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**Life in the Hub - A Study of the lifestyles and identities of Irish and 'Coloured' people
in Boston in the early 1920s**

Leigh Margaret Martin

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University of Glasgow

Department of History (Modern)

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Abstract

The purpose of researching this subject was to create a picture of the lives of the Irish and Coloured people of Boston, both as a group and as individuals. Although there is an array of literary material available on the subject of Boston and its peoples, the 1920s as a decade remains almost untouched by historians. Furthermore, the Irish and Coloured people themselves feature infrequently in the literature on Boston, which makes a need for a study all the more essential.

The primary source research for this work was undertaken during a four month research trip to Boston. The material from which this work takes its focus, is the Marriage Records for the city of Boston during 1921 and the newspapers which were published for each group during the decade, *The Guardian* and *The Pilot*.

The aim of this work is to conduct a study into the lifestyles and identities of these groups within Boston society. The MR provide the statistical data from which to gain an understanding of these people by considering their jobs, their place of birth, their neighbourhoods and their religion. The newspapers are the cultural tool which allows the information within the MR to be put into context. Analysis of the newspapers enables a picture to be created of what kinds of messages and information these groups were receiving from their press.

The outcome of this research has been to provide an insight into what kinds of jobs individuals in Boston were doing in the 1920s, it has also been to gain more of an understanding of their religion and to what extent this affected issues such as divorce and marriage. The lifestyles and identities of these groups have been shaped and influenced by what they read and by where they came from. The intention of this work has been to provide an understanding of these factors and how they affected those involved.

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Both in Glasgow and in Boston, Phil O'Brien has been my supervisor, sparring partner and friend. His teaching and enthusiasm has rubbed off on me and it is he who has fostered my great love for American history. His constant belief in my work has been of great support to me over these past few years.

My thanks go to my family and friends for their love and support during my research. I am indebted to Tricia who housed me and looked out for me during my time in Boston. Our relationship as cousins grew into a deep friendship which I cherish. To Ross, for his help with this work in many practical ways, but most importantly for his love and interest in my research. His enthusiasm for this thesis meant such a lot, he has been my constant support and my encourager and I am eternally grateful.

Finally, this work is dedicated to my Mum and Dad, Eileen and Billy. They will never know how much their love means to me, but this is a small way of saying thank you for all their prayers, love and encouragement throughout my research.

L M
April 2003

Abbreviations

ABA	Archdiocese of Boston Archives
BPL	Boston Public Library
CD	Coloured Database created from the Marriage Records
ID	Irish Database created from the Marriage Records
JP	Justice of the Peace
MG	Minister of the Gospel
MR	Marriage Records from the Suffolk County Marriage Records for 1921 held on microfilm at the Massachusetts Vital Records and Statistics
MVRS	Massachusetts Vital Records and Statistics
BU	Boston University

Chapter 1

Introduction

We love to read the lives of the great yet what a broken history of mankind they give, unless supplemented by the lives of the humble.’¹

Mary Antin’s statement emphasises that often history is told from the perspective of those in positions of authority. The intention of this thesis is to try and understand the story of some of those whose lives were perhaps not humble, but who nevertheless do not feature to any significant degree in the written twentieth century history of Boston. This thesis focuses on those Irish and Coloured² people who married in the city in 1921.

Boston is a city famous for its influential role in America’s colourful early beginnings. The eighteenth century boasted the Boston Tea-Party and the Boston Massacre, events with such impact that they have forever secured the place of the city on the historical map of North America. The nineteenth century continued this precedent, with the Boston Brahmins and Abolitionists, further examples of Boston’s engaging past. However the city’s later history has been eclipsed by these definitive beginnings. In historical writing there is a gap in the literature on the city for the first half of the twentieth century.

What characterises much of the history of late twentieth century Boston is the bussing disputes of the 1960s and 1970s.³ The bussing problems which saw the Irish and Coloured groups clash over the desegregation of schools are perhaps what have defined the relationship

¹ Mary Antin, *The Promised Land*, quoted in Stephan Thernstrom’s *The Other Bostonians*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 1a

² The use of the word Coloured to describe people who would normally be termed African American was used because of the terminology in the primary source research. It was decided to maintain this contemporary terminology which features in both the MR and the newspapers. The author acknowledges that this is a somewhat unusual term, but has decided to maintain it in this piece of work because of its usage during the 1920s.

³ Thomas O’Connor, *The Boston Irish*, (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1995), p. 260

between the two in Boston's twentieth century history. Yet studying the Irish and Coloured people forty years previously indicates that despite the situation in later years, these were two groups with lifestyles that were not uncommon.

Boston in the 1920s was a city of contrasts, a city where Anglo-Saxon lived along side Coloured Americans and immigrants from throughout the world. This diversity, from the burgeoning Irish population to the relatively small Coloured population, was not unusual for cities in America at that time, although restrictions were being brought in during the early 1920s that would limit the number of migrants entering the USA.

The census figures for Boston in 1920 show the population of the city to be 748,060, the seventh most densely populated city in America, with approximately 17,197 people per square mile.⁴ Despite their differing size, the Irish and Coloured groups were chosen because of the lack of specific research done on them and because both of these groups were ethnic enclaves within the city.

Two of the main themes that came through in this research were identity⁵ and lifestyle.⁶ The intention is to trace these themes throughout the thesis to consider one specific set of people and data. The majority of the conclusions on lifestyle have been gathered from the Marriage Records⁷ of the City of Boston⁸ for 1921. While the specific economic status of the couples cannot be determined exactly, the MR provide evidence that this was a group of people who

⁴ Figures obtained from US Census Bureau Population Diversity Working Paper No 27, June 1998 at www.census.gov

⁵ With particular emphasis on ethnic identity

⁶ With particular emphasis on occupation

⁷ Marriage Records - MR

⁸ Massachusetts Vital Records and Statistics Marriages Boston, Vol. I and II Year 1921 Suffolk County - MVRs

could afford to marry. With this in mind, the records allow for important conclusions to be drawn as to the types of lives these people were living, including their occupational status, information about where they lived and their religious beliefs.

The theme of identity is a dominant thread that has been determined from the MR and also from the study of the ethnic newspapers. *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* were two specific newspapers pertaining to each group and have been chosen to reflect the cultural identities of the Coloured and Irish people. Use of the newspapers enabled conclusions to be made about how these different immigrant groups were reflected in the press and how the newspapers also developed their own themes, such as religion and ethnicity.

Both the terms of race and ethnicity have been used within this work. It has been the intention of the author that the term race be used to refer to the two groups of people, those who were of Coloured origin and those who were Irish. Thus describing them as races of people.

The term ethnic or ethnicity has been used mainly with reference to Coloured people and the different areas where they were born, in the belief that this would determine something about them ethnically. The author acknowledges that occasionally these terms can become blurred, and it is also important not to use the term ethnicity to assume that all Coloured people from a particular part of the country were the same. This noted, through the research it is possible to draw distinctions between the groups in terms of where they were born, although likewise, as will be discussed, there were occasions when this was less of a factor. There are also important other issues which do feature in this work, including looking at the differences between the groups on a cultural and class level.

In general though, the identity of these groups has been associated with where they were born, and this in turn has been referred to as ethnicity. The term race has been used to a lesser degree, simply to determine the two groups.

The intention with this work is to draw measured conclusions on the research undertaken and the groups studied. Considering a sample group of Coloured and Irish Bostonians allows for conclusions to be made but with the acknowledgment that this will not necessarily be the case for all the people in these groups as a whole in Boston during the early 1920s. However, the belief of this work from its conception has been that if the details of the lives of a substantial sample of Coloured and Irish people could be obtained and understood, then this would be a significant step to understanding some of the history of these groups in Boston during the early 1920s.

Chapter 2

The Background

The intention of this chapter is to highlight the historiography of this subject and through an analysis of the secondary sources, demonstrate the need to address the substantial gap in the literature. Although the existing literature does cover some of the themes observed here, it is in a very general sense. Books and articles engaged in the study of the Irish and Coloured groups in 1920s Boston are relatively scarce.

While the specific focus of this work is Boston, the historiography covers some general literature on the issue of America and immigration. Muller's work, *Immigrants and the America City*,¹ focuses on the impact which immigration had on cities within the USA. He considered the interaction of immigrants with the dominant culture and studies their economic and social standing, tracing them throughout the nineteenth century to present day America. *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities*,² by Lieberman, also illustrates the effects which immigration has had on various American cities over the last century. In analysing the economic and social impact which immigrants have had on the states where they settled and also their relationships with other immigrant and native peoples, Lieberman seeks to discover how immigrants fitted in with those around them. One book which specifically studies women is *Immigrant Women*,³ edited by Seller. This work consists of many short stories and extracts of the lives of immigrant women. Covering issues such as family, community life and education this book gives a snap shot of the lives of women who had left their home lands in search of a new life.

¹ Thomas Muller, *Immigrants and the American City*, (New York and London, New York University Press, 1993)

² Stanley Lieberman, *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities*, (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963)

³ Maxine Schwartz Seller, (Ed), *Immigrant Women*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1981)

More specific works on other cities have been produced and include Cohen's study on Chicago⁴ and Sitton and Deverell's work on Los Angeles.⁵ Both books focus in some detail on the 1920s as a decade and provide the reader with examples of how immigrants lived in other areas of the country. Many of the general works on immigration that are cited also mention individual cities and compare them with one another. Some books on Boston compare the city with surrounding areas in order to put the city into context.⁶

There were many books that came under the broad title of 'general Boston' and these covered various aspects of Boston history. Many books such as Warner Jr's *Streetcar Suburbs*⁷ and McGuire and Paynter's *The Archaeology of Inequality*⁸ deal with issues such as housing and living conditions, as the authors seek to understand the landscape of an evolving city and how it affected those living there. This issue of 'where' people lived in Boston is certainly a popular one in the literature and stems from the belief that where you live defines who you are. Geographic locality as an identity tag was not an uncommon theme for Boston writers and this is demonstrated in the literature on the Irish in Boston.

The political life of Boston also featured in much of the writing⁹ on the city, with particular focus on Irish dominance in Boston politics. However the main themes into which most of the

⁴ Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990)

⁵ Tom Sitton and William Deverell, (ed.), *Metropolis in the Making*, (Berkeley, LA and London, University of California Press, 2001)

⁶ These books would include W E B Du Bois' book, *The American Negro, His History and His Literature*, (New York, Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), which originally appeared in the New York Times in November-December 1901) and Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*

⁷ Sam Bass Warner Jr, *Streetcar Suburbs*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press and the MIT Press, 1962)

⁸ Randall H McGuire and Robert Paynter, *The Archaeology of Inequality*, (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA, Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991)

⁹ For example, See Bibliography - Gamm's *The Making of New Deal Democrats* and Hutchmacher's *Massachusetts People and Politics*.

literature falls are economic status and group identity, with race and ethnicity playing a crucial part in much of the writing on the subject. John Daniels wrote his book, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, in 1914¹⁰ and covers specifically the nineteenth century. Although providing analysis of Coloured immigrants to the city, his views and opinions of the status Coloured people and on the general limitations of the Coloured race, were perhaps endemic of the time and have not been used in this work. Another author writing about Boston in the nineteenth century was Handlin, in his work, *Boston's Immigrants*.¹¹ The strength of this work is that it deals with a number of immigrant groups and comprehensively assesses their economic status and their contribution to the city.

Green and Donerhue's work on *Boston's Workers*,¹² considers Coloured and Irish people and their importance within the city's labour structure. They also look more widely at immigration and ethnicity in the city, particularly in the wake of the Sacco and Vanzetti case,¹³ when some immigrants became the focus of targeted hostility during the Red Scare. New England in general is the focus for Soloman's detailed consideration of immigration. She discusses the relationship between the new migrants and the old stock,¹⁴ as both struggle to adapt to their changing circumstances. Another author who writes about Boston is Mann, who summed up the problems which Bostonian society was to face in those changing times, 'Boston had its share of strikes, poverty, slums, concentrated wealth, booms and bust, corrupt

¹⁰John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace, A Study of the Boston Negroes*, (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1914 rep 1968)

¹¹Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, (Cambridge Massachusetts and London England, The Belknap Press Harvard University, 1959)

¹²James R Green and Hugh Carter Donerhue, *Boston's Workers, A Labour History*, (Lectures delivered for the National Endowment for the Humanities, BPL Learning Library Programme, Publication No. 6, 1977)

¹³Ibid. p. 102

¹⁴Barbara Miller Soloman, *Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England Tradition*, (Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 193

politics, debased values'.¹⁵ The theme of Mann's book was to address how 'Bostonians attempted to square the ugly facts of inequality with the noble ideal of equality',¹⁶ a theme relating to Boston as a city with a unique history. From Yankee to Irish, Republican to Democrat, Coloured to White, Catholic to Protestant, unskilled to professional, Back Bay to the city slums, Boston was and is a city of deep contrasts and entrenched values.

The historiography of the Irish in Boston is one which has been well documented. The majority of this literature focuses on the Irish as Catholics and although there were those in the city who were Irish and not Catholic,¹⁷ for the majority of residents the two were inextricably bound together. The strength of the Catholic church stands as a monument to the Irish in the city as the influence of Catholicism in the city grew throughout the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century.¹⁸ Indeed the authors of one book on the Catholic church in Boston call much of the 1920s a time of 'increased prosperity and marvellous growth and achievement'.¹⁹ Not only did parishes increase, but to meet the demand created by more parishioners the church employed more Priests and there was a growth in religious orders connected with the church. Yet despite all of the growth in areas effecting the laity, much of the literature on church life in Boston is mainly focused on one principal figure, William H O'Connell. He was made archbishop of Boston in 1907 and elevated to cardinal in 1911, serving until his death in 1944.²⁰ *Militant and Triumphant*²¹ and *History of the Archdiocese*

¹⁵ Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1954), p. vii

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ William V Shannon, *The American Irish*, (London, Collier, MacMillan Ltd, 1963) pp. viii

¹⁸ Paula Kane, *Separatism and Subculture, Boston Catholicism 1900-1920* (Bloomington, Indianapolis, The University of North Carolina Press, 1993) p. 59

¹⁹ Robert H Lord, John E Sexton and Edward T Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston Vol. III, 1866-1943* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1944) pp. 636 (This was a work commissioned by the Archdiocese), 1922-1929

²⁰ Robert E Sullivan and James O'Toole, *Catholic Boston, 1870-1970*, (Boston, 1985) pp. 19

²¹ James M O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant, William H O'Connell and the Catholic Church*

of Boston,²² are publications that base the Catholic church around this one man. By their very nature these books have primarily taken their angle on the Catholic church from the perspective of O'Connell. As the dominant figure in the church, his views and outlook are obviously important, but what seems to be lacking in much of the Catholic literature, is a critique on the lives of the lay people, the ordinary Irish Catholic men and women of whom the church was composed.

Two books that write about the Catholic church up to 1920 and which go some way to breaking this mould, are Merwick's work, *Boston Priests*²³ and Kane's book, *Separatism and Subculture*.²⁴ Both of these books move to focus Catholicism and indeed 'Irishness' in Boston away from a single figure and challenge the reader not to take as gospel the idea that the Church was simply the size of O'Connell's persona. To truly understand Boston's Catholics, one has to go deeper, not ignoring O'Connell's influence, but looking beyond him as a man and considering the actual impact of his actions and his affect on the laity. Merwick writes about the fundamental changes which O'Connell enacted when he became archbishop in 1907, by turning the Boston Catholic church to face Rome as opposed to maintaining loyalty to its American 'roots'.²⁵ Both authors address this but have a slightly different use of terminology, Merwick uses the word, 'Americanism', but goes on to talk of a 'Subculture' and a 'Separatism' within Boston Catholic society. Merwick considers 'Americanism' as meaning a separation from Rome,²⁶ something which O'Connell was staunchly against, but which posed a real challenge to the church in America as it sought to reconcile Roman Catholic belief with

in Boston, (Notre Dame, London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1992)

²²Lord, Sexton and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*

²³Donna Merwick, *Boston Priests, 1848-1910*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1973)

²⁴Kane, *Separatism and Subculture*

²⁵Ibid. p. 177

²⁶Ibid. p. 148

the day to day American world in which the people found themselves. O'Connell promoted Romanism and cultivated it by focusing on two levels within the Catholic church, one of an elite culture modelled on Roman sophistication and domination and one for those below this group, a kind of docile 'low culture' which would act as a booster for the lower realms in Catholic society.²⁷ Kane sees this divide as a difference between Catholic culture and American culture and writes about the development of a Catholic subculture²⁸ backed by O'Connell, ready to stand along side the cultures of nationalism and capitalism as a defining category for group identity.

The strength of Catholicism cannot then be underestimated and although kept strong in its own right, under O'Connell's influence, the connection that the church had with the Irish was what cemented its place in twentieth century Boston. The migrants who came over from Ireland faced a different society from the one they had left and the loss of the native Irish society²⁹ was a driving force behind the desire to find something to hold on to while the rest of their world was changing. Indeed Kane writes that 'Catholicism helped define a subculture in Boston, partly because it took the place of other aspects of Irishness which had to be abandoned, such as language'.³⁰

One book which considers how the Irish adjusted to life in America is Noel Ignatiev's *How The Irish Became White*.³¹ Yet rather than following the model set out by Kane, Ignatiev writes that when the Irish came to America they were a separate group, indeed a persecuted

²⁷Merwick, *Boston Priests*, p. 160

²⁸Kane, *Separatism and Subculture*, p. 13

²⁹Ibid. p. 48

³⁰Ibid. p. 7

³¹Noel Ignatiev, *How The Irish Became White*, (New York, London, Routledge, 1995) writing on the Irish in the nineteenth century

group. However the longer they were in the country, the more imbedded in their new society they became, until they in turn became a part of an oppressing group. Ignatiev believes that in 'becoming white', the Irish had a new world of opportunity opened up to them, a world that allowed them to go for whatever jobs they wanted, to take part in elections and to live their lives with no racially imposed restrictions.³² He writes that in becoming white, the Irish 'ceased to be green'.³³ Ignatiev's point was that the Irish became assimilated into this new society because it was their best chance at achieving an improved standard of living and it allowed the Irish to take advantage of situations and events that would have remained out of their reach had they held on to their Irish identity. However, for the 1920s the evidence seems to counter that given by Ignatiev. Certainly on the evidence of *The Pilot* and much of the secondary sources, one would question whether the Irish did in fact 'become white' when their separate identity of Irishness seemed to be thriving. Certainly it could be argued that if this new 'white' American society had to be embraced by the Irish at the expense of losing some ethnic pride and identity, there would have been those in Boston in the 1920s who would not have been enthusiastic to do so.³⁴

Miller's³⁵ book on the emigration of the Irish to American shores, is an important example of a more general study done on the movement of this group to America. Miller charts the journey of the Irish immigrant from Ireland to arrival and a new life in the US. Another more general account of the Irish in America is Diner's work on Irish immigrant women entitled *Erin's Daughters in America*,³⁶ which considers specifically the role of women in the migration

³²Ibid. p. 2

³³Ibid. p. 3

³⁴This is echoed in Kane's book *Separatism and Subculture*, e.g. p. 7

³⁵Kerby A Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, (Oxford University Press, 1995)

³⁶Hasia R Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America*, (Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983)

process, something which other authors have not always addressed.³⁷ Though it focuses on the nineteenth century, what is written, especially about marriage and domestic work, has been cited in this study because the points which Diner made, particularly about marriage and occupation in Irish circles, were relevant to this research.

Kenny's book, *The American Irish*³⁸ provides a chronological study of the Irish in America from the eighteenth century through to the present day. Though saying little on the Boston Irish specifically, Kenny writes about the social mobility of the Irish in general and as he sees it, their eventual assimilation.³⁹ In this way, Kenny would support Ignatiev's view to an extent, although Kenny believes that they were assimilated by the late twentieth century, not during the nineteenth, which is when Ignatiev was writing about. In summing up, Kenny's words are especially poignant when he writes, 'The story of these nameless millions conjures up feelings of sadness and indignation, mingled with pride and wonder and occasional bewilderment, at what they became once they settled in America.'⁴⁰ This question which Kenny leaves the reader to consider, is one which is important to the history of ordinary Bostonians and to this work - the issue of putting names and identities with the lives of those who emigrated to the city.

In Shannon's book, also named *The American Irish*, he devotes one chapter to looking particularly at the Boston Irish. This book gives a comprehensive view of the Irish, how they interacted with each other, what their views were on life and how those views have developed

³⁷Stephan Thernstrom writes that he only deals with the male population for practical and theoretical reasons such as the importance of male breadwinners and also the difficulties of tracing women in the records due to changing their name after marriage and because there was less likelihood of women's jobs being listed in city directories, pp. 6 and 7.

³⁸Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish*, (New York, Pearson Education Limited, 2000)

³⁹Ibid. p. 259

⁴⁰Ibid. p. 263

over time. Shannon evokes a picture of these mainly rural Irish people coming over to America, becoming city people and forming new ways of maintaining the old way of life. This book covers a wealth of material from politics to religion to economics and the press and includes many of the main figures in Boston's history from O'Connell to James Michael Curley⁴¹ and David I Walsh,⁴² the three most written about men in this era of Boston's history. These are men whose lives have been preserved for study, enshrined in the annals of Boston's history. It is through men such as these that many have chosen to remember the Irish of Boston.

One of the ways in which the Irish of the city have also been remembered is in studies of geographic locality, in what was seen to be the dominant Irish neighbourhood - South Boston. Authors such as Loftus and O'Connor, describe vividly a thriving community in the area, as they recall with fond memories a childhood which it seems you can only really understand if you too grew up in 'Southie'. The title of Loftus's book, *This Old Gang of Mine*,⁴³ is illustration enough of the point that O'Connor himself makes when he states that those writing about South Boston do so from two extremes. There are those who choose to write amusing anecdotes and nostalgic tales from the area⁴⁴ and those whose portrayal is less enthusiastic towards the neighbourhood, choosing to emphasise the deficiencies of the people and the place.⁴⁵ Although O'Connor's book does go some way to balancing the extremes of other writers, the title of his work, *South Boston, My Home Town*, does in itself reveal some

⁴¹O'Toole, *Catholic Boston*, p. 18, Curley served as mayor of Boston, governor of Massachusetts and was a congressman from the city, in a career which spanned 50 years.

⁴²Ibid. p. 3, Walsh became the first Roman Catholic governor of Massachusetts in 1913 and went to serve for over 30 years in the US Senate

⁴³Patrick F Loftus, *This Old Gang of Mine A History of South Boston*, (PO Box 304 SB, 1991)

⁴⁴Thomas O'Connor, *South Boston, My Home Town, The History of an Ethnic Neighbourhood* (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1998 new ed.) p. 2

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 3

of O'Connor's own loyalties! O'Connor has written prolifically on Boston, with five of his books included in the bibliography of this work, varying from a short history of Boston, to the specifics of the Irish political scene within the city. Nevertheless, there is a general romanticism which pervades the literature on the Irish in Boston, as Irish American authors seek to create an idealised image of the Irish neighbourhood as all community and all united, taken either from their own memories or from what they have read about South Boston.

One book which creates some balance between the contrasting views of South Boston is Michael Patrick McDonald's family history, *All Souls*.⁴⁶ Although this is another account of a childhood spent on the streets of South Boston, the author has managed to strike some form of compromise in his writing, between the Southie which he will always love and the problems which he acknowledges in the area. This book, however, was written in the 1960s during a period of major change for the area and as such differs from the 1920s in the problems and issues faced.

However this emphasis on ethnic neighbourhoods can cause problems. Although by the early 1900s the population of South Boston was dominated by first and second generation Irish,⁴⁷ what the MR reveal is that for this specific group at least, South Boston was not the dominant place to live. Although there is not an exact figure, those living in South Boston account for approximately 20% of all the Irish in the MR.⁴⁸ There are flaws in making the generalisation then that all the Irish lived in South Boston and too much can be assumed because of the tradition which the area had.

⁴⁶Michael Patrick McDonald, *All Souls*, (Massachusetts, Beacon Press, 1999)

⁴⁷O'Connor, *South Boston*, p. 87

⁴⁸This was based on determining which streets were in the area of South Boston and how many people lived there.

In terms of the literature on the Coloured Bostonians, while there was material written on this group, many of the books written covered the nineteenth century and even then it was much more limited than the literature on the Irish. This is somewhat surprising, because after the Yankees, the Coloured people in Boston, though small in number, were the longest standing 'minority' group in the city.⁴⁹ The iconic figure of Crispus Attucks⁵⁰ prior to the American Revolution, as well as the role of Coloured Bostonians in the Civil War, have shown that Boston is a city where Coloured Americans have long played a significant role. As a centre of abolitionist thought and action, many in Boston's Coloured enclave were involved in the underground railroad, attempting to bring slaves North to freedom and a better life. This commitment to abolishing slavery in the South and its after effects in the North⁵¹ was a legacy that brought people to Boston to seek out a better life.⁵²

Some of those Coloured people who had been in Boston for many years and who were in the upper strata of Coloured life, had successfully created their own group - they were the Coloured Brahmins, illustrated by Adelaide Cromwell in her work on Boston's Coloured upper class.⁵³ She writes that those in this group, often patterned themselves on the norms of their white counterparts.⁵⁴ Much of the inspiration for Cromwell's writing stemmed from her close friendship with Dorothy West,⁵⁵ author of the novel, *The Living is Easy*.⁵⁶ West's book

⁴⁹Rheable M Edwards and Laura M Morris, *The Negro In Boston*, p. 3

⁵⁰Robert C Hayden, *African Americans in Boston, more than 350 years*, (Massachusetts, Museum of African American history, Boston, 1987) p. 9

⁵¹Thomas O'Connor, *Civil War Boston*, (Boston, Massachusetts, Northeastern University Press, 1997) p. 9

⁵²Just 17% of those who were marrying in Boston were born within the state of Massachusetts, with the other 83% coming from outside the state

⁵³Adelaide Cromwell, *The Other Brahmins, Boston's Black Upper Class, 1750-1950*, (Fayetteville, The University of Arkansas Press, 1994)

⁵⁴Ibid. p. 74

⁵⁵Writing the Afterward for *The Living is Easy*, which was added in 1982, Cromwell writes of her close friendship with West, which developed initially from a shared love of Martha's Vineyard where they first met and their common interest in the lives of Coloured Bostonians

traces the life of an aspiring Coloured woman from the South living in Boston and follows her attempts to become a part of the elite Coloured Boston Brahmins. Cleo Judson, the protagonist, is a woman who desires to transcend her Southern roots and to move from the south end, which was the 'Coloured area'⁵⁷ of Boston, to a house in Brookline, where she would be the first Coloured woman on the street.⁵⁸ West's book, though fictional, is a wonderful expose of Coloured life in Boston in the 1920s, one of the few to be written about the decade.

In Hayden, Boston also has an author who has written quite specifically on Coloured people. One of his books studies the contribution of Coloured people to life in the city and is entitled *African Americans in Boston, More than 350 Years*.⁵⁹ This book gives a detailed insight into individuals who have shaped Coloured history in the city, individuals whose lives are not covered in the mainstream history of Boston. These works however, are few and far between.

Yet whatever the lack of specific literature may indicate, Coloured Boston did not lie dormant during the 1920s. The population grew in Boston from 8,125 in 1890, (1.8% of the city's total population) to 16,350 in 1920, (2.2% of the population), doubling in size in 30 years.⁶⁰ Despite the whole of New England having a Coloured population in 1920 which was just 1% of the nation's as a whole, (79,051), the doubling of the number of Coloured people in Boston alone helps to justify an in-depth consideration of the life of this ethnic group.

at the beginning of the twentieth century.

⁵⁶Dorothy West, *The Living is Easy*, (New York, The Feminist Press, 1982)

⁵⁷Ibid. p. 5

⁵⁸Ibid. p. 40

⁵⁹Robert C Hayden, *African Americans in Boston, More than 350 Years*,

⁶⁰Ibid. p. 4 (all figures in paragraph)

As well as Hayden, there were three other authors who emerge as the dominant forces who did write about Coloured Bostonians around the period of the 1920s, they were Pleck, Schneider and Thernstrom. Schneider's work on Boston and the Jim Crow laws,⁶¹ although ending in 1920, is a comprehensive guide to the struggles of Coloured people in Boston at the turn of the twentieth century. Dealing with the specifics of Coloured Bostonians as a group, he also leaves room for considering individual cases, such as that of the relationship of Irishman, John Boyle O'Reilly, with Coloured society and the NAACP's⁶² role in Boston, (something rarely covered in the literature). Undoubtedly, Schneider's book significantly filled the gaps left by the tendency of Boston's history writers not to address early twentieth century Coloured history. Yet because the book finishes in 1920, no one has specifically filled in the gap left by the conclusion of Schneider's own work.

One author who does include the Coloured people in his study of the city is Thernstrom in his book, *The Other Bostonians*, which covers the period from 1880-1970. While this book is probably the most comprehensive and up to date account of economic and social conditions within Boston throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is a general account and not specific to Coloured people in the 1920s. Nevertheless Thernstrom's analysis of the occupational and economic situation in Boston makes for valuable reading and has been used by both Schneider and Pleck in their own writing. Thernstrom deals specifically with, 'The common people of Boston from 1880 to the present ...',⁶³ by using unexplored sources including city directories, marriage licences applications and local tax records.⁶⁴ It is difficult to ignore the sheer volume of information that is contained within Thernstrom's book. His

⁶¹Mark Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890-1920*, (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1997)

⁶²National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People - NAACP

⁶³Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 1

⁶⁴Ibid.

methodology, which involved tracing random samples of men for as long as they lived in Boston, yielded an impressive amount of data, which he has vigorously analysed and presented in tables and statistics. His results are comprehensive, although the fact that his study does not include women means that there are only results for half the population. In terms of gaining an understanding of the economic and social factors in the lives of the male population of Boston, this study is important. However, Thernstrom does not focus specifically on the 1920s or on a varied group within the Coloured population. Nevertheless, printed in 1973, this is a comprehensive general study of Boston throughout ninety years of the city's history.

Pleck, who was a graduate student of Thernstrom's, addresses a wide range of issues in her book, *Black Migration and Poverty*.⁶⁵ These issues include marriage, racism, employment and family, as she seeks to understand the lives of Coloured Bostonians, many of whom she sees struggling to make ends meet in a society that places them at the bottom of the ladder. The views of Pleck and her analysis of Boston's Coloured population in the late nineteenth century have assisted the development of this research, particularly as she deals with the migration of Coloured people from the South, to Boston and how this affected their occupational standing in the North.

However in her own work, Pleck raises questions about the analytical aspects of Thernstrom's conclusions.⁶⁶ While both authors work their way through possible reasons why Coloured workers were almost always at the bottom of the occupational ladder,⁶⁷ Pleck is critical that Thernstrom does not divide the Coloured groups in his sample by birth place, as much of her

⁶⁵Elizabeth H Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty, Boston 1865-1900*, (New York, Academic Press Inc, 111 5th Ave New York, 1979)

⁶⁶Ibid. p. 124

⁶⁷Including fatherless households and less educational opportunities for Boston's Coloured people

hypothesis is based on understanding the differing backgrounds of this group.⁶⁸ It is perhaps for this reason that Pleck provides a comprehensive and somewhat different study from Thernstrom, specifically on Boston's Coloured population. Her study delves deeper into the lives of the people, their ethnic origins, the causes of poverty and the economic and social circumstances in which they were living.

Despite the importance of these authors, the focus of their work is not primarily the 1920s. In addition to this, the different types of Coloured groups within Boston and the places from which they came, have rarely been considered in depth by historians, although Pleck does address this issue to an extent in her research. One author who has written on this in a general sense was Reid. Published in 1939, Reid's work, *The Negro Immigrant*⁶⁹ stressed the need to consider the variety of this group and their lives once they had reached American soil. Generally though, mentioning that there was significant migration to the city from the likes of the British West Indies⁷⁰ and other parts of the US,⁷¹ is often the only basic information given on the types of Coloured people in Boston. One author who has produced a photographic history of Coloured Boston and does touch on this to an extent, is Sichel. Emphasising this variation, she writes that one cannot 'define the totality of the black community or regions in the city, or artificially create a linear history of African-American experience.'⁷² Sichel's words echo the diversity which has emerged from research of the MR, a diversity that has to be considered more deeply.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 4 pp. 78 and 79

⁶⁹ Ira De A Reid, *The Negro Immigrant, His Background, Characteristic and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939)

⁷⁰ British West Indies - BWI

⁷¹ Edwards and Morris, *The Negro in Boston*, p. 8 and Cromwell, *The Other Brahmins*, p. 73

⁷² Kim Sichel, *Black Boston, Documentary Photography and the African American Experience*, (Boston University Art Gallery, March 5th-April 10th, 1994) p. 1

One contemporary Coloured leader who wrote several times on Boston particularly, was W E Burghardt Du Bois. Du Bois' work on *The Black in the North in 1901*,⁷³ draws comparisons on Coloured life in three northern cities, Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Du Bois' conclusions identify Boston as the city that '... presented the most favourable situation for Negroes ...',⁷⁴ though for all the cities he acknowledges the struggle that Coloured people faced in trying to gain mobility and move up the economic ladder. One of Du Bois' most enduring beliefs about the Coloured race was his vision of the 'Talented Tenth', which consisted of men with the educational background, intellectual prowess and business outlook to lead 'ordinary' Coloured Americans. Du Bois' emphasis was not on the manual training and compromise that Booker T Washington⁷⁵ promoted, but rather that the lower class Coloured people should be led to greatness by the dominant people amongst them.⁷⁶ The Niagara Movement was one of the main vehicles for facilitating this group of people, but although laying the foundations for the NAACP and campaigning actively for the rights of Coloured people,⁷⁷ this group emphasised the problems with the 'Talented Tenth'. One author⁷⁸ writes that an important factor in this was that many of these men did not see themselves in any way connected with the majority of ordinary Coloured people, with their very status as educated, 'talented' men in fact working adversely to alienate them from those whom Du Bois believed they should be leading.

⁷³This was the subtitle of Du Bois' book, *The American Negro, His History and His Literature*

⁷⁴Ibid. p. vii

⁷⁵Booker T Washington - Washington

⁷⁶Manning Marable, *W E B Du Bois, Black Radical Democrat*, (Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1986), p. 50

⁷⁷Elliott M Rudwick, *W E B Du Bois, Propagandist of the Negro Protest*, (Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968 2nd ed), p. 117

⁷⁸Ibid. p. 118

In considering the issue of migration and the Coloured race, Du Bois identifies two distinct Coloured groups, those who had been born in the North and who knew the ways of the city and those who had come from the South and were not familiar with city life.⁷⁹ In this way, Du Bois relates to authors like Pleck and Sichel in his belief that there was not a standard Coloured experience and one must acknowledge the differences that existed within the race in order to have a fuller understanding of the variations of Coloured people in the city. It is this belief that shall form the basis for considering the data in Chapter 4, in order to determine the differences and/or similarities between the various Coloured groups. Formulating much of his doctrine and beliefs from his experiences in Boston, Du Bois and subsequent books written by and about him provide a grounding for understanding a contemporary view of the city.

In addition to these secondary sources, this work also covers the contemporary sources of Boston's newspapers and MR, neither of which has been given detailed study. The purpose of using both of these sources has been to establish a picture of these ethnic groups that illustrates something of their lifestyles and also to try and gauge from the newspapers what kind of cultural influence they had on their readers.

The intention of this work is to give a critique of the lifestyles of both the Irish and the Coloured people, who appear as 'unstudied' groups within Boston society in the twenties. There is a need for more in-depth work on these people for they are the ones whose lives are hidden away in the newspapers and MR of the time.

⁷⁹Ibid. p. 39

Chapter 3

Placing the People

The purpose of this chapter is to use the information in the MR to establish a general picture of the Irish and Coloured people and to determine who they were and where they were based. This chapter will also discuss some of the main themes of this work. Initially the MR have been used to address the question of the lifestyles of these groups. What has been researched is a snapshot of the lives of over 650 Irish and Coloured people in Boston in the early 1920s and this in turn has been used to draw some conclusions on their lives and the status of these groups in this decade of the twentieth century.

For the Coloured Americans living in Boston at the start of the nineteenth century, theirs was an ethnic group of about 1,100, based primarily in the crowded, cheap accommodation of the north end.¹ In early 1800, the Coloured population began to move westward² and was based in the west end between 1830 and 1892.³ Those who dwelt in the west end during these years, lived mainly on the north side of Beacon Hill and down to and across Cambridge Street.⁴ There they established several churches, schools and meeting places. Yet by 1890, many of the Coloured Brahmin families were beginning the exodus from this part of the city to the south end, as conditions in the west deteriorated. Much of this situation came from the Coloured people at the lower end of the scale who faced worsening housing conditions but because of the difficulty they would have in moving elsewhere due to white prejudice, landlords could still charge high rents for this poor yet essential housing.⁵

¹ Robert C Hayden, *The African American Meeting House in Boston a Celebration of History*, (Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Afro-American History, 1987), p. 4 this figure is also supported by the findings of Thernstrom's research, in *The Other Bostonians*, p. 179

² Leon H Mayhew, *A Study of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination*, (HUP 1968) p. 51

³ Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, p. 143

⁴ Thomas H O'Connor, *Boston A to Z* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 344 and for map, see Creating Black Heritage 2001, Map of Black Heritage Trail, available from the Museum of Afro-American History, Boston.

⁵ Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, p. 143

Yet the movement of wealthier Coloured people paved the way for the lower classes to progress out of the slums, as previously most forms of mobility within the city were closed to them.⁶ The shift in population to the south end coincided with the movement of old churches to the area, as the south end began to play host to more and more Coloured places of worship. With the exodus of the Coloured people came the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Europe, which saw a rapid shift in the ethnic makeup for the area, as Armenians, Jews and Greeks⁷ began to build their new lives on the old stomping ground of Boston's small Coloured enclave.

By the time these marriages occurred in 1921, the Coloured population was firmly established in the south end, which became a densely populated locality to the south west of Boston Common. The Coloured population in Boston by 1920 had grown to around 16,350, which equalled 2.2% of the city's overall population.⁸ The number of Boston's Coloured citizens was significantly lower than that of cities such as Chicago, where they equalled 4.1% of the total population, Cleveland where they were 4.3% and Philadelphia where they were 7.4% of the population. But nevertheless, the Coloured population of Boston expanded in the 1920s and increased at six times the rate of the white population during the decade.⁹

Although Boston's Coloured group was very mixed, there was no obvious divide in terms of living space between people of different birthplaces or ethnic origins. While some authors¹⁰ identify a divide between Boston's various Coloured groups in terms of economic status, there does not appear to be the same amount of emphasis placed on a division in terms of living

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ O'Connor, *Boston A to Z*, p. 345

⁸ Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 179, Table 8.1

⁹ Jack Salzman, David L Smith and Cornel West, (Ed), *Encyclopaedia of African American Culture and History, Vol. 1*, (New York, Simon and Shuster and the Trustees of Columbia University, 1996), p. 408

¹⁰For example, Du Bois and Pleck

space. Birth place does not seem to be a dividing factor in segregating Coloured people within neighbourhoods. The fact that the Coloured population of Boston was primarily gathered in the one region, may be due to a feeling of safety in numbers, or there may have been more of a sense of unity within the group than authors such as Du Bois, who identified this economic gap, have maintained.

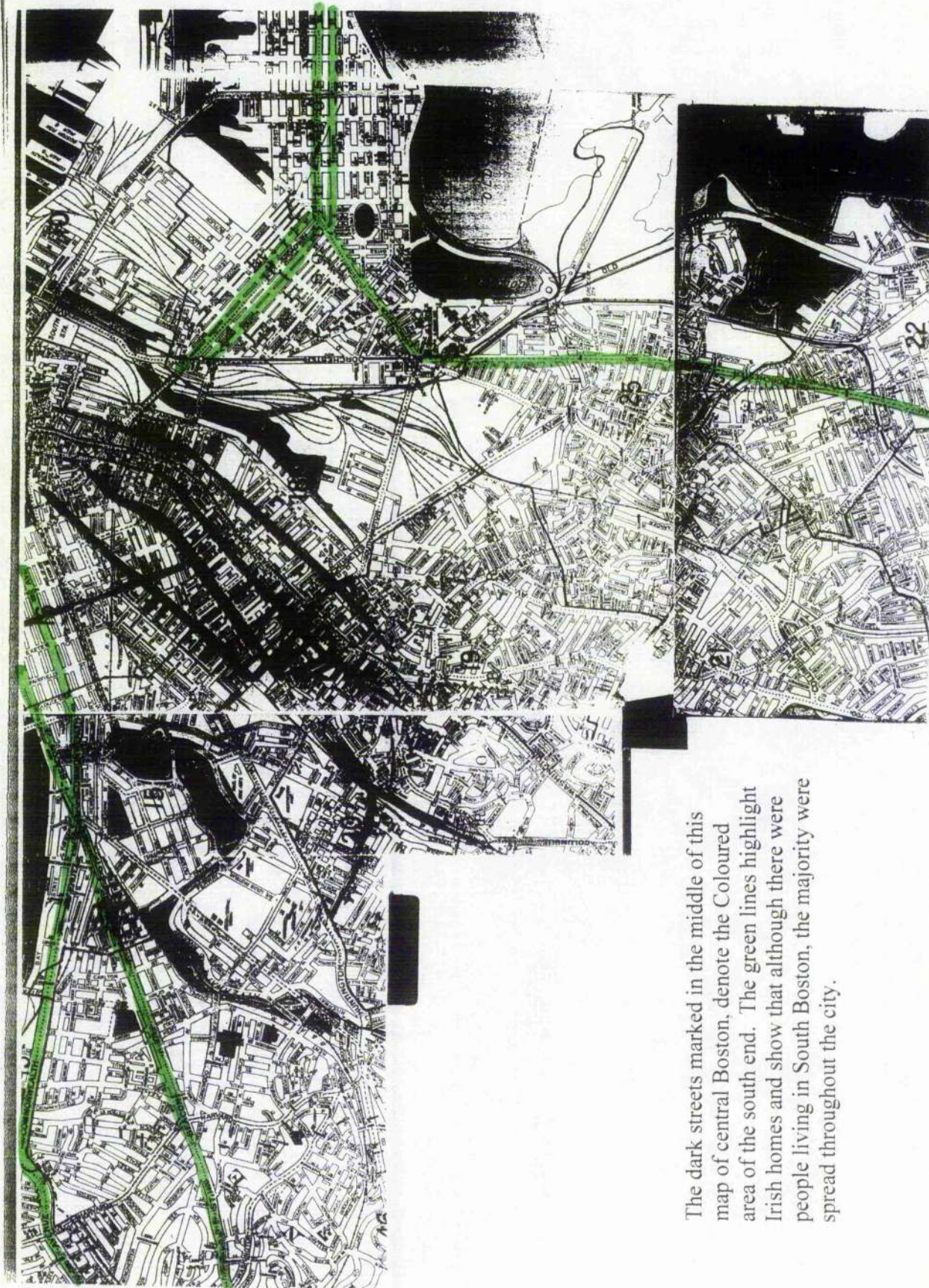
Du Bois emphasises two different classes of people within the Coloured population, those from the North and those from the South. He claims that although those from the North have managed to maintain their dominance, he sees these two groups as different.¹¹ Yet the fact that in this instance they actually lived side by side is important to acknowledge. What is revealed by this is a group of people of the same colour who were living together, despite these differing backgrounds.¹²

Figure 1 on the following page, denotes the whereabouts of the Coloured and Irish groups within the city. The Coloured group can be easily identified by the clustering of dark streets in the middle of the map, in the south end.¹³

¹¹Du Bois, *The American Negro - His History and His Literature*, pp. viii and 39

¹²Chapter 4 contains information about the variety of birth places of the Coloured group, but it is interesting to note that despite these differences, they mostly lived as a group in a specific area

¹³Figure 1 should be viewed horizontally to observe the streets in the south end running south from Boston Common



The dark streets marked in the middle of this map of central Boston, denote the Coloured area of the south end. The green lines highlight Irish homes and show that although there were people living in South Boston, the majority were spread throughout the city.

¹⁴This was done on the earliest map which could be photocopied, from the printing department of the BPL (1948). The Premier Map of Boston and Vicinity

Plotting the whereabouts of the Coloured couples in Boston allows for a graphic illustration of just how they were concentrated in one area. Running south from the common, Columbus Avenue, Tremont Street, Shawmut Avenue and Harrison Avenue were the four main streets which held the majority of Coloured homes in Boston. Streets just to the west of Columbus Ave, to Shawmut Ave, were the hub within the Hub and though not all Coloured people lived within this boundary, the vast majority did.

The Irish couples who were considered were a somewhat different entity. Despite pinpointing some specific locations for these particular Irish immigrants, there was no obvious concentration of them within South Boston, which is important as the Irish have been long associated with this part of the city.¹⁵ One probable reason for the lack of consistency in the residencies of the Irish, is that there were so many of them and those couples who married in 1921 only made up a small proportion of the whole group. All the Coloured people however, were a small group and were concentrated in a small area. There were Irish residencies in many other areas of this city, including addresses in Beacon Street and Commonwealth Avenue, which illustrates that there was not only a reasonable dispersion of this Irish group within the city, but also that some of them were residing at some of the city's more affluent addresses.

Figure 1 gives an indication of where these Irish people were living and although one can detect a solid grouping of them in South Boston running parallel to the coast on the right hand side of the map, they can also be seen living out towards the south end and in the west of the city.

¹⁵This is particularly relevant in the literature on the Irish in South Boston from Chapter 2

While the Irish were spread about, there was a concentration of 20% of the group in the area where Broadway and Dorchester Avenue crossed, with many addresses around East 3rd and 4th Street.¹⁶ But the Irish lived in other areas as well, including Roxbury, Pleasant Avenue, Woodbine Street and a number stayed in Fisher Avenue, in the area between Brookline and Roxbury. There were long standing Irish communities that had been settled in the city from the 1840s and as a result of this Irish longevity, there had been a dispersal of the Irish throughout Boston. A figure for the Irish population in the city has not been confirmed, although *The Pilot*, claims to have 900,000 Catholics within its archdiocese. There is some ambiguity over this¹⁷ as there were only 748,060¹⁸ people in Boston in the 1920s. However, this figure is possible if the whole of Boston and its suburbs have been included.

This question of neighbourhood does raise some issues relating to the image of the Irish and the Coloured people. The Irish have long been associated with an idea of neighbourhood in South Boston and yet from this evidence living there does not emerge as an overwhelming pattern within this group. Rather, it is the traditionally migratory Coloured people who seem to have a specific neighbourhood of which many are a part.

The MR for both groups have been gathered and collated into two databases¹⁹ and information for both individuals and couples has been studied and between eight and eleven separate pieces of information gathered for each person. The samples of each group are substantial, with 246 Irish individuals and 408 Coloured individuals who fitted the selected criteria. Many other Irish people may have married non Irish men and women that year, but the ones in this sample

¹⁶See Figure 1

¹⁷See Chapter 5 pp. 103-104

¹⁸US Census Bureau Figures www.census.gov

¹⁹See Appendix B for a sample of the databases

were used because they were in a specific category - marrying a fellow Irish born person, or in the case of the Coloured group, marrying someone of the same colour. By giving the percentage, as well as the original number, accurate comparisons can be made between the two groups,²⁰ despite their varying size.

When these records were initially collated, the emphasis for the Irish was on those couples where both partners had been born in Ireland. The reason for this was to ensure that the people were actually Irish. The fact that they were new immigrants was also important.²¹ For the Coloured couples the focus was on both partners being Coloured, regardless of origin. In both cases, the couples recorded were those who married either people of the same ethnic or racial origin. While these people are the focus for this work, there were also some interracial marriages taking place involving the Coloured people of Boston in 1921. A total of four Coloured men and four women married their white partners during this year, with the majority of those people marrying out with their race, coming from North America. Only one Coloured person married an Irish born person in 1921.²²

With the focus for the Coloured group on those who married other Coloured people, birth place, as was the case for the Irish, was not known. This meant that those being included were from a variety of states and countries. It is from here that the decision to use the term Coloured was taken, not only because it was used in the MR, but also because these were people who may not necessarily have considered themselves, 'African Americans'. The term

²⁰ Percentages have been rounded in most cases

²¹ It has not been possible to fully consider the role which being a migrant group has had on this group of Irish because they have not been compared to a second or third generation group of Irish people who would have been in the city for longer. Rather this work has sought to consider the lifestyles and identities of the Irish along side that of the Coloured group and draw conclusions and comparisons from that.

²² These marriages do not appear on the databases

African can suggest a throw back to slave roots that does not necessarily apply to these people. This is highlighted by one author when he states, 'Despite the name, "Africans, black", very few of the Negro immigrants are either African or black. They come largely from the Caribbean area and represent a ... collection of racial mixtures and cultural adaptations.'²³ As Chapter 4 will illustrate, the variety of places from where these Coloured people were coming to Boston confirms the case for considering this group as this kind of migrant people. The Irish too have come to the city having been born outside the USA. The diversity within and between both of these groups in terms of their lifestyles will be highlighted in the following chapter.

²³Reid, *The Negro Immigrant*, p. 24

Chapter 4

Marriage Records in Focus

Handlin writes that, 'Man's place in society, (is) determined not just by his income and occupation, but by his ethnic origin'.¹ Both occupation and identity, reflected particularly by ethnicity, are studied in this chapter, based on the research done of the MR and how this research has helped to establish what factors shaped the lifestyles and identity of these Irish and Coloured couples in Boston.

As a concept, identity is intrinsically linked with the ethnic origins of those whose lives are being considered. In this instance, there are the Irish, whose origins are from one place and the Coloured group, with much more diverse origins. From the MR it has been determined that 69% of the individuals who were Coloured were born within the United States, but only 11% of the total were actual Bostonians by birth. Widening this to state level saw just 17% born within Massachusetts, illustrating that the vast majority moved to the city from a significant distance. Both the Irish and Coloured then, came to the Boston with the same hope to 'make it', in this city. The diversity that has emerged has enabled discussion in this chapter of various themes and questions including consideration of the affect which birth place could have on peoples' lives. This chapter also focuses on the types of occupations which people had, considers their job as a factor which shaped their lifestyles and looks at the details of their marriage.

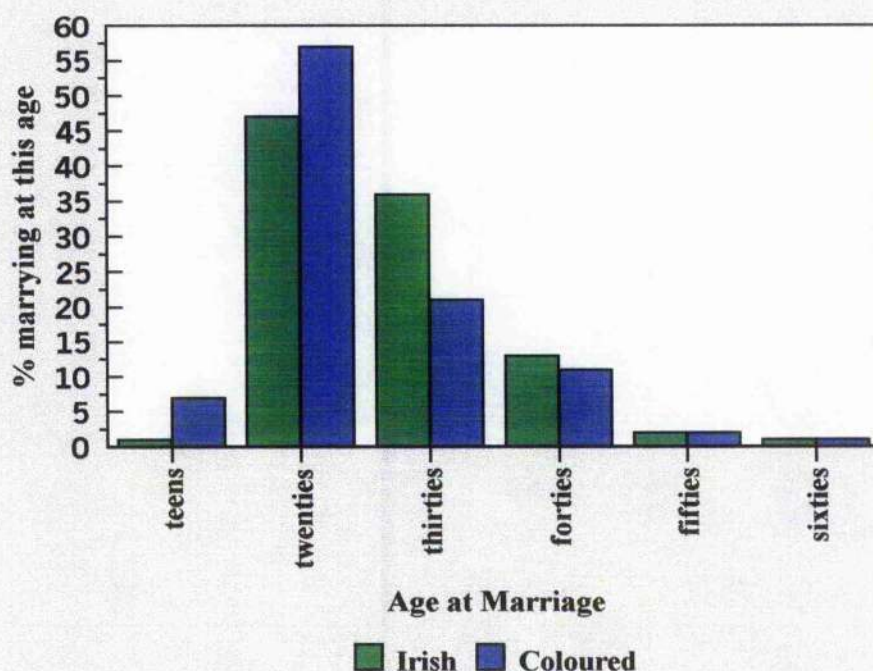
While this is a specific study on the lifestyles of a single group of people, the economic situation in America during the 1920s should also be remembered. Although the 1920s is most often thought of as a period of prosperity, there was a brief post war depression which affected the country in 1920. This depression lasted into 1921 and resulted in unemployment

¹ Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, p. 219

and a decrease in national income. However this situation was not to last and by 1922 the economy was strong once again.²

Within the MR there was specific information regarding peoples' marriages, including their age at marriage and whether this was their first marriage or not. It emerged that people in the MR were a variety of ages. Figure 2 illustrates the general ages at which people were marrying.

Figure 2
Age at Marriage of Coloured and Irish Couples



Source: Data from the MR Suffolk County 1921

From Figure 2, it is evident that for both groups, the dominant age for marrying was the twenties. Over 60% of Coloured people and just under half of all Irish people married at this

²David A Shannon, *Between the Wars: America, 1919-1941*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 85

age. Between the two groups there were two main differences to emerge. In terms of teenage marriages, there was a significant number of Coloured teenagers marrying in comparison with the very low teen marriage rate for the Irish. The other main difference was in the marriages of people in their thirties and forties, where the Irish people were more heavily weighted than the Coloured group. In both groups, there was a small number of people marrying in their forties and fifties.

The youngest person in this sample to marry was a Coloured girl, Barbara Benjamin,³ who was 15 years old when she married Julio Da Lomba, a 23 year old cook from Portugal. Born in Maine, Barbara classed herself as at home when she married. 7% of people in the Coloured MR were 19 years or less when they got married, four were males and twenty six were females. This frequency of early marriage for Coloured women does not seem to be related to any one particular factor. The women in this group have various jobs including those who were at home and those working as skilled workers. Marrying early therefore does not seem to be a trait of women with a particular occupational background. Out of the thirty Coloured teenagers who were marrying in 1921, eight of them were marrying other teenagers, suggesting that the majority were marrying out with their own age bracket.

The youngest Irish male and female married one another. Margaret Hayes was a 19 year old domestic when she married William Burke,⁴ who was 22 and worked as a labourer. Margaret was the only person in the Irish database to marry in her teens.

³ CD No. 49

⁴ ID No. 100

At the other end of the age bracket, the two oldest Coloured people in the MR were Johnson Murray who was 62 years old and 63 year old Mary Francis.⁵ They married each other. Both Mary and Johnson were widowers and for Mary this was her third marriage. The oldest Irish people also married one another. This couple were 69 year old Patrick McGrath and 63 year old Margaret Grant,⁶ both marrying for the second time, having previously been widowed.

In addressing this question of Irish age at marriage, Kenny states that, 'Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Ireland still had the highest rates of delayed marriage in Europe'.⁷ He writes that the age of marriage for the Irish when compared to Europeans was far higher, something which seems to have been continued while in America. Diner expands on the subject of late marriage by highlighting the choices which Irish women had to make when contemplating marriage, 'Although Irish women brought over from Ireland a tradition ... of late marriage or non marriage, the tradition remained strong in America because it continued to make economic sense.'⁸ She writes about the wages which many of these Irish girls would have sent home to support family in Ireland and how marriage may have meant an end to work,⁹ or would certainly have seen them use their wages in their new home. This in turn would have an negative impact on the family left behind in Ireland.¹⁰

In general, the average age at marriage for Irish men was 34 years of age, while Irish women were younger, marrying at 30 years. For Coloured men, the average age was three years less

⁵ CD No. 24

⁶ Ibid. 52

⁷ Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 183

⁸ Diner, *Erin's Daughter's In America*, p. 51

⁹ Those women who were in the at home category equalled 36% of all the Irish women - See Table 2 p. 51

¹⁰ Diner, *Erin's Daughter's In America*, p. 52

than their Irish counterparts, at 31 years and for Coloured women they were again younger, at 27 years of age. The significance of this difference in marriage age is difficult to determine. While some possible reasons for why the Irish, particularly women, chose to marry in later life have been given, why those Coloured people married earlier is not necessarily apparent. It does not seem that women in particular married early in order to have their husbands support them, unless they ceased to work once married. One author who does address the Coloured age at marriage to an extent is Pleck. While her findings seem to confirm the average age of Coloured marriages, she does not mention the instances of teen marriage. Pleck's primary aim is to address the reasons for female headed households in Boston in the nineteenth century and she does not believe that a cause of this is teenage marriage.¹¹ Nevertheless from these figures, it can be seen that there was a significant section of the Coloured people in the MR who were teenagers when they married.

As well as age at which people were marrying, the MR also highlight the frequency of marriage and the reasons for the end of any previous marriages. For both groups there was between 78% and 79% marrying for the first time. 15% of the total number of people in both groups were marrying for the second time, having previously been widowed¹² and those who had been widowed more than once and were on their third marriage was 1.2% of Irish people and 0.9% of Coloured people.¹³

Due to the very nature of this source, (and the leaning towards those who were marrying for the first time), there was always a likelihood that there would be less divorces than if the source had, for example, been a census which would take in a broader group. Nevertheless it

¹¹Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty*, p. 168-169

¹²39 Irish and 62 Coloured peoples first marriage ended when their partner died

¹³3 Irish and 4 Coloured people had been widowed twice before

is in the final category of divorce, that the largest difference between the groups can be found. There is only one Irish divorce which equals 0.4% of all the Irish people, compared to 4%, or eighteen Coloured people having previously been divorced. Despite the evidence that Irish people were marrying later in life than the Coloured populace, this was not as a result of divorce, or being widowed in previous marriages, but rather it was Irish people remaining single for longer.

The only Irish divorcee was Mary Connolly, who was a partner in only two couples who were noted in the Irish records to have been married by a JP.¹⁴ Mary was a 47 year old divorced housewife¹⁵ and her second marriage was to William Connolly, a 48 year old shipper who was marrying for the first time. Mary could have been Catholic, but because of the laws of the church,¹⁶ had to be married by a JP, or she may not have been a Catholic at all, it cannot be determined. Although one should be careful in assuming too much, one should equally be wary of ignoring what seems to be a particularly dominant fact. In essence, this low divorce rate could support the views of the Catholic church as expressed in *The Pilot*, where the newspaper stresses the importance of maintaining and valuing marriage for life.¹⁷

This issue of divorce is touched upon in many of the texts written about the twenties. Several authors point to the statistics which show that while in the 1880s, one in approximately eighteen marriages ended in divorce, by the 1920s this had become one in six.¹⁸ There were a

¹⁴JP - Justice of the Peace

¹⁵ID No. 36

¹⁶It should be noted that for a Catholic person to get a divorce the marriage would have to be annulled

¹⁷*The Pilot*, 20 January 1923, p. 4 See Chapter 5, p. 22

¹⁸Geoffrey Perrett, *American in the Twenties, A History*, (New York, Simon and Schuster Inc, 1982), p. 159 and David E Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1939 Decades of Promise and Pain*, (Westport, Connecticut, London, Greenwood Press, 2002)

host of variables which contributed to the divorce rates. Some of the main ones included the growing secularisation of American society,¹⁹ as religion and the moral codes of conduct which came with it, were deemed less important and the increasing freedom which women were enjoying in their daily lives, both in the workplace, in the home and in their sexual lives. Previous expectations which men and women had about relationships and roles within marriage were being challenged by the media, literature and fashion of this new decade. One domestic relations court judge in Denver, claimed that it was the '...Americans and the Americanised who were "divorcing all over the place", not the immigrant Catholics or Jews, not the blacks.'²⁰ However the figures for the Coloured group contradict this view, for they were divorcing more than the Catholics, although one cannot be sure how they compared with 'Americanised' people. What the divorce statistics for this Coloured group do reveal is that those who were divorced were predominantly those with church affiliation, suggesting that the role which religion played in influencing whether or not people were divorcing is not as straight forward as claiming that those people who were religious were not getting divorced. However, these statistics do have limits because they are only for one year, considering a source such as the census would give a more accurate picture of divorce rates.

Out of the 4% of the Coloured group who were divorced, only one of them was married in a civil ceremony and the rest were married by churchmen. One of the couples where both partners had been previously divorced were married by a Priest,²¹ but the majority were married by clergymen.²² From those eighteen who had been divorced, just two were

¹⁹Dumenil, *The Modern Temper, American Culture and society in the 1920s*, (New York, Hill and Wang, 1995), p. 130

²⁰Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States*, p. 116 Judge Ben B Lindsey - reformer and veteran of Denver Domestic Relations Court

²¹One could assume in this case that as they were married by a Priest -it would be an Episcopal Priest and not a Roman Catholic one, as they would not have been able to marry divorcees

²²MG married seven divorcees, while the Clergymen married eight.

immigrants from outside the country, six were from the South and ten from the North. Pleck also deals with the issue of divorce, but states that there were very few divorces amongst the Coloured population of the city. She writes that, 'Among Boston blacks there were only 2 divorced men and 11 divorced women in 1890; by 1900, the total number of divorced men and women was only 30.'²³ She does not state directly where she obtained this information, but it is almost identical to the type of figures gained from the MR in 1921, where eleven women and seven men were divorced, yet this was only within a group of people who were marrying that year and not the total Coloured population in the city. If Pleck was using the census, it would illustrate that out of a significantly greater Coloured population in the city, there was a very low divorce rate. But if it was the MR which were used, then it shows the opposite, that out of this one sample of people in the city, 4% of them had been previously divorced.

Information which should be mentioned, but which rarely features in the secondary source material, is the instance of people who were living together. What one may initially believe to be a rare occurrence in the 1920s was in fact the case for 12% of Irish couples and 24% Coloured couples. While the decision not to live together before marriage is often associated with people's religious beliefs, here are people with religious attachments, yet the figures for cohabitation are quite high. Twenty nine Coloured couples lived together, eighteen of whom were married in religious ceremonies.

²³Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty*, p. 169

Occupational Patterns

Before studying the specific occupational information that has come from the MR, it is important to understand how the jobs were divided and classified.²⁴ These categories are not flawless and where appropriate the individual occupations have been illustrated within the text in order to try and achieve the balance between the need for generalisation and the need to be specific.

Those who were classed as domestic workers were those who were working within a household, (this included those who did housework). The main individual job titles within this category were domestic, maid, cook and housekeeper. The most obvious status differences within this category is that it covered those who were butlers, (though there was only one in each set of MR) and those who were housekeepers. Butlers could also have featured as service workers, but they are in this category because their work was within a household. For housekeepers, the difference was that they would have held a higher position within the household, would have had more responsibility than domestics or maids and therefore would have been paid more.

Those people who were in the service industry had jobs which have been classed as working with and for the public, providing a service for them. Those who were skilled were in a wide variety of jobs, but all of them involved people having skills or expertise which allowed them to carry out their particular type of work. Those who were unskilled were workers whose jobs would not have required them to go through any formal training, there were mainly labourers and janitors in this category.

²⁴Some of the classification categories was taken from Thernstrom's *The Other Bostonians*, though most were determined independently. See Appendix A

Those who were professional workers would have had some education to do the job they were in and those working as government employees worked in some capacity for the state, perhaps as a postman or policeman. People who were classed as artists worked in the entertainment industry and most listed were musicians. Finally there were students and they were simply those people who had classed themselves as such. Similarly, all those who were at home had labelled themselves in this category. The two individuals who classed their employment as 'none' have been categorised as unemployed.

Irish Couples - Occupations

The Irish couples were registered in the Suffolk County MR of 1921. The majority of these couples lived in Boston at the time of marriage,²⁵ though there were some men whose addresses were outside of Boston. Initially the couples have been divided by sex and Table 1 illustrates the occupations of the Irish males and the number and percentage of those working in each occupation.

Table 1²⁶

Classification of Occupation	Total	% of Irish Males
Domestic	1	1%
Govt Employee	3	2%
Professional	4	3%
Service	26	21%
Skilled	59	48%
Unskilled	29	24%
Artist	0	0%
Student	1	1%
Home	0	0%
Unemployed	0	0%

Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

Table 1 highlights that the most prominent employment for a newly married Irish male in 1921 was as a skilled worker, as they comprised 48% of the total number. The type of skilled work undertaken by the Irish was wide and varied. There were those such as Michael Devine, an iron swelter and Michael Consioine, a rubber worker, who would have been involved in factory work and they were alongside fellow skilled workers, such as Thomas Mulholand, who was a baker and involved in more localised shop work. Despite the differences, they were all

²⁵What one cannot say for certain, is when these immigrants came to the US

²⁶Occupations of Irish males - ID

in skilled occupations, perhaps with training learned in Ireland which had enabled them to gain this work in America.²⁷

There were twenty six males, 21%, in the service industry and the jobs in this section were also diverse, with people working as gardeners, grocery clerks, as a tobacconist, as well as chauffeurs and porters. A similar number of men were in unskilled work, twenty nine males or 24%. The majority of those in this category worked as labourers, with some involved in janitorial work and some in freight handling.

Those Irish men working as government employees made up only 2% of the total figure, (just three workers out of the one hundred and twenty three). They were Michael Heanue, a fireman, Patrick Connors, a marine fireman and John Keogh, who was a letter carrier.²⁸ It is surprising that the figure for those working for the government is not higher, particularly given the instances that Ryan sites where, '...patronage channelled many (Irish) into financially secure but dead end²⁹ jobs, e.g. clerks, policemen and firemen.'³⁰ Yet these low numbers within this group of immigrants illustrates that the jobs in the government sector may have been more exclusively the domain of the long standing Irishman or that the jobs were more restricted and simply knowing the right person, or being Irish, did not necessarily guarantee a position.

²⁷Ibid. 49, 5, 27

²⁸Ibid. 65,61,87

²⁹By 'dead end jobs', Ryan is referring to the fact that though the jobs mentioned had relative job security, they did not offer many prospects of progressing up the occupational ladder

³⁰Dennis Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, (Rutherford, New Jersey, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, London, 1983) pp. 104-106

There were four Irish male professionals. One of them, James McTiernan from Manchester, Massachusetts, had a job as a landscape architect. This profession is unique. It could be expected that he would have attended some form of education or training and had time as an apprentice to learn his craft. The other professionals were station engineers and the increased skill level which it took to reach professional level, highlights the achievements of these men, particularly as immigrants. Finally there were categories which featured only one person. Thomas Vessey at 26 years of age was the only Irish student and similarly, Patrick Veale at 33 years was the only Irish male working in the domestic field. He was a butler.³¹

Table 2 considers the Irish women.

Table 2³²

Classification of Occupation	Total	% of Irish Females
Domestic	46	37%
Govt Employee	0	0%
Professional	3	2%
Service	17	14%
Skilled	10	8%
Unskilled	3	2%
Artist	0	0%
Student	0	0%
Home	44	36%
Unemployed	0	0%

Source: MVRS MR Suffolk County 1921

In a complete reversal of the male situation, Table 2 illustrates that the most prominent single occupation for Irish women, though only marginally, was in the domestic field. This accounted for forty six, (37%) of the women within this group. Though the main type of job

³¹ID No. 53, 44, 79

³²Occupations of Irish females - ID

within the classification was 'domestic',³³ it is significant that eleven of these women, or 24% of the Irish in domestic work, were housekeepers. This was probably the highest position one could achieve as a domestic. It is important therefore to understand that although there were more women working as domestics than in any other category, many were working at what would have been the highest paid and most respected domestic job for a woman, that of running the household. In her work on Irish women in America, Diner writes, 'One reason why Irish women flocked to domestic labour stemmed from the almost unabated demand for household workers.'³⁴ She writes that not only was this a pulling factor for Irish women but that as jobs were plentiful, Irish women often had an easier time getting work than their male relatives.³⁵

Forty four women, or 36%, stated that their employment was at home. These women may still have taken work such as sewing and laundry in to their home, but nevertheless they did not essentially see themselves as being in the work place. After domestic workers, women who were at home made up the biggest grouping of Irish female 'occupations'. Those women who were at home, varied in age from 20 to 50 years, taking in women throughout the age range in the MR. If these women were marrying men with jobs which earned enough to support them both, then their decision may have been not to go to work. Likewise, their families may have supported them before marriage and thus they had not entered employment.³⁶ The MR show that the majority of women who were at home were married to men in skilled jobs, followed by men working in the service industry. The wages of those in the skilled and service industry may not have been especially high, but they must have been

³³There were 15 domestics

³⁴Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America*, p. 84

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶It should be noted that not all the MR appear to have been recorded directly after marriage, some were registered a significant time later.

sufficient for both partners to live on. Considering it from a different view point, despite unskilled men making up the second highest category for male jobs, only 11% of women who were at home were married to men in this lower paying occupation bracket. This suggests the need for those men in lower paid jobs needed to have the income of their wife's coming in, in order to support them both.

In terms of the rest of the Irish women, there were seventeen working in the service industry, (14%). Thirteen of these women worked as waitresses. The other four were Nora Carr, a cashier, Bridget O'Neill, who worked as a food checker, Margaret McBrearty, a fur worker and Eleanor McKenna, a sales-woman. These four women do demonstrate some variety within the jobs in this category, though not a significant amount.³⁷ Women who were skilled workers consisted of 8% of the Irish women, or ten individuals. These women carried out a wide variety of occupations among them was a book keeper, a cap maker, a clerk, a forewoman, a shoe worker and two dressmakers.³⁸

In the two final categories there was only a small number of Irish females. There were three women doing unskilled jobs and three working as professionals. Those women who were classed as unskilled,³⁹ were Bridget Flood, a 27 year old laundress, Margaret Barret, who was a 26 year old laundry worker and Margaret Grant, a dishwasher, who at 63 was the oldest Irish born female.⁴⁰ Those at the other end of the scale who worked as professionals were Margaret Carmody and Nora McCarthy, both nurses.⁴¹ The other Irish female professional, 28 year old Bridie Carrol, was a teacher. With professionals and unskilled workers making up

³⁷ID No. 123, 76, 58, 27

³⁸Ibid. 67, 111, 46, 112, 44, 59, 113, 122, 10 and 121

³⁹Ibid. 78, 93, 52

⁴⁰This was her second marriage, she had previously been widowed

⁴¹ID No. 50, 75, 101

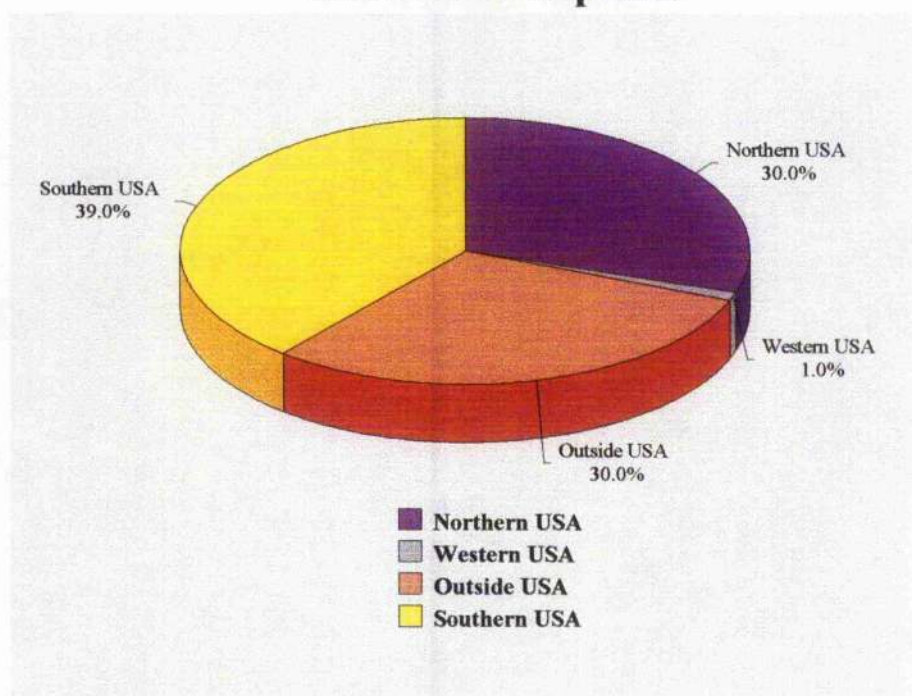
just 2% each within this Irish group, it suggests that there were no real extremes in the types of occupation which these women did. Rather the majority of women in general worked in the same areas as domestics, in the service industry, or at home.

Coloured Couples - Place of Birth⁴² and Occupations

The following section considers the MR of the Coloured couples. Studying the Coloured couples and disseminating the information contained in their records was more complex than for the Irish, for whom there was only one place of birth. What emerged from study of the MR was that these people were not only a Coloured group, but were a migrant population both within and out with America.

Before viewing the occupational figures for the Coloured men and women, the range of their birthplaces shall be considered in Figure 3.

Figure 3
Coloured Birthplaces



Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

While 70% of people were born in the USA itself, 89% of those considered were immigrants to Boston. While the First World War was a key factor in drawing many migrants

⁴²This topic is continued in more detail on p. 62

from the South to the North, the continued prosperity enjoyed during the 1920s, ensured that expectations were high and people continued to move North.⁴³ While individual reasons often varied, many chose to move out of the South, primarily due to the social and economic discrimination which continued to blight their lives. Some of this discrimination included denial of voting rights, inequalities in education and racial violence.⁴⁴ Although the 1920s was a period when much of the migration by Coloured people was taking place from the South to the North, it is evident from Figure 3 that people were also migrating from outside the country, although we do not know when they came to America.

⁴³Daniel M Johnson and Rex R Campbell, *Black Migration in America, A Social Demographic History*, (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1981), p. 83

⁴⁴Johnson and Campbell, *Black Migration in America*, pp. 83 and 84. This issue of racial violence, in particular lynching, is addressed in Chapter 6 under the Sub Section of Politics and Ethnicity.

Table 3 gives a break down of the occupations of the 204 Coloured males in the MR.

Table 3⁴⁵

Classification of Occupation	Total	% of Coloured Males
Domestic	26	13%
Govt Employee	6	3%
Professional	6	3%
Service	63	31%
Skilled	43	21%
Unskilled	53	26%
Artist	5	2%
Student	2	1%
Home	0	0%
Unemployed	0	0%

Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

The main occupational classification for all Coloured men in these MR was the Service industry where sixty three people, 31%, were employed. Within this classification the most frequent occupation was as a chauffeur⁴⁶ followed by those working as porters⁴⁷ and waiters.⁴⁸ As well as these popular types of service jobs, there were also men working as chefs and one man was a shoe maker, one was a packer and Franklin Hill, a 46 year old from New York, had the dual occupation of being a farmer and a chauffeur! There were also men in the service industry who worked in shops. Charles Brown came to the US from the BWI and worked in Boston as a grocer, while southerner Milton Grey, at just 25 years of age, owned a laundry business.⁴⁹ This variety of occupations suggests that doors were open for some Coloured men to go in to more than just the dominant 'Coloured' service occupations.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Coloured Males - CD

⁴⁶ 19 chauffeurs

⁴⁷ 18 porters, including hotel and pullman porters

⁴⁸ 12 waiters

⁴⁹ CD No 70, 106, 137

⁵⁰ Such as chauffeur and porter

Those workers who were classed as 'unskilled' comprised the second highest group of Coloured male workers. Fifty three men, a quarter of the group, worked in unskilled jobs, which like their Irish counterparts mainly involved labouring⁵¹ and janitorial work.⁵² Out of those that were left, there were three men working in the shipping industry,⁵³ there was a messenger, a meat handler, a furniture handler, an elevator man and one man who classed his work as 'general'.

Those who were skilled comprised forty three, 21%, of the Coloured males and there was again a variety of occupations. Out of the forty three, fifteen men were working in shops and they included butchers, tailors, carpenters, barbers and bakers.⁵⁴ The other skilled men not working in shops, included machinists, seamen, a riveter, a blacksmith, a paper cutter and a boxman. As with the service industry, this variety of occupations represents Coloured men taking a step on the occupational ladder and breaking out of traditional mainstream jobs.

There were twenty six men involved in domestic work, which was 13% of the total figure.

These were made up of a butler, two housemen and twenty three cooks. More men than women were working as cooks as there were only fifteen women in that particular job.

Then there was those genres of occupation where much smaller numbers of Coloured men were employed. Six of these men worked as government employees, three as firemen, one as a policeman and two as sailors. Out of these six men, three were from the North, and there was one each from the South, West and the BWI. It is significant that there should be a higher instance of government employees within the Coloured populace than the Irish, as it rather

⁵¹CD males - 34 labourers

⁵²Ibid. 11 janitors

⁵³Ibid. 73, 179 and 37

⁵⁴Note that not all those who worked in shops have been classed as service workers, those who had specific skills and were shop workers, have been deemed to be skilled

diminishes the view mentioned earlier that many of the Irish were getting all the government jobs through special favours by the ward bosses. From this group there were also six professionals, one working as a music teacher, one as a designer, two as engineers, one as a station engineer and one as a real estate agent. As with the government employees, it is perhaps also unexpected to find more professional workers in the Coloured group as well. This may contradict a view which saw Coloured people in Boston failing to rise above unskilled and service work status.⁵⁵

'Artist' was a category in which none of the Irish actually featured, but there were five Coloured artists. All of these men came from the North.⁵⁶ Four of the men were classed simply as musicians, although one man, 21 year old Benedict Jones, was noted specifically to be a drummer. Finally, there were two Coloured students, Albert Chance from Jamaica and Arthur Matney from Virginia.⁵⁷ The specifics of what each man studied are not known, but they were both young, just 22 years and 21 years respectively. Both men married women from the same area as them, Arthur married Elizabeth Jordan,⁵⁸ who was also a student, while Albert married Millicent MacDonald, a dressmaker.⁵⁹

⁵⁵A view given by Schneider in *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 8

⁵⁶Northern born people in general are considered further on p. 65

⁵⁷CD No. 112, 54, 163

⁵⁸Ibid. 163

⁵⁹Ibid. 54

Table 4 considers the Coloured females surveyed.

Table 4⁶⁰

Classification of Occupation	Total	% of Coloured Females
Domestic	92	45%
Government Employee	0	0%
Professional	5	2%
Service	13	6%
Skilled	34	17%
Unskilled	26	13%
Artist	0	0%
Student	3	1%
Home	29	14%
Unemployed	2	1%

Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

The main occupation for Coloured women in this group in the early 1920s was as a domestic worker. 92 out of 204, or 45% of all Coloured women, worked as cooks, maids, housekeepers and did housework out with their own homes. There were 7% of the Coloured women who were at the top level of domestic work as housekeepers and this is in comparison to 23% of the Irish women who were housekeepers.

There were thirty four women, 17%, who were skilled, a number of whom worked in the textile and fabric industry, as seamstresses, dressmakers and milliners. Two of the women were hairdressers and three were working as a compositor, a bookbinder and a clerk.

Twenty nine Coloured women were at home, which was 14% of the total. The majority of these women were young, in their teens or twenties, suggesting that there was a possibility that their family were still supporting them.

⁶⁰Coloured females - CD

There were twenty six women, 13%, who were unskilled and working as laundry workers, stock girls, factory workers and elevator operators. Thirteen women worked in the service industry, nine of these women worked as waitresses, two were sales women, one was a pastry cook and one a beautyculturist. All of these women, with the exception of the youngest, who was 19 years and the oldest who was 40 years⁶¹ were in their twenties. While the records show that older women tended to work mainly as domestics, the occupational patterns for women in their twenties were more varied. This in itself is perhaps some indication of the fact that women who were younger and who were in a sense the 'twenties' generation, were getting the opportunity to have a more varied working career than their elders.

This question of generational change is addressed by both Thernstrom and Pleck. In general Thernstrom observes that the opportunity for progression by young men born into working class homes was possible. However he writes that the chance to advance to the very top of the occupational ladder, in professional work or into business, was more likely to occur if you had been born into a upper-middle class household.⁶² Both Thernstorm and Pleck acknowledge the difficulties which Coloured people had in advancing to this occupational level. In one table which details the occupational status among Coloured and Irish male residents who have been in Boston between 1870-1880, Pleck illustrates that in menial employment, northern born Coloured men were almost as likely as Irish immigrants to be employed there. In both skilled, business and professional work, more of these new Irish immigrants were to be found there than Coloured people who had been born in the North, which is unusual as one may assume that being in the area for longer would have given the Coloured group an advantage over the Irish immigrants.⁶³ She writes that, '...the small gap in

⁶¹CD No. 18 and 106

⁶²Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 241

⁶³Pleck, *Black Poverty and Migration*, pp. 138-139

economic status between black and Irish in the first generation had widened enormously by the second.⁶⁴ Pleck says that any occupational movement either up or down was mainly limited to male workers.⁶⁵ However the evidence here, with the job differences between older and younger women and the instances of professional women below, does illustrate that there were some women making progress, albeit on an individual level.

Five of these Coloured women were listed as doing professional work. Four of the women worked as nurses and one, Florence Terry, was a teacher.⁶⁶ Three of the women who married were students, Jeanette Banks and Elizabeth Jordan, (wife of aforementioned Arthur Matney, also a student), and Marion Wooten, who was a music student.⁶⁷ Finally there were two women who had no occupation and have therefore been classed as unemployed.⁶⁸

A contemporary view is given on Coloured peoples occupational situation in Deutsch's book, *Women and the City*. She quotes Arthur Morse, a civil rights campaigner, writing in *The Boston Transcript* in 1926; 'Boston, inspite of its traditions, has lagged behind, generally excluding black workers from even unskilled and semi-skilled jobs'.⁶⁹ He goes on to cite some Coloured women who had qualified for a civil service appointment three times, only to be rejected on account of colour each time.⁷⁰ In terms of whether the results from this sample back up what he is saying we can see that there were not any female Coloured government

⁶⁴Ibid. p. 140 Pleck in some ways is affirming the evidence here which seems to point to similarities between the two, certainly within this first generational group.

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 138

⁶⁶CD No. 28, 43, 110, 201 and 36

⁶⁷Ibid. 152

⁶⁸Ibid. 10 and 37

⁶⁹Arthur H Morse, *The Boston Transcript* 1926, in Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City, Gender, Space and Power in Boston 1870-1940*, (Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 239

⁷⁰Ibid.

employees, which is the bracket the civil service workers would have come under.⁷¹ However Table 4 does show that 16% of the women were in skilled work, followed by 12% who were in unskilled employment, suggesting that there was some scope for women to find a role within these occupations, although they were not reaching the highest levels which Boston had to offer.

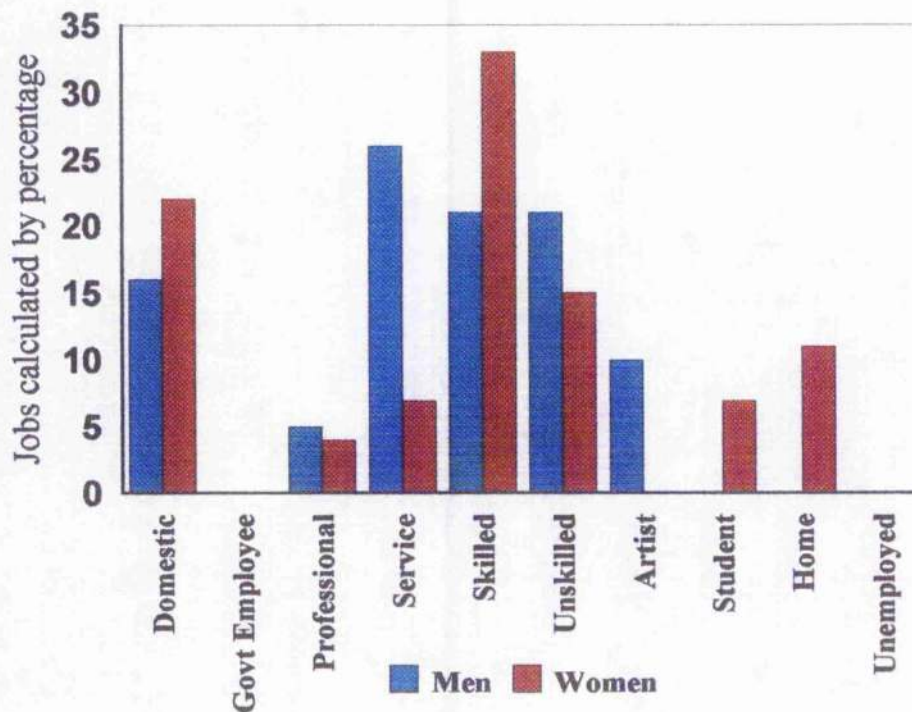
In returning to Figure 3 and the question of birth place, it is evident that the single most dominant Coloured group were those people who had been born in the South, mainly in Virginia. In terms of the North, the main group coming to live in Boston had been born in Massachusetts itself.

⁷¹ Although only one example, Feurtado is mentioned in the Guardian as being the first female clerk employed at city hall - see Chapter 5 pp. 105-106

Coloured People - American Born

The following sections are divided by birth place, with Figure 4 highlighting the forty six people who were born in Boston itself.⁷²

Figure 4
Occupations of Boston Born Coloured People



Source: MR Suffolk County 1921

As Figure 4 illustrates, the dominant occupation for men was in the service industry, while women were more prevalent as skilled workers. This high number of skilled females, is only mirrored by those women who were born in the BWI. These Boston born women worked as seamstresses, dressmakers, and there was a stenographer, a book binder and also a clerk. Two of the five students were from Boston, suggesting that those with long standing roots in Boston seem to have had greater opportunity to study and also to reach higher skilled jobs. Coming to Boston from other parts of the country, indeed other parts of the world, many

⁷²19 males and 27 females were born in Boston

immigrants may have arrived with no contacts and very little money, the luxury of education, which could lead to skilled employment and higher wages, may not have been open to them. There was one Boston born female who was working as a professional and that was Florence Terry, who was a teacher and one male professional, Malcolm Lewis, who worked as a designer.⁷³ Florence and Malcolm were the only married professional couple in a group of eleven..

Boston does not deviate greatly from the northern pattern. Possibly the main significant results were the very low number of women who were at home in Boston compared to the North overall, and Boston also had the total number of students in the North. In general though, the pattern for Boston was similar to the northern pattern overall.

Table 5 illustrates the number of Northern males and females in total, who worked in each occupational classification, the percentage which this was of all northern people and in the final column, the percentage which each group was of the total number in that classification.

⁷³CD No. 36

Table 5⁷⁴

Classification of Occupation	Male	Female	Total	% of northern born in each classification ⁷⁵	% of Classification which is northern born ⁷⁶
Domestic	3	22	25	20%	21%
Govt Emp	3	0	3	2%	50%
Professional	2	3	5	4%	45%
Service	12	7	19	15%	26%
Skilled	10	17	27	22%	35%
Unskilled	11	8	19	15%	24%
Artist	5	0	5	4%	100%
Student	0	2	2	2%	40%
Home	0	16	16	13%	55%
Unemployed	0	2	2	2%	100%

Source: MVRS MR Suffolk County 1921

Though a majority of northern workers were not skilled, this kind of work made up the main single occupation for northern people. What emerges from Table 5 is that the North had all the artists and all those who were unemployed. Over half of those at home came from the North, while half the government employees also came from this area.

What has emerged from these statistics is that those who were born in the North featured very prominently in all the categories of occupations. They were working in the higher paid jobs, or certainly in the jobs which had more call for an educational background or had the opportunity for free expression, for example, as artists or students. The high instances of women at home also indicated that this was a group with people who could afford to be at home.

⁷⁴Northern born males and females - CD

⁷⁵Northern born who are doing each occupation

⁷⁶Northern born in each occupation as a whole

The major group to appear in the MR were those who were born in the South, this consisted of one hundred and fifty seven people, eighty four males and seventy three females, 38% of the total. Although these people were initially divided up into the specific southern areas Upper, Middle and Deep, depending on the states where they were born, after studying the data the decision was taken that the most effective way of drawing firm conclusions was to make the South one area as the differences between the regions were not particularly significant.

Table 6 illustrates the southern born patterns of employment.

Table 6 Southern Occupational Classification⁷⁷

Classification of Occupation	Male	Female	Total	% of southern born in each classification ⁷⁸	% of Classification which is southern born ⁷⁹
Domestic	12	37	49	31%	41%
Govt Emp	1	0	1	1%	16%
Professional	4	1	5	3%	45%
Service	26	2	28	18%	38%
Skilled	14	8	22	14%	27%
Unskilled	26	13	39	25%	49%
Artist	0	0	0	0%	0%
Student	1	1	2	1%	40%
Home	0	11	11	7%	38%
Unemployed	0	0	0	0%	0%

Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

From Table 6 it can be seen that the majority of males and females from the South were domestic workers. However when broken down the males were mainly found in service and unskilled jobs, while the females were mostly in domestic work. Workers from the South made up over a third of the workers overall who were in the service industry and almost half

⁷⁷Southern born males and females - CD

⁷⁸Southern born who are doing each occupation

⁷⁹Southern born in each occupation as a whole

of those who were unskilled. Five of the eleven professionals in total were from the South. William Wooten, Florence Davis and John Henry, a music teacher, a nurse and a real estate agent respectively,⁸⁰ all came from North Carolina. There was also two men who were engineers and came from Virginia.⁸¹

The final area within the US from where people on the MR had come to Boston, was the West. There was only two men in this category, Arthur Hughes, a labourer from Texas and Harrison White who was a policemen from Ogden, Utah.⁸² For these men, coming to Boston meant travelling a reasonable distance more than likely in search of employment and while one came and was involved in unskilled work, the other became just one of six Coloured government employees who married that year.

⁸⁰CD No. 27, 28 and 30

⁸¹CD No. 98 and 160

⁸²Ibid. 4 and 20

Coloured People - Foreign Born

The majority of the 126 individuals who emigrated to the USA from abroad came from parts of the BWI,⁸³ including twenty from Jamaica and eight from Barbados. People from the BWI represented 23% of those marrying in Boston in 1921 and were by far the biggest single group of immigrants within this sample.⁸⁴ As such, they have been used when considering people who came to marry in Boston, who were born outside the US. Table 7 illustrates the occupational classifications of those marrying in Boston from the BWI.

Table 7⁸⁵

Classification of Occupation	Male	Female	Total	% of BWI born in each classification	% of Classification which is BWI born
Domestic	10	29	39	41%	33%
Govt Employee	1	0	1	1%	17%
Professional	0	1	1	1%	9%
Service	16	4	20	21%	27%
Skilled	15	7	22	23%	27%
Unskilled	6	3	9	10%	11%
Artist	0	0	0	0%	0%
Student	1	0	1	1%	20%
Home	0	1	1	1%	3%
Unemployed	0	0	0	0%	0%

Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

In terms of occupation, the majority of women worked as domestics while most men worked in the service industry. Those working in this sector did so in jobs other than just the traditional occupations of waiter, chauffeur and porter. Instead some were working in more specialised service jobs, one man was a grocer, one was a shoemaker and one man was working as a chef.⁸⁶ It may only be a few individuals, but there only was one Coloured grocer

⁸³BWI including, Bermuda, British Guyana and Barbados.

⁸⁴There were 46 women and 50 men in total

⁸⁵BWI - CD

⁸⁶CD No. 106, 185, 87

and one shoemaker, so this representation from the BWI illustrates that some BWI men had made a move out of the traditional service jobs. In her work on Boston's Coloured upper class, Cromwell writes that, '...no interpretation of the Negro in Boston after World War One can be complete without recognising the immigration of hundreds of black, skilled, ambitious West Indians'.⁸⁷ This re-emphasised the idea that there were Coloured people coming to Boston with skills, including experience of running their own businesses and this enabled them to try and gain employment which could improve their lifestyle and enable them to earn more money.

One other significant aspect of these BWI records, is that there were thirty eight couples within these records, seventy six people who had been born within the BWI and who were now marrying someone of the same geographic origin. It is also apparent when you look at where these couples were originating from, more often than not they were marrying those from the same area within the BWI. This is exemplified by those born in Barbados, where six of the eight people born there were couples. It is not known whether these couples came over from the BWI together, or if they met in Boston, but this would still point to Coloured people mixing with others of similar backgrounds.

The other main group of immigrants who were marrying in Boston were people who had been born in Canada, five men and five women. Three of the men were skilled workers, working as a barber, a longshoreman and a machinist.⁸⁸ The women were mainly in domestic or laundry work. There were two couples within this group, Samuel Over and Annie Berry and George

⁸⁷Cromwell, *The Other Brahmins*, p. 73

⁸⁸CD No. 110, 173, 171

Thompson and Gertrude Williams.⁸⁹ However, due to their small numbers, this is an immigrant group about whom firm conclusions cannot be made.⁹⁰

There were eight men who came to Boston from Portugal.⁹¹ The majority of these men were unskilled and worked as labourers, while the others worked as a longshoreman, a chef, a chauffeur and a cook.⁹² What does stand out with this group of men in comparison to the other foreign immigrants, is that they married out with their ethnic group. All of the men, except Joseph Andrad whose wife was from the BWI, married a woman from the North. This may be an indication that there were few women from Portugal who had emigrated, or that these men looked beyond their particular cultural group to find a partner.

Finally there were those who came from other countries but who represented a very small number of those getting married, however they are included briefly here in order to obtain a fuller picture. There were two males who came from Cuba, William Braziel who was a porter and Steve Delgado, who was a chauffeur.⁹³ Five men came from the Cape Verde Islands on the West coast of Africa. Manuel Duarte was a seaman and Manuel Mendes, Domingo Semedo, Joaquin Furtado and Augusto Alvez were all labourers.⁹⁴ There was also Edwardo Sultis, a 44 year old seaman, from Panama⁹⁵ and Harry Watson, a 23 year old chef, born in Bermuda. Finally there was a couple who came from Puerto Rico, Peter Bennet and

⁸⁹Ibid. 85 and 173

⁹⁰They could have been descendants of former escaped slave families

⁹¹It is impossible to tell if these men were Coloured and therefore 'black' in skin colour, or if they were actually Hispanic, however there is only a small number of them and as they were classed as 'Coloured' in the MR, they have been included.

⁹²CD No. 16, 23, 76, 103, 15, 7 and 49

⁹³Ibid. 60 and 194

⁹⁴Ibid. 19, 145, 176, 197 and 204

⁹⁵Ibid. 44

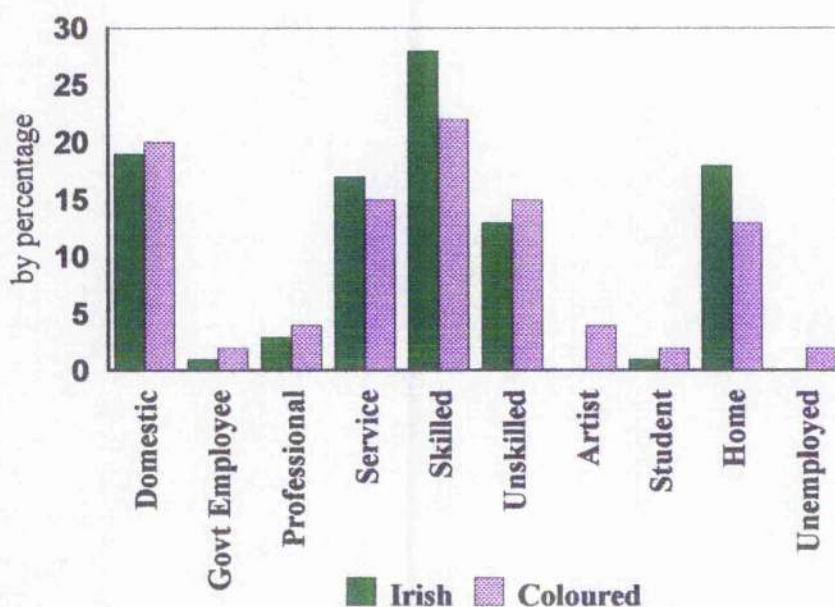
Providenz Andino, working as a chauffeur and domestic.⁹⁶ They were the only people from this area to feature in the MR.

⁹⁶Ibid. 38

Occupational Comparisons between Northern born Coloured people and the Irish

The final section of this chapter will compare the various groups with each other, both Coloured and Irish, but also groups within the Coloured records. The first comparison is shown in Figure 5 and considers the difference between the Irish and those Coloured people who had been born in the North.

Figure 5
Irish and Northern Born Occupations



Source: MVRs MR Suffolk County 1921

The research on those Coloured people who had been born in the North indicated that this was a group which differed from Coloured people born elsewhere. By considering and comparing the Irish and northern Coloured people, it has allowed for some of the gaps which are apparent between the groups to be narrowed so that one can determine if those born near to the area in which they were now living had any form of advantage over those who had come as immigrants from Ireland.

The Coloured group dominated the Irish in most fields, and were represented in some capacity in every occupation. The Irish had more workers than this northern group in the categories of service, skilled and home. They featured in eight out of the ten occupations. Where the differences between the groups are apparent is in the number of women at home, although there was certainly more northern born women at home than their southern and foreign counterparts. In the minority classifications the northern born featured more than the Irish, demonstrating that this was a group with greater diversity than the Irish in terms of the variety of occupations in which they were engaged.

In general it would appear that both of these groups on paper have some significant areas of commonality, although one should note that in terms of pay, the Irish could have received higher wages, regardless of their work. This is a point taken up by Bernstein when he writes that Coloured people were, '...paid less for the same work...' ⁹⁷ and this was often regardless of the type of work which they were involved in. This issue of wages could also have effected whether or not wives had the option to stay at home. There were more Irish women at home than Coloured women, suggesting that if Irish men were being paid more money than their Coloured counterparts, there was more flexibility for their wives to choose to stay at home, if a second wage was not essential.

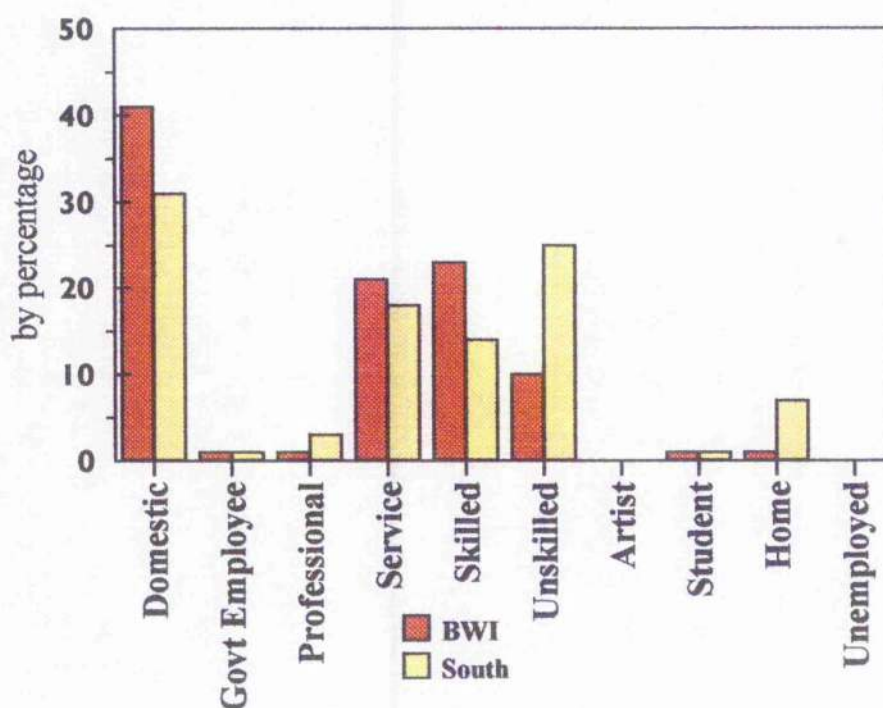
The main jobs for the Coloured people in total, namely domestic, skilled, unskilled and service, were still the main jobs for this group of northern Coloured people. Where the differences did appear was in the variety of other jobs seemingly open to northern born people and not those born elsewhere. However there have been those who state that very few Coloured people

⁹⁷Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years, A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co, 1960) p. 58

made it into unskilled or semiskilled work at all,⁹⁸ so the very fact that some of those born in the North did is significant in illustrating the importance of breaking these people down and considering them by birthplace.

Figure 6 looks specifically at those from the BWI, in comparison to those who were born in the South.

Figure 6
Southern and BWI Born



Source: MR Suffolk County 1921

The comparison of these two groups is important because they reflect the majority of those who were not born in the Boston area. While also being two different migrant groups, they could illustrate the affect that not being born in the North could have on your opportunities in

⁹⁸Morse, *The Boston Transcript*, 1926, quoted in Deutsch, *Women and the City*, p. 239

life. The majority of those who were born in the South could primarily be found in domestic, or unskilled work. Those who had migrated to the country from the BWI were also mainly found working as domestics and in the service industry. But where the difference emerges is that they were more likely to be found working in skilled occupations, rather than unskilled, as was the case for those who came from the South. Those born in the BWI also featured less in the categories of home and professional.

Ultimately though, what emerges from Figure 6 is that these two Coloured groups with differing ethnic backgrounds, seemed to have had more that made them similar, than different. What seems to be in evidence is that for those Coloured people in the MR who were not born in the North, where they were born did not affect their occupations, as they were mainly based in two or three specific categories. Rather it was those who were born in the North who seemed to have the greater opportunity for diversification in their occupations.

So how different were these varying Coloured groups? It would seem in terms of dominant occupational classifications, domestic, service and skilled made up the majority of these peoples work titles, regardless of whether they were long standing Bostonians, or relative newcomers. Those Coloured people from the North do feature more predominantly in the jobs of government employees, and artists and this does imply that those from the North had a better chance of reaching more diverse and economically sound occupations. Those from out with the northern area, as described in Figure 5, have a similar consistency with the jobs that they take, which illustrates that those from outside the US and those from the South had more in common than those from the South and the North.

This contradicts Schneider's view as he stresses the fact that it made no difference for Coloured people whether they were from the North or the South. He writes that they were mainly, '...unskilled labourers, janitor, domestic servant, porters, etc...',⁹⁹ drawing parallels with Thernstrom's view that the length of time people had been living in Boston made no difference. Coloured people still had very low paying work, regardless of their origins.¹⁰⁰ This research agrees with these views to an extent, as the differences between North and elsewhere in the data was not vastly divergent. However the achievements of those who did make it to the higher rungs of the occupational ladder into better paid work should not be ignored, particularly because the figures here contradict some of what Schneider says. Further on he writes that in contrast to the situation of Coloured Bostonians (of whatever background), who did not improve their status, 'Irish-Americans ... did advance economically in this period and afterward.'¹⁰¹ Yet the statistics that are highlighted here emphasise that there was some

⁹⁹ Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 8

¹⁰⁰ Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 203

¹⁰¹ Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 8

difference between the groups, not only between Irish and Coloured, but within the Coloured group.

Some of this advancement is shown by the small number of Coloured people who worked as professionals and owned their own business. This achievement should not be neglected, particularly when Salzman, Smith and West claim that banks in particular refused to make business loans to Coloured people.¹⁰² It appears that often they faced a wall of discrimination when trying to advance. With situations like this, the achievements of those who did become professionals or were able to start their own business is all the more significant.

One cannot determine the position which northerners would be in if there was no migration from other areas of America and from abroad. Du Bois' view¹⁰³ is that northerners were being held back by their southern neighbours, believing that more of them would be in higher paid jobs if it were not for the influx of migrants. Nevertheless despite there being southerners and foreigners in their midst, those from the north stand out because they were different, even in a small way. The evidence was that they did have a chance to move out of the menial employment which Schneider lists¹⁰⁴ and into higher paid work, as illustrated in Figure 5. This suggests that there was a difference in Coloured occupations, depending on place of birth.

Pleck affirms this view, writing that it is important to acknowledge and consider where people were born when making conclusions about their economic situation.¹⁰⁵ Failure to do this, she writes, means that you ignore the achievements of those Coloured people who had been in the

¹⁰²Salzman, Smith and West, (ed), *Encyclopaedia of African American Culture and History*, p. 407

¹⁰³Du Bois, *The American Negro, His History and His Literature*, p. 39

¹⁰⁴Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 8

¹⁰⁵Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty*, p. 124

area all their lives and whose ethnic identity, she believes, did have a major role to play in their economic situation. However, despite this view, her conclusion was that '...the typical European immigrant who had just arrived in Boston had a far better chance of securing a higher paying job than a black whose ancestors had been in the North for generations.'¹⁰⁶ So while placing importance on birthplace, Pleck still seems to believe that European immigrants were fairing better in the employment stakes than those Coloured people who had been in the area all their lives.

In her study on Coloured people who had recently arrived in Boston, Pleck believes they are hindered when it came to finding employment. She points to the difficulties of learning new customs and adjusting to city life as some of the factors which would have effected those coming over from a foreign country.¹⁰⁷ She notes that for European immigrants these were only minor set backs, yet it would seem for Coloured people that they were more of a hindrance to their chances of employment, suggesting an underlying issue of prejudice which may have existed. This may have been more pronounced towards Coloured people from the South because they were perceived to be less well educated than those from the North.

One could question if these findings point to the 'northern elite' of which Cromwell writes?¹⁰⁸ In Boston there did exist a group of Coloured individuals who adopted many of their lifestyle characteristics from the white upper classes. They may have wanted to express some of the views of their lower class Coloured neighbours, but at the same time they sought to distance themselves from them as a group, particularly the newly arrived migrants from the South and

¹⁰⁶Ibid. p. 127

¹⁰⁷Ibid. p. 126

¹⁰⁸Cromwell, *The Other Brahmins*

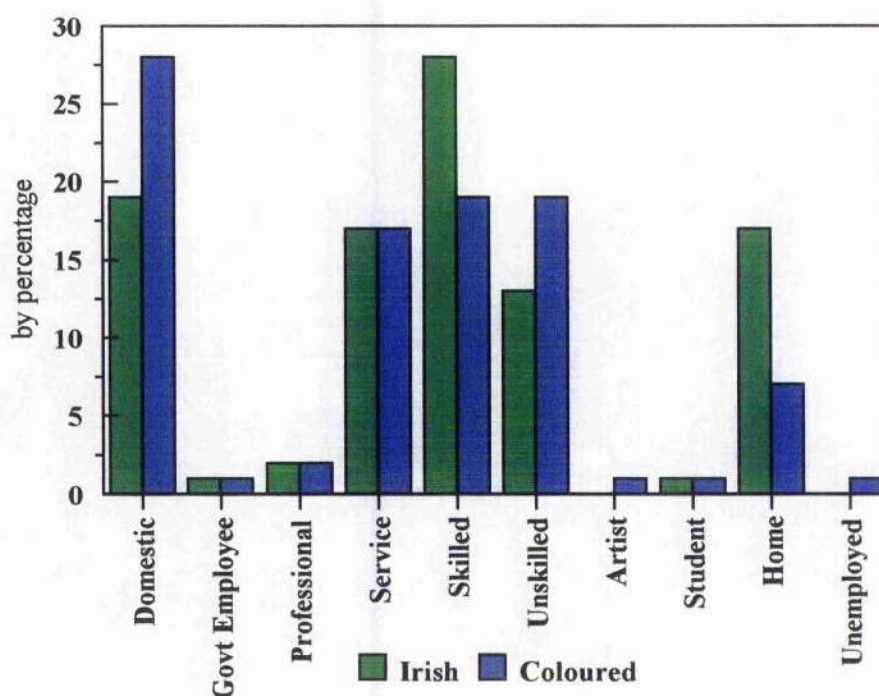
abroad.¹⁰⁹ However while this northern elite existed, it would have taken various forms, such as the Coloured Brahmins, but also perhaps on a lower level, it could have included people from this northern born group. It seems plausible that those born in the North had more distinct opportunities because of local knowledge, contacts and education. It may be that this group of northerners who seemed to have improved their lives, had done so because of opportunities, but opportunities that did not necessarily lead them to break away from the base of neighbourhood, friends and church.

¹⁰⁹Ibid. p. 148

Conclusions for the Coloured and Irish groups

The final part of this chapter, concentrates on comparing and contrasting the Irish and Coloured groups. Figure 7 illustrates the differences in occupational terms, between the whole Coloured and Irish groups.

Figure 7
Coloured and Irish Occupations



Source: MR Suffolk County 1921

Figure 7 highlights that there were distinct similarities in terms of occupation between the groups. Between 90-94% of both groups were engaged in the same type of occupations and there was only a 10% variation at most in the types of jobs which people did. However, when the individual categories are considered more specific differences emerge. Coloured people were more concentrated in domestic work, while the Irish were mainly in skilled work.

For both groups of women, domestic work dominated. As domestics, both ethnic groups may have had the same issues to face. They would be earning relatively low wages and many would have to work long hours as cooks, cleaners and maids, perhaps having to live with their employers. Yet even within the role of domestic, there were hierarchies. Many women may have been domestics but only some were housekeepers. Eleven out of forty six Irish women, or 23%, held this position as head of the house, while only seven out of ninety two Coloured women did, which is just 7%. This suggests that while many Irish and Coloured women may have been employed within households, it was the Irish women who were making progress up the economic ladder to the better paid positions.

While the main jobs for both ethnic groups were in the fields of domestic and skilled work, government employees, professionals, service workers and students had the same percentage in each group. There was a difference in the final category of at home, as this referred to a third of Irish women, compared to 14% of Coloured women. Perhaps this is also an indicator of the differences between the lifestyles of each group, evidence of those who were able to afford to stay at home. While one cannot be certain that Coloured women were not simply out working because they wanted to, it would seem to be more likely that the majority of those women were working out of necessity. The occupations of their husbands could have affected this, although these are varied and with the majority of those who were at home being married to unskilled, skilled and service workers, this may not have been a major factor. What seems more significant here is to note that there was such a small percentage of these Coloured women actually at home, when compared to the Irish.

In considering married women in general, Green and Donerhue in their statistics for the nineteenth century, write that only 5% of married white women worked, compared to 30% of

married Coloured women.¹¹⁰ This indicates a major difference between the two and shows that race seems to have been an important factor in determining occupational standing. If it was the case that Coloured women were being employed, (so they were not being forced to stay at home, even if employment was in the lower paying jobs), one must look elsewhere to find the issue and that lies with their husbands. Green and Donerhue have looked at women who had partners and if these partners were working and earned enough, then women may not have to go out and earn money. It also points to the fact though, that for the majority of cases, a Coloured husband's income alone was not enough to keep the family together and had to be supplemented. This was probably the main factor that again contributed to the very low percentage of Coloured women who were at home.

While one can determine how well the Coloured people were doing because they can be compared with one another to see if birth place effected their opportunities, the Irish have not been studied to this extent. Their role as immigrants has perhaps been somewhat eclipsed by the diversity of the Coloured group. In addition, it has also been difficult to determine how they were doing as a migrant group because they have not been compared to another type of Irish immigrant, such as those who had been in the city for several generations. Instead the Irish have been compared to the northern Coloured group and then the Coloured group as a whole, in a bid to determine their occupational status.

Understanding these people means having an understanding of their similarities and also their diversities. The fact that so many of the occupational genres were the same suggests that here were two groups of people who had some similar lifestyle experience of being the non-native

¹¹⁰Green and Donerhue, *Boston's Workers*, p. 58

group within Boston. Newly married couples from the US or from abroad, whether Irish or Coloured, seem to be people with some shared experiences.

The information here can be compared with general statistics for other regions and the country as a whole. In comparing Boston, one of Americas oldest cities with Los Angeles, which was one of the newest, Thernstrom's main discovery was just how similar these two cities were.¹¹¹ Thernstrom believes that this was due to various issues including the fact that occupational structures did not differ as much as is believed between cities and between areas. He also points to the massive turn over in population that he believed addressed any problems which could have arisen from certain areas offering better jobs etc.¹¹²

Thernstrom provides details in his book, which he uses to compare Boston with the pattern of America in general.¹¹³ He does not see Boston as deviating greatly from the pattern of America in general, indeed a primary reason for him focusing his research on the city was because he believed that Boston had all too readily been dismissed as different because of its distinctions of history and breeding. He writes, 'There were no convincing grounds...for assuming a priori that the patterns of migration and social mobility that might be found there were necessarily deviant and peculiar to Boston alone.'¹¹⁴ While acknowledging that a study of more depth for other areas and ethnic groups is needed, it would seem that the results that have been formulated in this chapter would not deviate greatly from the pattern of America as a whole particularly in terms of patterns of migration and occupational patterns.

¹¹¹Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 220

¹¹²Ibid. p. 241

¹¹³Ibid. pp. 220-261 for a detailed comparison of Boston and America as a whole

¹¹⁴Ibid. p. 6

These MR and the information taken from them have helped to give an identity to those people who are so often passed over in historical writing. Thernstrom calls them 'anonymous Americans',¹¹⁵ people who are generalised as a group or a community, as black or white, as northern or southern, but not as individuals. Although everyone has not been mentioned by name, they have been counted by their occupation, which has in turn lead to an analysis of their lifestyles. This has in some way ensured that they have not been overlooked and that their role in Boston's past has not been forgotten.

¹¹⁵Ibid. p. 1

Chapter 5

Newspapers - The Cultural Perspective

‘One of the ways in which a city explains itself to itself, articulates its problems and defines its common aspirations is through its newspapers.’¹ Many social, educational, cultural and political influences made their way into peoples’ lives, directly or indirectly through the medium of newspapers. The printed press allowed everyone who could read the chance to find out about and be a part of the proceedings around them. Henritze writes that

‘Newspapers are one of the most overlooked historical resources.....-a newspaper gives the flavour of a neighbourhood and defines an area.’²

Shannon writes that Boston was unusual at the time as throughout the 1920s the city had eight mainstream newspapers, as well as its ethnic publications.³ A city with so many newspapers was uncommon in the 1920s and this is supported by Allen who writes that in this decade, ‘There were fewer newspapers, with larger circulations...’, he goes on to describe cities such as Cleveland, where previously three morning papers had been published and there was now only one,⁴ ‘... all over the country, (newspapers), were being gathered into chains under more or less centralised direction.’⁵ As methods of gathering news and printing papers became more sophisticated, newspaper companies were becoming larger and more competitive. The result in cities like Cleveland was a demand for fewer mainstream newspapers, but with more news and information in those that were being published. Centralised news agencies met that need. This is also confirmed by Griffith when she states that for readers, ‘...increased

¹ Shannon, *The American Irish*, p. 188,

² Barbara K. Henritze, *Bibliographic Checklist of African American Newspapers*, (Baltimore Maryland, Genealogical Publications Company, 1995), p. xv

³ From the list of newspapers held at the BPL, there were twenty three which covered the 1920s, either the whole decade, or part of it. There were eight ethnic publications in this group including papers for the Yiddish community, the Italian and the Lithuanian communities. Shannon however does not state specifically why Boston had so many daily mainstream newspapers

⁴ Frederick Allen, *Only Yesterday*, (New York, Perennial Library, Harper Row, 1931), p. 157

⁵ Ibid. Allen goes on to say that centralisation took its toll on local news, as New York offices were able to provide every type of material required for running the newspapers.

advertising and greater access to syndicated materials was to diminish the very centrality of its community.⁶

With eight mainstream news publications, Boston contradicted much of this trend for centralised news and yet there were still limitations with the mainstream Boston press, '....their real failing was that they either represented a fragment of the community and ignored the rest, or sought universal acceptance by the evasion of problems and issues.'⁷ Ethnic papers flourished in this climate, as they sought to address their group and its specific needs.

The newspapers considered here were written specifically for Coloured and Irish audiences. The focus of the chapter is to examine different aspects of the lives of the Irish and the Coloured in Boston again using the MR and also *The Pilot* and *The Guardian*, as the medium for understanding and defining the lives and identities of both groups.

⁶ Sally F Griffith, 'Mass Media Come to the Small Town: The Emporia Gazette in the 1920's', in *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941*, Eds, Catherine L Covert and John D Stevens, (Syracuse, 1984, pp. 141-55) quoted in Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, p. 73

⁷ Shannon, *The American Irish*, p. 188

The Guardian

The Guardian was a Coloured newspaper first published in 1901 by William Monroe Trotter⁸ and George Forbes⁹ and was the main newspaper printed for Coloured Bostonians during the 1920s. As such it has been used here to obtain an understanding of what kind of messages and news Boston's Coloured people were reading about in the 1920s.

Often the content of newspapers is controlled by the agenda of the editor and this is something to consider when looking at these publications. There can be little doubt that *The Guardian* was used by Trotter as a vehicle for him to popularise his views and opinions. However the paper was much more than one man's eulogy to Coloured Bostonia, for its pages contained a huge variety of news, current affairs, gossip, adverts, sports stories and church intimations. Schneider writes that, 'The newspaper functioned as a tribune of the people. While it focused on national politics, it also covered the Boston scene to the best abilities of its tiny staff.'¹⁰ The only staff members that are mentioned in the paper are Lillian Feurtado¹¹ and Trotter himself, who is illustrated over the page.

⁸ From now on known as Trotter

⁹ Forbes was a southern migrant who worked as a librarian and was cofounder of *The Guardian* with Trotter as he had the technical expertise to run a newspaper, though they parted ways in 1904. This was mainly due to Trotter becoming more extreme in his views against Washington and Forbes not wanting to become involved in any potential conflict, Fox, *The Guardian of Boston - William Monroe Trotter*, (New York Athenaeum, 1971), pp. 29 and 64

¹⁰ Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 125

¹¹ See p.p. 105-106 for more information on Lillian Feurtado

PICTURE OF TROTTER¹²



¹²William Monroe Trotter, Moorland Springarn Research Centre, Howard University, Reprinted in R E Wolseley, *The Black Press, USA*, (Iowa State University, Second Edition, 1990), p. 49

Despite the fifty six year history of *The Guardian*, some historians believe that the paper had its most profitable era before the 1920s¹³ because during this period Trotter's life began to deteriorate. Wolseley writes that Trotter and his wife had to sell their home and live in poverty, as the paper was too much of a drain on their resources.¹⁴ The death of his wife Geraldine in 1918 can also be pinpointed as an incident from which Trotter did not fully recover. His biographer states that during the 1920s, 'His sincerity and dedication remained beyond question. But it was a sad, frustrating time for him.'¹⁵ Competition also emerged in the form of 'An attractive rival newspaper...' called the Boston Chronicle,¹⁶ which made inroads into *The Guardian's* readership. After Trotter's death in 1934,¹⁷ the paper carried on under the direction of his sister Maude for a further twenty three years until her death. Nevertheless, in the 1920s *The Guardian* was still being read and printed and these later copies should not simply be dismissed because of a belief that the paper had been more effective in its earlier days. Indeed even those who believe that *The Guardian's* impact declined in later years, have admitted that, 'Trotter's fervour, zeal and uncompromising audacity had set the stage for 20th-century protest by the Black Press,'¹⁸ an indication of the impact that he had through his paper.¹⁹ Even Du Bois, whose relationship with Trotter had deteriorated greatly since their initial meeting, claimed that he '...did not wholly agree with

¹³Armistead S Pride and Clint C II Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, (Washington DC, Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 124

¹⁴Wolseley, *The Black Press, USA*, p. 50

¹⁵Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 236

¹⁶*Ibid.* p. 237

¹⁷The papers reported that Trotter fell off a roof, although some believe it was suicide, over 2,000 people came to his funeral, Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 130

¹⁸Pride and Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, p. 124

¹⁹Thirty five years after his death, in 1969, Trotter had a high school in Roxbury, Massachusetts, named after him, a school which was the first officially desegregated school in Boston and in 1976 his home at 97 Sawyer Avenue became a National Historic landmark, (<http://raider.muc.edu> - Mount Union College, Ohio), an indication of the impact which his life had on future generations.

The Guardian...(it was), ... bitter, satirical and personal; but it was well edited, it was earnest and it published facts.²⁰

On the following page is a copy of the front page of *The Guardian* from 28 April 1923, which included many individual stories. One story dominating the headlines and which is addressed later in this chapter,²¹ is about a girl who seems to have had her application to attend summer school in France rejected because of her colour. Another story highlights the campaign as a gesture of respect, to have someone representing the General of Ohio, present at the funeral of Coloured man, Colonel Charles Young, who was being brought home from the war to be buried. This front page also includes information about six or seven other stories, as well as brief adverts and notices.

²⁰WEB Du Bois, 'My Early Relations with Booker T Washington, quoted in, *Booker T Washington and his Critics, Black Leadership in Crisis*, Ed Hugh Hawkins, (Lexington, Massachusetts, D C Heath and Co, 1974), p. 50

²¹See p. 132

28th April 1923

BOSTON & NEW ENGLAND
PUBLISHED BY
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APRIL 25, 1923

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THE BOSTON GUARDIAN

From Artist Barred by American School to School Rep. Tinkham To Visit Tut's Tomb—Fla. Sen. May Shape Goat Of Sheriff—New Pappas Hearing

COLOR LINE SLIGHT BY AM. COMM. ON FRANCE

TO COLORED GIRL ARTIST IN N. Y. CITY BY ENTRANCE COMMITTEE OF SUMMER SCHOOL FOR ARTISTS—DONE AFTER TRIP FROM FLA.—SCHOOL UNDER FRENCH GOVT. PATRONAGE

NEW YORK, April 25, 1923.—Refusal of an entrance committee of eight American architects, painters and sculptors to permit Miss Augusta Savage, 23-year-old negro, to enroll in the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts was branded as "unworthy of true artists" in a statement issued today by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

With her trip from Florida financed by friends, the girl came to New York after her application for enrollment in the summer school for architects, painters and sculptors, which is conducted under the patronage of the French government in the palace of Fontainebleau, had been accepted. Then her application was rejected.

MATTER TO BE TAKEN UP WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

New York, N. Y., April 25, 1923.—The school Miss Savage wished to attend is a summer school for American architects, painters and sculptors. One hundred American students are to be admitted each year. Because of low costs made possible by the French government, the entire expense of the trip and a summer at the school is paid.

Alfred W. Martin of No. 55 Madison Avenue, one of the leaders of the Ethical Culture Society of New York, will call for Europe Saturday and will place the matter before the French authorities of the school.

Whitney D. Young, Jr., chairman of the National Association of Architects, said the other members are

Edwin S. Blaschke, President of the National Association of Design.

Howard G. Brown, President of the Architectural League.

Thomas Hastings, architect.

J. Monroe Hewitt, President of the Mural Painters.

Herman A. MacNeil, sculptor.

James Gamble Rogers, architect.

"I made application to the committee in the regular way," Miss Savage said as a reporter, who found her in a room at Cooper Union yesterday afternoon, "without thinking it necessary to mention my race. They asked me to make a preliminary deposit of \$25, which I did, and told me I would be sent to make recommendations. Before I could leave the recommendations they returned the \$25 with 'with regret' they had decided not to approve my application. They did not state any reason.

"Democracy is a strange thing," she added. "My brother was good enough to be accepted in one of the regiments that saw service in France during the war but it seems his sister is not good enough to be a guest of the country for which he fought."

A few weeks ago Miss Savage presented Miss Sadie Peterson a bust of Dr. B. O. Bo, which she in turn presented to the 125th Street Public Library.

A second pretty May feature of the great Georgia May Party will be the May Favors to the first 50 ladies on the floor, borne in the arms of the winners of the Georgia May Young People's Committee girls, Miss Ellen Miller, sister of our real Guardian Boy of tender years, Johnny Miller, and Miss Helen Hyatt, who was the youngest enrolled member of the Equal Rights League. Get there early.

KING TUT COULDN'T DO BETTER

The business methods used by Wolf E. Smith, druggists, enabled them to acquire two new drug stores in Cambridge, within the last two years. They are successful in both quality, merchandise, value, courtesy, service, and cleanliness in competing prescriptions, are the factors that made them successful. They are resolved to keep them. Trade with them; they solicit your patronage and appreciate your trade. They aim to please.

BUY IT THERE FOR LESS. THE WOLF & SMITH DRUG STORES, 772 MAIN ST. AND 715 WESTERN AVE., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

OHIO HONORS YOUNG

NATIVE STATE'S LEGISLATURE PASSES RESOLVE TO HAVE OHIO OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED AT BURIAL OF COLORED COLONEL IN THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

Columbus, Ohio, April 25, 1923.—Both the Senate and House of Representatives

of the Ohio legislature today passed a resolution to have the state officially represented at the burial of Colonel Charles Young, a native of Ohio, who died in France during the war. The resolution was passed by a vote of 100 to 0 in the House and 10 to 0 in the Senate.

LATE MRS. AGNES ADAMS

One of Boston's Noble and Humanitarian Women, Mrs. Agnes Adams, died at her home in Boston, Mass., April 24, 1923.

Mrs. Adams was a native of Boston and was the wife of the late Charles Adams, a prominent businessman and philanthropist.

She was a member of the Boston Society of Music and the Boston Society of Art. She was also a member of the Boston Society of Women.

Mrs. Adams was a devoted mother and a devoted wife. She was also a devoted friend to the poor and the oppressed.

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ANTI-KLUX N. Y. BILL

PASSES N. Y. SENATE—ALL OATH-BOUND ORGANIZATIONS WOULD HAVE TO FILE MEMBERSHIP & BY-LAWS

ALBANY, N. Y., April 24, 1923.—An anti-Klud Klan bill was passed by the Senate today, 46 to 4. The measure would require every membership organization of 20 or more persons, which requires an oath as a condition of membership, to file with the Secretary of State a sworn copy of its constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations and oath of membership, together with a roster of its membership and a list of its officers. Heavy fines are provided for violation.

McCREARY WINS BUT NORFOLK STILL CHAMP

COLORADO BOXER TOO STRONG FOR KID NORFOLK—HEAVY OVER LIGHT-HEAVY WEIGHT LIMIT

At Batting McCreary, the popular Boston-colored boxer, had weighed five pounds less Tuesday he would be the colored light-heavyweight champion of the United States today, for he won the award in his 10-round bout with Kid Norfolk of Panama at the Armory A-A show at the Grand Opera House.

Unfortunately for the Boston boxer, he weighed 180 pounds when he entered the ring against the colored titleholder, Norfolk, who came in at the class limit, 175 pounds.

It was a slashing battle, throughout the 10 rounds, each fighter trying to outdo the other.

Out, Norfolk, who has a who's who's respect, the other's hitting ability and took his chances at long range.

Once, in the second round, Norfolk got a right-hand punch for the jaw and the latter sprang forward, slugging the Boston man, but only served to make him fight the harder.

Again, in the seventh, Leo Flynn's champion-who, by the way, last night refused to entertain a proposition to engage Sam Langford in a proposal to fight a 10-round bout.

McCreary had a decided advantage in the third, seventh and eighth rounds while the second and ninth were pretty even. To the others, Norfolk devoted practically all his attack to the body. Both did a lot of holding and hitting in the clinches. In the grips the Boston man displayed the greater strength. In several of the rounds he literally pushed Norfolk over the ropes.

Norfolk rolled over and over on the floor. He was up, but he was out. Norfolk incurred the displeasure of the fans in the fifth round when, after he had spun his rival into his own corner and the latter sprawled and slipped into a half-sitting posture on the ropes, he leaped at McCreary as he regained his feet and shot a jagged punch at the jaw. The blow did not hurt fairly and just then the bell rang.

The result of the bout was a genuine surprise. McCreary would not count much of a chance. Few, in fact, thought he would last through to the limit.

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FLA. SHERIFF

STATE SENATE AF INQUIRY ON C RUP FLOODING

FLA., April 26, 1923.—The Florida Senate today held a hearing on a bill to create a new office of Sheriff of the State.

The bill was introduced by Senator J. B. McCreary and was designed to create a new office of Sheriff of the State.

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TINKHAM OFF TO AFRICA

CHAMPION OF AFRO-AMERICANS' RIGHTS IN CONGRESS TO VISIT KING TUT'S LAND AND TOMB—WILL GET FRESH MATERIAL

Congressman George Holden Tinkham sailed from New York today for five months of foreign travel. His trip will include a tour down the west coast of Africa to Cape Town, where he will be the guest of Gen. J. A. Smuts, premier of the Union of South Africa. Thence he will proceed into the heart of the dark continent and will spend a month in big game hunting. His return trip will include a visit to the Nile valley and to the scene of recent excavations at Luxor.

MITCHELL HEADS SOUTH END BOARD OF TRADE

VOTE OF THANKS TO RETIRING PRESIDENT, E. P. BARCO

On Monday night the Board of Directors of the South End Board of Trade, elected the following officers: J. A. Mitchell, President, E. B. Barco, J. A. Mitchell, President, E. B. Barco, J. A. Mitchell, President, E. B. Barco.

The incoming President, Mr. Mitchell, is asking the hearty support and co-operation of all officers and members of the South End Board of Trade.

The outgoing President, Mr. Barco, is asking the hearty support and co-operation of all officers and members of the South End Board of Trade.

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BOSTON POST FLA. AM. COLOR PRE

CITES REJECTION OF SCHOOL FOR FOUNTAIN

"SMALL BUSINESS" (Boston Post Editorials, 1923) It is pretty small that "committee of eight American architects, painters and sculptors" to be named down the application of Miss Savage of New York for admission to the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts in France, because of her color.

It is a strange thing, when by a set of men to whom race is a greater thing than money, that the colored people of the country should be so much more interested in the color of the skin of the artist than in the quality of his work.

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A Call to my Of Our Counters Will Convince You of the Have Wh at You Need—BAY STATE PHARMACY

The front page of *The Guardian* informed its readers that the paper was the 'Best seller of any Coloured newspaper ever published in Massachusetts. Therefore (it was the) best advertising medium for Boston and New England.' The front page of every issue also carried the message that the paper was, 'Dedicated to the cause of equal rights for Coloured²³ Americans. A fearless exponent of rights and justice.' For 5 cents you could buy this publication every Saturday and obtain, as Pride and Wilson write, '...imported social notes from the South and midwest; mixed with...national news, church news, fashion, sports, features and fiction.'²⁴

The Guardian was published from 1901-1957, but as there are only twelve editions that have been preserved from the 1920s,²⁵ these editions, and those from the corresponding dates for *The Pilot*, are the ones that form the majority of the focus for this chapter.²⁶ These badly preserved *Guardian* issues stand in contrast to *The Pilot* whose every issue had been conserved. *The Pilot's* affiliation with the Catholic Church meant its editions have been maintained for reference in the ABA.²⁷ But *The Guardian* was the product mainly of one man and although there were copies kept from before and after the 1920s, there was no comprehensive pattern of preserved editions. Hayden believes that this lack of available archival records for a Coloured publication is not surprising. Despite the substantial involvement that Coloured men and women played in Boston society, he believes that there is

²³ *The Guardian* uses the word Coloured and Black, but the word Coloured has been maintained throughout for continuity

²⁴ Pride and Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, p. 123

²⁵ While all the known copies of *The Guardian* and the other Boston newspapers are catalogued at the BPL, these twelve copies from the 1920s were not. They were available from BU's microfilm department, though many were quite badly damaged. This lack of cataloguing at the BPL illustrates just how important these particular editions of *The Guardian* were.

²⁶ Having twelve copies of each paper also gave the study a manageable amount which to deal with, although in some instances, there have been other issues of *The Pilot* which have been used.

²⁷ The copies of *The Pilot* on microfilm were consulted at the ABA

a distinct lack of detailed records remembering their actions,²⁸ as though the information pertaining to them was not deemed significant enough to preserve

The Guardian was a 'catchall' newspaper in respect to Coloured issues. Its coverage was as wide as it could be and if there was a Coloured story happening in Boston, then this paper would include it. Much of its news also came from other states, or even from abroad. *The Guardian* was not only a means of informing people about what was going on, but also of educating them. The paper has been described by Wolseley as, '... (once) ... provocative ... it would now be considered militant'²⁹ and it is from this provocative standpoint, that Trotter tried to educate his readers. Trotter illustrates his reasons for starting *The Guardian* when he stated, 'The conviction grew in me that pursuit of business, money, civic or literary position was like building a house upon the sands, if race prejudice and persecution for mere colour were to spread up from the South and result in a fixed caste of colour.'³⁰

It is also important to consider the audience of *The Guardian*. Although there are no circulation figures available,³¹ one can surmise that its readership would be made up of both the elite of Coloured society and the 'ordinary' Bostonian man and woman. The proactive and encouraging nature of *The Guardian* would have appealed to the mainstream of Boston Coloured society. However the fact that Trotter had begun life in a privileged position could have ensured that his writing would also appeal to the elite, particularly those who had strong abolitionist tendencies. This is also emphasised by the importance which Trotter gave to stories about those who had been economically successful. There were often photographs

²⁸Hayden, *African Americans in Boston*, pp. 9 and 12

²⁹Wolseley, *The Black Press*, USA, p. 48

³⁰Pride and Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, p. 123

³¹Circulation figures for this paper were not available

included in the Guardian and in all of these, the people are well dressed and hold the occupations of those in Boston society with wealth and status. On 28 July 1923 there were numerous illustrations like these, representing Boston's political, religious and social scene. These people featured because of what they had achieved, they would have drawn like minded people to the paper, while also setting examples for ordinary Coloured people.

The wealthier Coloured people who were reading *The Guardian* have been described by Fox as a group living in Boston, including Trotter, who were dismayed by the worsening conditions for Coloured people in the South and who did not accept Booker T Washington and his philosophy of acceptance.³² *The Guardian* showed real opposition towards Washington's and the policy of accommodation and it was this opposition to which initially brought Du Bois and Trotter together. One contemporary source believed that had all these men worked together, or been a part of the one organisation, the cause of racial advancement for Coloured people would have benefited greatly.³³ Yet vastly different ideologies and personal views meant that this did not happen. Despite going their separate ways, Du Bois and Trotter in the early years of the twentieth century had worked together to some extent and the impact that Trotter had on Du Bois was shown in his earlier comments on the paper, but perhaps is best reflected in his reaction to Trotter's death when he acknowledges Trotter's 'intense hatred' for racism and how no single publication, 'ever quite equalled *The Boston Guardian*.'³⁴

³²Pride and Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, p. 26, Washington taught at his Tuskegee Institute that the Coloured person should forgo social equality and obtaining the vote, until he had acquired the economic factors of education and property. See also Chapter 2 p. 26 for more on Washington

³³The Chicago Defender 1915, quoted in Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North 1900-1920*, (Garden City, New York, Anchor Books Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), p. 198

³⁴Marable, *W E B Du Bois Black Radical Democrat*, p. 128

The Pilot

First printed in 1829 and still published today, *The Pilot* is America's oldest Catholic newspaper. Although not specifically an Irish newspaper, *The Pilot* was overwhelmingly influenced by Irish themes and issues. *The Pilot*, founded by Patrick Donahoe and originally named the *The Jesuit* or *Catholic Sentinel*, was set up to inform immigrant Catholics about news from the city and abroad.³⁵ However Bishop Fenwick, the second bishop of Boston, believed that as there were so few Catholics in the city at the time,³⁶ the paper could also be used to unite those who were living there.³⁷ In 1836 the paper changed its name to *The Boston Pilot* and eventually just *The Pilot*, a name which represented the desire by the publisher to 'pilot readers through rough waters...'³⁸

The editorial of the paper changed over the years, with John Boyle O'Reilly not only editing the paper, but also taking it over in 1872. He was followed between 1890 and 1904 by James Jeffrey Roche³⁹ and then Katherine Conway, the Pilot's only female editor. Conway worked her way up to managing editor of *The Pilot* between 1905 to 1908, when she then moved on to become managing director of *The Republic*.⁴⁰ A later *Pilot* edition noted that, '...it was she who spanned the era of *The Pilot* as an independently lay owned news weekly and its status as the official organ of the Archdiocese of Boston.'⁴¹ By this time, *The Pilot* had ceased to be the publication that it once was under O'Reilly's command and when the archdiocese wanted

³⁵ *The Pilot*, 1 August 2002 a story by Donis I Tracy, featured in *The Pilot* web site of the AB (Archdiocese of Boston) - www.racib.org/pilotstories/ps021101/Pilotmoves.html

³⁶ 11.5% of the population

³⁷ Boston's Catholic population however expanded through immigration, until this once minority denomination, became the largest in Massachusetts, - Sullivan and O'Toole, *Catholic Boston*, p. 16

³⁸ *The Pilot*, 1 August 2002 details as above

³⁹ See www.bostonfamilyhistory.org

⁴⁰ Katherine E Conway Papers, Conway Biographical Box 6 Folder 1 (Boston College)

⁴¹ *The Pilot*, 5 August 1961

it as the official church newspaper the owners were willing to pass it into their control,⁴² which they did in 1908. Editorialship of the paper was taken up by a young priest, Father David J Toomey, who remained in the position until 1918.⁴³

Cardinal O'Connell heavily influenced the writings of *The Pilot*. He believed that, '... a strong Catholic press could furnish the church with a medium of instruction second in importance only to the pulpit and the school'.⁴⁴ Described as the 'ecclesiastical counterpart'⁴⁵ of some of the main political figures in Boston at the time,⁴⁶ O'Connell's rise from relative obscurity to the position as the most influential figure in the Catholic church in Boston, and possibly the USA, gained him his rightful place as one of the most important figures in the city's history. His legacy lives on in the form of new parishes, charitable organisations and parochial schools.⁴⁷

In terms of *The Pilot*, one way in which the influence of O'Connell is particularly evident was on the editorialship of the paper. Reverend Mark C Driscoll was the editor of *The Pilot* between 1918 and 1929.⁴⁸ However the influence of Driscoll is difficult to measure, as very little is known about him. One of the few pieces of information about him was his obituary, published in *The Pilot* in the 1960s.⁴⁹ This article details the life of Driscoll, from his role as director of the diocesan press and editor of *The Pilot* for ten years, to latterly, his pastoral role

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Details of the life of Father Toomey, who was to become a cause of scandal for the Catholic church in Boston, can be found in O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant*, pp. 83 and 184-186

⁴⁴Lord, Sexton and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, p. 524

⁴⁵Sullivan and O'Toole, Ed, *Catholic Boston*, 1985, p. 19

⁴⁶For example, Michael Curley Mayor and David I Walsh Governor of Massachusetts

⁴⁷For details of O'Connell's achievements see Lord, Sexton and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, p. 750

⁴⁸Information supplied by the current Editor of *The Pilot*, Antonio Enrique

⁴⁹*The Pilot*, 16 January 1960, pp. 1 and 12

as parish priest at St Mary's church, Dedham, for fifteen years. While this obituary is very detailed, one cannot help but notice that compared to the previous editors of *The Pilot*, there is a lack of general information in the secondary sources or in the paper at the time, regarding Driscoll's editorship. This lack of information regarding this specific editor, could go some way to affirming O'Connell's dominance of *The Pilot*. The paper does not feature an editorial staff list, which would allow for the other staff members of the paper to be acknowledged. Indeed O'Connell's biographer writes that *The Pilot*, '...became the official outlet by which he (O'Connell) extended his own campaign of visibility. So minutely did the paper report his every move, providing always "proper" publicity, that he could count on extensive newspaper coverage ...'⁵⁰

On the following page is a photograph of O'Connell taken from Patkus' pictorial history of the Cardinal and the archdiocese.

⁵⁰O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant*, p. 84

PICTURE OF O'CONNELL⁵¹



⁵¹ Cardinal William Henry O'Connell, R D Patkus, *The Archdiocese of Boston, A Pictorial History*, (Boston, Quinian Press, 1989) p. 57

Published on a Saturday for 5 cents, the same price as *The Guardian*, *The Pilot* consisted of twelve pages, with the front page in similar style to *The Guardian*. On the following page is the copy of a front page of *The Pilot* from 3 January 1920. Dominating this particular issue is the headline about a National Forum to combat Bolshevism.⁵² The other headlines on the page give a good indication that this is a newspaper which, like *The Guardian*, covers a significant amount of news and information on its opening pages.

⁵²See p. 135 for full story

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DOCUMENT # 172
179 180 181

Registration of Men and
Women to Fight More than
One Hundred Cities and
Towns in Eastern Part of
State, New League Council

[illegible]

started in Seattle. He was a Civil Service and Transportation. He said

A very interesting course of Social Service Problems will be opened on Tuesday, January 31, with the lecture on "Catholic Social Action," by Rev. John L. Gilford, D.D., of Brooklyn, and another very interesting course of lectures on "The Philosophy of Human Development" will be continued by Rev. James J. Conahan, S.J., of Boston College. Father Conahan will give his lectures on the Peace Conference and within two weeks will begin his series of five lectures on "Modern Spiritualism" which are especially timely in view of the renewed interest in this subject.

A new class in Dramatics will be opened under the direction of Prof. Joseph J. Willis, of Boston College, and it is expected that this course will be very popular as it is an excellent training in the techniques of the dramatic art.

**REID DISSENTANTS
BECAME CONVERTS**

The estranged pair recently
betrothed was named as Honor
Captain Samuel Charles Reid, who
lived from 1912 to 1918. Captain Reid
sought a divorce from his wife
the British, married at Fife
(Aberdeen) in 1918. His two daughters,
Mrs. Isabel Reid, and Mrs.
Lillian Reid, were born in
converts to the Christian faith.

COMING EVENTS AT
CENACLES CONVENT

[illegible]

12/24/74

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

**Police Officers of Charity and
Ladies' Aid Society for
Giving Example of True
Christian Charity Towards
The Needy and Oppressed**

The Sisters of Charity in charge of St. Mary's Infant Asylum, Jerome street, Rochester and the Ladies' Aid Society affiliated with that institution had a reception on Sunday afternoon. His Eminence, the Cardinal honored the occasion with his presence and in his brief address called attention to their many and fruitful works of mercy and charity.

Those parties which ought to appeal to all who are interested in the world and friendly life themselves said, "able young people, to accomplish something worth while for others and also to gain merit for themselves. They give themselves to the world without a gratifying contrast to the vicious and unthinking who only concern for the pleasure of the passing moment and who are so much interested in themselves that they even allow to others and their crying needs."

There is a splendid opportunity for the Armenian people in the United States to be of service to the Armenian people in the Near East. The Armenian people in the United States are in a position to be of service to the Armenian people in the Near East. The Armenian people in the United States are in a position to be of service to the Armenian people in the Near East.

(Continued on Second Page.)

**HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHED AT MAISON
SAINTE DELPHINE WHENCE BLESSINGS
RADIATE TO STRICKEN POPULATION**

**ADVERT SERMONS IN
THE STATE PRISON**

**Honorable Attend Services in
Preparation for Confession
And Holy Communion.**

A series of street searches had

[illegible]

SILVER JEWEL OF
HOLY CRIST HOSPITAL

Institution in Cambridge Ob-
serves Anniversary of
its Founding.

The first four days of this week were devoted by the officers and friends of the St. John's Hospital for incurables in Cambridge, to a celebration of the silver jubilee of the founding of that institution.

The observance began at Monday with the celebration of a Solemn High Mass of Requiem for the deceased patients and friends of the hospital.

Friends of the institution by Rev. M. J. Reardon, director of the Diocesan Bureau of Charities, at the new and handsome marble altar recently provided for the institution by Dr. John A. Dwyer.

On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday afternoon the hospital was thrown open for the inspection of the general public.

Thursday afternoon the jubilee program was conducted by the Benevolent of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

The program was held in the hall of the hospital and was attended by the Sisters of the Hospital and the physicians of Cambridge, who, since the

(Continued on Second Page)

(Continued on Second Page)

**David Goldstein Selected to
Carry on Work for Defence
Of American Institutions
And Christian Civilization**

The Supreme Board of Directors of the Knights of Columbus now in session at New Orleans has decided to begin its National Foreign campaign in defense of American institutions and Christian civilization against Bolshevism with twenty public lectures in Boston, Worcester, Lawrence, Springfield, Pittsfield, Holyoke, Lowell, Waltham, Lynn, North Andover, Haverhill, and other Massachusetts cities. The first lecture by Joseph William J. Day, State Deputy of the Mass. Knights of Columbus, and David Goldstein, the well known lecturer and author of "Bolshevism in My Career," has been selected for the work of the campaign. The campaign will be held in Faneuil Hall on Saturday evening, January 1, at 7.30 o'clock when His Honor Mayor Andrew J. Peters will introduce him.

These lectures are to be conducted on the O'Farrell plan. In the opening address David Goldfarb will speak about how Bolshevism really is in the Catholic attitude towards the largest manifestation of Bolshevism. There will be a quizzing hour at the end of each lecture. There will be answer questions, fairly frequently, on any phase of the subject. We must have our own speakers as well as in the field of the subject.

In order to make this feature of the lectures more interesting, we have a special invitation to all those who are sympathetic with the Bolshevism movement to come prepared to quiz the speakers.

The Knights of Columbus are the first organization to respond in a practical way to the appeal of Governor Coolidge for aid in countering the vicious propaganda that, endeavoring to turn the attention to the advantage of those un-American principles and practices known as Bolshevism.

His Eminence Cardinal O'Connor has given the former lecture plan the K. of C. his hearty approbation, expressing the opinion that it was no doubt be of incalculable advantage.

DEATH OF ROBERT E.
FORD OF NEW YORK

Robert E. Ford, eldest son of late Patrick Ford, the founder of the Irish World, died at his home in New York on Tuesday. He was 51 years of age and was a member of the executive board of the Friends of Irish Freedom.

**DORCHESTER BOY WINS
K. C. SCHOLARSHIP**

Henry L. Smith of Dorchester
been awarded the Knights of Colo-
mbia Scholarship for Service men
Holy Cross College. While in
College High, young Smith earned
the highest honors for four years
winning the convicted medal for

FRANCIS E. SLATTERY
WILL ADDRESS GUIL

The January meeting of the Metropolitan Broom Brigade will be held at Hotel Westminster, Thursday Evening, January 2, Francis S. Avery will be the principal speaker on the usual annual program. Tea is arranged. Mrs. Francis Graham presides. A dinner will precede meeting at 3 P. M.

The classes in citizenship held Headquarters, Room 422, Little Bldg. will re-open next week.

The Pilot had a section on the front page which was updated every so often, with statistics regarding Boston's Catholic population. The first issue of the 1920s stated there was a Catholic population in Boston of over 900,000, with 800 priests, 288 churches and 152 schools and academies.⁵⁴ While one may think that these figures give a good illustration of the size of Boston's Catholic population and in turn the size of the audience which this Catholic paper had the potential to reach, one of the flaws with the statistics is that the US census for Boston that year lists the population of the city as 748,060.⁵⁵ In that respect, one has to question whether or not *The Pilot* inflated this figure. One possible explanation for the figure being out of proportion with the actual number of people in Boston, would be if the figures used were for the population of the Boston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area⁵⁶ which in 1920 was at 1,868,859.⁵⁷ This would make the Catholic population 48% of the total population living in Boston and the surrounding area. It is necessary therefore, to be wary of the statistics quoted in *The Pilot*.

In terms of circulation figures for *The Pilot*, these have been estimated on two occasions and both of these have been in issues of the paper. In Driscoll's obituary, it states that during his time with the paper, 'circulation reached more than 50,000, the greatest since the paper became the official organ under Cardinal O'Connell in 1908.'⁵⁸ The other occasion when earlier circulation figures were stated was in *The Pilot*, 1 August 2002,⁵⁹ which suggests that there were 100,000 subscribers to the paper in 1872. If what was written in the 1960s is

⁵⁴*The Pilot*, 3 January 1920, front page

⁵⁵US Census Bureau Figures www.census.gov

⁵⁶Boston and outlying areas

⁵⁷Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, p. 11 Table 2.1

⁵⁸*The Pilot*, 16 January 1960, p. 1

⁵⁹*The Pilot*, 1 August 2002, p. 12

correct, then one must assume that this figure has been greatly inflated, or there was a huge fall in subscribers.⁶⁰

Sullivan and O'Toole have tried to establish figures for the Catholic population of the city, but note that, 'Statistics on Catholic church membership in Massachusetts in this period are notoriously imprecise.'⁶¹ However their figure for 1910 had the Catholics constituting almost half of the total population in the area included in the archdiocese of Boston.⁶² Merwick quotes statistics for the earlier period writing that in 1890, '...the Catholic population, (of Boston), had reached almost 750,000.'⁶³ If the figure for 1910 were correct and the Catholics in the city did almost equal half the population under the auspices of the archdiocese, then this would equated roughly with the 900,000, or 48%, which was the figure that *The Pilot* stated.

The Pilot was a paper which would have reached much of mainstream Boston Catholic society. But while its audience may have included those from across the spectrum in Catholic life, the paper did have a somewhat hierarchical viewpoint throughout its pages. *The Pilot* acted to keep people up to date with the latest Catholic and Irish news, while simultaneously educating and preaching to its readership. Communion, charitable giving and lifestyle choices, all came under the scrutiny of the Catholic church. O'Connell exerted his influence by passing his views on through letters to the paper.⁶⁴ The input of any other named source, except regular news up dating the events and meetings of groups like the Knights of Columbus, is not evident.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Johnson-Lally, archivist at the ABA, was unable to locate circulation figures for any editions in the 1920s, or in the centenary editions

⁶¹ Sullivan and O'Toole, *Catholic Boston*, p. 24 footnote

⁶² Ibid. p. 24

⁶³ Merwick, *Boston's Priests*, p. x

⁶⁴ *The Pilot*, 3 January 1920, p. 5 letter regarding Avery and Goldstein's views on Bolshevism

⁶⁵ *The Pilot*, 21 April 1923, p. unknown

Both *The Pilot* and *The Guardian* had themes which defined many of their articles and news.

The main themes identified were lifestyles, religion and politics and ethnicity. This first section will consider how *The Pilot* and *The Guardian* addressed the issue of lifestyle.

Sub Section 1: Lifestyle

The Guardian

For *The Guardian*, the question of lifestyle was mainly illustrated by emphasis on how successful Coloured people lived their lives. One way in which this was done was through the society pages. This was where readers could discover who was marrying whom, who was going on holiday, who had a summer home etc. On the 28 of April 1923, *The Guardian* featured details of the marriage between Miss Gladys-Louise Jackson and Harold Sylvester Thompson of Harrisburg, PA.⁶⁶ The article discussed the type of dress worn by the bride and the flowers that were in her bouquet, the kind of details which were not uncommon in the notices at the time. The emphasis was on the economic success of these marrying couples, how they had done well, and showing them as an example to others. This issue of marriage links in with the discussion of marriage in Chapter 4, when it emerged that though many Coloured couples were working in the lower occupational rankings, the very fact that they were marrying had set them apart from others.

Lillian Feurtado's column featured on page 4 of *The Guardian* and was an important channel for the papers teaching on lifestyle. Feurtado who was a friend of Trotter's,⁶⁷ used her friendly and chatty style to tell readers anecdotes about what she had done during the week, whom she had heard about and those whom she had met. This column was often the place where travel was discussed with the emphasis again on Coloured people who were making progress in their lives, perhaps by holidaying abroad, as Feurtado notes their stories and passes them on for inspiration.⁶⁸ Feurtado herself was an example to her readers and had been featured on the front page of the paper on the very first edition of the new decade in a story telling of her

⁶⁶*The Guardian*, 28 April 1923, p. 2

⁶⁷Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 269

⁶⁸*The Guardian*, 30 June 1923, p. 4

achievements,⁶⁹ 'Boston woman scores a second distinction through a civil service appointment.'⁷⁰ One may assume therefore that writing for *The Guardian* was not a full time occupation for Feurtado.

Advertisements were also an important way in which lifestyle and economic issues were addressed in *The Guardian*. Whether promoting Easter promenades and dances,⁷¹ or previewing the up and coming 'Big Black and White Show', which was, 'Unquestionably the greatest and jazziest Burlesque production ever before the public...',⁷² this paper sought to appeal to every aspect of the Coloured mind. Embracing this new era of hope and prosperity, *The Guardian* ran adverts for beauty supplies, such as hair straightening products, clothing specialists and even one for a metaphysical healer.⁷³ Some of the adverts which featured were also for the buying and selling of property. What emerges from these in particular is the variety of areas where houses were being offered and advertised for Coloured Bostonians. Places such as Back Bay, Brookline and Cambridge,⁷⁴ which were not traditionally 'Coloured' areas,⁷⁵ featured alongside houses in the Coloured neighbourhood of Roxbury, as well as places in the south end, on Columbus Ave and Tremont Street.⁷⁶ This variety of housing on offer indicates that some avenues were open for Coloured people to aspire to live in these non-Coloured areas of town.⁷⁷

⁶⁹*The Guardian*, 3 January 1920, p.1

⁷⁰Headline detailing Mrs Lillian L Feurtado who had the distinction of being the first female clerk ever employed in the collectors office at city hall

⁷¹*The Guardian*, 31 March 1923, p. unknown

⁷²*The Guardian*, 30 June 1923, p. unknown

⁷³Ibid. Minerva Thompson's Speciality clothing shop and James A G Hinton CS, a Christian Science Practitioner, specialising in Metaphysical healing.

⁷⁴Though for houses in these areas, there was a significant price increase.

⁷⁵See CD for breakdown of living areas for Coloured Bostonians, the majority were based in the south end

⁷⁶*The Guardian*, 28 July 1923, p. number missing

⁷⁷See West, *The Living is Easy* - Chapter 2

Other adverts included those offering employment. One asked for men to go to St Louis, Missouri, for 'detective work', (it does not go in to any more detail!). This rather unusual request came alongside the more mainstream jobs for Coloured men, such as dining car waiters and porters. There were fewer job adverts for women, although in one edition there was a housework agency looking for girls.⁷⁸ In all of these adverts, the readership could apply for a job or a house with the knowledge that their Colour would not hinder them because this was a newspaper that was specifically aimed at them. *The Guardian* offered Coloured people the opportunity to sample various components of 'lifestyle', such as where they could live, or the type of jobs that they might apply for and this furnished them with information to allow them to make informed decisions about their lives.

⁷⁸All examples from *The Guardian* 28 April 1923, p. 3

The Pilot

The Pilot also focuses on the theme of lifestyle, with particular emphasis on keeping people up to date with Catholic events, the moral teachings of the church and how parishioners should live their lives in this new decade. On the 20 January 1923, there was an article focusing on one aspect of lifestyle, entitled, 'The Ultra Modern View of Marriage'. The article quotes statistics that show that for every two marriages in the 1920s, there was one divorce and that '(it is) not marriage (as God intended it), that has failed, but men and women who fail to live up to the rigid requirements of marriage.'⁷⁹ The article goes on to say that more and more people are living together before marriage,⁸⁰ even though, 'the sacrament of marriage as God intended, is not an unobtainable ideal.' The church was responding to what it detected as a decline in the traditional union of marriage in favour of a more casual approach and it is through this kind of teaching that *The Pilot* demonstrates its ability to advise its Catholic audience. Yet more than this, the Church also recognises the modernisation taking place in this new era, a modernisation of thought and action finding its way into all aspects of people's lives, including when, how and if they chose to marry. Addressing these changing times and perhaps his own feelings about the present decade, O'Connell asserted in 1925 that, 'Not so very long ago life was simpler.'⁸¹ O'Connell's biographer stresses O'Connell's belief that the only solution to this crisis of modernity was the Catholic church. O'Toole writes 'The church alone held fast to established values and traditional understandings; the divinely controlled nature of the universe, the centrality of formal religion ... the docile acceptance of authority.'⁸² One could argue that this was a desire not to embrace the changes that were taking place during the 1920s, but to yearn for a simpler life, as *The Pilot* believed its duty was to set an

⁷⁹*The Pilot*, 20 January 1923, p. 4

⁸⁰There were 12% of the Irish couples in the MR who were living together

⁸¹O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant*, p. 245

⁸²*Ibid.*

example for readers even if that meant standing against some of the emerging trends of this new era.

The power and influence of the church on people's lifestyles is further exemplified in the way that it could effect the decisions its parishioners made in their lives. One Easter issue of the newspaper ran a piece entitled 'The Easter Duty',⁸³ where parishioners of the diocese were being instructed to go to communion during Easter, '...under pain of mortal sin and penalty of incurring excommunication'.⁸⁴ In its position as an organ of the church, the fact that *The Pilot* instructed people in the ways of the Catholic faith is hardly surprising, but perhaps what stands out is the language that is used. The words 'mortal sin' suggest that not going to communion is something which God will deal with as you are sinning against him, but 'incurring excommunication' is the Catholic church speaking and the tone illustrates the kind of influence which the church could have in the lives of its followers. It also demonstrates that because this was a Catholic church publication, it could print this kind of lifestyle instruction to its readers and perhaps this kind of social manipulation, (who would risk excommunication?), shows the strength of Catholicism in Boston, particularly during these changing times. Teaching on marriage and on this issue of excommunication could be an example of the strength of the Catholic church, it had power and influence, therefore it could make demands of its parishioners and not expect a rebellion. However, one could also argue that this was the church lacking strength because it felt it had to constantly warn its parishioners against the evils of the modern day world, evils which could eventually lead to the church becoming obsolete. From the databases it can be seen that 12% of Irish people were living together, although this was even less for the Catholics of whom 10% were cohabiting. But the Catholic

⁸³*The Pilot*, 8 May 1920, p. 4

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

church would still have seen this as 10% too many and obviously believed that if Catholics were choosing to live together, this could become a trend of lifestyle which could have an influence on other parishioners.

In an article along the same theme, the paper states, 'Crave for a novelty, a grave present day danger'.⁸⁵ This headline claims that believing that change is inherently good is a great mistake of many in modern times. This article is a warning or a challenge to all those who believe that because something is new, it is better. Nothing is really emphasised as being too new or too modern, but rather it seems sufficient to make the point that readers should not discount tradition in favour of more modern methods.⁸⁶

The Pilot also features an article in 1923 giving details of the 'Common Cause' forum.

Unique to Boston, this forum was the only regularly established Catholic forum in the US, 'its years of successful meetings have shown that the laity of the Catholic church was competent to set forth and defend the teachings of their church....Catholics attending are requested to bring their non-Catholic friends.'⁸⁷ This forum was set up to inform Catholics of the correct teachings of Catholicism with respect to historic, scientific and sociological questions⁸⁸, equipping them with the kind of information that they could use to defend the faith in their everyday lives. The fact that they were invited to bring along their non-Catholic friends, suggests that this was also a method of outreach, with the aim of spreading Catholicism. This forum is particularly significant because the laity are being encouraged to learn and to defend and represent their church, with the chance for discussion and differing opinions to be aired.

⁸⁵Ibid. p. 5

⁸⁶Ibid. Taken from an article by Belloc writing in *The Illustrated London News*

⁸⁷*The Pilot*, 6 January 1923, p. 1

⁸⁸Ibid.

Boston is leading the way with this type of event, which illustrates that there was a move to give the laity a voice. However the links that the forum had with the Catholic church would limit the extent to which it would have had independence. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge these forums because some of the teaching of the Catholic church as illustrated in *The Pilot*, indicates a more hierarchical approach with a strong tendency for instruction of the laity. These forums allowed for discussion to take place and showed that the church had forward thinking ideas, in some contrast to the rather more rigid teachings of other aspects of their teaching on lifestyle. But ultimately for *The Pilot* the aim was to teach on the merits of the Catholic faith and all of its views were heavily influenced by this. As one former editor put it, '(...*The Pilot* was), Catholic in philosophy and Catholic in interest.'⁸⁹

In terms of church intimations, *The Pilot* does have information regarding events, but does not have them on the same scale as *The Guardian*. One of the main reasons for this may have been the volume of parishes within the archdiocese. With over 280 churches, the paper may have chosen not to print details of the individual services of each parish, but instead chose to highlight those of particular interest.

An important issue surrounding life in the 1920s was the role of women in society. It is interesting to note that in both *The Pilot* and *The Guardian*, there was no real emphasis on the question of working women. Both papers do feature some job adverts for females and there is applause from the *Guardian* when women like Feurtado are seen to be progressing in their chosen fields. However the papers do not look into the situation of women and whether these women should work if they were married or single. Whether women were working

⁸⁹ *The Pilot*, 1 November 2002, Father Francis Murphy, story quoted in www.rcab.org/pilotstories/ps021101/Pilotmoves.html

through economic need or from choice, is not really answered even in Chapter 4. Though there are more Coloured women working than Irish women and despite the changes which were taking place in women's lives during this decade, neither paper makes the issue one of its main themes when writing in 1920s.

The following section will consider information from both newspapers and combine this with data from the MR, in order to understand something of the importance and relevance of various aspects of religion in the lives of these two groups.

Sub Section 2: Religion

The Guardian and The Pilot

Lincoln and Mamiya write that, 'A good way to understand a people is to study their religion, for religion is addressed to that most sacred schedule of values around which the expression and meaning of life tends to coalesce.'⁹⁰ The authors point to the importance of religion and how it can influence the way people lived their lives. The sources which have been used in this research illustrate the extent to which organised religion played a role in the lives of many during this era.⁹¹

The main way in which *The Guardian* emphasised religion within its pages was by highlighting information from Coloured churches in Boston. Church notices of forthcoming events featured prominently in the profile of the paper. With information from the previous week, including descriptions of rousing sermons, to attendance at Sunday school, the intimations of individual churches were available for perusal. What emerges from these notices is the leading role that the churches played in this Coloured society. It was not simply notification of church services which featured in the paper, but rather every detail of church life was catalogued, creating a real sense of communal interest. In one edition, Mass Avenue Baptist church advertised that, 'This week our spring bazaar is on in full bloom, good attendance and good business each night...'⁹² while Charles Street AME church informed that, 'The Pop concert which was given under the auspices of the choir...was a very pleasing affair.'⁹³

⁹⁰C Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1990), p. xi

⁹¹When people have been married into a particular denomination or faith, one cannot tell if they maintained this connection after marriage, but their choice of religion or not, gives some definition of the religious beliefs they held.

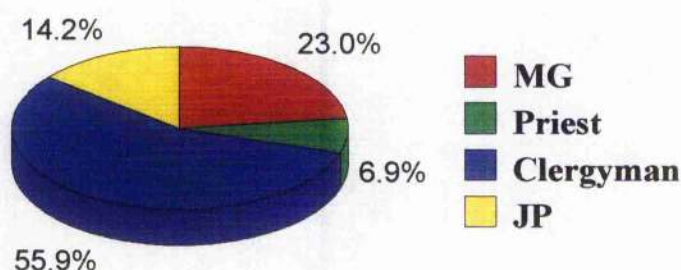
⁹²*The Guardian*, 28 April 1923, p. 3

⁹³*Ibid.*

This emphasis on religion and the social events related to the church was an important way of keeping and maintaining links with the churches and with the people. The information from the MR emphasised that there was a diversity of denominations within the Coloured groups living in the city, in addition to those who did not have a religious affiliation.

In focusing on the marriages themselves, Figure 8 illustrates the pattern of marriages for the Coloured couples in the MR. The specific data on whether people were marrying into a particular religion can be determined by looking at the information that explains who was carrying out the ceremony.

Figure 8
Marriages of Coloured Couples



Source: Data from CD/MR Suffolk County 1921

The majority of people were married by a clergyman. From this group, most individuals came from the North, closely followed by the South. The majority of people who had been born in the North or the BWI were married by Clergymen. There were forty seven couples married by a Minister of the Gospel.⁹⁴ Out of this group the majority were born in the South.

As previously mentioned, it is not clear whether the category of priest signified a Catholic or an Episcopalian wedding, in this instance it has been taken to mean Catholic. However, there was only fourteen couples married by a priest.⁹⁵ The majority of these couples came from the North of America and although there was a small number from the BWI, it does suggest that Catholicism was not the dominant religion for those Coloured people migrating to America from other parts of the world or from other parts of America itself. Indeed Lincoln and Mamiya write that in general the seven main Coloured denominations⁹⁶

⁹⁴Minister of the Gospel - MG It is not clear whether MG were Baptist or Methodist ministers

⁹⁵Though Priest could also mean Episcopal for Coloured Americans, for the purpose of this work it has been taken to mean Catholic Priest, but what should be noted, is that certainly no more than 28 people were Catholic and it could even be less.

⁹⁶See pp. 120-121

accounted for over 80% of Coloured religious affiliation in America, with the other 20% of Coloured church attendees being Roman Catholics or members of mainstream white Protestant denominations, or black sects.⁹⁷ Certainly it should be noted that there was little mention of Coloured Catholics within *The Guardian* with its more social outlook on religion, or within the pages of *The Pilot*, which made no mention in any specific way to Coloured Catholics.⁹⁸

Figure 8 also shows that there were twenty nine couples married in civil ceremonies by Justice of the Peace.⁹⁹ The majority of these people were from the USA, with only four people from out with the country. This indicates that the majority of foreign immigrants were married in a religious ceremony. With reference to this, Dumenil writes,

An encroaching world view, the appeal of jazz, blues and leisure times, may well have undercut the faith of many African Americans. But for others, especially the migrants, the 1920s were a period of ferment, as they sought variously to maintain traditional religion or adapt it in the face of the new culture they were experiencing.¹⁰⁰

Considering their religious practices in general, it is evident that Protestantism, in some form, was the most popular type of religion, with 78% married in a Protestant wedding ceremony.

In Chapter 4 there was evidence that those who had been born in the North seemed to live different lives, at least in terms of their occupations, from the rest of the Coloured group. This is also evident to an extent in their religious practices. Those from the North also formed the majority of those who had been divorced. Those from outside the country tended to be married in a religious ceremony usually of a Protestant nature. Those from the South mainly

⁹⁷Lincoln and Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, p. xii

⁹⁸There is an office for 'Black Catholics' within the Archdiocese of Boston, this was founded in the 1960s.

⁹⁹Justice of the Peace - JP

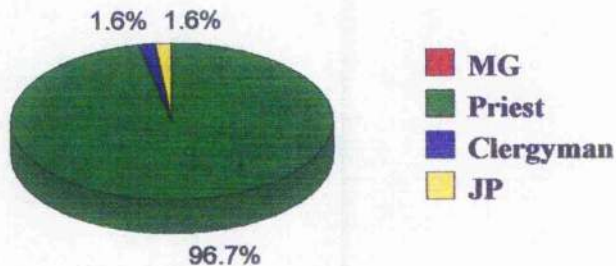
¹⁰⁰Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, p. 185

married in Protestant ceremonies, followed by civil services. Only a very small number were Catholics, or at least were married by priests.

The different religions of the Coloured couples demonstrates the variation that existed within the Coloured populace and highlights the importance of understanding the individuality within this group. Not only do the Coloured group demonstrate a great diversity of religious faith they also show that as a whole they were predominately a religious group. While the beliefs may have varied, the important point was that the majority did believe, or acted like they believed.

The pattern of religion for the Irish couples in the MR is highlighted in Figure 9.

Figure 9
Marriages of Irish Couples



Source: Data from ID/MR Suffolk County 1921

Figure 9 shows that Catholicism was the main religion of the Irish who were marrying in Boston in 1921. Priest in this instance is assumed to represent a Catholic priest, simply because the majority of Irish people were Catholic.¹⁰¹ There were only four couples who were not married by a priest, but were instead married by clergymen and in civil ceremonies by a JP. There was nothing about these eight individuals that made them stand out or made them different from the Catholic majority. They did not have different jobs or live in significantly different areas just because they were not Catholics. The only factor which can be observed is that two of these non Catholic couples (both married by JP's) lived together and this could be significant as there were only fifteen Irish couples in total who were registered as living at the same address. Mary Killion and William Connolly¹⁰² were one of the couples, the other was Robert McAusland and Annie Cummings.¹⁰³ This question of people living together is a difficult one about which to be specific, but in the 1920s it would have been unusual for

¹⁰¹ Shannon, *The American Irish*, p. viii

¹⁰² ID No. 36

¹⁰³ ID No. 95

Catholic people to live together,¹⁰⁴ as identified in Chapter 4, but within this Catholic group there was a small percentage who were doing so.

In a time when values were changing and new ways of spending time were being acknowledged, what is apparent is that there were many Boston Catholics who were at least accepting publicly that they wanted their lives to be influenced to some degree by the church. The MR offers an indication that people had some form of commitment to the church, though it only demonstrates formal allegiance. Yet with the combination of these statistics, one can at least be certain that the population of Boston that was Roman Catholic was significant, whether they were actively practising or not. The number of parishes listed in the archdiocese directory¹⁰⁵ and *The Pilot* certainly indicates that there was a burgeoning Catholic population at this time.

Religion in some shape or form impacted on the lives of many of Boston's marrying couples in 1921. One can say that the Irish were a group with much more uniformity about their religious life than the Coloured people. This is also affirmed when one considers the Irish divorce rates and the instances of living together, which both highlight a group with much in common with each other in how they lived their lives.

Edwin and Morris¹⁰⁶ stressed the importance of church, writing that it, '...(was) a major source of support and strength...(it)...almost became so incorporated into family life in such a way as

¹⁰⁴*The Pilot*, 20 January 1923, p. 4 and earlier in this Chapter, p. 23, regarding *The Pilot*'s view on the declining moral standards regarding the sacrament of marriage

¹⁰⁵*The Official Catholic Directory*, JP Kennedy and Sons, New York from the ABA, numbers are unconfirmed, however *The Pilot* lists 288 churches on its front page

¹⁰⁶Note that while they are writing specifically about Coloured churches, this can doubtless be applied to Irish Catholic churches too.

to substitute for deprivation.¹⁰⁷ The authors suggest that the church gave people a support network in times of hardship. This is apparent within both newspapers, where they illustrate the events of the church, both of a formal and informal nature. These events varied greatly and included social evenings, church organisations and educational nights, where people would have had the chance to develop and grow in their knowledge of the church and religion of which they were a part.

For Coloured people, the church¹⁰⁸ was a support network that offered them opportunities such as, '... the chance to gain status and leadership,¹⁰⁹ which they may not have had in other areas of their every day lives. Mrs Hunter who was 22 years in 1921, was a member of St Augustine and St Marks¹¹⁰ and she recalled life in the early years of the twentieth century, 'At that time pay was low, (for Coloured people) making it necessary for both parents to work.'¹¹¹ She goes on to say that the church opened a nursery for children of working mothers. This is one example of the church actively helping and providing practical support for women, to allow them to work and earn a living for their families. For many Coloured people, making advances in employment was difficult, but this is an example of the Coloured church offering encouragement to those within its congregation and giving them help to progress.

Yet division within Coloured churches also existed, with seven main church groups making up various denominations of the Protestant religion. There were seven major historic Coloured denominations, including the African Methodist Episcopal, (AME), the Christian Methodist

¹⁰⁷Edwards and Morris, *The Negro in Boston*, p. 69

¹⁰⁸The denominations within the Coloured church varied and included Baptist, Protestant, Methodist and Episcopal and Catholic, but in the following pages they are being deemed as one 'church', for the sake of considering a Coloured model, if this was the case.

¹⁰⁹Edward and Morris, *The Negro in Boston*, p. 69

¹¹⁰Hayden, *Faith, Culture and Leadership*, p. 46

¹¹¹Ibid.

Episcopal, (CME), the Church of God in Christ, (COGIC) and the National Baptist Convention of America, (NBC).¹¹² One factor that added to the number of churches was that many of those migrating from the South found that there were class differences within churches. This was a barrier to all Coloured people having a uniform experience of church in the North. These churches were often dominated by middle class parishioners. Those coming into that environment from the South did not always feel at home, or accepted, so new churches were established as people sought to bring their experiences of church in the South, to the North.¹¹³

The Coloured churches did not appear as separatist organisations. Rather they had been created, like *The Guardian*, in an attempt to address the specific needs of different Coloured people and in doing so had to take a different path, away from mainstream American churches. These Coloured churches had been set up because churches in the city, or in the country as a whole, were not meeting the needs of diverse and evolving Coloured populace.

Boston's variety of churches and denominations included the Ebenezer Baptist church, which was established in 1871 and was the place of worship of many former freed slaves from Virginia.¹¹⁴ Another branch of the Protestant church was the Church of St Augustine and St Martin on Lenox Street. The Minister, Reverend Field claimed that, 'The members of the congregation have peculiar difficulties in attending, many of them being engaged as servants and waiters in hotels.'¹¹⁵ Harriet Wharton, who was the oldest member of this church,

¹¹²Linclon and Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, p. 1

¹¹³Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, pp. 181 and 182, in that sense they were like the Irish, trying to maintain a hold on their southern roots

¹¹⁴Hayden, *Faith, Culture and Leadership*, p. 34

¹¹⁵Ibid. p. 50

described her place of worship as a, '...beehive of activity...',¹¹⁶ ensuring that there was always something for Coloured people to do in the evenings and at the weekends, allowing them to meet with others of a similar background, in an environment in which they felt secure.

Another church based in Boston was St Cyprian's Episcopal Church, founded in 1913.¹¹⁷ Hayden claims that this church, '...served as a haven for original immigrants from the West Indian Islands - ... Barbados and some of the smaller islands',¹¹⁸ illustrating that just as migrating southerners sought their own church, so did foreign immigrants. One man who attended this church and who was from the BWI claimed, 'Growing up at St Cyprians we had a chance to express ourselves. It was a place where we had plays, musical teas, a literacy society...',¹¹⁹ a commendation for the support network that the church provided.

The Irish within Boston were spread throughout the city and as a result, so were the parishes to which the Irish Catholics belonged. There was a significant variation in churches attended, but included those which came under the title of Boston city proper, including the Cathedral of the Holy Cross on Washington and Union Park streets. Priests who married people there included William A Dacey, John W Culhane and Thomas McDonough.¹²⁰ As well as the parishes in the heart of the city, there were also those in the out lying areas, including the Gate of Heaven, in South Boston and St Margaret's in Dorchester, both of which featured prominently in the marriages of the Irish couples.¹²¹ The great number of Catholic parishes

¹¹⁶Ibid. p. 47

¹¹⁷This could be one of the churches with priests

¹¹⁸Ibid. p. 50

¹¹⁹Ibid. p. 52, Victor Bynoe

¹²⁰ABA parish records, p. 29

¹²¹This was determined by identifying the priests who married the couples and what parish they belonged to which was obtained from *The Catholic Directory* from the ABA

would have furthered the need for *The Pilot*, as the paper would have allowed O'Connell to reach them and ensure they were all receiving the same message.

The Catholic church was also the source of strength for people that Edwards described when he says that often the church acted to support families. Shannon illustrates this when he writes that, 'Catholicism...defines the Irish community - keeping it cohesive and making the Irish distinctive.'¹²²

The role of the Catholic church in the lives of its parishioners has been discussed by many authors with various opinions.¹²³ Merwick writes that as leader of Boston's Catholics, 'O'Connell made distinctions between well bred Catholics who had much freedom and ordinary men and women - Catholics who had to adhere to strict rules of behaviour and ideals'.¹²⁴ She writes that the church was not especially flexible and was domineering and set in its ways, with the emphasis on the men of religion rather than the laity. Kenny supports this, stating that,

Regular attendance by the laity at mass and the sacraments ... served to accentuate the authority of the clergy ... At the same time, the new devotionism emphasised sin, guilt, confession and reparation, with frequent sermons on hell and purgatory, all of which augmented clerical authority.¹²⁵

One key factor for this somewhat hierarchical position within the church was its position in regard to Rome, as the Vatican Council had stated that it was the responsibility of Catholics to, '... submit to this power by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience.'¹²⁶

¹²²Shannon, *The American Irish*, p. viii

¹²³This is particularly detailed in Chapter 2

¹²⁴Merwick, *Boston's Priests*, p. 183

¹²⁵Kenny, *The American Irish*, pp. 164 and 165

¹²⁶O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant*, p. 77

O'Connell himself who was a firm supporter of Rome, compared the church to an army, '... in which those at the top gave orders and those below obeyed them.'¹²⁷

However there are other views, which although seeing Cardinal O'Connell in this dominating role, believed he was, '...simply making a conscientious effort to preserve the faith and morals of those whose souls had been entrusted to his Episcopal care...' ¹²⁸ O'Connor highlights the role of O'Connell and his determination to encourage the laity in the ways of the Catholic church, through joining groups and societies that were specifically Catholic in nature.¹²⁹ This would include the Common Cause forum highlighted in *The Pilot*. In some real way, through forums and charities, the church was building the Irish up as a body, an ethnic group, and therefore could be said to be advocating a community model of church. While there was hierarchical domination within the church, which may come from the fact that one church dominated, as opposed to Coloured churches, where there were many smaller denominations, this did not always mean those in leadership roles were out of touch with what was important to the lives of the laity.

Yet the challenges of modernity that came with the advent of this new decade, were to be faced by both Coloured and Irish churches alike. Whether this challenge was to deal with the influx of migrants and addressing their religious needs, or to compete with new found leisure pursuits which could draw members away from church, churches were playing a role in people's lives.¹³⁰ For both groups the church offered the chance to feel a part of a greater community and gave them a connection with their past during this decade of change.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸O'Connor, *The Boston Irish*, p. 198

¹²⁹Ibid. p. 197

¹³⁰This is highlighted by the volume of adverts in the newspapers which were for church related activities

Sub Section 3: Politics and Ethnicity

The Guardian

One of the main ways in which politics was considered in *The Guardian* was through Trotter's editorials. In one story he quotes from an article with the headline 'Equal Respect of all parts of federal constitution only consistent attitude.'¹³¹ Although featured in *The Guardian*, this story was taken from *The Springfield Union*, a well known newspaper from western Massachusetts.¹³² Commenting on, '...neglect of enforcement of the 15th Amendment', the article states that 'If it is right and proper to appropriate \$9,000,000 annually for the enforcement of the prohibition amendment, how much more necessary should it be to appropriate a similar or even larger amount to restore to 8,000,000 Coloured Americans the citizenship of which they are being illegally deprived!'¹³³ This article questions the variation in standards of enforcement of the amendments of the Constitution. Prohibition was in the spotlight as it was relatively new and particularly controversial. By including this piece on the 15th Amendment, which stated 'The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, colour or previous condition of servitude-'¹³⁴ Trotter raised the profile of those in the South who did not have the vote and who were prevented from expressing their opinions by the local authorities. If the 15th Amendment could be truly enforced on a national level, then people in the South who were disenfranchised, would at last be able to make their voice heard. Trotter knew that in getting people to reflect on the Constitution itself, he is questioning the government and the enforcement of its policies.

¹³¹*The Guardian*, 30 June 1923, p. 4

¹³²Springfield has had a daily newspaper since the 1840s. The Union-News only dates to the late 1980s, but its constituent parts date to the late nineteenth century

¹³³*The Guardian*, 30 June 1923, p. 4

¹³⁴George B Tindall and David E Shi, *America*, (New York and London, WW Norton and Co., 5th Edition, 2000), p. A30, quoting the Amendments to the Constitution

Trotter was most active within political circles during the early years of the twentieth century, for it was then that he visited Wilson in the White house,¹³⁵ before changing his allegiance back to the Republicans in the 1916 and 1920 elections.¹³⁶ In terms of the Coloured political scene, Trotter clashed with several leaders within the Niagara movement of which he was a founding member and succeeded in alienating many who may otherwise have worked alongside him. Trotter wanted his own organisation and so established the National Equal Rights League, (although this group went through various name changes before it became the NERL¹³⁷), which allowed him as secretary to have considerable influence over the league's affairs. Trotter's influence of the NERL was such that he could issue information under the auspice of the league, without debating it with anyone. It was, as Fox put it, '...his personal brief.'¹³⁸

This desire for control was a contributory factor to the failure of Trotter's involvement with other organisations and other leaders. The difference with Trotter's group and the NAACP, the other major group campaigning for the right's of Coloured people at the time, was that the NERL was run by Coloured people whereas the NAACP was predominantly white,¹³⁹ certainly until after the First World War when around 2,000 coloured Bostonians took out membership in the organisation.¹⁴⁰ Trotter's campaign was to put Coloured people in charge of their own destiny and not to have to rely on white people to achieve it.

¹³⁵Trotter visited Wilson in the White House in 1913, and was eventually asked to leave due to a disagreement over Wilson's segregated government offices - Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp_african.html, www.trottergroup.com/trotter

¹³⁶Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 113

¹³⁷National Equal Right League - NERL

¹³⁸Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, pp. 140 and 141

¹³⁹Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, pp. 135 and 152

¹⁴⁰Ibid. p. 152, Schneider writes that this situation was unique to Boston, whose branch was mainly made up of white leaders and members during its first decade - this was to change as older abolitionists died and Coloured people began to assert themselves in the wake of the First World War.

Trotter demonstrated that he was willing to campaign actively when he appeared before a congressional committee on behalf of the NERL, speaking up for what he calls, 'the victim race.'¹⁴¹ The emotive nature of Trotter's choice of words betray some of the feelings which he has towards the way Coloured people were being treated. He saw them as victims of the dominant society and through such appeals he hoped the government would make changes to improve this situation.

Trotter's pro-activeness was further exemplified by his journey to Paris in 1919. Dressed as a scullion and living in the galley of a ship, he went to Paris in order to deliver a petition to the Peace Conference held after the First World War, which was signed by Coloured Americans.¹⁴²

Unfortunately the article in *The Guardian* goes into great lengths about Trotter 'outwitting government officials'¹⁴³ and much is made of his daring feat, yet very little is really developed about the content of the petition itself, which makes one question the reliability of the whole story.¹⁴⁴ Although he seemed to make an impact in France and was given space to express himself by many of the newspapers in Paris,¹⁴⁵ Trotter had to fight to get an acknowledgement that the petition was received from one of the members of the American peace delegation.¹⁴⁶ Notice that attention was even given to the content of the petition, is not apparent.¹⁴⁷

This theme of ethnicity is also tied in with race in the paper, as relationships between those Coloured people in the North and South are explored, as well as the interaction of the

¹⁴¹*The Guardian*, 7 February 1920, p. 1

¹⁴²The figure quoted in the newspaper is 14 million, however, this has not been confirmed by Trotter's biography, (Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*) and is highly improbable

¹⁴³*The Guardian*, 24 January 1920, p. 1

¹⁴⁴Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 224, Fox mentions and quotes his sources for Trotter's journey on the ship, the Yarmouth

¹⁴⁵Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, p. 227

¹⁴⁶Ibid. p. 228 Edward M House (p. 225)

¹⁴⁷Indeed the race question was discussed in Paris, as an issue raised by the Japanese.

Coloured race with the white culture. This particularly concerned lynching and this was a cause against which *The Guardian* campaigned actively throughout the early 1920s. It was noted in 1920, 'That the South is a 'white man's country' is a dogma affirmed in practice not only oratorically and by editors, but with bullets and whip'.¹⁴⁸ The debate surrounding lynching was a prominent one in the 1920s and before,¹⁴⁹ with Trotter and others including the NAACP urging Woodrow Wilson, from as early as Wilson's first term in office,¹⁵⁰ to take action against the increasing numbers of Coloured people being lynched in the South. The issue was highlighted in the paper, with headlines which saw the, 'Senate told of lynchings by Equal Rights League',¹⁵¹ as the NERL put their case to Congress. This story is significant as it brings a particularly southern ethnic issue into the homes of Coloured people in Boston.

Trotter's ongoing campaign and the importance of the question of race and ethnicity is emphasised in other issues of *The Guardian*, including one published in 1923. It ran an article about the number of lynchings that had taken place since the beginning of the decade.¹⁵² It would appear that for the first six months of 1923 there had been fifteen lynchings compared to the same period the year before, when there were thirty and thirty six for the year before that.¹⁵³ The drop in the number of lynchings is attributed to the fact that so many Coloured people were moving out of the South and migrating North. *The Guardian* wanted to see this decrease continue as it called for people suspected of being involved in lynching, to be reported to the authorities.

¹⁴⁸Herbert Seligmann, quoted in Henri, *Black Migration*, p. 260

¹⁴⁹Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 192, Anti-lynching campaigns and court action against lynching had been taking place throughout the early twentieth century

¹⁵⁰Ibid. p. 258

¹⁵¹*The Guardian*, 24 January 1920, p. 4

¹⁵²*The Guardian*, 28 July 1923, p. 1

¹⁵³Ibid.

One particular incident of racial violence highlighted by *The Guardian*, involved the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁵⁴ It was headlined in the paper, 'White USA stirred over KKK- Bodies found in Louisiana Lake, 2 Klux Confess.'¹⁵⁵ This was the story of Watt Daniel and Thomas F Richards, whose bodies had been found at the bottom of lake La Fourche. In a further issue more evidence of the killings becomes apparent when, 'Torture Racks...(are pulled)...out of bottom of LA lake where crucified bodies were found.'¹⁵⁶ The writer of the piece expresses his disillusionment, but he fears that those who are guilty, '... will get immunity, will go into exile and probably won't be jailed.'¹⁵⁷ This type of news from out with the state was crucial for the paper. By constantly keeping issues such as lynching in the public arena, Trotter was trying to raise awareness of southern issues in northern minds.

The Klan also features in a piece involving Boston's mayor - 'Curley calls Klux cowardly scoundrels - Boston's mayor scorns platform invitation of loyal coalition - Lothrop Stoddart, its President is all head Ku Klux official for New England.'¹⁵⁸ *The Guardian* takes its story from an unnamed, mainstream Boston paper that ran the story alongside Curley's response to the letter he received,

...I consider the practices of your peculiar society detrimental to the peace and welfare of the city of Boston...and since the ...president...is said to be a member of a lawless, vicious aggregation of cowardly nocturnal scoundrels known as the Ku Klux Klan... Your ticket's are herewith returned.¹⁵⁹

Trotter does not write an analysis on this story in any depth, however what does feature is this letter that Curley wrote, as Trotter leaves the reader free to applaud the mayor for his stance.

¹⁵⁴Ku Klux Klan - KKK

¹⁵⁵*The Guardian*, 30 December, 1922, p. 1

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.* 20 January 1923, p. 4

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.* 30 December 1922, p. 1, author not stated

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.* 20 January 1923, p. 4

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.* Quoted from a letter by James Michael Curley, Mayor of Boston

In his position as mayor, this incident put Curley on the front pages of the mainstream press. This invitation was from the head of the New England chapter, demonstrating that the KKK was not simply a southern phenomenon, but was on Boston's doorstep. That Curley should take a stance against the KKK, would have been an important boost for Boston's Coloured people. However, what should be noted is that while traditionally the KKK has been seen as anti-Catholic during this era,¹⁶⁰ what they have demonstrated here seems to counter some of that, as the KKK are appealing to Curley, whose roots and position as one of the most prominent Catholics in Boston were well known.

The theme of race also features in how the paper dealt with more localised issues. One such story claimed, 'Coloured Doctor's name cut from a letter by Boston Daily',¹⁶¹ with a sub heading of 'Segregation behind closed doors'. This story was in reference to a letter of thanks sent to the *Boston Traveller* by a Coloured doctor whose daughter had won a Christmas baby competition run by the paper. It would seem that though the letter had been printed, the doctor's name was not and as this was deemed to be an issue of race discrimination. The NERL took up the doctor's story. It cannot be certain that this discrimination, as it is portrayed by *The Guardian*, was intentional as the paper does not provide any evidence. If *The Traveller* had intended to discriminate against Coloured people, it might be doubtful that the doctor's daughter would have been chosen as the winner in the first place.

The story of the doctor serves to highlight one of *The Guardian*'s main weaknesses, that of failing to provide analysis with many of its articles. Except in the editorial section, the columns within the paper are more devoted to anecdotes than detailed examination of the

¹⁶⁰See for example, Shannon, *Between the Wars: America, 1919-1941*, p. 79

¹⁶¹*The Guardian*, 10 January 1920 p. unknown

articles. There was also a lack of evidence abounding in many of the stories where people or authorities are judged. This causes the reader to doubt some of the writing as there is always a uncertainty as to whether or not the events actually occurred. However, if the aim of the paper is to get Coloured people aroused so that they will have a sense of the injustice that is taking place in their society and beyond, then *The Guardian* does fulfil this role.

Discrimination at the Arlington theatre in Boston¹⁶² was another local issue featured in the paper. At the theatre there was a partial segregation policy enforced, where the centre seats were kept for non Coloured people. *The Guardian* and the NERL objected to, '...the practice of herding Coloured people together, as against permitting them to sit promiscuously where each desired.'¹⁶³ Though brief, this article is illustration of the fact that segregation existed in Boston and that Coloured people felt it. Nevertheless they were being encouraged to campaign against it, to be proactive and obtain rights that should be guaranteed as theirs. Another issue close to Boston that *The Guardian* championed was the 1923 story of discrimination in the Harvard freshman dormitories, where the decision had been taken to exclude Coloured freshman from college residence halls. One author writes that Trotter, '...protested...this decision...(Harvard was) an institution which was close to his heart....'¹⁶⁴ Trotter had attended Harvard and was elected as Phi Beta Kappa, the first Coloured person to be accepted into that elite group of scholars.¹⁶⁵ He condemns the decision made by President Lowell of Harvard and eventually, though with considerable pressure from others and much unwanted publicity, Lowell changed his views and the dormitories were desegregated.¹⁶⁶ In reference to the role of Trotter in this situation, Fox makes the point that while others such as

¹⁶²*The Guardian*, 7 April 1923

¹⁶³*Ibid.* p. 3

¹⁶⁴O'Connor, *Boston A to Z*, p. 322

¹⁶⁵Wolseley, *The Black Press USA*, p. 50

¹⁶⁶Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, pp. 262 and 263

Moorfield Storey¹⁶⁷ and six other white Harvard alumni actually took action through petitions and with an article in the *Nation*,¹⁶⁸ Trotter was not as active as he made out. While in his younger years, he would have been a dominating figure in the campaign to desegregate the dormitories, by this time he was more likely to be watching from the sidelines.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, this was an issue highly publicised in *The Guardian* and to which the paper gave its support.

As well as dealing with local issues *The Guardian* also raised awareness of Coloured people abroad. One such story involved Miss Augusta Savage,¹⁷⁰ who seemed to have been refused a place at a French summer school based on her colour. Miss Savage and the NAACP who are supporting her believe she was a victim of discrimination and *The Guardian's* editorial states, it would seem, 'race prejudice is a greater thing than justice.'¹⁷¹ However the paper does not provide any direct evidence that this was the case and this re-emphasises the point made in the doctor's discrimination case, of the difficulty in believing some of *The Guardian's* stories, due to a lack of evidence to support them.

¹⁶⁷National President of the NAACP, Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, pp. 19

¹⁶⁸Fox, *The Guardian of Boston*, pp. 262

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

¹⁷⁰*The Guardian*, 28 April, 1923, front page

¹⁷¹Ibid. p. 4

The Pilot

In determining the political and ethnic nature of *The Pilot*, one of the main contexts that emerged from the study of the newspaper was the politicisation of the dual Irish-American issue. The question of being Irish and American was the underlying thread behind much of the paper. In each issue there was a page dedicated to news from Ireland, to allow the people of Boston, many of whom had come over from Ireland recently, to keep up to date with events there. In *The Pilot* issue of 10 January 1920, the front page is dominated by Irish freedom meetings taking place in Boston and one professor is quoted as saying, 'America has a special interest in the Irish question because America was born in a passion for freedom.'¹⁷² The freedom experienced by those Irish people in the USA would only serve to increase their desire for those back home to experience the same freedom. There are also stories in this issue that place much focus on the numerous meetings that have been held in the name of Irish freedom, including one by the 'Protestant Friends of Ireland'. *The Pilot* states that, '... meetings on behalf of Irish freedom are no novelty in Boston ...'¹⁷³ but goes on to say that recent meetings could go down in history because of the sheer volume of popular support. It is significant that there was a growth in the number of people attending meetings on the subject of 'freeing' Ireland from British control and that it is not exclusively the domain of Catholics. It also demonstrates the increasing interest in political affairs that is stretching across the religious divide to all Irish people within the city.

Later on that year, there was an article addressing the Irish question once again, but this time focusing on England. It states that, 'never since 1783¹⁷⁴...did the spirit of mistrust and

¹⁷²Professor Pope, *The Pilot*, 10 January 1920, p. 1, it is not clear who Professor Pope is

¹⁷³*The Pilot*, 10 January 1920, p. missing

¹⁷⁴1783 marked the end of the Revolutionary War, Tindall and Shi, *America*, p. 167

opposition and repugnance towards England prevail to such an extent throughout the US.¹⁷⁵ The article goes on to state that only when Ireland is freed, can the US and England achieve friendly relations. In this emotive piece, *The Pilot* makes no excuses for its point of view, supporting the cause of Ireland over friendly relations with England, suggesting this time that not just Irish Americans but all Americans will fail to support England should Ireland continue to be governed by British rule. This is an opinion reinforced by O'Connell in several letters and pieces for the paper, where he writes, 'Ireland's cause is the cause of freedom everywhere....'¹⁷⁶ O'Connell's obvious support for Ireland's plight and his influence over the content of the paper go hand in hand in producing a newspaper with strong Irish bias.¹⁷⁷

The 'Common Cause' forum was praised by *The Pilot* for, '...defending true Americanism which is always in harmony with those principals that are vitally Catholic....'¹⁷⁸ While it refers to the issue of Bolshevism, the statement illustrates *The Pilot's* desire to demonstrate that there is a harmonious relationship between Americanism and Catholicism, both of which share ideals and beliefs which are compatible with each other. It is in some contrast to the political outlook of the paper, which was not dominated by American patriotism, but rather by Irish issues. However one could argue that this is in no way a contradiction, because *The Pilot* could still be a paper dedicated to America, but which has most of its loyalties with the country where many of its parishioners are from, so therefore both countries can be equally and justly represented.

¹⁷⁵*The Pilot*, 5 June 1920, p. 9

¹⁷⁶*The Pilot*, 18 September 1920, p. 1

¹⁷⁷This was a politically sensitive time in Ireland, with guerrilla attacks on British troops in Ireland in the years previously and the introduction of the Home Rule Bill by the British government, which gave separate parliaments for the six counties of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. The British government effectively retained control of Irish affairs -

www.iol.ie/~dluby/history.htm

¹⁷⁸*The Pilot*, 21 April 1923, p. 1

Closely linked with the political outlook of *The Pilot* was the question of ethnicity, which was again connected to the Irish American identity of the paper. While being Irish and Catholic in 1920s Boston was not uncommon, America was also living in the climate of suspicion towards people who were 'different', a view prevalent after the war. The Red Scare, focused suspicion on groups such as Catholics, as they sought to defend their position as part of a non 'native' group. The paper's attitude towards the threat of Bolshevism is exemplified in a headline from the turn of the decade highlighting the 'National Forum to Combat Bolshevism',¹⁷⁹ with particular reference to the Knights of Columbus setting up meetings in order to defend American institutions and Christian civilisations. *The Pilot*, in the wake of First World War calls the new threat of Bolshevism, 'A modern attack on private property',¹⁸⁰ condemning its doctrine and reinforcing the Catholic church's anti-Bolshevik views. This page also features a letter from O'Connell, congratulating two people¹⁸¹ who have written a book entitled, 'The Appreciation of Bolshevism and its cure' and who will be taking part in the Forum. O'Connell states that they, '...are doing valiant work both as Catholics and as loyal Americans.'¹⁸² Here we again have evidence of O'Connell's influence within the pages of this paper, as he writes to condemn Bolshevism and praise those who are fighting against it. His comment that the authors are Catholic and American, draws a distinction between the two, which re-emphasises this dual identity.

Three issues later, the Bolshevism debate is raised again,¹⁸³ with Goldstein illustrating what would be the motivating force behind the Catholic church's drive to highlight the dangers of Bolshevism, 'Bolshevism is a doctrine which would blot out God and substitute a dictatorship

¹⁷⁹See the printed front page of *The Pilot*, 3 January 1920

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.* p. 4

¹⁸¹David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery

¹⁸²Cardinal O'Connell, *The Pilot*, 3 January 1920

¹⁸³*The Pilot*, 24 January 1920

of the proletariat that would confiscate private property and centralise all authority.¹⁸⁴ In dealing with the threat of Bolshevism, *The Pilot* is not reluctant to make what is essentially a protest call, for this is a doctrine that threatened religion. People would have to take action to defeat Bolshevism, likewise they would have to campaign if they want to forge ahead with Irish freedom and so for *The Pilot*, like *The Guardian*, controversial and emotive issues were to be faced. However these issues were only really addressed in their individual context. *The Pilot* did not deal with awkward questions that could have been asked in terms of how it balanced its strong American stance when it came to the fight against Bolshevism, along with its staunch Irish views, which could be seen as divisive to the process of integrating its parishioners as American citizens.¹⁸⁵ (Although the church could argue that to do this was not its role.)

For *The Pilot*, the question of ethnicity found its focus in the identity that its readers and the publication itself had. One of the main problems was that *The Pilot* did not send out a clear message to its readers. It was holding steadfastly on to the Irish Catholic ethnicity that so defined its writing, yet one could question whether *The Pilot* was right in doing so. Did Irish people who had chosen to emigrate to the US, and who may even be second generation Irish, have a claim to Ireland and so have a legitimate right to campaign for its freedom while in another country? From the tone of *The Pilot*, the answer would certainly be 'yes', people can show interest in the causes of places that they have never been and the emotive issue of Ireland gaining independence from Britain was no different. But while *The Pilot* was urging its readers and O'Connell was encouraging his parishioners to attend protest meetings in the

¹⁸⁴Ibid.

¹⁸⁵Ignatie in *How the Irish Became White*, (See Chapter 2 pp 17) believes that ultimately the Irish were striving to become fully American. *The Pilot*'s action against Bolshevism could be the type of integration which he was referring to in the previous century, yet this does not seem to sit easily with the contrasting pro-Irish stance which the paper was also taking.

name of freeing Ireland from British rule, one could question where its loyalties lay, with Ireland, with America, or both? It is arguable that *The Pilot* could not hope to effectively champion the cause of Americanism against Bolshevism on one hand, while still actively pursuing its Irish heritage on the other.

The prevalence of Irish news in *The Pilot* certainly illustrated the desire to keep the Irish dominance of Boston society in the forefront of people's thinking and this reinforces the dual Irish and American nature of *The Pilot* and many Irish Catholic Bostonians. The stance that the paper seems to be embracing is its dual role of championing the cause of Catholicism, while at the same time ensuring that its Catholic readers are aware also of their roles as American citizens. However, this issue is not clear cut and there are authors who would disagree. One account, states 'For whatever reason O'Connell discovered a way of sharply separating his patriotism from his faith.'¹⁸⁶ Though speaking specifically about O'Connell, it can be seen that he was viewed by some authors as a man patriotic about America, but yet managing to keep this separate from his Catholic faith. The impression one has from O'Connell in the newspaper though is that rather than firmly keeping the issues of Americanism and Catholicism separate because he chose to, it was more because he perhaps struggled as to how they could be reconciled with one another. Even then, the evidence from *The Pilot* certainly does not show O'Connell displaying a sharp distinction between faith and patriotism. If anything, one could say he perpetuated the dual nature of Irish Catholics, by ensuring the Irish issue always featured in the paper and that questions surrounding it were always discussed. In this way, he encouraged Kane's model of a Catholic 'subculture'.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶Sullivan and O'Toole, *Catholic Boston*, p. 267

¹⁸⁷Kane, *Separatism and Subculture*

Conclusions

Although these papers have been considered side by side, they were both different in style. It has been shown however that there were themes that were similar for both papers and thus it is possible to draw conclusions about the papers based on the stories they covered and the way in which they addressed their respective audiences.¹⁸⁸

Looking at the 1920s in general, both newspapers, consciously or not, focused on the decade but in different ways and with different conclusions. *The Guardian* embraced the new era of the twenties much more than *The Pilot*. Whether through adverts for burlesque nights, or the modern way of having your hair styled, *The Guardian* was more at ease with this era. There was a definite sense that the changes that were emerging, both in the lives of individuals and in society as a whole, were seen by Trotter and *The Guardian* as an opportunity to achieve progress in the lives of Coloured Americans. The paper was more willing to accept the changing society because of what it could mean for the development of Coloured peoples' lives. *The Pilot* however, shows a greater sense of wariness about 1920s culture and while it did feature adverts for hair and beauty treatments and clothes and fashion, the emphasis in the paper is on family values and morals and equipping people to deal with the threats of the modern world. Those who were editing *The Pilot* were representing the Catholic church and therefore had less freedom than Trotter, who could make decisions based solely on his own point of view. *The Pilot* would have had a lot more to lose if they were to take a back seat to those events of the twenties that they felt were detrimental to the Catholic faith and so the newspaper sought to address the 'decline in standards' of this 1920s society.

¹⁸⁸Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow*, p. 123, It is interesting to observe the material within the papers and note that while in *The Pilot* there is no story relating to the Coloured people of Boston, in *The Guardian*, there were some small articles on the issue of home rule for Ireland, as Trotter saw links between the Irish cause and his own.

For both papers the issue of lifestyle and the preoccupation with the types of lives that their readers were living was an important component in the writing and reporting. But just as both papers differed in their approach to their lifestyle advice, so both differed in the way they addressed the subject of religion. *The Guardian* was not theologically based in its writings, but was much more focused on the social side of religion and being part of a church. *The Pilot* however was firmly grounded in the teachings of the Catholic church and addressed its readers as such. However what both of these papers sought to do was to bring their readers together through the medium of the church, whether this was in a social or theological way.

In terms of the political outlook of both papers, *The Guardian* reflects the views of Trotter. In general Trotter's aim throughout his life was to support those, regardless of political party, who would support the cause of the Coloured race. Trotter's relationship with his fellow Coloured political figures was often volatile and he succeeded in alienating many of them.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless in his own way, he worked to bring the needs of Coloured people to the attention of those in power. He may have been more effective however, had he maintained links with other Coloured political figures and organisations of the time.

The Pilot never overtly gives away its political tendencies in terms of support for a particular party within America, or even whether or not it would have supported for example, the League of Nations. *The Pilot* is non partisan in its outlook, preferring instead to concentrate on campaigning against the threat of Bolshevism, illustrating its loyalty to America and security at home. However in terms of actively politically campaigning for a cause, much of the emphasis in *The Pilot* is focused on the attempt to gain freedom for Ireland and gaining support for it in America.

¹⁸⁹Ibid. p. 114

For *The Guardian* the question of ethnicity was important, but possibly more so was the colour issue of race. The paper was trying to make its readers aware of the prejudice that existed within society, while campaigning to end it. Colour also helps to answer the question of whether this is an integrationist paper or separatist paper, because those to whom this paper was addressed were essentially a separate racial group. Trotter was an advocate of Coloured civil rights and believed like Du Bois, that a person of colour should be entitled to as many freedoms as a white person.¹⁹⁰ However, he was not campaigning for Coloured people to break away to form a separate enclave on their own. Rather he was advocating empowerment for Coloured people, but empowerment to allow them to live freely in American society and to make informed choices. *The Guardian* could be deemed radical in its views of what the US could be, but perhaps especially for its acknowledgement that the country was not there yet. The campaigns taken to the highest levels of government such as the fight against lynching, illustrate that the US had not lived up to the standards which Trotter and *The Guardian* believed that it could.

The question of ethnicity for *The Pilot* was closely related to identity and how the Irish in the city viewed themselves - as Irish, as American, or with a dual identity. There certainly seemed to be some conflict between the paper's dominant Irish views and its role in American society. On the question of whether this paper was integrationist or separatist in its outlook, *The Pilot* did not go out of its way to encourage adoption of American ideals, as the focus was on the fact that so many of its readers would have roots outside America. It was not the fact that *The Pilot* was a Catholic paper that made it separatist, but rather that stories based on Irish

¹⁹⁰ See Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, (New York, Dover Publications Inc., 194, 1903) Chapter 3, p. 30 onwards of this book, for a critique of Du Bois views on Washington and others and p. 34 for the example of his views against Washington's concessionary approach to race relations

issues so dominated its pages. Yet it could also be because of its very 'Irish Catholic' nature that the paper fitted in with Boston society, a society that was so dominated by Irish Catholics that it was meeting the needs of that particular group. One could argue then, that the paper supported both a stance that was based on integration, but which also sought to be separate as well. *The Pilot* was torn between its Roman outlook and its role in this American society and this seemed to be a battle that punctuated many of the articles. However constant news and fund raising for Ireland could seek to undermine any real attempts at integrating or adopting this new country as home.

The Guardian then, came closer to integrating with the American society around it. Although its issues were colour based, one still has a sense of 'America' about it and its aspirations, as though the people who are writing the paper have a belief that America is their home. It is not America they are protesting against, but racism everywhere. *The Pilot* is advocating a certain amount of separatism, though guardedly. They want to be 'in America, but not American'.

In many ways, *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* sought to represent their readers, and this was particularly evident in the campaigning that both newspapers did on behalf of their respective groups. It is more difficult to establish whether or not they were actually representative of two ethnic groups because they were in a sense teaching and educating them. *The Pilot* comes across as a paper that saw educating as its primary role. *The Guardian* tried to appeal to its readers in what can be seen as a facilitating role. It allowed people to be kept informed of what was going on in Boston and in the wider world. In being totally centred on their ethnic group, *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* were not like other newspapers, who had to appeal to the general public. Rather, each paper had a group and an agenda. Both *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* provided a valuable cultural and ethnic tool that gave the Coloured and Irish people of

Boston, an insight, not only into their city, but the outside world as well. The papers have allowed for an in-depth look at what kind of news and information, the Coloured and Irish people of Boston were reading and receiving during the 1920s and how this impacted on their lives.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

In researching the lifestyles and identities of the Irish and Coloured immigrants living in Boston in the early 1920s, the intention has been to address the gap that exists in the literature on this specific area of Bostonian history. This research cannot make assumptions about these groups in their entirety, but instead the intention has been to focus on a sample of them in order to understand who they were, what was their background and important aspects of their lives in Boston in the years when they were beginning married life.

The MR have allowed for a detailed insight to be gained into the background of each of the individuals and the groups as a whole. Some of the most fascinating information discovered was the high proportion of Coloured people who were either immigrants to the area or to the country. Finding such a high instance of immigrants allowed for the focus of this research to consider whether or not place of birth had any impact on lifestyles, such as occupational standing and whether variation existed depending on place of birth.¹

What emerged from the MR was a Coloured group who were located in the same area within Boston, regardless of their differing ethnic backgrounds. In terms of occupations, the majority of people worked in the categories of domestics, skilled, unskilled or service work. However it was in the other classifications of employment where differences emerge. Those who were born in the North featured in all of the occupations, including artists, government employee, professional and student. Yet those from other areas did not have this diversity. It appears that those from the North had greater occupational opportunities available to them than those coming from the South and outside the country. It would seem that those who were born in the South had more in common with migrants from abroad and faced the same challenges as

¹ The focus for this has been the Coloured group because they could be compared to one another and also in a comparison between the Coloured and Irish groups

them in terms of employment. This study has affirmed Pleck's view of the importance of taking into account from where people had come to Boston. Birth place was important for those from the North as they seemed to have a better chance at being involved in varying forms of employment and in having the chance to move up the occupational ladder. There were some authors² who believed that this issue of birth place was not relevant and that it was the fact that you were Coloured that mattered. Their belief was that birth place of Coloured people did not matter, because all Coloured people faced obstacles to furthering their opportunities, regardless of where they were from.

In terms of the Irish as a group, they were relatively scattered around the city and although some were based in the traditional Irish area of South Boston, this was by no means the case for all. This has been an unusual finding as so often the Irish have been lumped together in one group, often in a similar way to the Coloured people.

Almost 50% of the Irish male workforce were skilled, while the majority of women were either working as domestics or were at home. Both the Irish and the Coloured groups had similar patterns of employment. This was particularly true when the Irish were compared to the northern born Coloured people. Irish and Coloured males both mainly worked in skilled, unskilled and service work, while being at home, or working as domestics, were two of the main categories for the women in each group. That the Irish and Coloured people had much in common is perhaps not that surprising given that they were both migrant groups. But perhaps what was surprising was in the differences and similarities between the groups in the less common occupations. In terms of percentages, there were the same number of Coloured government employees, professionals and students, as there were Irish. Although numbers in

² See Chapter 4 for Schneider and Thernstrom's views

these groups overall were limited, the fact that both groups featured does show that there were Coloured and Irish immigrants involved in different kinds of employment, indeed it highlights that in some instances the Coloured people were moving in to areas that were traditionally Irish territory.

One of the other main points to emerge from the MR was the difference between the occupations of the women from each group. Despite the greater number of Coloured females in the sample, just 14% of them were at home compared to 36% of Irish. This difference highlights that while on the surface these two groups may be very similar, there was a distinct difference between the Irish who were able to stay at home and Coloured women who may have been unable to afford not to work.

The information yielded by the sources also painted a picture of two ethnic groups where religion was fundamental. Despite the vastly changing landscape which America became in the 1920s, when traditional values were being challenged, both of these ethnic groups had strong formal affiliations with the church and religion in general.

The information that was gathered from the newspapers allowed for consideration of lifestyles and identities of these groups from a cultural perspective. Study of *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* has been designed to compliment the more specific statistical work undertaken from the MR. The information in the newspapers was so wide and varied that it has allowed for a more detailed picture of the Coloured and Irish groups. *The Guardian* and *The Pilot* offered a way of understanding something of the cultural messages which these groups were receiving in their daily lives.

Perhaps one of the most interesting points to emerge from the papers was their differing views on American life. *The Guardian* came across as a paper that was trying to integrate, or certainly embrace, some of the positive features of American society. While undertaking social and political action through challenging prejudice and injustice within American society, in general one does sense that the overwhelming desire of *The Guardian* was to integrate and be a part of the greater picture. The paper was in favour of building up the Coloured race and being politically active, but through its themes there was an even greater sense of wanting to be a part of the life of Boston, rather than of separating from it.

The Pilot differed from *The Guardian* in that the paper had a more distinct 'other identity', as an Irish Catholic newspaper rather than an American one. While *The Pilot* was a believer in American ideals and staunchly defended them against threats such as Bolshevism, there was a distinct Irish flavour to the paper, which meant that it never seemed to fully adopt the American way of life. However, it should also be remembered that this was a religious publication and therefore did have a specific agenda. One could not accuse *The Pilot* of being disloyal to America, but more that it had a desire to serve both its American and Irish Catholic roots.

The newspapers also offered a more substantial cultural view point, which complimented the more specific information that was obtained from the MR. *The Guardian* was the product of an individual, it was his views which were published, but they were views which reflected on and would have influenced the lives of those reading the paper. On the other hand, *The Pilot* was the product of an organisation - the Catholic church of Boston and as such represented the views of this organisation. But like *The Guardian*, *The Pilot* also influenced the lives of those individuals within society who were reading it from week to week.

These groups shared a number of similarities in terms of the way they lived their lives and it seems to be these similar features that emerge most strongly from this study of the two. The fact that these groups did have areas of their lives in common, makes the bussing crisis of the 1960s and 1970s all the more tragic. The hatred and racism that was displayed as these groups clashed in the school dispute, has shaped the image of the relationship between the two in Boston's history.³ Whatever ones point of view, the outcome of this dispute saw these two groups, who had a 'shared economic plight,'⁴ face up to one another with violence and a deep hatred. Despite the similarities these groups may have had with one another in the past, this did not impact on the situation emerging between the two in the late 1960s.

Yet the 1920s facts illustrate that in those years at least, while they themselves may not have mixed as ethnic and racial groups, they were in fact under going some similar experiences. These were people who had jobs, lives, religion and culture. They were groups mainly made up of immigrants who had come to America seeking a better life. Comprehending a small part of who they were, what their lives were like and so understanding the more general picture as created by the newspapers, gives these people a place and makes them a part of early 1920s Boston history.

³ The bussing dispute had several sides. One view saw bussing as a social experiment on the poorer element of society, which was initiated by those in the city who sought to desegregate Boston's schools. It also be argued that the Irish in South Boston were victims of these events which, 'demolished their cherished sense of neighbourhood, (and) risked the safety of their children'.¹ *The Boston Globe* on line: 125th Anniversary Buses and Bitterness by Thomas F Mulvoy Jr www.boston.com/globe/specialreports/1997/mar/125/1974.htm Another view was that racial inequality existed in the public school system and had to be rooted out, regardless of the consequences. There is a belief too that the Irish could be deemed to be racist and unjustly opposed the desegregation of their schools.

⁴ Harvard Graduate School of Education: *News Ed Magazine*. Bussing in Boston: Looking Back at History and Legacy, 1 September 2000
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Appendix A

Classifications of Occupation

SERVICE

Assistant steward
Base Cook
Beautyculturist
Cashier
Chauffeur
Chef
Contractor
Dining Car Waiter
Farmer
Food Checker
Fur worker
Gardener
Grocer
Grocery Clerk

Hotel Porter
Laundry Business
Mason
Motor man
Packer
Pastry Cook
Porter
Post Office Clerk
Pullman Porter
Railroad Cook
Repair Man
Salesperson
Salesman
Saleswoman

Sexton
Shoemaker
Streetcar Conductor
Tobacconist
Wine Maker

SKILLED

Auto mechanic
Baker
Barber
Blacksmith
Boiler Maker
Book binder
Book keeper
Box Maker
Brick mason
Butcher
Cap maker
Carpenter
Clerk
Clothing cleanser
Compositor
Dress presser
Dress maker
Elevated Railroad Employee
Elevated Trackman
Elevator Mechanic
Embroidery Stamper
Gas Maker
Foreman
Forewoman
Hairdresser
Hospital attendant
Iron swelter
Iron worker

Latherer
Leather Worker
Longshoreman
Machine Operator
Machinist
Mechanic
Meter Maker
Milliner
Operator
Overseer
Painter
Paper Cutter
Paper Maker
Plasterer
Printer
Railroad Worker
Riveter
Rubber Worker
Seaman
Seamstress
Scale Mechanic
Section Foreman
Shipping Clerk
Shoe Worker
Skipper
Station Fireman
Steam fitter
Steel Worker

Stenographer
Stevedore
Stitcher
Tailor
Teamster
Tire Inspector
Trackman RR
Trainman RR
Truck Driver
Weaver
Wheelwright
Wool Handler
Wool Worker

DOMESTIC

Butler
Chamber maid
Cook
Domestic
Housekeeper
Housemaid
Houseman
Housework
Ladies Maid
Maid

PROFESSIONAL

Designer
Engineer
Landscape Architect
Music Teacher
Nurse
Real Estate Agent
Teacher

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE

Fireman
Letter Carrier
Marine Fireman
Policeman
Sailor

STUDENT

Music Student
Student

HOME

At Home
Housewife

ARTIST

Drummer
Musician

UNEMPLOYED

None

UNSKILLED

Choreman	Laundress
Day worker	Machinist Helper
Dishwasher	Meat Handler
Elevator man	Messenger
Elevator Operator	Railroad Labourer
Factory Worker	Ship Yard Employee
Freight Handler	Shipper
Furniture Handler	Stock girl
General work	Watchman
Janitor	
Labourer	

Appendix B
Sample Databases

Sample of Coloured Database created from MR

Name	Age	Marriage	Address	Occupation	Classification	Birth City	State	North or South	Birth Country
Couple ID number 1, married by Clergyman									
Charles Strother	23	F	552 Mass Ave	Mechanic	Skilled	Palatka	FL	South	USA
Gertrude Green	19	F	46 W Canton St	Dressmaker	Skilled	Boston	MA	North	USA
Couple ID number 2, married by Clergyman									
Edward Harwick	23	F	85 W Rutland Sq	Hotel Porter	Service	Augusta	GA	South	USA
Jessie Adams	21	2nd D	30 Greenwich Park	Housekeeper	Domestic	Baltimore	MD	North	USA
Couple ID number 3, married by Priest									
Charles Edwards	29	F	749 Shawmut Ave	Elevator Man	Unskilled	Boston	MA	North	USA
Mary Palmer	29	F	Washington, DC	At Home	Home	Newport	MD	North	USA
Couple ID number 4, married by JP									
Arthur Hughes	24	F	124 Camden St	Labourer	Unskilled	Texas	TX	West	USA
Catherine Davis	24	F	124 Camden St	Hairdresser	Skilled	Loughbranch	NJ	North	USA
Couple ID number 5, married by Clergyman									
George Lander	52	2nd W	385 Shawmut Ave	Box Maker	Skilled	Oxford	NC	South	USA
Elaine Dickson	33	2nd W	385 Shawmut Ave	Domestic	Domestic	Atlantic City	NJ	North	USA
Couple ID number 6, married by Clergyman									
Charles Minion	38	F	194 Northampton St	Messenger	Unskilled	Boston	MA	North	USA
Mabel Presberry	32	2nd D	7 Dilworth St	Elevator Op	Unskilled	Philadelphia	PA	North	USA
Couple ID number 7, married by Minister of the Gospel									
Samuel Lander	27	F	125 Dartmouth St	Chauffeur	Service				Portugal
Clara Barnes	26	F	190 Braddock Park	Dressmaker	Skilled	Newark	NJ	North	USA
Couple ID number 8, married by Clergyman									
Abraham Fergus	25	F	157 Cabot St	Porter	Service				B W I
Margaret Smith	23	F	New York, NY	Domestic	Domestic				B W I
Couple ID number 9, married by Minister of the Gospel									
Richard Sfoane	18	F	102 Camden St	Paper Cutter	Skilled	Boston	MA	North	USA
Eugene Taylor	16	F	4 Chester Place	Housework	Domestic	Boston	MA	North	USA
Couple ID number 10, married by Priest									
William Barron	35	2nd D	531 Columbus Ave	Clothing Clearser	Skilled				B W I
Aca Barron	28	2nd D	Malden MA	None	Unemployed	Newark	NJ	North	USA

Sample of Coloured Database created from MR

Name	Age	Marriage	Address	Occupation	Classification	Birth City	State	North or South	Birth Country
Couple ID number 11, married by Clergyman									
Cesar Oaney	25	F	123 Dartmouth St	Cook	Domestic	Alexander	LA	South	USA
Lofti Shankle	27	F	28 Harwich St	At Home	Home	Gold Hill	NC	South	USA
Couple ID number 12, married by Clergyman									
James Knight	38	F	37 Camden St	Porter	Service				B W I
Susana Hussey	29	F	57 Camden St	Cook	Domestic				B W I
Couple ID number 13, married by Clergyman									
Stanley Hall	21	F	176 Northampton St	Cook	Domestic				B W I
Rvelyn Bryan	22	F	627 Shawmut Ave	Waitress	Service				B W I
Couple ID number 14, married by Clergyman									
Arthur Brown	34	F	544 Shawmut Ave	Waiter	Service				B W I
Eliel Hylton	26	F	172 Northampton St	Factory Worker	Unskilled				B W I
Couple ID number 15, married by Minister of the Gospel									
Alfred Ballar	31	F	84 Compton St	Chef	Service				Portugal
Emily Edward	32	F	84 Compton St	Maid	Domestic	Norfolk	VA	South	USA
Couple ID number 16, married by Minister of the Gospel									
Martin Alfonsia	35	F	33 Humboldt Ave	Labourer	Unskilled				Portugal
Mary Nelson	42	2nd D	83 Humboldt Ave	Domestic	Domestic	Charlottesville	VA	South	USA
Couple ID number 17, married by Clergyman									
Alexander Lewis	27	F	48 Buckingham St	Machinist	Skilled				B W I
Antoinette Lewis	25	F	108 Dartmouth St	Dressmaker	Skilled				
Couple ID number 18, married by Clergyman									
Joseph Barlow	21	F	33 Cunard St	Cook	Domestic	Boston	MA	North	USA
Ethel Thompson	19	F	33 Cunard St	Waitress	Service	Yorlkers	NY	North	USA
Couple ID number 19, married by Minister of the Gospel									
Manuel Duarte	43	2nd W	15 Garden St	Seaman	Skilled				Cape Verde Islands
Gertrude Santos	24	F	New Bedford MA	At Home	Home				
Couple ID number 20, married by Clergyman									
Harrison White	28	F	31 Dundee St	Policeman	Govt Employee	Ogden	UT	West	USA
Bernice Laurence	26	F	36 Claremont Park	At Home	Home	Reidsville	NC	South	USA

Sample of Irish Database created from NIR

Name	Age	Marriage	Address	Occupation	Classification	Birth Country
Couple ID number 1, married by Priest						
Pat O'Brien	40	F	504 East 4th St	Clerk	Skilled	Ireland
Mary Hughes	34	2nd W	172 Dorchester St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 2, married by Priest						
Martin Kane	52	2nd W	244 9th St	Foreman	Skilled	Ireland
Nora Corbett	24	F	23 Mather St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 3, married by Priest						
Joseph Hurley	30	F	489 Broadway	Tire Maker	Skilled	Ireland
Delia Donovan	33	F	489 Broadway	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 4, married by Priest						
William Furey	29	F	40 Lincoln St	Iron Worker	Skilled	Ireland
Annie Doherty	24	F	9 Harvard Sq	Domestic	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 5, married by Priest						
Michael Costelloe	32	F	47 Garden St	Rubber worker	Skilled	Ireland
Delia Igoe	23	F	193 Parsons St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 6, married by Priest						
Thomas Kelly	29	F	135 3rd St	Labourer	Unskilled	Ireland
Annie Duran	30	F	119 6th St	Domestic	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 7, married by Priest						
Dominick Travers	50	3rd W	47 Business St	Labourer	Unskilled	Ireland
Annie Leary	50	3rd W	24 Barry St	Housewife	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 8, married by Priest						
John Connamon	23	F	Cambridge MA	Grocery Clerk	Service	Ireland
Nora Burke	23	F	11 Elton St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 9, married by Priest						
Theobald Bryson	28	F	351 Main St	Labourer	Unskilled	Ireland
Margaret Cahill	26	F	6 Wainbeck St	Domestic	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 10, married by Priest						
Martin Conroy	38	2nd W	38 G St	Printer	Skilled	Ireland
Annie Price	39	2nd W	142 Broadway	Dressmaker	Skilled	Ireland

Sample of Irish Database created from MR

Name	Age	Marriage	Address	Occupation	Classification	Birth Country
Couple ID number 11, married by Priest						
James Dunne	28	F	46 Mount Vernon St	Labourer	Unskilled	Ireland
Hannah Cuddihy	27	F	137 Bunker Hill St	Waitress	Service	Ireland
Couple ID number 12, married by Priest						
Michael McDonnough	23	F	140 8th St	Iron Worker	Skilled	Ireland
Margaret Flaherty	24	F	150 West 3rd St	Maid	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 13, married by Priest						
Joseph Deery	33	F	27 Cranston St	Station Engineer	Professional	Ireland
Catherine McCann	28	F	127 Fisher Ave	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 14, married by Priest						
Michael McDonough	26	?	Cambridge MA	Labourer	Unskilled	Ireland
Delia Flaherty	25	?	12 East St	Domestic	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 15, married by Priest						
Michael McLaughlin	27	F	125 F St	Carpenter	Skilled	Ireland
Elizabeth Mulligan	24	F	90 Fisher Ave	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 16, married by Priest						
Michael Kalliber	29	F	139 St Alphonsus St	Station Fireman	Skilled	Ireland
Margaret Shea	27	F	179 Vernon St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 17, married by Priest						
James Connolly	28	F	18 Rockford St	Steel Worker	Skilled	Ireland
Mary Dolan	28	F	56 Duaset St	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 18, married by Priest						
Daniel Herlihy	44	2nd W	75 Bunker Hill St	Freight Handler	Unskilled	Ireland
Winifred O'Brien	39	2nd W	665 Harrison Ave	At Home	Home	Ireland
Couple ID number 19, married by Priest						
Felix Maguire	27	F	34 Neptune Road	Wine Clerk	Service	Ireland
Mary Seahill	26	F	52 Charlotte St	Maid	Domestic	Ireland
Couple ID number 20, married by Priest						
Patrick O'Brien	34	2nd W	11 Vale St	Chauffeur	Service	Ireland
Bridget Morrissey	32	F	18 Howell St	Housekeeper	Domestic	Ireland

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MVRS

Commission of Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Register of Vital Records and Statistics

Marriages Boston, Vol 1 Year 1921

Reel BM13 Numbers 1-4069 Suffolk County, (filmed 2nd March 1987), selective records of Coloured and Irish Couples

The MR used listed all the couples who married in the City of Boston during 1921. These were categorised in date order, although this was the date the marriage was registered and may not have been the actual marriage date itself. From this source, all the Irish/Irish and Coloured/Coloured marriages were catalogued, and have been done so in date order initially. For the purposes of the database which was then constructed, the couples were given an Identification number rather than a date, although they are still in the order in which they were initially recorded. The database information includes all the individuals detailed as recorded in the MR, except for the name and address of the person who married the couple. This was categorised generally under the heading of 'Married By', which then listed the title of the person.

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