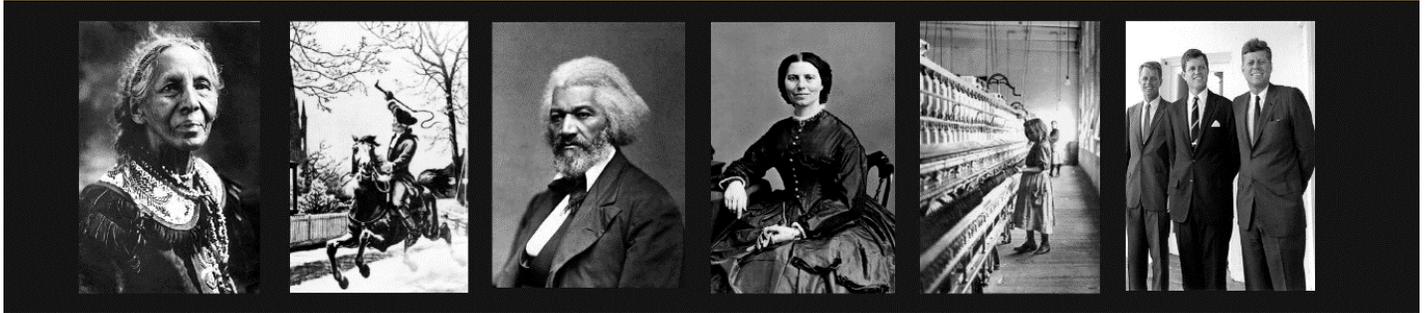


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### New Arrivals

This image from the January 1909 issue of *The Jewish Immigrant* magazine captures allegorically the hopeful arrival of Jewish immigrants in America. Like their Irish counterparts, these new arrivals fled poverty and persecution only to face nativist intolerance once in the U.S. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of New York published *The Jewish Immigrant*.

# The Making of an Irish and a Jewish Boston, 1820–1900

MEAGHAN DWYER-RYAN



**ABSTRACT:** *As Boston's largest non-Protestant groups in the nineteenth century, Irish Catholics and Central European Jews played an important role in challenging the Yankee notion that the only true Bostonian had ancestors who came over on the Mayflower. Jewish and Irish leaders created networks of communal institutions, including religious organizations, philanthropic institutions, cultural societies, and political clubs, to aid group adjustment. Such support was crucial, they believed, for promoting upward mobility and group respectability. However, the rise of both groups was uneven, as each faced unique challenges in gaining economic, political, and social power, acceptance, and respect.*

*Author Meaghan Dwyer-Ryan moves beyond present studies of immigrant acculturation by adding a new comparative dimension, demonstrating how ethnic groups utilized similar strategies to articulate their place in society. This article is excerpted from her extraordinarily thorough and well-researched*

*Ph.D. dissertation, "Ethnic Patriotism: Boston's Irish and Jewish Communities, 1880–1929," which is currently under revision for publication.<sup>1</sup> She begins with an overview of the main themes of this comprehensive account.*

\* \* \* \* \*

During the nineteenth century, waves of European immigrants poured into Boston, leading to massive changes in the city's economic, political, and geographic makeup. As Boston transformed from a predominantly Yankee town into a multiethnic city, many saw immigrants' numbers, poverty, religious beliefs, and persistent attachment to foreign culture as a threat to a republican way of life, but migrants themselves tried to reconfigure the meaning of American citizenship to incorporate their ethno-religious ideals. Even as nativist attacks gave way to attempts at understanding after the Civil War, tensions remained, particularly in the political and social arenas. Nevertheless, immigrants were confident that acceptance eventually would prevail.

Yet even as economic mobility and increasing demographic strength gave these groups the influence they needed to gain a voice in city affairs, upper-class Yankees closed ranks, erecting barriers against the newcomers in social and financial institutions. Irish Catholics and Jews fought to make room for their groups in the city's Protestant society, seeking acceptance as Americans, but keeping their culture and religion intact. Politicians, businessmen, clergy, and other communal leaders tried to serve group interests and be models of proper citizenry for their immigrant constituents by working with their Yankee counterparts, rather than against them.

By the 1890s, Irish and Jewish Bostonians had gained respect in certain arenas, but they were still not fully accepted as Americans. Later waves of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe led to new calls to restrict immigration, fueled by Anglo-Saxon notions of superiority. In response, Irish and Jews defended their patriotism through historical scholarship, mass culture, public service, and, in 1898, overwhelming support for the Spanish-American War. Even so, while the decade's end saw greater conciliation among the city's ethnic groups, political and cultural problems remained.

## **IMMIGRANTS IN THE PURITAN CITY, 1820–1860**

Boston was a fairly homogeneous city before the nineteenth century. The Puritan stronghold was not welcoming to outsiders, and the few who came quickly assimilated into the dominant Anglo-Protestant society. The need

to fill the labor demands of the region's massive construction projects in the 1820s and the expanding textile, railroad, and shipbuilding industries in the 1830s and 1840s brought large numbers of Catholic Irish immigrants for the first time. With the onset of the Great Famine in 1845, impoverished Irish peasants flooded Boston, swelling their numbers from 2,000 in 1820 to 35,000 in 1850. They were joined in the 1840s and 1850s by successive waves of immigrants from various parts of Europe, including small numbers of Jews fleeing religious persecution and economic hardship in the central German provinces and Austria.<sup>2</sup>

Most Irish and Jewish immigrants started off on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. The impoverished Irish, in particular, had few skills and little education, so men worked mainly as day laborers, while unmarried women found employment in domestic service or the growing needle trades. German Jews overwhelmingly became peddlers and Polish Jews worked as tailors; both groups aspired to open small businesses, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a growing consumer marketplace. For the most part, married Irish and Jewish women did not work outside the home, but instead took in boarders or helped out in the family shop. Like other working-class residents, Irish and Jewish immigrants lived in crowded, low-rent tenement neighborhoods in the South or North End, and were highly mobile, moving frequently in accordance with their finances and employment status. Boston was often the second or third stop for immigrants after London, Quebec, New York, or Philadelphia, so many had some familiarity with the language and culture upon arrival.<sup>3</sup>

Although immigrants retained strong ties to the homeland, they understood that economic opportunity was in the United States, and, once settled in Boston, they were determined to make the city their home. Irish and Jews established churches and synagogues, benevolent societies, schools, and hospitals to provide spiritual support and charitable aid. Such organizations also helped foster group consciousness in a city that was less than welcoming to non-Protestants, thus paving the way for future arrivals.

The most important Irish institution was the Catholic Church. The Boston Diocese was established in 1808 with a "mere handful" of French, British, and Irish immigrants in scattered parishes stretching from Maine to Rhode Island. With the Irish migration, however, the diocese grew to include nearly 46,000 Catholics in Boston alone by 1860 (26 percent of the city's total population). The Irish soon dominated not just the pews but also the hierarchy, giving the Catholic Church in Boston a decidedly Hibernian character. ("Hibernia" is the classical Latin name for the island of Ireland.) The parish church influenced almost every aspect of immigrant life, serving

both as a religious and a community center. Boston's bishops, together with an army of priests and nuns, created a vast network of institutions to serve their Irish constituency, which included churches, schools, convents, and cemeteries. In 1829, Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1825–1844) established a weekly newspaper, the *Jesuit*, which Irish-born publisher Patrick Donahoe later bought and renamed the *Pilot*.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the hierarchical Catholic Church, American synagogues were autonomous organizations established by lay leaders who set ritual practices and hired clergy.<sup>5</sup> Boston's first synagogue, Congregation Ohabei Shalom (Lovers of Peace), was founded in 1842 as a "permanent institution where [Jews] could observe life-cycle events and worship, study, and socialize as a community." Members hired a "hazan" (reader) and formed a mutual aid society, the Chevra Ahabas Achim (Society of Brotherly Love). Five years later, the congregation purchased land for a cemetery in East Boston, and, by 1852, they raised enough funds to build a small two-story synagogue on Warren (now Warrenton) Street in the South End.<sup>6</sup>

Even so, religious, cultural, and economic differences between "Polanders" from northeastern German provinces and "Bayers" from the southern regions soon led to disagreements within Ohabei Shalom and the establishment of two breakaway congregations for the city's two thousand Congregation Jews: Adath Israel (Tribe of Israel) in 1854 and Congregation Mishkan Israel in 1858 (meaning tabernacle Israel). Like Catholic churches, synagogues and burial societies were responsible for meeting members' spiritual as well as communal, educational, and charitable needs. Ohabei Shalom and Mishkan Israel established daily Hebrew schools to teach German, Hebrew, and Jewish history, and the Bible in 1858 and 1863 respectively; Adath Israel operated a Sabbath school.<sup>7</sup>

As long as ethnic populations remained small, Protestants were fairly tolerant of their presence. As Irish immigration increased, however, nativists began to strike out against Catholics as the tools of a foreign prelate who sought to undermine America's sacred liberties. The worst episode of violence occurred in 1834, when nativist mobs burned an Ursuline convent in nearby Charlestown. By the 1850s, discrimination was politicized with the establishment of the American (or "Know-Nothing") Party, and nativist hostility became so widespread that it produced a siege mentality in the minds of Boston's Irish residents, creating a "culture of separation" perpetuated through the generations.<sup>8</sup> The *Pilot*, referred to as the "Irishman's Bible," became one of their best defenses against nativism, providing news from home and help adjusting to life in America. Donahoe and his editors urged readers to become citizens and register to vote as Democrats, arguing that

they could “reach their economic, social, and political fulfillment in America without suffering any sense of conflicting loyalties.”<sup>9</sup>

Conversely, Protestants did not consider the small Jewish population (125 families in 1850) threatening. Unlike the Catholic Church, which was under the control of a foreign prelate, American synagogues were more like Protestant churches, run by lay members. Also, intellectual Protestants who shared their Puritan ancestors’ appreciation of Hebrew learning viewed Jews as a curiosity. In 1844, Reverend E.M.P. Wells attended Rosh Hashanah services at Ohabei Shalom. Impressed by worshippers’ piety, and partly hoping they might eventually convert to Christianity, Wells referred to members as “brothers, as friends, as fellows.” Similarly, the 1854 *Boston Almanac* described Adath Israel’s South End synagogue as “tastefully decorated and pleasing in its appearance,” noting the “ancient” ceremonies with interest. Even so, Jews did face some legal discrimination; rabbis could not legally perform marriages until 1892, and Massachusetts’ strict “blue laws” preventing Sunday labor forced business owners to work on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, if they wanted to compete.<sup>10</sup>

## CIVIL WAR AND AFTERMATH

By the Civil War, Irish and Jewish immigrants had weathered the first stormy decades of settlement. Although discrimination continued, historian John Higham observes that the war “inaugurated an era of immense industrial, agricultural, and geographical expansion.” For a country in need of soldiers, immigrants “seemed a national blessing.” Those who did not enlist worked at armories, shipyards, and factories, gaining experience in trade unionism. The war also provided immigrant entrepreneurs in retail and clothing manufacturing an opportunity to seek their fortunes.<sup>11</sup>

Above all, the war gave immigrants the chance to demonstrate loyalty to their adopted land. Although Irish voters had overwhelmingly supported Democrat Stephen Douglas in the 1860 presidential election, when it came to the cause of the Union, the *Pilot* declared, “Irish adopted citizens are true, to a man, to the Constitution.” They turned the “fighting Irishman” stereotype into a positive by volunteering in “highly visible numbers, self-consciously waving their green flag along with the Stars and Stripes.” Donahoe and other leaders recruited volunteers for the state’s Ninth and Twenty-Eighth Regiments, giving each soldier a gold piece as they departed for the front. The regiments also highlighted their Irishness; the Twenty-Eighth’s motto was “Faugh-a-Ballah” (“Clear the Way”), while the Ninth’s flag read: “Thy sons by adoption; thy firm supporters and defenders from duty, affection and

choice.” As symbols of this new acceptance, Governor John Andrew declared that the patriotism of the “adopted citizens” would long be remembered and honored, while Harvard University granted Bishop Fitzpatrick an honorary degree in 1861.<sup>12</sup>

The number of Jewish soldiers was much smaller than the Irish, but they still served in greater proportion than their total population. At least 227 Jews served in state regiments, and several became officers. Jews were anxious to display patriotism in other ways as well. When President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, for example, Boston synagogues participated “as equals in the rites of national mourning.” Like their neighbors, they draped their houses of worship in black crepe, closed their businesses, and held memorial services. They also said Kaddish for the president.<sup>13</sup>

Such evidence of patriotism and loyalty furthered the acceptance of Irish and Jews after the war. While the world of Yankee commerce and finance remained closed to outsiders, the conflict had opened new areas of business to immigrant entrepreneurs, including the shoe and textile industries. This group was joined by new immigrants, who increasingly came as family groups or as part of a chain migration. By 1880, Boston had more than 70,000 Irish-born residents, making up more than half of the city’s foreign-born population, which was larger than in any other American urban center. By 1900, there were 72,000 Irish born, as well as thousands more who were of Irish parentage or descent. Jewish immigration also increased, shifting from central to eastern Europe by the 1880s, due to newly restrictive government policies in the Russian Empire. As a result, the Jewish population in Boston grew from 5,000 in 1880 to 20,000 in 1895.<sup>14</sup>

As in the past, most of these new immigrants found employment in area factories. A family wage economy, along with membership in benevolent associations and labor unions, allowed many to achieve some economic mobility. Also, the ethnic community required doctors, lawyers, grocers, saloonkeepers, and contractors, ensuring the creation of a “dynamic urban ethnic marketplace” where those who provided such services earned the “enviable reputation of being men of wealth and standing.”<sup>15</sup> The Irish remained heavily concentrated in unskilled labor, domestic service, and the needle trades, but managed to send remittances back to Ireland.<sup>16</sup> Although businesses were difficult to sustain due to economic conditions and latent discrimination by Yankee creditors and real estate agents, enough had survived and flourished by the 1880s that the middle class grew from 10 to 38 percent of the overall Irish population.<sup>17</sup> Boston’s Jews experienced even greater economic success, particularly in retail and manufacturing. Jewish men and women, like the Irish, married within the community. The small

population and integrated business networks aided group advancement; as earlier arrivals, who had begun as peddlers and clerks, became successful retailers, merchants, and bankers, they provided others with charitable aid and employment. By the 1880s, there were stable working class and many established businessmen.<sup>18</sup>

Living patterns reflected this upward mobility. While new arrivals continued to live in the North End slums, working-class families increasingly moved to better tenements in the “old” South End and West End. White-collar workers, entrepreneurs, and professionals moved to triple-deckers or bought single-family homes in the “streetcar suburbs”; the Irish moved to Dorchester, South Boston, Jamaica Plain, and Charlestown, while Jews moved to the “new” South End and Roxbury. A few wealthy entrepreneurs from both groups moved to the Protestant-dominated Back Bay.<sup>19</sup>

Ethnic newspapers emphasized the importance of economic mobility for communal leaders. The “heroes of the community” were those who helped their countrymen through charitable efforts, club activities, or political accomplishments. Both the *Pilot* and the *Hebrew Observer*, published by Rabbi Solomon Schindler from 1883 to 1886, regularly featured articles praising the efforts of leaders to improve group image, including John Boyle O’Reilly, journalist and poet; Patrick Collins, lawyer and politician; Andrew Carney, peddler and tailor turned entrepreneur; Leopold Morse and Abraham Shuman, textile manufacturers; Jacob Hecht, shoe manufacturer; and Jacob’s wife, Lina, a noted philanthropist.<sup>20</sup>

## RELIGIOUS ACCULTURATION

As immigrants and their American-born children climbed the economic ladder, they sought a balance between assimilation and ethnic tradition by establishing communal networks of religious institutions, philanthropic associations, and ethnic cultural societies. Such organizations encouraged religious observance, provided for the impoverished and new arrivals, and instilled ethnic consciousness. At the same time, they helped aid adjustment to American life.

Religious institutions played a vital role in this process. The United States was a safe haven for exiles and a place to practice their faith in peace; as their numbers increased, Irish Catholics and Jews struggled to adapt religious observance to mainstream American society. The Catholic Church, in particular, experienced widespread expansion and prosperity after the war, and outnumbered all Protestant denominations combined by the 1870s. Boston became an archdiocese in 1875; the Cathedral of the Holy Cross was

consecrated the same year in the South End, which the *Pilot* called “the greatest religious event for the Catholics of this generation in New England.” Dozens of churches, schools, and hospitals were also built in this period to serve the expanding Irish multitudes, as well as increasing numbers of Germans, French Canadians, Poles, and Italians.<sup>21</sup>

Archbishop John Joseph Williams led the archdiocese from 1866 to 1907. Born in Boston in 1822 when it was “a city of lanes, alleys, courts, and crooked streets,” the quiet archbishop sought to keep the church conservative and understated, favoring conciliation over Catholic visibility. If

“immigrants simply followed American laws and became lovers of American justice,” he argued, “they would become not only good citizens but also good Catholics.” Williams even refused an offer to become America’s second cardinal, anxious not to “highlight a kingdom within a kingdom.” Although working-class Irish made up the bulk of his constituency, he preferred the company of Yankee Catholics, not understanding that immigrants needed “a special type of solidarity” from their church and its leaders. During his tenure, Catholics were split between liberal Americanists like Williams, “who welcomed the development of a distinctive American flavor to the church,” and ultramontanes who believed in the church’s indivisible, “literally catholic” nature as defined by its infallible leader, the pope. This ongoing debate shaped relations with Protestants and fueled controversy regarding Catholics’ ability to be loyal Americans.<sup>22</sup>

Jews also coped with religious acculturation in this period. With financial success, American-born Jews began “a co-mingling of the Jewish and non-Jewish world,” leading to parental fears of intermarriage or conversion. Hoping to ensure their religious survival in a heterogeneous, secular country where religion was voluntary, some Jews advocated for stricter adherence to tradition, but others sought to adapt ritual to American practices. Some



**Archbishop John Joseph Williams  
(1822–1907)**

From John Gilmore Shea, *The Hierarchy of Catholic Church in the United States* (1886).

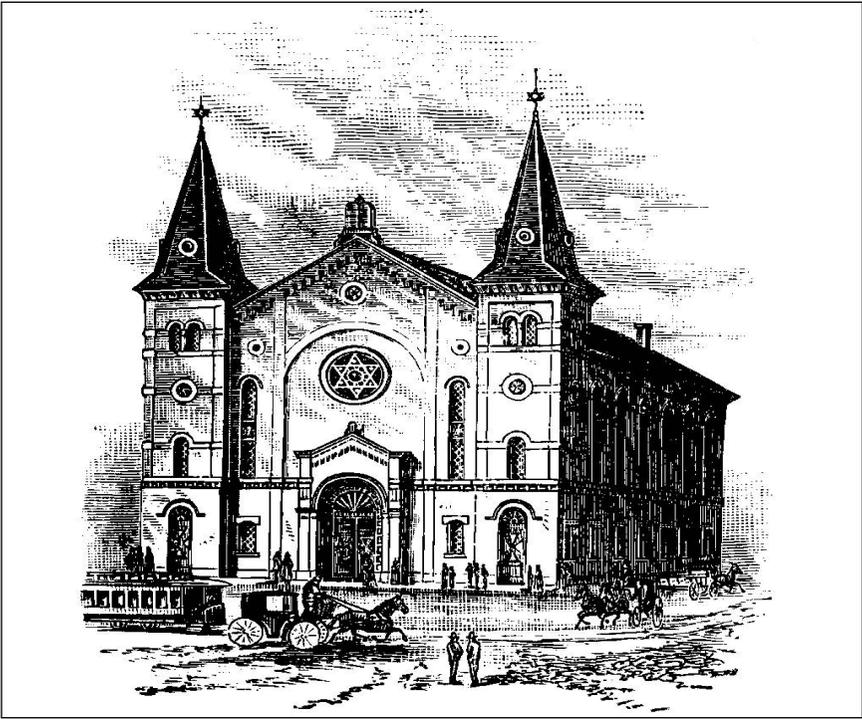


**Rabbi Solomon Schindler**  
(1842–1915)

Courtesy of Temple Israel Archives.

congregations chose to imitate Protestant churches with English-language sermons and prayer books, and organs and choirs, hoping such “modernizations” would make services seem less foreign and more respectable, thus attracting more members to “ensure the strength and continuity of Judaism.”<sup>23</sup> In 1863, Adath Israel was the first Boston synagogue to initiate gradual reforms when the board began to consider adding music to services. Mishkan Israel followed suit by implementing organ music and “family” (mixed) seating in pews, and in 1871, Ohabei Shalom voted for the “curtailment of lengthy prayers, establishment of a choir, and strict observance of order.”<sup>24</sup> In 1872, Adath Israel voted to introduce “moderate reform fitting the spirit of the time,” adopting Protestant terms for offices and functions (such as “sexton” instead of “shamas” and “minister” instead of “rabbi” or “hazan”), family pews, and a chorus and organ. In 1874, the board hired Reform advocate Solomon Schindler (1874–1894) as “preacher”; he would lead the congregation further along the path of reform.<sup>25</sup> Conversely, Mishkan Israel and Ohabei Shalom sought to maintain traditional Jewish elements while instituting moderate changes. In addition, new congregations were established that were of the “Orthodox type,” such as Shaaray Tefila (Gates of Prayer), whose 1876 charter committed it to “the worship of Jehovah according to the orthodox ritual of Polish Jews.”<sup>26</sup>

Schindler and Raphael Lasker, Ohabei Shalom’s rabbi from 1876 to 1903, became the city’s most influential Jewish leaders. Schindler had fled Germany in 1871 after protesting the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War. As a rabbi, newspaper editor, and charitable leader, he sought to bring Judaism “abreast with the time and to win for it the respect of the Gentile world,” hoping to “educate the Jew for his position as a citizen.” Rabbi Lasker had immigrated from Posen in 1858, working in Ohio and New York before coming to Boston, where he also served as the editor of the *New Era Jewish Magazine* (1901–1903). Although he was more conservative than Schindler, traditional Jews still criticized his services as “a



### Temple Adath Israel, Columbus Avenue, Boston

Built in the city's fashionable South End in 1885, the temple cemented Adath Israel's position as Boston's most influential Jewish institution. Courtesy of Temple Israel Archives.

veritable mockery, a humbug and a sham," his practice of taking summer vacations, and his lackluster charitable activities.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1880s, Adath Israel overtook Ohabei Shalom in size and prominence, attracting the city's leading Jewish businessmen, lawyers, and philanthropists, whose desire for cultural assimilation made them more comfortable in a synagogue that had adopted civic practices commonly seen in American churches. In 1876, Adath Israel arranged a religious service and fireworks display in honor of the nation's centennial, which was the first of many American celebrations. The congregation's new Columbus Avenue synagogue, built in 1885 in the fashionable South End, cemented its position as Boston's most influential Jewish institution. The dedication ceremony connected its traditional past with its commitment to a Reform future and ecumenical cooperation. "We have built this temple," President Edward Goulston, an English-born tobacconist, declared to the assembled



### **Cathedral of the Holy Cross**

Completed in 1875, the cathedral is the mother church of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston. It was designed by noted church architect Patrick Keely. From Moses King, *King's Handbook of Boston* (c. 1881).

congregation and guests, “that its products shall be good and true men and women, imbued with reverence and loyalty to God, and with patriotism and loyalty to the country we live in.”<sup>28</sup>

Immigrants’ economic success and religious acculturation produced some complications, however. The increasing strength of Boston’s Catholic Church encouraged the hope that the Irish “might now at last dream of enjoying in fact the full liberty and equality promised them by the letter of American law.” Irish politicians initiated campaigns to gain religious liberty for Catholics in public institutions, and secure public funds for Catholic organizations (long used for Protestant ones). Nativist opposition to these

attempts, however, revealed that while the days of virulent “No-Popery” violence were over, anti-Catholic sentiment was not dead in Boston.<sup>29</sup>

## SCHOOLS AND SABBATH CONFLICTS

One of the most volatile issues was the “school question,” which caused tensions to flare well into the 1890s. Boston was the birthplace of public education; the first free school was founded there in 1635, and in the early nineteenth century, educator Horace Mann, advocating the advantages of a literate electorate, had pioneered a citywide system of nonsectarian, tax-supported education. In 1852, the State Board of Education passed the first compulsory attendance law, hoping to prevent truancy and ensure that young immigrants were schooled in “American feelings” and became “morally acclimated to our institutions.” While a few parishes and synagogues had schools as early as the 1840s, Catholic and Jewish immigrants overwhelmingly chose to send their children to the free public elementary schools, believing they would “have greater success in life, and obtain positions more easily.” Even so, parents complained about the Protestant-focused curriculum, which included daily prayers and textbooks with anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish rhetoric. Religious leaders urged patience, not wanting to provoke hostility, but many Catholics spoke out against blatant injustices, such as an 1859 case in which a boy was whipped for refusing to use the King James Bible. By 1864, such protests led to the first Catholic elected to the Boston School Board.<sup>30</sup>

In 1875, the Vatican urged American bishops to establish parish schools, but Boston was slow to comply; by 1884, it had only thirty-five. Faced with a continued influx of impoverished immigrants, Archbishop Williams felt it more imperative to build churches and charitable institutions. In fact, some priests believed parochial schools were “too radical for Massachusetts” and would heighten nativist rancor. Father John O’Brien, pastor of East Cambridge’s Church of the Sacred Heart and editor of the local *Sacred Heart Review*, argued for promoting greater tolerance through public school attendance. Another group, however, called “the Schoolmen,” advocated for Catholic schools. Father Thomas Scully, pastor of Cambridgeport’s St. Mary’s Church, went so far as to denounce from the altar, deny absolution, and even refuse the Last Sacraments to those who sent their children to public schools. Both sides appealed to the archbishop, who decreed that, while parishes should ideally construct parochial schools, parents could send their children to public schools in exceptional cases. As late as 1907, only two-fifths of Catholic children attended parochial schools. It was left to Williams’

successor, William H. Cardinal O'Connell, to develop the archdiocese's school system. Nevertheless, Williams did encourage the establishment of other educational facilities, including Boston College (1863) and St. John's Seminary (1884).<sup>31</sup>

For Jews, one of the biggest difficulties that came with living in a Christian world was Sabbath attendance. Because Jewish holidays and the Saturday Sabbath conflicted with the six-day workweek, religiously observant workers risked losing their jobs. In addition, merchants who catered to a broad clientele could not afford to close their stores on Saturday. Rabbi Schindler's solution was Sunday services, which, he argued, would strengthen Judaism, citing their successful adoption elsewhere. Many flatly opposed the proposal as the "initial step toward the complete assimilation of the Jew," but the Adath Israel board, while skeptical, did allow him to institute an evening lecture series. Schindler used these lectures to address such topics as education, immigration, socialism, and Christian theology, hoping to keep his congregation "abreast with the time and to win for it the respect of the Gentile world." Reprinted in the press, the lectures affirmed Schindler's position as the Jewish voice in non-Jewish Boston, and Adath Israel as the city's most progressive Jewish institution. Schindler also contributed to leading journals and spoke on the lecture circuit; in 1888, he was elected to the Boston School Board, where he served for six years, following Rabbi Lasker, who had served from 1882 to 1888.<sup>32</sup>

Despite his fame, Schindler gradually grew apart from his congregation both theologically and bureaucratically; they finally parted ways in 1894. In his place, the temple hired Charles Fleischer, a twenty-three-year-old, German-born graduate of Hebrew Union College, who, they hoped, would bring the congregation into the mainstream Reform movement. The young rabbi's charisma and intelligence captured the attention of Boston's intellectual elite. Fleischer, who thanked God that "I have not been born an American, so that I might have a chance to achieve my Americanism," encouraged interfaith connections and turned Adath Israel into a "civic forum." He also gave lectures across New England on a variety of religious, political, and social subjects, including capital punishment, immigration restriction, women's rights, "family limitation," and urban planning.<sup>33</sup>

Assimilated Jews' adoption of religious and cultural reforms increased their differences from more traditionally minded Eastern European immigrants. While earlier arrivals were part of a larger group of migrants who chose to leave politically unstable Central Europe in search of economic opportunity, the newcomers were refugees with few resources who had fled the pogroms and poverty of the Russian Empire. Lithuanians had established the first

Eastern European shul in the early 1870s, meeting in rented rooms along Hanover Street in the North End. In 1888, Beth Israel, commonly referred to as “the Baldwin Place synagogue” due to its location off Salem Street, was established. Led by the Lithuanian Rabbi Moshe Zevulun Margolies, the leading traditional rabbi in Boston, it soon became the neighborhood’s central synagogue, hosting lectures, club meetings, and a Hebrew school. By 1900, the city had fifty-three synagogues, most of them traditional “landsmanschuls.” Landsmanschuls were religious societies established by immigrants from the same region, such as the Vilna Shul in the West End. To Schindler, the problem with the small shuls springing up all over Boston’s North End was their failure to “grasp the spirit of Americanism,” but new arrivals viewed Reform practices as “symbols of the diluted new-world Jewishness.”<sup>34</sup>

## CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

Class and cultural disagreements also became apparent in charitable endeavors. Since before the Civil War, Boston’s extensive Catholic and Jewish charitable networks included various institutions to care for the “dependent and deviant” at every stage of life and need, such as hospitals, orphanages, old-age homes, homes for delinquent children, and employment offices. Through this multifaceted approach, ethno-religious leaders demonstrated they could care for their own, thus relieving the public burden and, hopefully, lessening nativism. Catholics believed in ongoing support for the most destitute, arguing that the salvation of the soul was more important than material wealth, while Jews focused on providing immigrants with temporary relief to help them become self-sufficient. Even so, the groups had two goals in common: protecting impoverished coreligionists from Protestant proselytizing and helping them to become respectable Americans.<sup>35</sup>

Hostile to the Protestant vision of reform as “an infallible guide along the straight path of progress to ultimate perfectibility,” and fearful of state and private attempts at conversion, Catholic philanthropies attempted to not only care for the poor’s earthly needs but also to save their eternal souls. Most institutions were run by the archdiocese and religious orders of priests and nuns, but groups like the Charitable Irish Society (1737) and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (1869) raised funds to support archdiocesan organizations and provide food, fuel, and clothing directly to needy families. In 1896, they also initiated a port protection program for female Irish immigrants. The needy, thus, received both material and spiritual aid, and givers fulfilled their obligations of Christian charity and benefited their own

souls. Ideally, these dual goals would lessen the gulf between rich and poor and strengthen Irish Catholic's distinctive identity and "shared purpose" as a group. For St. Vincent de Paul president Thomas Ring, a Boston-born paper exporter, society membership represented "fellowship and a commitment to the organized church," and a duty for "the children sprung of a common ancestry, born into a common faith," as well as to newer immigrant groups. Members solidified this common heritage through a "friendly visitors" system in which workers visited the homes of the poor to establish connections and determine their level of need.<sup>36</sup>

Jewish charitable institutions, such as the United Hebrew Benevolent Association (1864) and Hebrew Ladies Sewing Circle (1869), also focused on hard work and self-improvement. The rapid influx of immigrants in the 1880s led to a proliferation of new, overlapping organizations. Communal leaders established the Federation of Jewish Charities in 1895 (FJC, now the Combined Jewish Philanthropies) to coordinate their efforts, inspired by a suggestion that Rabbi Schindler, as director of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, had made in 1883. Influenced by modern charitable methodologies, the FJC established guidelines for granting aid to the "deserving poor" and protecting them from Christian proselytizing. It also stressed the importance of citizenship, seeking to quickly "bring the foreigner into touch with our American institutions."<sup>37</sup>

As this quote demonstrates, training newcomers to be "proper" Jewish and Catholic Americans was just as important to middle-class philanthropists as providing material aid. In 1891, for example, a group of moderately prosperous Eastern European merchants formed the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home in the North End to provide temporary shelter to "deserving Israelites," aid in finding employment, and help becoming "worthy citizens." Speaking at the dedication, Jacob Hecht, a wealthy, German-born entrepreneur and philanthropist, opined that immigrants should try to "rid themselves of their old-world, un-American lifestyles" and adopt American "habits." He urged Jewish charities to work with the public schools to remake immigrants in the image of Americanized German Jews, who could "go anywhere and be respected."<sup>38</sup> Such attempts were often ineffective, however, due to managers' desire to control newcomers and inability to understand or appreciate their culture. Catholic parish aid committees placed restrictions on charity; they insisted that applicants keep their houses clean and abstain from alcohol to qualify for assistance. They were "ashamed of the poverty and deviance of Irish immigrants even as they expressed loyalty to them."<sup>39</sup>

Charitable work was of particular significance for Catholic and Jewish women, not only as the recipients, but also as the givers of aid. One of the

largest independent Catholic women's groups, the Young Ladies' Charitable Association of Boston, raised money through monthly subscriptions. It established a variety of services for the sick and impoverished regardless of creed, including establishing a home for consumptives, conducting home visits, providing burial services, and operating a children's library and working girl's club. The Hebrew Ladies Sewing Circle, led by Lina Hecht, purchased cloth and hired poor women to make garments to be distributed in immigrant neighborhoods. In 1889, it organized a "Deutsches Fest" at Boston's Horticultural Hall to raise funds for charity, but also to showcase ethnic culture.<sup>40</sup> The following year, Hecht established the Hebrew Industrial School, financed by her husband, Jacob. Loosely modeled after the Protestant settlement houses cropping up in America's immigrant enclaves, the school sought to help children become "wage earners, breadwinners and self-respecting intelligent citizens" in the mold of "good" American Jews like the Hechts, but in a kosher environment acceptable to religiously observant parents. The school featured gender-specific programs; girls were taught sewing, reading, and subjects to further their "moral and intellectual development," while boys were lectured on patriotic topics. Director Golde Bamber, a Russian Jewish graduate of Boston University, also ran a "soap and water" club to teach children about cleanliness, hoping such lessons would transmit to their families to help them "assimilate American ideas."<sup>41</sup>

## **ETHNIC ENCLAVES AND GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS**

Since their earliest arrival, immigrants of all economic backgrounds banded together for society and recreation. In Boston, as elsewhere, parishes, synagogues, and voluntary societies organized outings that featured dancing, music, athletic events, and militia marches. Immigrants also created a vast array of institutions that "constantly and inseparably coupled" devotion to ethnic and religious tradition with "an unwavering attachment to their adopted country," helping Americans of foreign stock maintain their cultural identity while also aiding their adjustment to mainstream society.<sup>42</sup>

Some Irish and Jewish charities created a sense of group consciousness for the community that was "defined," as Kevin Kenny writes, "in a specific, middle-class, respectable manner." The Charitable Irish Society, for example, was founded by Ulster Presbyterians in 1737 to assist their countrymen upon arrival in Boston. By the late nineteenth century, its membership was mostly Catholic, but it still took pride in its colonial, non-sectarian roots, holding graveside services for former members in the Old Granary Burial Ground on Decoration Day. Their annual St. Patrick's Day banquets and Ladies' Night

dances were highlights of the Irish social calendar. The Purim Association held the first of many “brilliant” balls in 1896 to raise funds for Jewish charities. Attended by civic and communal leaders, these events attracted extensive press coverage of their speeches, decorations, and attendees’ costumes. As opposed to the caricatures contained in *Harper’s Weekly* and other publications, such images conveyed the message that not only could ethnic leaders care for their own, but also that their culture rivaled that of Brahmin Boston.<sup>43</sup>

Irish-dominated Catholic organizations like the Catholic Union and local branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) strove to preserve Irish traditions and protect Catholicism. St. Patrick’s Day, in particular, was an opportunity to exhibit not only a love of Ireland, but also pride in Irish-American achievement. Working-class Irishmen frequented neighborhood saloons, which served as informal clubs where they could discuss union issues, ward politics, and the latest Irish news, all “while enjoying a five-cent beer and a ‘free lunch.’” They also attended sporting events and the popular theater, where they could see such athletes as boxer John L. Sullivan and plays by Irish entertainers like Dion Boucicault and Harrigan and Hart. Catholic temperance societies lobbied against prevalent alcohol consumption, hoping to end harmful stereotypes and improve overall group image.<sup>44</sup>

By the 1870s and 1880s, Irish immigration was increasingly dominated by Irish speakers from the rural west, many of whom sought to maintain Gaelic culture and sports in America. In 1874, one such immigrant, P.J. Daly, established the Philo-Celtic Society in Boston to promote the Irish language; twelve years later, he founded a bilingual newspaper, the *Irish Echo*. Society members displayed “a middle-class gentility to which many Irish aspired,” as their efforts coincided with the resurgence of Yankee interest in British heritage in America and offered a way to fight back against assertions that Ireland was uncivilized. Mobility was also highlighted through the formation of elite men’s societies. In 1883, for example, Thomas Ring established the Clover Club, modeled after the Protestant Union and St. Botolph’s Clubs, which excluded most Catholics and Jews.<sup>45</sup>

The membership of Jewish organizations reflected communal fragmentation, as assimilated Jews of central European heritage and Eastern European immigrants rarely socialized with each other. Many societies were formed along class lines, such as the exclusive male Elysium Club and Comus Club, founded in the 1880s and 1890s, whose members were largely from Temple Adath Israel and Temple Ohabei Shalom. Meanwhile, the Young Men’s Hebrew Association, founded in 1875, provided upwardly mobile Jews

with classes, employment assistance, and recreation. Jews also joined local neighborhood branches of the Jewish benevolent association, B'nai B'rith.<sup>46</sup>

Even so, Jewish immigrants demonstrated the desire to maintain cultural traditions. Many German Jews joined the Turnverein, a German athletic and social club, and German branches of American fraternal organizations like the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, but membership rarely lasted beyond the first or second generation, as American-born Jews were less concerned about German culture and language. Adath Israel, for example, stopped writing board minutes in German by 1879, and stopped teaching it in the 1880s. Conversely, Eastern European Jews often socialized entirely within their “landsmanschaften,” maintaining Yiddish through newspapers, shuls, and cultural organizations.<sup>47</sup>

## DEBATES OVER ETHNIC NATIONALISM

For decades, Irish Americans had retained a keen interest in Irish culture and politics. Earlier in the century, the Boston Irish had supported Daniel O'Connell's efforts for constitutional nationalism, but with memories of the Famine and exile strengthened by the Young Ireland movement of the late 1840s and the Fenian movement in the 1860s, new immigrants advocated physical-force republicanism. The aim of these organizations, as well as Clan-na-Gael in the 1870s, was to “rid Ireland of English rule by providing American money and manpower to encourage insurrection.” They were led by such political exiles as John Mitchel, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and John Devoy, who, as the most influential hard-line republicans in America, wielded tremendous power on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>48</sup>

Patrick A. Collins and John Boyle O'Reilly were two of the most prominent Fenians in Boston. The Irish-born Collins worked as an upholsterer's apprentice as a young man. He joined the South Boston Fenian Circle in 1864; two years later, he became a recruiting agent for New England. This work gained him a large following that aided his election as a state representative in 1867. He worked to ease restrictions on Catholics in public institutions and earned his law degree from Harvard in 1871. O'Reilly, born in Meath, became a reporter and typesetter. In 1863, he joined the Fenians and enlisted in the British army to help organize Irish soldiers. When plans for an uprising went awry in 1865-1866, O'Reilly and others were captured and sent to Australia. He escaped in 1868 and sailed for America, arriving in Boston in 1870, where he became the editor of the *Pilot*.<sup>49</sup>

In the 1880s, Collins and O'Reilly, like many other Irish Americans, became disillusioned with physical force nationalism. Instead, they gave

their support to Charles Stuart Parnell's emerging Home Rule movement, which O'Reilly called "a greater effort for political equality than any that Ireland has yet seen." At Parnell's request, they organized local branches of Michael Davitt's Land League, a land reform program that linked the struggles of American workers with that of Irish peasants, and Collins briefly served as national president.<sup>50</sup> Even Archbishop Williams, normally cautious in advocating Irish causes, publicly declared his support for "any movement founded on correct principles, tending to redress the grievances" of the Irish people.<sup>51</sup>

Irish Americans saw little conflict with ethnic nationalist activity. As Collins remarked, "Ireland to us is father and mother, and America is the wife," signifying the love they bore their homeland even as they attached themselves to their new country. Even so, historian Thomas Brown notes, much energy was spent "justifying immigrant loyalty to Ireland and reconciling it with their loyalty to the United States," particularly as nativists pointed to such involvement when claiming the Irish were unfit for American citizenship. In the inaugural issue of his newspaper, the *Republic*, in March 1882, politician Patrick Maguire disputed James Russell Lowe's claim that it was "impossible for a man to be an Irishman and an American at the same time." Instead of "selfishly enjoy[ing] the blessings of republican institutions in America," Maguire argued, an Irish American should work to extend liberties to Ireland and other "down-trodden" countries, becoming "not only a good Irishman but a good American." Thus, nationalism served a dual function; in helping Ireland become free, Irish Americans would prove their loyalty to democratic ideals, achieve respectability, and gain the experience needed to influence social and political movements.<sup>52</sup>

As Timothy Meagher notes, "such nationalism, often dressed up in rhetoric resonant with American heroes and ideals and comparing Ireland's struggle to the American Revolution, attracted strong support from native-stock Yankees and easily complemented the aspirations and ideals of liberal Catholicism," unlike physical-force nationalism. Jewish merchant Abraham Shuman, who had a personal friendship with O'Reilly and other Irishmen, also came to support the Home Rule cause. Along with fellow Aduth Israel member Charles Weil, he contributed aid to suffering famine victims in 1880 and joined the Land League in 1881. A former president of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, Shuman argued that the "truest way" to help the Irish was to "aid them to help themselves"; thus, Home Rule was vital for the development of Irish business.<sup>53</sup>

Few American Jews had a similar devotion to a nationalist ideal in the late nineteenth century. Most assimilated Jews were cosmopolitans

who advocated for the complete incorporation of Jews into their adopted nations. They identified with worldwide Jewry in religion only and, while they donated to impoverished colonizers and scholars in Palestine, they were opposed to the idea of the “Return.” In 1885, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations adopted the principles of the Pittsburgh Platform, which reimagined Judaism as a progressive religion that rejected ceremonies “not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization,” as well as Messianism and Zionism. Rabbi Solomon Schindler voiced the thoughts of many assimilated Jews in Boston when he stated there was no need to wish for a savior or yearn for a Jewish homeland. “In the United States,” he argued, “the Hebrews had freedom of religion and speech, enjoyed the ballot, could aspire to political office, and enjoyed the privileges of citizenship. Why then return to Palestine?”<sup>54</sup>

Although proto-Zionist groups existed in Europe and the United States as early as the 1840s, modern Zionism—the movement to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine—did not develop until the 1890s, largely as a form of religious nationalism, and did not achieve prominence in the United States until World War I. In many ways, it was a Utopian vision born out of a desire among traditional Jews for a messiah combined with a reaction to incidents of persecution in the East, particularly the Russian pogroms of the early 1880s, and the continuance of antisemitism in the West, highlighted by the 1895 espionage trial of French army officer Alfred Dreyfus. Early Zionist groups attracted only a small following, mainly among traditional Jews, and focused mainly on colonization schemes rather than the attainment of a Jewish nation-state. Others, particularly members of the Bund, the Jewish nationalist wing of the international socialist movement, were opposed to Zionism, but combined ideas of Jewish nationalism with a plan of class struggle. Others, however, especially Eastern European immigrants, transferred their ideal of the “promised land,” or the “Goldenah Medinah,” to the United States.<sup>55</sup>

Boston’s fragmented Jewish community only gradually began to incorporate Zionist ideology. In 1891, a young Russian student at Harvard established B’nai Zion Society, a Zionist cultural organization in the North End; by year’s end, there were more than 100 members, many of whom marched in Boston’s 1892 Columbus Day parade with a prototype of the Zionist flag. Four years later, inspired by British Zionist Theodore Herzl’s influential treatise, *The Jewish State* (1896), the newly established Hebrew National Association organized a mass meeting in Boston and enlisted more than 400 new members. In 1898, they formed an advisory body, the Zionist Council of Greater Boston, to “propagate the Zionist spirit” and raise funds

to buy land in Palestine. Much of this activity was confined largely to the immigrant enclaves of the North and West Ends; as a result, Zionism would not become a community-wide movement in Boston for years. Nevertheless, as historian Matthew Frye Jacobson argues, the “ongoing debate on the question of Jewish nationality did draw upon and further popularize a shared vocabulary of ‘peoplehood,’ group rights, and political sovereignty” among Jews in Boston, as elsewhere, laying the groundwork for later growth.<sup>56</sup>

## POLITICAL STRIVINGS AND SUCCESSES

Irish and Jewish Americans wanted to maintain ties to the ethnic community both at home and abroad, but they also sought to make themselves at home in their adopted city. “Eager to realize an explicitly American dream and at the same time keenly conscious of their heritage,” Robert Wiebe argues, ethnic Americans “wanted broader opportunities, firmer security, and the right to select their own leaders.”<sup>57</sup> Rising immigration and Yankee movement to the suburbs caused Boston’s native-born population to drop significantly while the urban population increased. Although political power was still largely in the hands of the Protestant elite, the city’s ethnic vote increased 195 percent in the years after the Civil War, allowing immigrants to gain influence as Yankee Democrats sought to regain control from the Republicans.<sup>58</sup> Immigrants had long identified with the ideology of American republicanism and democratic government; as Lawrence Fuchs notes, other nations had been formed on the basis of tribalism or blood, but the American founding mythology was ideological, allowing for a sense of “shared identity among peoples of diverse national backgrounds.”<sup>59</sup>

Most middle-class ethnic leaders in this period tried to bridge ethnic boundaries, emphasizing “comity over conflict” and insisting “intergroup cooperation was now the dominant character of the city’s public life.”<sup>60</sup> For the Irish community, which still consisted primarily of laborers, political power was “equal to the Catholic Church’s hierarchy as an engine of social mobility for gifted, ambitious Irish-Americans.”<sup>61</sup> The Irish had a long history of political activism due to their large population, command of the English language, and involvement in labor unions, and they quickly began to elect their own to power. The first Catholic on the Boston Common Council was elected in 1857, the first alderman in 1870, and the first Congressman in 1882. Jews also gained political influence well beyond their numbers, influential as they were in business and the law. The ward system was especially attractive to lawyers, who saw politics as useful for attracting clients. The first Irish Catholic member of the Boston School Board in 1864 was lawyer Joseph

Fallon, who was later appointed Boston's first Catholic judge (1872); the first Jewish member (1876) was lawyer Godfrey Morse, who was later the first Jew appointed to the Common Council (1882).<sup>62</sup>

In the 1870s and 1880s, Yankee Democrats—many of whom left the Republican Party in 1884—sought alliances with ethnic leaders, hoping to take advantage of the immigrant vote. They catered especially to the large Irish voting bloc, declaring support for Irish causes to gain help in electing Yankee Democratic mayors, who, in turn, provided Irish ward bosses with patronage and local control over their precincts. This strategy helped Democrats dominate politics in the late nineteenth century and eased the transition of political power. While Irish-American leaders were anxious to work with Yankee leaders to assist their group's advancement, they did not “merge into one homogenous ruling elite.” Protestants still had a “self-conscious identity as a socially distinct and economically powerful group,” and Irish politicians understood their power was dependent upon their standing within the Irish community.<sup>63</sup>

Well known for his Irish nationalist activities, Collins was one of the first Irish politicians to benefit from the Yankee alliance. He became active in the national Democratic Party in the 1870s, and, with fellow lawyers Thomas Gargan and Godfrey Morse, organized the Massachusetts Young Men's Democratic Club. After serving several years in the state legislature, he ran for Congress in 1882 in the newly created Fourth District, which included the North End, South End, East Boston, and South Boston—all heavily immigrant neighborhoods and predominantly Democratic wards. Even so, realizing the precariousness of the Irish position, Collins was anxious to keep ethnic interests out of American politics. “I kneel at the altar of my fathers, and I love the land of my birth,” he declared in 1876, “but in American politics, I know neither race, color, nor creed.” Nevertheless, his immigrant background was not forgotten in his work to protect the rights of naturalized citizens.<sup>64</sup>

Collins' first law client was Godfrey Morse's brother, Leopold, a Bavarian immigrant and former peddler turned successful merchant and politician. As Morse's business grew, he extended his circle of acquaintances, becoming friendly with influential communal leaders. After his marriage to Georgianna Ray, the daughter of a prominent Episcopalian attorney, he became active in the national Democratic Party. In 1872, he was nominated for Congress in a Republican district in which he did not reside; four years later he was elected, serving until 1885. Although not religiously observant, Morse was a member of Adath Israel and supported Jewish charities. Rabbi Schindler, in fact, described him as the model American Jew, whose “good, sound,

common-sense has taught him the great lesson that in this our glorious country a man must be a good citizen, a good American first.”<sup>65</sup> As the *Globe* recalled, Leopold was so universally popular that during one congressional campaign he was nominated while on a voyage back from his native Bavaria. Upon Morse’s return, Collins presided at a dinner in his honor at the Parker House. “I arrived in Boston from Bavaria at one o’clock,” Morse commented, “and at three I am nominated for Congress.” The Irish-born Collins jokingly replied, “That’s the way we treat you foreigners.”<sup>66</sup>



**Leopold Morse (1831–1892)**

Members of the Irish and Jewish middle class were anxious to avoid claims of sectarianism in this period. In his capacity as the editor of the *Pilot* from 1876 to 1890, John Boyle O’Reilly wielded much influence over Irish voting habits in Boston. Like Collins, he argued for keeping Irish nationalism out of American politics, as “we cannot, as honest men, band together...under the shadow of an Irish flag.” He also objected to those politicians who sought votes by calling themselves “a friend to the Irish” and sporting green carnations on Saint Patrick’s Day. O’Reilly had taken out naturalization papers the day he arrived in America, and he reminded immigrants that only through the ballot would they gain a voice in the city. Unabashedly, he declared his support for the Democratic Party. “The *Pilot* is a Democratic paper. We say so without reservation, exclusion or exception,” he wrote. “The principles of Democracy as laid down by Jefferson are to us the changeless basis of sound politics and healthy republicanism. We are not Democratic simply as being partisan; but we are partisan because we are Democratic.”<sup>67</sup> Conversely, Rabbi Schindler, while personally a Democrat, ran the *Hebrew Observer* as a non-partisan newspaper, emphasizing the importance of naturalization and the need for Jews to become involved in public life to offset suggestions that they were forming a “state within a state.” Despite a short-lived Jewish German Independent Club (1883), most agreed with him and sought to avoid the creation of a “Jewish vote.” Many Jews, anxious to avoid anti-Semitic attacks, argued that special interests limited their ability to be impartial citizens and, like Archbishop Williams, felt that highlighting religious issues would “antagonize” Protestants; religion should “never mingle with their politics.”<sup>68</sup>



**John Boyle O'Reilly**  
(1844–1890)

Other immigrants, however, promoted group interests. Patrick Maguire, an estate developer and leader of Boston's Democratic City Committee, controlled municipal politics through much of this period. In 1882, Maguire established a weekly newspaper, the *Republic*, to "advance the interests of the Irish people both in Ireland and America." It "championed all things Irish and attacked all things Republican as anti-Irish." By thus exploiting the ethnic struggle, Maguire increased his support among Irish Catholic Democratic voters and achieved leadership of the local party.<sup>69</sup>

## GAINING ACCESS TO PUBLIC OFFICE

In 1883, a year after Collins' election to Congress, Maguire decided the time was ripe to try to elect an Irish mayor. He chose Hugh O'Brien, a printer and financier and the first Irish-born chairman of the Boston Board of Aldermen (1879). Well-spoken, solidly middle class, and uninfluenced by sectarian interests, O'Brien was the perfect candidate to quiet Protestant fears regarding the Irish working-class vote. Although he lost in 1883, he won a year later, largely due to Maguire's encouragement of ward bosses to visit each household in their neighborhoods to ensure every eligible Irishman would vote for him. As a result, O'Brien swept fifteen of Boston's twenty-five wards in 1884 to be elected Boston's first Irish-born Catholic mayor. To prevent him from appointing Irish supporters to key positions, the state legislature passed several bills just before his inauguration that limited the mayor's power, including a required civil service exam for public employees and a state-appointed commission to oversee liquor licensing and the police department. Even so, O'Brien proved to be fiscally conservative and socially responsible; he cut taxes, widened the streets, established the commission to create the Emerald Necklace park system, and even built a new public library in Copley Square, enlisting Republicans to oversee these projects.<sup>70</sup>

O'Brien's popularity during his four terms in office and the Irish ability to determine public policy made many Protestant Yankees nervous, and he was voted out in 1888. There was also conflict between the Irish electorate

and Protestant Republicans over a variety of other issues, including control over Boston's police force, liquor licensing, and, most significantly, the public schools. Continued religious controversy over the inspection of parochial schools and use of anti-Catholic textbooks led to an outbreak of tension in 1888. Protestant groups responded to Catholic protests and increased political power by forming a "Committee of One Hundred" devoted to removing Catholics from the school board. Leading up to the election, political groups like the Independent Women Voters, led by Eliza Trask Hill, held meetings to mobilize Protestant voters, particularly women, who could vote in school board elections since 1879. In the end, eleven Protestants were elected and one Jew—Rabbi Solomon Schindler, who ran as a "non-sectarian, non-partisan" candidate with endorsement from all parties involved. Strong Protestant voter turnout also ensured O'Brien's defeat for reelection. Republicans would control the board and the mayor's office into the 1890s.<sup>71</sup>

Due to the school issue, the 1893 depression, the rise of the nativist American Protective Association, and the influence of William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic alliance began to break down in the mid-1890s. As a string of Yankee mayors curtailed public spending, the support for politicians like Patrick Maguire weakened and a new group of independent ward politicians emerged. Less willing to "wait patiently for political gifts from the patrician politicians," men like Jim Donovan in the South End, Martin Lomasney in the West End, and John F. Fitzgerald in the North End gained power by exploiting the immigrant vote. Irish ward bosses saw the political process as a way to serve constituents' day-to-day needs, generating jobs, assistance, and protection, in exchange for political patronage. Lomasney was particularly effective; all of the candidates supported by his political organization, the Hendricks Club, won election to the Boston City Council and the lower house of the General Court between 1887 and 1909.<sup>72</sup>

For Jews, the Morses' ability to succeed had seemed to demonstrate that with economic mobility and education, Boston offered "a life free from open anti-Semitism and the chance to become fully integrated American citizens." Some Jewish Democrats gained office, including Polish-born Isaac Rosnosky, a clothing merchant, who was the first Jew elected to the Massachusetts General Court and Common Council from the ward of powerful Irish boss "Smiling Jim" Donovan, and clothier Bernard M. Wolf, who became the first Boston-born Jew to win a city office and served on the executive committee of the Young Men's Democratic Club from 1892 to 1902. A few Jews also became influential in the Republican Party, including A.C. "Cap" Ratshesky, a skilled political organizer, city councilman (1889–1891), and Massachusetts' first Jewish state senator (1892–1894). Ratshesky was also a

philanthropist who believed that everyone deserved the chance to “acquire the skills necessary to become full participants in our democratic society.” Also, while certainly not as numerous or powerful as the Irish, Jewish politicians were influential within the Jewish community. The Morses, for example, were involved in Jewish charities; Rosnosky was president of Ohabei Shalom and a member of B’nai B’rith; Ratshesky was president of the Jewish Elysium Club.<sup>73</sup>

Even so, it was with the increase of the Eastern European population (20,000 by the early 1890s) that more Jews became politically active, following the lead of the Irish, who had organized neighborhood political groups to agitate for their interests. As Samuel H. Borofsky of the Young Men’s Hebrew Political Club pointed out, the club’s goal was to register voters and educate them regarding “intelligent use of the ballot,” preventing their neighbors and politicians from saying the Jew “has come among us and lives among us, but he will not be with us.” Mobilization also helped protect Jewish interests from powerful Irish ward bosses; by the early 1900s, these men would recognize the strength of the Jewish vote, and search for candidates who would remain loyal to their political machines. Nevertheless, middle-class Jews continued to believe that “a Jew who mixed religion and politics” was “an enemy of the religion he professed and an unpatriotic citizen.” Schindler blamed “self-serving leaders” who claimed to “unite all the Hebrews of Boston in one political body.”<sup>74</sup>

Maguire’s death in 1896 caused turmoil in Boston politics. Several of his supporters, including Patrick Kennedy of East Boston, John J. Corbett of Charlestown, and John F. Fitzgerald of the North End, formed a new organization to continue centralized control over city politics. This group, which Lomasney derisively called the “Board of Strategy,” made a concerted attempt to reunite the divided factions by following Maguire’s policy of seeking candidates with widespread appeal. In 1899, they chose Patrick Collins, who had just returned to Boston after serving as Consul-general in London (1893–1897), to run for mayor. His years of congressional and diplomatic service and reputation for fairness appealed to both Yankee and immigrant voters, while his legendary involvement with Irish nationalism guaranteed the support of the Irish-American electorate. Although reluctant to run again for office, Collins finally agreed, if “it would be in the best interests of the party.” He lost in 1899 (due to Lomasney’s opposition), but won two years later, defeating incumbent Thomas N. Hart by the largest majority in Boston’s history (52,038 to 33,173) to become the city’s second Irish-born Catholic mayor and uniting the city across ethnic and class lines.<sup>75</sup>

Mayor Collins proved to be an impartial administrator with little tolerance for corruption—much to the delight of conservatives and the chagrin of ward bosses. Soon after his inauguration, he reportedly told one supporter who had mentioned the possibilities for “his Catholic friends,” “I am first an American, second a Democrat, and third a Catholic.” Yet while frugal in spending the city’s money and adamant in his nonpartisanship, Collins also understood the importance of patronage. Striving to mend rifts within the Democratic Party, he appointed Martin Lomasney’s brother, Joseph, as the Superintendent of Bridges, put many of Lomasney’s supporters on the city payroll, and named the Board of Strategy’s James Donovan as Superintendent of Streets. Elected to a second term in 1903, Collins became the first Democratic candidate to carry every ward in the city, holding great promise for a new era of interethnic cooperation in city government. In addition, Collins’ success seemed to demonstrate not only that the Irish had “the business skills needed” to run municipal government, but also, as the *Republic* declared, “the Celt has met and defeated the Puritan; more than all he has won him over to a recognition of his merit.”<sup>76</sup>

### PROVING THEIR WORTH AS LOYAL AMERICAN CITIZENS

Irish and Jews also became involved in the public life of the city outside of politics. Abraham Shuman, one of the city’s wealthiest Jewish merchants, owned a retail establishment on Washington Street that became known as “Shuman’s Corner.” Considered a caring employer, he helped to form one of the city’s first employee benefit associations and sponsored company balls and summer outings. He was also a founder and president of the Boston Merchants Association and member of the Boston Athletic Association, Chamber of Commerce, and Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was dedicated to his service for the Museum of Fine Arts and Boston City Hospital, on which board he served for decades with Collins and Mayor Hugh O’Brien. His good friend, John Boyle O’Reilly was a founder of the Papyrus Club, a club to promote “an enlightened and unprejudiced press,” the Boston Athletic Association, the Catholic Union, and several other organizations; he was also a darling of the liberal intelligentsia, including Wendell Phillips, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Rabbi Schindler.<sup>77</sup>

O’Reilly also took on the mantle of reformer, using the *Pilot’s* editorial pages to speak out against social injustice. After the 1872 Orange Riots in New York, for example, he admonished Catholics and Protestants not to carry “our island bickerings into the view of America’s friendly cities,” earning the enmity of many Fenians. Likewise, he attacked Boston’s social

and industrial systems that discriminated against newcomers and sought to reconcile Yankees and Irish through reasoning and charm. He defended other minority groups, including African Americans and Native Americans, making the connection with Daniel O'Connell, the "Great Liberator," and the Irish struggle for freedom from Great Britain (although his liberality did not extend to women).<sup>78</sup> His friendship with Shuman and other Jews also led him to condemn anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism was not the result of religious instruction, he argued, "because the most prejudiced are the least religious"; it was due to ignorance, Jewish clannishness, and jealousy of Jewish mercantile success. He advised Jews to mingle more with Christians and to diversify their business interests to help reduce tensions, but he had no real solution for anti-Semitism. He could only express his respect and affection for "the greatest race ... that ever existed."<sup>79</sup>

Yankees considered Collins, Morse, Shuman, and O'Reilly the "better sort" of immigrant because they overcame humble beginnings to establish successful careers, advocated a strongly patriotic American identity, and were involved in the larger community. Their coreligionists and countrymen also regarded them as model ethnic citizens whose methods, as Schindler noted in the *Jewish Chronicle*, "all boys in Boston would do well to take to heart." In 1889, O'Reilly was chosen to deliver the address at the dedication of Plymouth's Pilgrim Monument, a choice that symbolized to many "that the Irish had indeed begun to 'arrive' in the land of the Pilgrims and Puritans."<sup>80</sup>

Even so, as ethnic Americans gained influence in business and politics, "the optimistic Yankee humanitarian belief in the power of education and democracy to effect immigrant uplift gave way to devouring fear," Jonathan Sarna notes, and "some members of old-line families came to believe that their race, their country, their whole way of life was imperiled." As early as the 1870s, "Proper Bostonians," or "Brahmins," as termed by Oliver Wendell Holmes, had begun to close ranks as a social and financial elite, excluding those without "four or five generations of gentlemen and gentlewomen" behind them. While they disliked all immigrants, John Higham observes, "distrust of the Irish and Jews went deeper." Wealth no longer ensured social standing; in fact, as Jews gained economic mobility, they began to be seen as "not only mercenary and unscrupulous but also clamorously self-assertive—a tasteless barbarian rudely elbowing into genteel company," while the Irish continued to be associated with drunkenness and fighting. By 1891, few Catholics belonged to elite institutions and influential lawyer Louis D. Brandeis was the only Jew listed in the *Social Register*, complaining, "anti-Semitism seems to have reached its American pinnacle" in Boston.<sup>81</sup>

Hoping to distinguish themselves from the newer immigrants, but improve group image overall, the Irish and Jewish elite highlighted their longstanding history in Boston. In *Israelites in Boston* (1888), a fundraiser for the Leopold Morse Home, Rabbi Schindler outlined the “glorious” history of the city’s Jewish pioneers and their success in business. In 1889, James Bernard Cullen wrote *The Story of the Irish in Boston*, chronicling the “generations of Irishmen [who] have made their home in Boston” and made their mark on municipal life. Not all of the early settlers were “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” he argued; instead, the “self-reliant and brainy Irishman” numbered among the “dignified” professionals and businessmen “of the time.”<sup>82</sup>

These efforts were expanded in the 1890s with the formation of the American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS, 1892) and the American Irish Historical Society (AIHS, 1897), which sought to disprove the “the false and absurd idea that the American people are of the so-called ‘Anglo-Saxon’ race.”<sup>83</sup> Founded by middle-class leaders as “non-sectarian” organizations designed to promote group respectability, the societies used history as a “weapon for social advancement” by highlighting the roles their groups played in the founding, settlement, safeguarding, and upkeep of the nation. In the process, historian Kenneth Moynihan argues, they would “magically transform themselves into the most American folk of all.”<sup>84</sup> As the societies announced: “You find the most loyal and valorous American in the sons of an expatriated Irishmen,” while Jews were “patriots in time of war and philanthropists in time of peace.” Although membership was limited, their findings were nonetheless influential, reprinted in the ethnic press for the entire community to read.<sup>85</sup>

Groups like the American Protective Association continued to blame immigrants for society’s ills, arguing they could never fully meld into the American ideal. Nativist prejudices regarding immigrants’ social and mental inferiority, as well as radicalism and labor strikes caused by economic depression in the early 1890s, also led to calls for greater restriction of immigration. Influenced by their belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, a group of Harvard-educated Bostonians established the Immigration Restriction League (IRL) in 1894, seeking the passage of a literacy test to limit immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe.<sup>86</sup> Although the IRL carefully fostered a bipartisan, non-sectarian image designed to appeal to a wide audience, members like Prescott Hall and Robert DeCourcy Ward were clearly motivated by antisemitism. Hall, for example, arguing that Jews controlled America’s newspapers and financial institutions, sought to keep out any more “sons of Judas” to prevent further “social deterioration.”<sup>87</sup>

Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge similarly expressed the views of many Yankees when he stated that Jews “lack the nobler abilities which enable a people to rule and administer and to display that social efficiency in war, peace, and government without which all else is vain,” while the Irish were ruled by their pope and politicians. A former advocate of unrestricted immigration, Lodge had come to believe that the newer immigrants debased rather than contributed to society, and he provided the IRL with political backing for their attempts to implement literacy tests.<sup>88</sup>

With the restoration of economic prosperity by mid-decade, the anti-immigrant fervor calmed for several years. The resulting “return of confidence” sparked a new national pride, fueled by imperialist ventures like the Spanish-American War. The United States went to war against Spain in February 1898 to fight for Cuban independence and to avenge the explosion of the battleship USS *Maine*. As during the Civil War, the conflict proved to be a testing ground for ethnic patriotism, particularly for American Catholics, who saw it as an opportunity to counter “persistent nativist claims that they made unreliable citizens.”<sup>89</sup> Initially, the *Pilot* and *Republic* questioned whether Americans wanted this war, “notwithstanding what the newspapers may say,” and defended the pope’s actions in seeking arbitration. Even so, Irish Americans denied charges that they would ally with Catholic Spain; as Representative John F. Fitzgerald declared, “no more valiant, brave and heroic defenders of the national honor” would “be found” than American Catholics.<sup>90</sup>

In fact, the Irish community in America and Ireland demonstrated widespread support for the war, organizing flag-raising events that featured patriotic addresses and appearances by Grand Army of the Republic veterans, American and tricolor flags, and pictures of President McKinley and the battleship *Maine*.<sup>91</sup> Irish-American men joined up in force when Massachusetts’ Ninth Regiment, the state’s Irish regiment from the Civil War, was called back into service. The AOH took an active recruiting role and donated American and Irish flags to fly at the head of the column. Although the *Boston Herald* questioned its propriety, the *Republic* argued that during the Civil War, the “glorious old Fighting Ninth” carried “the green flag from the day it left Boston to its return for final mustering out,” as did all other regiments of the Irish brigade, and “no stain of cowardice or disloyalty ever disfigured its field of pure green.” This regiment would carry the two flags “side by side,” despite the “sneers of non-combatants, Anglomaniacs, and the *Herald*.”<sup>92</sup>

The war posed no conflict for Jews, who pointed to the Spanish Inquisition as evidence of the empire’s depravity. Jews also held patriotic events, proudly displayed the flag at religious services, volunteered to fight, and provided

assistance to the military. Abraham Shuman, for example, donated clothing supplies to the Ninth Regiment, stationed at Camp Dewey in Framingham. “May you return with unbroken ranks from your march to the front,” he wrote to the company commander, “whither your noble and patriotic impulses for flag and country will have led you.”<sup>93</sup>

By August 1898, the war in Cuba was over, but fighting continued in the Philippines and other Spanish territories, which the United States had also invaded. While Irish and Jews applauded Cuba’s liberation, highlighting their own involvement and linking such efforts to their own fights for freedom, liberal leaders condemned the annexation of the Philippines as contrary to American ideals, despite the “all-or-nothing jingoism” of the era. As early as June, the *Republic* had wondered what policy the American government would pursue in the Philippines, hoping it would deal well with Catholic religious orders. As American troops ravaged the countryside through the summer and fall, the ethnic press, in opposition to pro-imperialist Republican newspapers like the *Herald*, began to ask, “Have we been fair to the Philippinos?” Patrick Collins, *Pilot* editor James Jeffrey Roche, Charles Fleischer, and other ethnic leaders spoke out against imperialism. Fleischer, a committed Progressive, inveighed against President Theodore Roosevelt as an imperialist warmonger who had betrayed America’s principles by maintaining the Philippines as a “colony.”<sup>94</sup>

As Matthew Frye Jacobson points out, many ethnic nationalists objected to imperialism based on the idea that their homelands were conquered nations. Irish nationalists in Boston pledged their “earnest and unswerving support to President McKinley in our present national crisis,” but opposed “an alliance with any power, particularly England.”<sup>95</sup> Irish nationalists also protested the Boer War, the British Empire’s struggle against the Transvaal Republic in South Africa. In December 1899, 700 people attended a meeting at Monument Hall “under the shadow of Bunker Hill” to protest England’s actions, which was the “same old policy of murder, robbery and confiscation pursued in Ireland for seven hundred years.”<sup>96</sup> The *Herald* made a “strong and urgent plea for American sympathy with England,” dismissing Irish support for the Boers as “a detestation of the English,” but Irish-American leaders argued they would join the army in droves if America were to “extend to the brave Boer the sympathy which France gave to this country in ’76.”<sup>97</sup> In February 1900, demonstrating Irish Americans’ continued association of American patriotism with anti-British sentiment, Maud Gonne, co-chair of the Transvaal Committee and co-founder of the new

Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Erin), addressed an enthusiastic audience of 8,000 at Tremont Theatre, flanked by the American, Irish, and Boer flags.<sup>98</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Despite the many economic, political, and social problems immigrants still faced, the late nineteenth century was by and large a time of confidence and prosperity—particularly for the upwardly mobile. Nativism against immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and elsewhere gradually gave way to attempts at understanding in the years after the Civil War. Communal support allowed for upward mobility for immigrants, ensuring group respectability, and maintaining group consciousness. In addition, Irish and Jewish achievements in business, philanthropy, and politics discredited nativist assertions that immigrants could not acculturate. Ethnic leaders were confident that they would be accepted as loyal Americans.

Still, challenges remained. As Oscar Handlin notes, while the Irish had formed “a cohesive and proud community” and competed “for Boston’s prized economic and political goods,” they remained “subordinate in Boston’s social system.”<sup>99</sup> Similarly, the Jewish middle class discovered that their economic mobility did not ensure a corresponding social status. The 1900s would bring new challenges with the continued immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and the resurgence of nativism regarding Irish and Jewish political activism. Over time, cultural, social, and economic differences within the ethnic community would become less important as leaders realized that many Yankees made little distinction between the ethnic elite and impoverished new arrivals.

HJM

## Notes

1. Meaghan Dwyer-Ryan, “Ethnic Patriotism: Boston’s Irish and Jewish Communities, 1880–1929” (Ph.D. diss.: Boston College, 2010). This article was excerpted from the dissertation. Note: Some of the copious and detailed endnotes provided in the original were condensed.
2. Oscar Handlin, *Boston’s Immigrants* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1941), 1–53, 177, 243; Thomas H. O’Connor, *The Boston Irish: A Political History* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 35, 1–31; Michael P. Quinlin, *Irish Boston: A Lively Look at Boston’s Colorful Irish Past* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2004), 1–29; Ellen Smith, “Strangers and Sojourners: The Jews of Colonial Boston,” in *The*

*Jews of Boston*, 2nd edition, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna, Ellen Smith, and Scott-Martin Kosofsky (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 21-43; Stephen G. Mostov, "A Sociological Portrait of German Jewish Immigrants in Boston: 1845–1861," *American Jewish Studies Review* (1978): 127-130.

3. William Braverman, "The Ascent of Boston's Jews, 1630–1918" (Ph.D. diss.: Harvard University, 1990), 41.

4. Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, 128, "Table II: Population of Boston and its Environs," 239; Patrick J. Blessing, "Irish," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980), 351; Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of Its Development, 1604 to 1943*, Vol. III, 1966-1943 (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1944).

5. European synagogues were arms of a religious hierarchy, but America had few rabbis and no such structure. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 72-73; Leon A. Jick, *Americanization of the Synagogue* (Boston: Brandeis University Press), 24-25.

6. Solomon Schindler, *Israelites in Boston: A Tale Describing the Development of Judaism in Boston, Preceded by the Jewish Calendar for the Next Decade* (Boston: Berwick & Smith, [1889]), Chapter 1; Jeannette S. and Abraham E. Nizel, *Congregation Ohabei Shalom: Pioneers of the Boston Jewish Community* (Boston, 1982), 6-8; Albert Ehrenfried, *A Chronicle of Boston Jewry* (Boston, 1963), 332-345; Smith, "'Israelites in Boston,' 1840-1880," in Sarna, Smith, and Kosofsky, *Jews of Boston*, 48-50; Meaghan Dwyer-Ryan, Susan L. Porter, and Lisa Fagin Davis, *Becoming American Jews: Temple Israel of Boston* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2009), 2-8.

7. Jick, 21-27; Jack Wertheimer, "Overview: The Synagogue in America," in *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7; Braverman, "Ascent of Boston's Jews," 34; David Kaufman, "Temples in the American Athens: A History of the Synagogues of Boston," in Sarna, Smith, and Kosofsky, *Jews of Boston*, 175; "History of Jewish Congregations," *Jewish Advocate*, 15 December 1939.

8. Paula M. Kane, *Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism, 1900–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 1–2; Jenny Goldstein, "Transcending Boundaries: Boston's Catholics and Jews, 1929–1965" (B.A. thesis, Brandeis University, 2001), 2-3; Thomas H. O'Connor, *Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: A Short History of Boston* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 22.

9. Victor R. Greene, *American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 34-36. See also Francis Robert Walsh, "The Boston Pilot: A Newspaper for the Irish Immigrant, 1829–1908" (Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 1968); Ruth-Ann M. Harris and Donald M. Jacobs, ed., *The Search for Missing Friends: Irish Immigrant Advertisements placed in the Boston Pilot, 1857-1860*, vol. 1-4 (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1989-1995).

10. "Appendix A: Jewish Population of Boston," in Sarna, Smith, and Kosofsky, *Jews of Boston*, 343; Ehrenfried, *Chronicle of Boston Jewry*, 337-338; Mostov, "A Sociological Portrait of German Jewish Immigrants," 127-130; Smith, "Israelites in Boston," 53; "Work for Boston Judges," *The New York Times*, 20 November 1886.

11. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 14; O'Connor, *Boston Irish*, 92-93; Braverman, "Ascent of Boston's Jews," 87-90.

12. Edward Wakin, *Enter the Irish American* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973), 119; William J. Laubenstein, "John Boyle O'Reilly" (unpublished manuscript, 1973), 226, in John Boyle O'Reilly Papers, John J. Burns Library, Boston College; O'Connor, *Boston Irish*, 86-93. For more on the regiments, see Christian G. Samito, *Commanding Boston's Irish Ninth: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Patrick R. Guiney, Ninth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998).

13. Temple Israel Board Minutes, 18 April 1865, in Temple Israel Archives; Sarna, *American Judaism*, 122; *Boston Traveller*, April 20 1865.

14. Marcus L. Hansen, "The Second Colonization of New England," *New England Quarterly* (October 1929), 553; Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, 246; Smith, "Israelites in Boston," 52.

15. Dennis P. Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box: A Social History of the Boston Irish, 1845-1917* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 82.

16. American remittances sent through private channels and communal organizations totaled £52 million (\$260 million) between 1848 and 1900 (Kenny, *American Irish*, 139). Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 43-105.

17. Ryan estimates that 27% of Irish small businesses folded between 1880 and 1890 (*Beyond the Ballot Box*, 84). Timothy J. Meagher cites a similar study of social mobility among Worcester's Irish shoe workers, noting that most Irish who established a shop soon went back to the factory, unable to make a profit. See *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 48-49.

18. Smith, "Israelites in Boston," 52-61; Braverman, "Ascent of Boston's Jews," 80-120, 162; Mostov, "Sociological Portrait of German Jewish Immigrants," 137-150; Burton Samuel Kliman, "Jewish Brahmins of Boston: A Study of the German Jewish Immigrant Experience, 1860-1900" (Senior honors thesis: Brandeis University, 1978), 172-173.

19. Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 82-84; Smith, "Israelites in Boston," 52-61; Dwyer-Ryan, Porter, and Davis, *Becoming American Jews*, 13-14, 25-27.

20. Braverman, "Ascent of Boston's Jews," 118; Francis R. Walsh, "John Boyle O'Reilly, the *Boston Pilot*, and Irish-American Assimilation, 1870-1890," in *Massachusetts in the Gilded Age: Selected Essays*, ed. Jack Tager and John W. Ifkovic (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985), 151-158.

21. Lord, Sexton, and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, 3, 52–55, 64; *Pilot*, 18 December 1875. Donna Merwick, *Boston Priests, 1848–1910: A Study of Social and Intellectual Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973); James M. O’Toole, *Militant and Triumphant: William Henry O’Connell and the Catholic Church in Boston, 1859–1944* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992); Dolan, *Immigrant Church*; Kenny, *American Irish*, 163–171.
22. Merwick, *Boston Priests*, 144, 3; 148–161; O’Toole, *Militant and Triumphant*, 76–77.
23. Jick, 153, 174–179; Sarna, “The Evolution of the American Synagogue,” in *Americanization of the Jews*, ed. Robert M. Seltzer and Norman J. Cohen, (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 221–225; Sarna, *American Judaism*, 75–128.
24. Jick, 182–194; “Temple Ohabei Shalom, Reform,” in *The American Synagogue: A Historical Dictionary and Sourcebook*, ed. Kerry M. Olitsky and Marc Lee Raphael (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 171; *Advocate*, 15 December 1939.
25. Board Minutes, 29 March 1863, 2 April 1865, 9 April 1865, 11 May 1873, 16 August 1874, 30 August 1874, in TI Archives. See Schindler, *Israelites in Boston*, chapter 2; Dwyer-Ryan, Porter, and Davis, *Becoming American Jews*, 13–18; Jick, *Americanization of the Synagogue*, 182–194.
26. Many of Ohabei’s younger members (50% of the total) left to join Adath Israel after a dispute over family pews. Mishkan Israel merged with Shaaray Tefila in 1895 to become Mishkan Tefila. Joseph Lebowich, “Jews in Boston till 1875,” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 12 (1904), 112; Smith, “Israelites in Boston,” 59; Kaufman, “Temples in the American Athens,” 186–187.
27. Schindler, *Israelites in Boston*, chapter 5; Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1954), 54–57; *Jewish Herald*, 2 June 1893; Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 413, n63. Schindler also published the *Jewish Chronicle* from 1890 to 1893.
28. TI Board Minutes, 30 September 1877. “Jewish Dedication,” *Boston Herald*, 4 February 1885. “Adath Israel,” *Globe*, 4 February 1885. Guests included the mayor, public officials, Protestant ministers, and notable Jewish rabbis.
29. Lord, Sexton, and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, 64; M. Heanne d’Arc O’Hare, “The Public Career of Patrick Andrew Collins” (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 1959), 99.
30. O’Connor, *The Hub: Boston Past and Present* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 104; Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 58–62; Janet Nolan, *Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 54–55; O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 80.
31. Lord, Sexton, and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, 79–85; Merwick, *Boston Priests*, 110–116.
32. Smith, “Israelites in Boston,” 61. Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 83–95; Kerry M. Olitzky, “The Sunday-Sabbath Movement in American Reform Judaism: Strategy or Evolution?” in *American Jewish History*, vol. 2. *Central European Jews in America, 1840–1880*, ed. Jeffrey S. Gurock (New York: Routledge, 1998), 84, 77;

Schindler, *Israelites in Boston*, chapter 3; “Unitarianism and Judaism” (16 December 1888); “Nationalism as a Religion (21 November 1890) in Solomon Schindler Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

33. “He Gave His Best,” *Globe*, 25 October 1893; *Advocate*, 7 May 1915. For more on Schindler’s contentious relationship with his congregation, see Dwyer-Ryan, Porter, and Davis, *Becoming American Jews*, 19–40.

34. Kaufman, “Temples in the American Athens,” 186–187; Arnold A. Wieder, *The Early Jewish Community of Boston’s North End* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University, 1962). Schindler, *Israelites in Boston*, chapter 3.

35. Handlin, *Boston’s Immigrants*, 130–132; Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 23–31; Susan Walton, “To Preserve the Faith: Catholic Charities in Boston, 1870–1930,” in *Catholic Boston: Studies in Religion and Community, 1870–1970*, ed. Robert E. Sullivan and James M. O’Toole (Boston: Archbishop of Boston, 1985), 67–68; Ebert, “Community and Philanthropy,” 213–215.

36. Thomas F. Meehan, “Boston,” in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, volume 2, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907); Handlin, *Boston’s Immigrants*, 130–132; Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 23–31; Deirdre M. Moloney, “A Transatlantic Reform: Boston’s Port Protection Program and Irish Women Immigrants,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Fall 1999): 50–66. Walton, “To Preserve the Faith,” 67–68, 79.

37. Many American Jews opposed this migration, believing large numbers of “foreign” refugees damaged their acceptance and progress. Dwyer-Ryan, Porter, and Davis, *Becoming American Jews*, 13–14, 30–33.

38. *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 October 1891; Ebert, “Community and Philanthropy,” 227; Allon Gal, *Brandeis of Boston* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 16–17, 34.

39. Walton, “To Preserve the Faith,” 69, 83, 97–103; Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 121–122; Sarna, “Jews of Boston in Historical Perspective,” in Sarna, Smith, and Kosovsky, *Jews of Boston*, 7.

40. Kane, *Separatism and Subculture*, 202–203; Barbara Miller Solomon, *Pioneers in Service: The History of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston* (Boston, 1956), 8, 11; “Deutches Fest: Hebrew Citizens with Open Purses,” *Globe*, 10 December 1889; Deirdre M. Moloney, *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

41. Solomon, *Pioneers in Service*, 51; Ebert, “Community and Philanthropy,” 213–217; *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 January 1892; “American Principles Taught,” *Globe*, 28 January 1900, 22; “Hebrew Industrial School,” *Advocate*, 11 August 1905; Golde Bamber, “Russians in Boston,” *Lend a Hand Monthly: A Record of Progress* 8 (March 1892), 170, 172. (1898).

42. Ellen Smith, “Israelites in Boston,” 57. Peter Condon, Thomas F. Meehan, E.J. Devine, D. Montcrieff O’Connor, A. Hilliard Atteridge, “Irish in America,” *The*

*Catholic Encyclopedia*, volume VIII, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910); Kerby Miller, “Class, Culture, and Immigrant Group Identity in the United States: The Case of Irish-American Ethnicity,” in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 97-129.

43. Kenny, *American Irish*, 148; Greene, *American Immigrant Leaders*, 19–20; “A Grand Good Dinner,” *Globe*, 18 March 1883, 2; “Merry Dancers,” *Globe*, 14 January 1886, 1; “Purim Ball a Brilliant Spectacle,” *Globe*, 9 February 1900, 5.

44. Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 113–120; Michael P. Quinlin, *Irish Boston: A Lively Look at Boston’s Colorful Past* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2004), 101–112.

45. Quinlin, *Irish Boston*, 94, 98; Daly established more schools over the years, in conjunction with his role as secretary of the Gaelic League in America. Úna Ní Bhroiméil, *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870–1915: The Gaelic Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 33–57, 68–69; Paul Darby, “Gaelic Sport and the Irish Diaspora in Boston, 1879-1890,” *Irish Historical Studies* xxxiii, no. 132 (November 2003), 387–403.

46. Schindler noted this discord in 1883, complaining that the YMHA took “great interest” in Russians, but “entirely neglected” Poles and Germans. *Hebrew Observer*, 14 December 1883; Smith, “Israelites of Boston,” 57-59.

47. Handlin, *Boston’s Immigrants*, 156, 161; Gal, *Brandeis of Boston*, 5-7; Dwyer-Ryan, Porter, Davis, *Becoming American Jews*, 16, 33-34; Braverman, “Emergence of a Unified Community,” 76-77.

48. Kenny, *American Irish*, 126-128, 171-173; Thomas N. Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), xiii-xv, 17-41, 64-74; Kerby A. Miller, *Exiles and Emigrants: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

49. O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 101–102; O’Hare, *The Public Career of Patrick Andrew Collins*, 1959). Roche, *Life, Poems and Speeches of John Boyle O’Reilly*, 8-133; Mann, *Yankee Reformers*, 24–51.

50. Roche, *Life, Poems and Speeches of John Boyle O’Reilly*, 127–129, 141.

51. Williams, quoted in O’Hare, *Public Career of Patrick Andrew Collins*, 240; *Pilot*, 5 February 1881.

52. *Republic*, July 1, 1882; *A.O.H. Journal*, March 1880, 4; Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism*, 28. *Republic*, March 25, 1882.

53. Meagher, *Columbia Guide to Irish American History*, 112; Shuman to T.J. Murphy, 22 March 1889, in O’Reilly Papers. *Globe*, 17 February 1880, 1; “Ireland’s Condition,” *Globe*, 11 October 1886, 4; “View of Irish Question,” *Globe*, 1 October 1888, 6; *Globe*, 18 April 1893, 9; “Friend of Irish Goods,” *Globe*, 16 September 1890, 4; *Pilot*, 8 June 1907.

54. “Declaration of Principles: The Pittsburgh Platform,” 1885 Pittsburgh Conference. Schindler, *Messianic Expectations and Modern Judaism* (Boston: S.E. Cassino and Co., 1886), 201-205; Ehrenfried, *Chronicle of Boston Jewry*, 389; Schindler, “History of the Congregation Temple Adath Israel,” in Rabbi Solomon Schindler Papers, TI

Archives; Sarna, *American Judaism*, 125; Mann, *Growth and Achievement*, 53–56. Schindler later came to support Zionism.

55. Naomi W. Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897–1948* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2003), 2–3; Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism From Herzl to the Holocaust* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), 12–24.

56. Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 202, 216. This flag later appeared at the Second Zionist Congress in Switzerland in 1897 (*Advocate*, 17 June 2004). “Growth of Zionism in Boston” *Maccabean* 2 (May 1902): 241–243; Urofsky, *American Zionism*, 81–85. Cohen, Jacobson, *Special Sorrows*, 53.

57. Stephen Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 12–13. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967) 50.

58. O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 95–99; Geoffrey Blodgett, “Yankee Leadership in a Divided City,” *Journal of Urban History* (August 1982), 371–396. The native-born vote, meanwhile, grew only about 15%.

59. Lawrence Fuchs, “The Reactions of Black Americans to Immigration,” in ed. Yans-McLaughlin, *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, 293.

60. Connolly, *Triumph of Urban Progressivism*, 17.

61. Arthur Mann, quoted in William H.A. Williams, *‘Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800–1920* (Urbana, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 140; Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 93–94.

62. Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 259, 205–207.

63. Damien Murray, “Progressivism, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Emergence of Catholic Democratic Liberalism in Boston, 1900–1924” (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 2005), 7. See also O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 132–146.

64. O’Hare, *Public Career of Patrick Andrew Collins*, 122–202; O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 101–112; Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 207.

65. Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews,” 201–207; Ehrenfried, *Chronicle of Boston Jewry*, 623; *Globe*, 6 August 1942; Schindler, *Israelites in Boston*, chapter 5.

66. “Hon. Leopold Morse,” *Globe*, 16 December 1892, 9; Ehrenfried, *Chronicle of Boston Jewry*, 623.

67. Laubenstein, “John Boyle O’Reilly,” 201–203, 206.

68. *Hebrew Observer*, 23 October 1883; Braverman, “Ascent of Boston’s Jews, 210–211.

69. John T. Galvin, “Patrick J. Maguire: Boston’s Last Democratic Boss,” *New England Quarterly* 55.3 (September 1982): 392–415; O’Connor, *Boston Irish*, 117–121.

70. *Ibid.*

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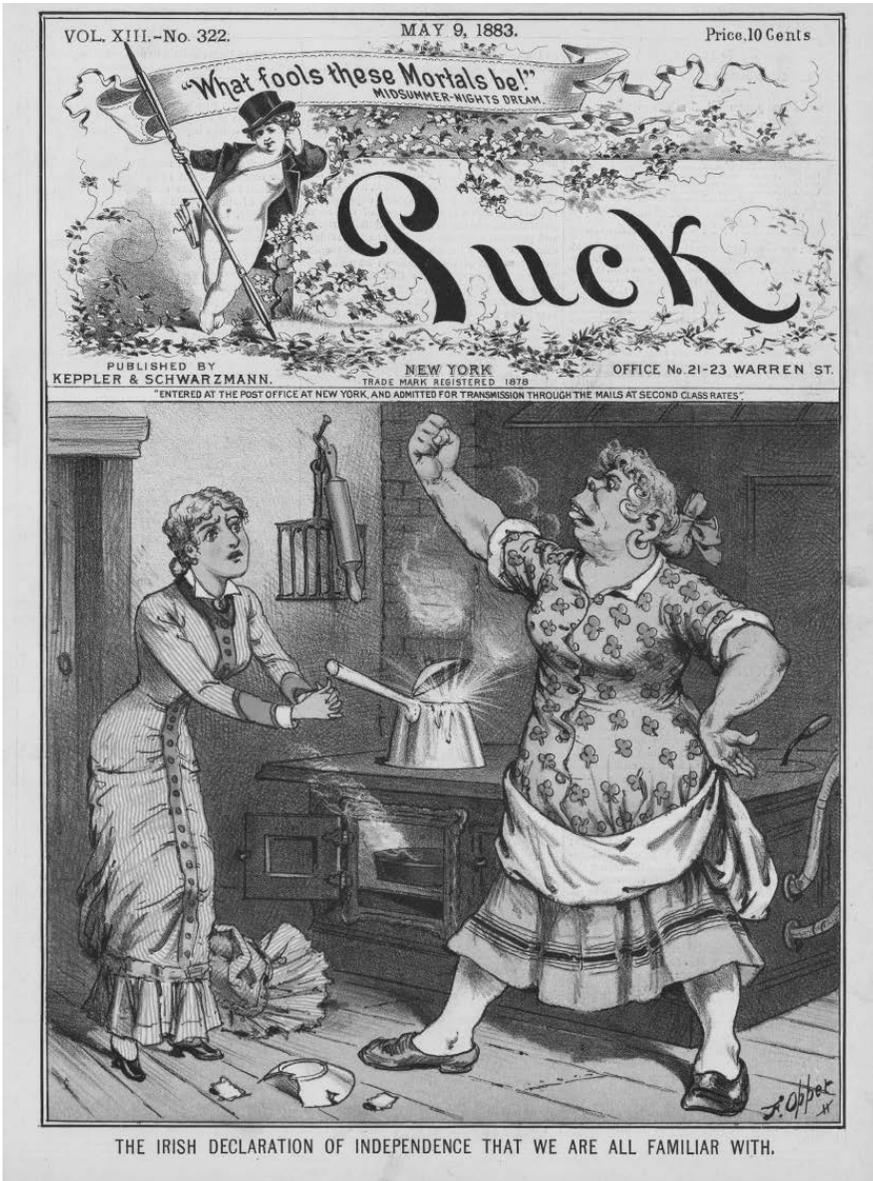
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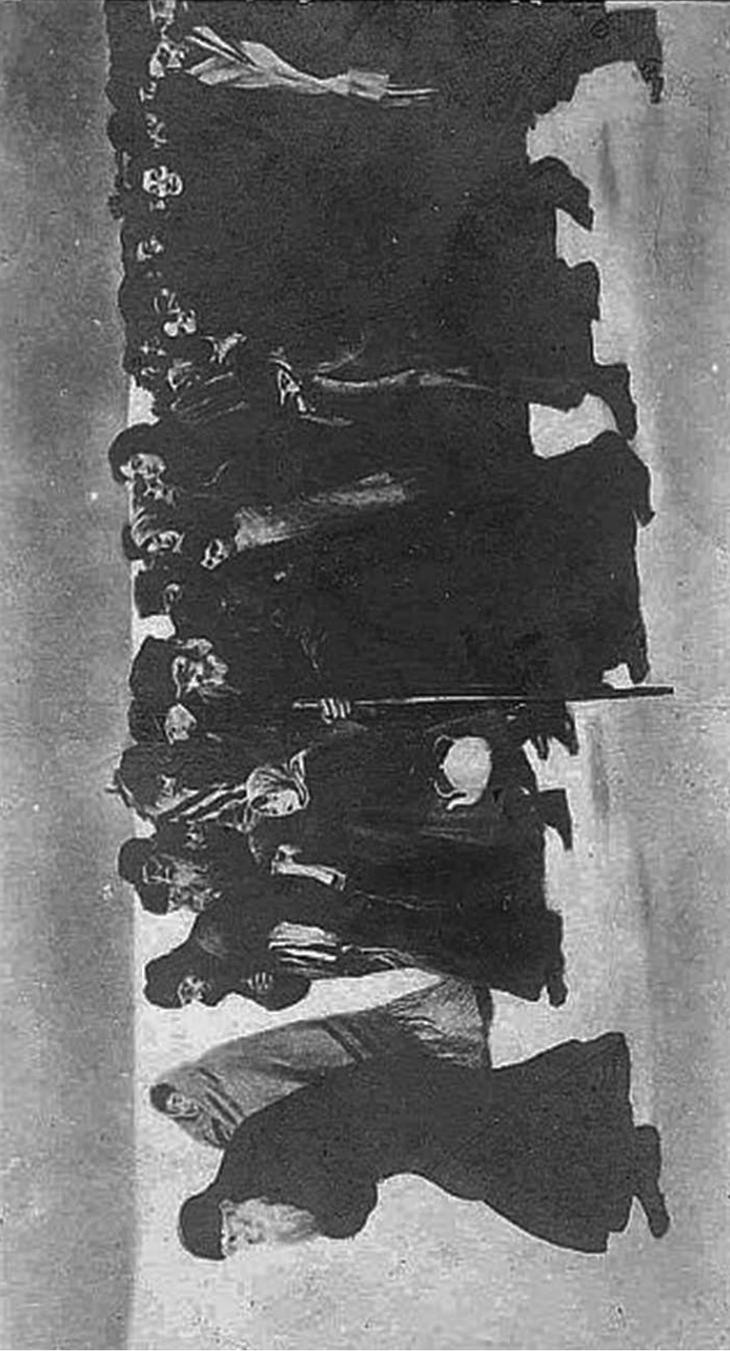
**Immigrants en Route**

Irish immigrants aboard ship, circa 1880. Image courtesy of the West End Museum, Boston.



### Scathing Stereotype of the Irish

This image from *Puck*, May 9, 1883, trades on a familiar stereotype of an Irish maid as belligerent and coarse. The contrast with the presumably “American” lady of the house drives home the point of the purported alienness of the Irish. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress.



### **Fleeing the Pogrom**

This painting depicts Russian Jews fleeing a pogrom that drove them out of their village. Such attacks on Jewish villages were sometimes done under government sanction.



### **The Jewish Quarter of Boston**

This painting by William Allen Rogers depicts daily life — the bustling shops and busy sidewalk traffic — in Boston's Jewish neighborhood at the end of the 19th century. The image appeared in *Harper's*, 1899. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



### The Hand of Welcome

This illustration shows prosperous, assimilated American Jews, on the left, extending their hands in welcome to Jewish immigrants from Europe. Immigrants escaping Russian persecution swelled Boston's Jewish population from five thousand in 1880 to twenty thousand in 1895. *Finding Refuge in America*, chromolithograph by Joseph Keller, New York Hebrew Publishing Co., 1909. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.