a lot of tension and discrimination.¹²

WHY DID THEY IMMIGRATE?

I got a letter from a relation
Telling me to hasten across the sea,
That gold was to be found in plenty there
And that I'd never have a hard day or a poor one again

- Séamas O Muircheartaigh

SCOTTISH

During the first wave of immigration, most people of Scottish descent did not come to the United States by choice. The majority of the people did so for two reasons: they were indentured servants, or they were exiled from Scotland because of their contradictory political beliefs. This shows the relatively poor and discriminatory conditions of Scotland at the time. This is important because the poor conditions in Scotland were a huge factor in the reasoning

¹¹ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 280.

¹² Kevin Kenny. "Irish Immigrants in the United States," (February 2008): <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307131416byessedo0.6800043.html> (accessed 25 October, 2010).

behind the exodus to the United States. The Scots settled throughout the thirteen colonies and began making a difference right away.¹³

During the second important time period, the reasons for immigration drastically changed. Although conditions did not change dramatically in Scotland, the people who came here had decidedly more valuable skills than those who migrated during the first wave. The majority of the Scots who came to America had marketable occupations which were a welcome addition and betterment to society. These occupations included: jewelers, gardeners, miners, clerks, shopkeepers, printers, bakers, butchers, cooks, barbers, saddlers,¹⁴ wigmakers, and portrait painters. Also, good majorities of the migrated people were experienced weavers. The women especially were excellent spinsters and textile workers, which would prove to be immensely helpful in a newly industrializing nation. Gordon Donaldson further illustrates this claim in the book *The Scots Overseas*. He states that “if it was true that Scotland could teach America a good deal in the textile industries, it was even more true that she could teach her something in the field of heavy industry.” Donaldson further explains that because Scotland began successfully industrializing before the United States, those immigrant’s skills were in high demand in order to ensure America’s own success.¹⁵

The Scottish people were highly educated; the majority of which were literate and wrote many letters back home to their friends and family. These talents were actually some of the reason for immigration. The Scottish people were able to see that their skills were needed in a society beginning to industrialize. Many Scots felt that they would be more successful in this

¹³Michael Fry, *How the Scots Made America* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books St. Martin Press, 2003).

¹⁴ The occupation of making saddles

¹⁵ Gordon Donaldson, *the Scots Overseas*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1966), 115-116.

blossoming industrialized nation then they would back home where the opportunities were less plentiful. Because of these beneficial skills, the Scottish immigrants were valued much more throughout their new communities and instead of feeling threatened, native born American citizens felt an improved quality of life.¹⁶

IRISH

If the Scottish immigrants were poor, the Irish immigrants were literally starving. During the nineteenth century Ireland was struggling through the potato famine, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. The specific years of the potato famine were 1845-1852 and in those seven years, Ireland lost 20-25 percent of its total population. About one million people died directly because of the famine and another million and a half emigrated because of it. The tragedy was caused by a disease called potato blight, and although the famine was widespread throughout Europe, Ireland was affected the most. Up to one third of the population depended entirely on potatoes as a source of food.¹⁷ This disaster was a major turning point in Irish history; however, the same can be said for American history. The ones who could afford the cost of a ship ticket to America took it immediately. Because of the poor conditions of Ireland, the majority of emigrants went to America with little or no money in their pockets, and therefore had to settle in the city which the ship brought them.

¹⁶ Marla Gormley, "Our Scottish Ancestors," *American Genealogy Magazine*, (November 2000): <http://www.genealogymagazine.com/scots.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

¹⁷ Kevin Kenny, "Irish Immigrants in the United States" (February 2008): <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307131416byessedo0.6800043.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

One Irish immigrant living in New York comments on this common problem in a letter sent to her family in Ireland. She writes: "there is one thing that's ruining this place especially the frontiers towns and cities where the flow of emmigration is most, the emigrants has not money enough to take them to the interior of the country which oblidges them to remain here in York and the like places for which reason causes the less demand for labour and also the great reduction in wages."¹⁸ Most of the immigrants had never lived in the huge cities they found in the United States and were not prepared for the discrimination and lack of support they encountered from much of the American public.¹⁹

WHO WERE THE IMMIGRANTS?

Every line of strength in American history is a line colored in Scottish blood

- Woodrow Wilson

SCOTTISH

The Scottish tended to immigrate in families, rather than individually. This trend was one of the reasons why they were looked higher upon than other immigrant groups because many believed they came with a higher sense of family values. This was important because the American public generally accepted these immigrants more because they felt that their values were somewhat equivalent with traditional American values. Because of these coinciding

¹⁸ Margaret McCarthy, "An Irish Emigrant in New York Writes Home," <http://herb.ashp.cuny.edu/exhibits/show/five-points/primary-documents/emigrant-writes-home>. (accessed 15 April 2011).

¹⁹ Kevin Kenny, "Irish Immigrants in the United States" (February 2008): <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307131416ebyessedo0.6800043.html> (accessed 10 February, 2011).

religious and ethical values, the Scottish people were able to better assimilate into the American lifestyle much easier than the Irish.²⁰

IRISH

Because of the high poverty levels and high prices of passage, most Irish could not afford to send entire families over to America. Because of this, the youngest generation was normally sent over alone to work for the money to eventually send for their older family members. Although this was the typical pattern of the European exodus of the late nineteenth century, it was especially true for the Irish immigrants. Between 1850 and 1887 over 66 percent of those leaving Ireland were between the ages of 15 and 35. It was relatively rare for married couples to emigrate away from Ireland; in fact, the percentage of emigrants who were married rarely topped 16 percent.²¹ Like stated previously, this was not a unique occurrence, young people were the majority of those emigrating away from Europe; however, there were some characteristics of the Irish that were definitely different. This uniqueness can be seen through the surprisingly small difference between the number of men and women who emigrated. It was normal throughout Europe, and in Scotland, for the majority of emigrants to be men. However this was not the case in Ireland. More women left Ireland because there was a high demand in the United States for female domestic servants, and the Irish met this demand with gusto.²² The most common occupations for Irish women included working as hotel maids, waitresses, cooks,

²⁰ Gordon Donaldson. *The Scots Overseas*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press)

²¹Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), 4.

²²Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration*, 4-5.

personal servants, housekeepers, and laundresses. In fact, 50 percent of Irish women between the ages of 15-19 and 40 percent of those between 20-29 years old were employed in the domestic sector of the work force.²³ This tradition of domestic servitude was looked down upon by many other cultures, not only by native-born Americans. Most other immigrant groups avoided domestic jobs completely because they viewed the service as a stigma, one which completely undermined traditional family structure.²⁴

WHY WAS RELIGION SO IMPORTANT?

...a wronged, abused, and pitiful spectacle of a man... pushed straight to hell by that abomination against common sense called the Catholic religion... To compare him with an intelligent freedman would be an insult to the latter...The Irish fill our prisons, our poor houses... Scratch a convict or a pauper, and the chances are that you tickle the skin of an Irish Catholic.

- The Chicago Post, September 1868

SCOTTISH

The Scots predominantly practiced the Protestant faith, which they had in common with the majority of native-born American citizens. Because of this shared faith, the Scottish people were mostly not seen as radical in the eyes of other American citizens and were far more welcomed into society. Jay P. Dolan comments on this in the book, *In Search of an American Catholicism*. He reiterates that “the tendency was to equate Catholicism with being Irish and

²³ Carol Groneman, “‘She Earns as a Child – She Pays as a Man’: Women Workers in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York City Community,” in *Immigrants in Industrial America 1850-1920*, ed. Richard L. Ehrlich, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 35.

²⁴ Casey R. Marion and J.J. Lee. *Making the Irish-American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, (New York: New York University Press, 2006) 358.

Protestantism with being American.”²⁵ In general, Protestantism seemed to be a good match for American ideals, especially the support of hard work, achievement, and getting ahead in the work force. John Tropman also agrees in his book, which compares Catholic and Protestant ethics. He writes: “the Protestant ethic is based on valuing work, money, individualism, and self reliance, and it celebrates those values as indicators of their owners’ sacred status.” These ethics were strongly associated with American ideals, the values of the nineteenth century, and were important to both the native-born and Scottish Americans.²⁶

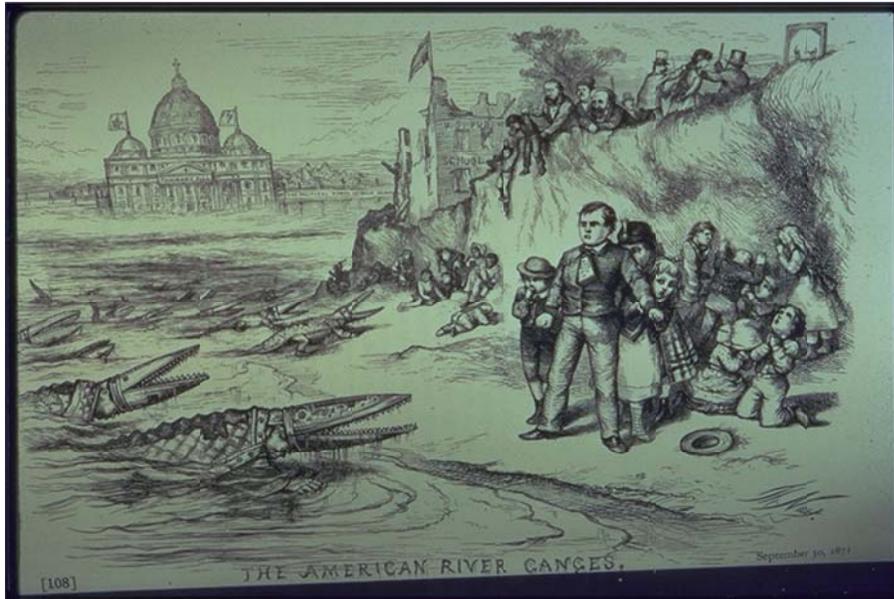
The relationships between Protestants and Catholics were strained for several reasons. One of the most important rationales is simply the perpetuation of Catholic stereotypes in the form of anti-Catholic literature and propaganda. One of the stereotypes associated with Catholics was the strict family life which was forced upon children by parents and by priests. “Anti-Catholic fiction similarly contrasts the tyrannical Catholic parent and priest with the oppressed child, usually the daughter, and associates Protestantism with liberation into spirituality.”²⁷ The strain in this relationship and the anti-Catholic stereotypes and propaganda played an enormous part in the alienation of the Irish immigrants, which will be addressed more specifically in the next section.

²⁵ Jay P. Dolan. *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 62-63.

²⁶ John E. Tropman, *The Catholic Ethic in American Society*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers), 6-8.

²⁷ Miriam E. Burstein. “Protestants against the Jewish and Catholic Family, C. 1829 to C. 1860,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35 (2003): 334.

IRISH



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Pictured above is a popular political cartoon published in New York in 1871. The cartoon depicts Catholic bishops as the fierce crocodiles, attacking public school children and disrupting their purely innocent education. The cartoon was drawn by Thomas Nast, a cartoonist and very vocal anti-Catholic and anti-Irish artist from the mid-nineteenth century. He had most of his work published in Harper's Weekly, which was a political magazine based out of New York City. Nast was a powerful man in regards to nineteenth century journalism and politics. His cartoons and opinions alike were highly regarded within the community and there have been many claims that he was a 'president maker' whose contributions to the magazine could make or break a man's presidential campaign. Because of this political and social clout, Nast's political

cartoons were highly influential throughout New York City and throughout the rest of the country. This was unfortunate for Irish-Catholics because Thomas Nast seemed to have a large problem with the group as a whole. This intense dislike cannot be definitively explained, but is clarified in an article written by historian Benjamin Justice, who writes that: “accounts of his religious upbringing do not label him as Catholic or Protestant, though evidence suggests that he could well have been the former. Whether or not Nast was born, or raised a Catholic, the grown man was certainly not one politically.”²⁸ Justice later describes what he, and a good number of other historians, believe is the cause of this outright discrimination. He writes:

Nast’s vindictive caricatures of Irish-Catholics grew from the draft riots of 1863, when, predominantly Irish-Catholic mobs roamed the streets of New York City, savagely attacking various targets associated with the draft, including African American men, women, and children... Nast never forgave or forgot these events and epitomized the threat of Irish violence in the lines of an ape-like Irish male – a common stereotype in American and English cartoons, but one he seemed to sketch with especial poison.²⁹

Stereotypically the Irish were seen as a Catholic group. This was true in some regard because there were large numbers of Irish people who did practice the Catholic faith; however, it was wrong to assume that all Irish were automatically Catholic. In actuality, the Irish who immigrated to the United States during the colonial era were mostly other Christian denominations. But once the second wave of immigration began in the nineteenth century, the Irish-Catholics outnumbered the Irish Protestants three to one.³⁰ Although there were a large number of second and third generation citizens of Irish descent, most saw the unfair treatment

²⁸ Benjamin Justice, “Thomas Nast and the Public School of the 1870s,” *History of Education Quarterly*, (Summer 2005): 175-176.

²⁹ Justice, *Thomas Nast and the Public School*, 176-177.

³⁰ Reginald Byron. *Irish America*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 35.

thrust upon the new Irish immigrants and would not claim their heritage. Reginald Byron, the author of *Irish America*, explains the problem by writing: “The other Irish – the Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers... were much more likely to be second or third generation: they seem to have preferred to be called ‘native-born’ or categorized as British, English, or Scottish rather than Irish, for the word ‘Irish’ was already coming to signify Roman Catholics only.” This refusal to admit to Irish heritage is a grave example of the damage negative stereotypes had on an otherwise proud and nationalistic group of people.³¹

WHAT WERE THE STEREOTYPES?

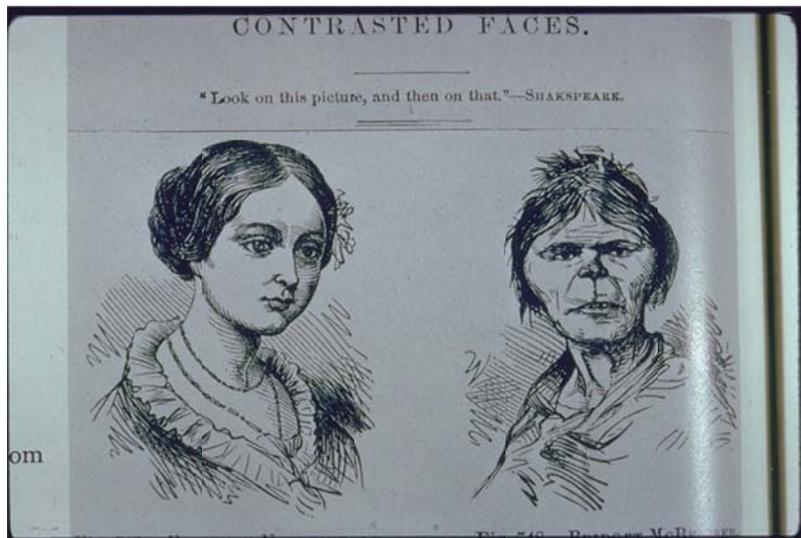
New York is... composed of good and bad characters, sinners and saints, Frenchmen, and English, German & Irish, and also a few Scotch... & many mix altogether and get along the best way they can.

- William Young, an Irish immigrant 1850

When immigrants docked in large cities, most did not settle down far from that original landing place. Many stayed in the city after landing in America because they did not have the money or the connections to move elsewhere. In fact, it was a misconception that all immigrants wanted to stay in New York City (as well as other large cities). This wrongful stereotype was based on the fact that many immigrants did not have anywhere else to go and were therefore forced to stay in the huge, unfamiliar city. Because of this unfamiliarity, most immigrants did tend to settle near other people of their same ethnicity. This is one of the reasons why stereotypes accelerated throughout New York and the United States.

³¹ Byron, *Irish America*, 34.

The cartoon displayed below is an example of why and how stereotypes accelerated. These types of pictures were published in much of the social media available to the public during the nineteenth century. The woman on the left, who supposedly depicts the facial characteristics of a typical American, is Florence Nightingale, a beloved and storied battlefield nurse. The figure on the right, who allegedly depicts an Irish woman, is Bridget McBruiser. She was the stereotypical Irish woman invented to further show the differences between Americans and the Irish. This picture was published in a book about physiognomy, a supposed scientific study which claimed that moral character and intelligence could be defined from a person's facial features. The book in question, authored by James Redfield, also compared Irish facial features to those of a dog. In the chapter dedicated to the Irish, he stated that the theme was "the resemblance between the Irishman and the dog." He also compared the "loud sound of a watch-dog" to an Irishman's song.³²

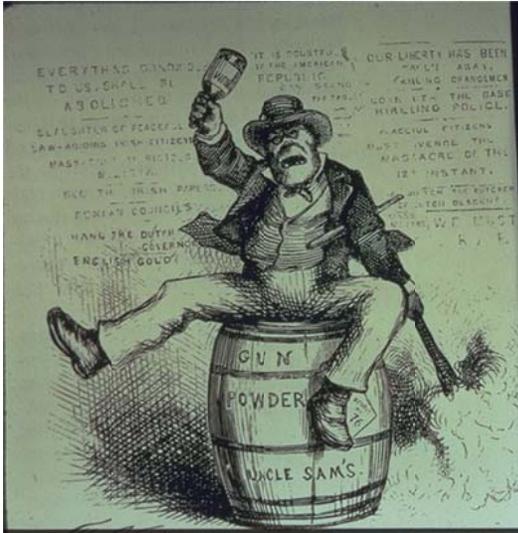


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³² James W. Redfield, *Comparative physiognomy: or, resemblances between men and animal*, (originally published in 1856; New York: Clinton Hall), 253.

Many American citizens were discriminatory towards these people because of the negative propaganda associated with immigrants and their 'non-American' lifestyle. Examples of this propaganda could be seen in newspapers and magazines through the use of political cartoons. These drawings were able to reach the general population and mold many opinions into hostile ones before the new American citizens even had the chance to introduce themselves and their culture. The cartoons perpetuated stereotypes and increased the public's awareness of them. In most examples from the nineteenth century, artists point their fingers at the Irish and accuse them of a variety of crimes. Most commonly these crimes include the refusal to assimilate, the threat of Catholicism, violence, and of drinking too frequently. The pictures below are just two more examples of a plethora of like pictures which played their part in alienating an entire culture.³³

³³American Republican Party. *The Crisis!: an appeal to our countrymen, on the subject of foreign influence in the United States!* New York: General Executive Committee, 1844.



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WHAT WAS THE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION?

It's far far better to be in Ireland where there's cheer,
Listening to the melodious bird songs,
Than looking for work from a crooked little miser
Who thinks you're only an ass to be beaten with a stick.

- Séamas O Muircheartaigh

The massive immigration of the second wave was one of the accelerants towards creating an industrialized America. Immigrants provided the cheap labor which was important to new factories. They were also willing to work in worsening conditions because they needed the job in order to survive in their new country. In fact, by 1855 over 80 percent of manual laborers in the

United States were foreign born.³⁴ This new source of unskilled labor caused tension between the new immigrants and the previously employed and much more skilled workers. The problem was caused because although the skilled workers were appreciated, they also expected certain benefits and wages, which were unpopular with employers who wanted to maximize profit. When Irish immigrants came into the industrial working scene, it was concerning for many native-born and skilled workers. This concern came from the fact that many Irish were used as laborers during strikes and would do the same amount of work or more for less money. This was a problem to most other laborers because they worried that their wages would decline because of the Irish workers' willingness to work for less. Many also thought because the Irish were not as skilled as the other laborers, they would become a permanent working class, which would undermine any and every last hope or chance of achieving the "American Dream."³⁵

This was where a large difference between Scottish and Irish immigrants was found. The Scottish-born citizens had mostly found acceptance within the American people because many immigrated into the United States with rare and marketable skills which could improve the quality of life for the average American citizen (jewelers, gardeners, miners, clerks, shopkeepers, printers, bakers, butchers, cooks, barbers, saddlers, and portrait painters). They had these skills because Scotland was going through its own period of industrialization in the nineteenth century, so many had the firsthand experience of industrialization. Most who left felt like they were not being presented with the opportunities they deserved from their own country so they moved on to America and new possibilities. Because they were valued, many Scottish immigrants were given better paying jobs which could better maximize their skills. In fact, by the 1860s the Scots

³⁴Richard B. Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990) 1-2.

³⁵ Hasia Diner, "Immigration and U.S. History," (February 2008) <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-english/2008/February/20080307131416byessedo0.6800043.html> (accessed 10 February 2011).

were dominant throughout managerial and clerical positions. Because of this they began to realize their potential worth and fought for higher wages. However after a few years, employers found cheaper labor in the new Irish and eastern European immigrants who poured through the city limits.³⁶

NATIONALISM: A CAUSE FOR DISCRIMINATION?

Many Irish-Americans had moved to the United States physically, but spiritually and emotionally they were back home in Ireland

- Florence Gibson

Perhaps the reason behind the Scot's relatively easy assimilation process was because of the already coinciding ideals between the Scottish and American people. It was much easier to fit into a new group when the two people's opinions are very similar. However, it was also important to look at the different ways the Scottish and the Irish went about trying to mold their own culture into the United States.

SCOTTISH

The Scottish immigrants were a very prideful and nationalistic people; however their national pride did not terrify Americans like the Irish's. There are many reasons for this, including the fact that the Scottish people's ideas about nationalism and pride coincided pretty closely with the average American citizen's. They were also not quite as outwardly passionate as the Irish nationalists, who scared Americans with their religion and refusal to assimilate into

³⁶ Gordon Donaldson. *The Scots Overseas*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press)

common American culture. There is no question that the Scottish people were very proud of their home land, however they found ways to express this pride without rubbing native-born Americans the wrong way. One way they did this was by founding groups and organizations which were an outlet for national pride but also benefited their new community in the United States. The St. Andrews Society is probably the best known example of these organizations. The Society's statement is:

For over 250 years the St Andrew's Society of the State of New York and its distinguished membership has provided charitable relief, academic sponsorship, community and identity to the natives of Scotland and their descendants. As one of the oldest not-for-profit organizations in the country, the St. Andrew's Society celebrates Scottish heritage and tradition through fund-raising and other social events, fostering the good will, understanding and communication between the people of New York and the people and leadership of Scotland.³⁷

The goal of the society was to be known for their solid moral and philanthropic ideals. The majority of the American public identified with this mission and offered support to the prideful Scottish. The St. Andrews Society is an excellent example of a group of immigrants who were able to keep and celebrate their national identity while at the same time assimilating to American customs and becoming respected citizens. The guiding principles of the St. Andrews Society, which are stated in their national constitution, are:

To provide relief of natives of Scotland and their descendants who may be in want or distress, to provide educational assistance to natives of Scotland and their descendants, to conduct and sponsor such other and further activities, as may be deemed appropriate or desirable by the Society and as from time to time permitted by Federal and State Law for a Not-for-Profit Corporation, to foster or encourage good will, understanding and

³⁷ Whatley, Harlan. "Two Hundred Fifty Years: The History of the Saint Andrews Society of the State of New York, 1756-2006" (2008): 367-370
http://www.standrewsny.org/standrews/sites/default/files/file/History%20Book%20as%20of%2022609_reduced.pdf (accessed 25 February, 2011).

communication between the people of the United States and the people of Scotland and to promote such social intercourse among the members of the Society as may be necessary and appropriate to, and consistent with, such purposes, including fund raising to sustain them.³⁸

As one can see by reading these principles, one of the main concerns of the Scottish people was to maintain relations between themselves and the native-born Americans. This was one of the contributing factors why this particular group was received so well when others were stereotyped and discriminated against.

Another important reason why the Scots were better received was that while they took measures to present their national pride, they did so in a way which was not threatening to the already established American culture. The Irish were undoubtedly perceived as passionate about their home land and their ethnicity; however, the way that intense passion came across to the American public was not flattering and did no favors for the Irish cause. This will be incredibly important when discussing Irish nationalism and how their strong passion affected the opinions of native-born American citizens.

IRISH

The Irish were an incredibly prideful and nationalistic group of people. As stated above, many times this intense love for their home country was slandered by other American citizens who did not understand why the Irish did not just accept their new lifestyle in the United States. For many native-born Americans, this slander was justified because they believed the Irish refused to adapt and assimilate. An example of this is that: “a considerable number of Irish immigrants used Irish, not English, as their primary language... as many as a third of all Famine

³⁸ Whatley, “Two Hundred Fifty Years,” 369.

emigrants – half a million people – were Irish speakers. Some of these may have known some English as well, since Britain pursued a ruthless policy of imposing the English language in Ireland.”³⁹ Many English speakers found this language barrier frustrating and channeled that frustration into the discrimination which can be seen in New York throughout the nineteenth century.

Another author who comments on the problem of Irish discrimination is Edward Wakin. In his book, *Enter the Irish-American*, he summarizes the topic by writing about the different types of discrimination the Irish faced. They were not given the same opportunities in the job market as other citizens and therefore many were practically forced to work in the factories in New York, which were dangerous and the people were underpaid. Not only were the Irish not given the same opportunities, they suffered from daily attacks from published newspapers, politicians, and nativist organizations. Further on in the chapter, Wakin quotes Albert Bushnell Hart, a historian at Harvard University, about the nationalistic actions of the Irish:

The Irish were thought to be too clannish, flocking by themselves and cutting themselves off from the life and the community like an alien element; although the attitude mingled dislike, distrust, and contempt which they so frequently encountered from the natives. In fact, they could usually find real friendliness and help only from people of ‘their own kind’ and from their priests.⁴⁰

In summary of this quotation, Wakin interjects by writing that:

In sticking together, they provided a clear target for hostility. Hostility, in turn, reinforced the tendency to stick together, for it presented the Irish with an obvious

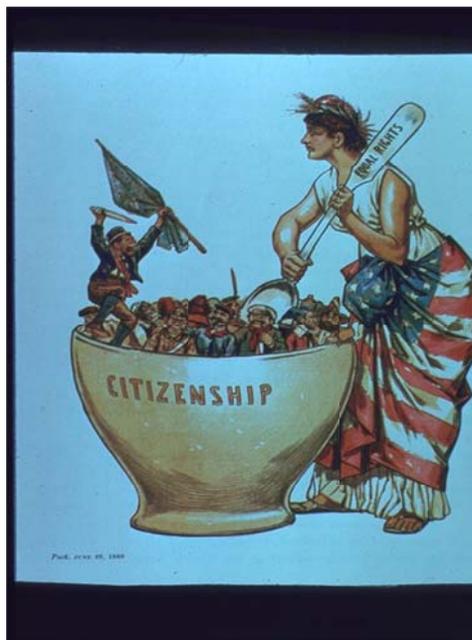
³⁹Noel Ignatiev. *How the Irish Became White*. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 38.

⁴⁰Edward Wakin, *Enter the Irish-American*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976), 66-67.

choice: on one hand, acceptance amidst the protection and pleasures of their own kind; on the other hand, rejection or at least indifference among “others.”⁴¹

These passages are important because they speak of the reactionary relationship between the Irish and native-born American citizens. This relationship was powerful because much of the Irish’s nationalistic tendencies were a direct result of the discrimination they faced. If they were not slammed with this negative propaganda on a daily basis, perhaps more Irish would have desired complete assimilation and Americanization.

An example of the anger coming from native-born Americans can be seen in the political cartoon below. In it, the symbol of the United States is mixing the bowl of different immigrants and different cultures. The only nationality which does not surrender to the mixing of cultures is the Irish man. This is important because it shows the distain and offense that many United States citizens had for the Irish and their “rejection” of American culture.



⁴¹ Wakin, *Enter the Irish-American*, 67.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the topic of immigration has been an incredibly important and enormous part of American history. Though it is a fundamental part of the United States' story, it has incited numerous problems between native-born American citizens and the immigrants who only want to find a new dream for themselves and their family. Scotland and Ireland are neighbors geographically, but they dealt with very different treatment once they immigrated to the United States and there are several reasons why this happened. The most important factors include: a difference in religion, negative propaganda, and differing nationalistic ideals once both groups were settled. All of these things are supremely vital when considering why these two neighbors, with such intertwining histories, were treated so differently when docking in their new home.

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