

RESISTING THE MELTING POT THROUGH ETHNIC NEWSPAPERS: HISTORY
AND FUNCTION OF THE *IRISH ECHO*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic newspapers represent an enormous area of potential for communication researchers. The ethnic press creates a written record that is reflective of the functional needs of the underlying community. There are hundreds of ethnic newspapers publishing in the United States and ethnic news circulation has grown twenty-four percent in the last ten years (Ford Foundation, 2004, p. 4). This is in sharp contrast to a ten percent decline for mainstream American newspapers during that same period (Journalism.org, 2004). In a nation of immigrants where the expectation of assimilation is strong, the ethnic news has served a dual purpose of assisting new arrivals in acculturation while allowing them to maintain cultural ties to their native country. The ethnic press was viewed by early American leaders as a divisive agent in the development of a young nation. That distrust reemerged after September 11, 2001, with the fear that religious and cultural newspapers were incubating anti-American violence (Kugel, p. 6).

But American politicians saw the potential of the ethnic press to mobilize and deliver large blocks of voters. The editorial office of the *Irish Echo*, in New York City, which is the subject of this dissertation, has always been a scheduled stop for anyone running for political office in New York State. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when many immigrants arrived illiterate and unsophisticated in the ways of American politics, the editorial position of the trusted ethnic newspaper was a vote delivery machine.

Despite the hundreds of cultures and languages that they represent, ethnic newspapers share a great deal in common. Ethnic newspapers practice a sharp edged

form of advocacy journalism. They provide the community with news from the homeland and act as interpreters of events in the United States (Paul, 1970, p. 525). Most ethnic newspapers fight against discrimination and advocate for immigrants on issues of employment, healthcare, housing, and fair treatment by the law, which tended to run roughshod over fearful ethnics. They serve an education function, advising readers to shed their “backward” ways, seek education and job training, and to learn to speak English (Vecoli, p. 422). Ethnic newspapers are also businesses and operate with the intent of making a profit. Immigrant communities have always been incubators of new businesses to serve special cultural needs and the ethnic press delivers a ready market of consumers. Ethnic newspapers are founded with a combination of intent: profit, community service, and a sounding board for vocal community leaders. All three of these motives contributed to the founding of the *Irish Echo* (O’Hanlon, p. 154).

The *Irish Echo* was founded in 1928 in Harlem by Charles Connolly. The newspaper was delivered by a horse-drawn cart to the newsstands within the predominantly Irish neighborhoods of upper Manhattan, the Lower East Side, and the Bronx. Its circulation has always been driven by a steady stream of immigrants fleeing the ubiquitous poverty of Ireland. The newspaper has survived several circulation wars over its three quarters of a century existence, most of the time in a cutthroat battle with the *Irish Voice*, which has quietly accepted its position as the number two Irish newspaper in New York. The *Echo* has had a predominantly Catholic, working class, Democratic readership who resided in the Irish neighborhoods of the five boroughs of New York. But the Irish assimilated rapidly, educated themselves, joined the Republican Party and moved to the suburbs of Long Island, Westchester, and Rockland Counties in

pursuit of suburban home ownership. The *Echo* followed the migration by mail or to the suburban newsstands in the larger Irish communities like Yonkers, Pearl River, Mahopac, and Mastic Beach.

The *Echo* is read by the second generation but it is heavily dependent on Irish immigration which has slowed to a trickle in the last ten years due to the booming Irish economy. In the past, Ireland made it a policy of encouraging emigration to alleviate poverty. In 2004, it became the fastest growing economy in the European Union, and for the first time it became a net importer of labor. The Internet has also created a threat to the *Echo*'s traditional readership because getting news from Ireland is much easier. Both the decline of immigration and easy availability of Irish newspapers online have presented real challenges for the *Echo*. The newspaper has responded by launching its own online newspaper and in 2005 it began to sell the *Echo* in Ireland for reverse immigrants interested in news of the New York Irish community.

The purpose of this case study of the *Irish Echo* is to identify how the newspaper functions to serve the needs of the underlying New York-Irish community and how this function has changed over time. The intention of this study is to add to the body of research on ethnic newspapers and Irish ethnic newspapers. However the study is focused on the New York-Irish community. The distinction is important because Irish newspapers in other regions of the United States could have significant differences caused by different immigration patterns, economic structures and local culture. Findings and conclusions cannot be generalized to all Irish American newspapers. The research adds to the global conversation on ethnic newspapers. The study attempts to explain the role of the newspaper in balancing the needs of immigrants to adapt to American culture while

maintaining ties to their native culture in Ireland. The research also attempts to identify a functional direction and future for the *Irish Echo*.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review is divided into five areas: function of the press, and more specifically function of the ethnic press; ethnic cultural identity and the Irish American experience; and finally, the role of the Irish American press. The subject of the research is the *Irish Echo* and the New York Irish American press. The literature on the Irish American press provides a general context on the subject. The review and research does not include Irish newspapers published in Ireland to a great extent because ethnic newspapers are treated as alternative press. Irish newspapers function as mainstream national media with their own functional nuances. The general application of the concept of function focuses on the role that the newspaper plays in the creation and perpetuation of Irish identity in the United States. There is a wide range of applications for these theories, so literature that addresses function of the press or historical memory in the context of ethnic communities, immigration, and communication is the focus of the review.

Function of the Press:

The working definition of functional theory in this dissertation is the belief that the organic unity of society is dependent on a social system of institutions that act individually and in concert to satisfy the needs of the whole. The institution is the *Irish Echo* and the social system is the community that New York Irish Americans occupy. Wright described the mass media as a reflection of its audience, and indirectly the readers, viewers, and listeners are actually the communicators (1986, p. 7). Precise conclusions about press function are difficult to reach because mass communication and

interpersonal communication are mutually interdependent (Wright, 1974, p. 199). The more difficult question that is the core of press function is this: What are the consequences of mass communication for society (Wright, p. 198)?

Wright sees this question as the more challenging focus of communication research, while Merton described the potential for exploitation in defining functional parameters for societal institutions (1967, p. 93). In trying to codify a methodology for functional theory, Merton identified that function can have two sets of objective consequences: manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions are those functions whose consequences are intended and recognized by participants in the system. Latent functions are consequences that are neither intended nor recognized (p. 105). For example, an immigrant newspaper in its transmission function conveys to an immigrant group that home ownership is an important step in assimilation. Its manifest intention may be to encourage home ownership, but its unintended or latent function would be that parents have to work extraordinary hours at the expense of family life.

The use of the term “function” to describe a qualitative sociological and communication theory is probably derived from the push for more measurable and quantitatively based theories in the social sciences. Merton described function as having its most precise definition in mathematics, where the value of a variable is dependent on other variables (p. 75). Function, in this case study, is closer to its use in biology, where the various organs contribute to the homeostasis of the organism (p. 75). This definition is more easily extended to the social sphere where press function can be evaluated “by the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity” (Merton, p. 76). Merton also proposed the concepts of functional alternatives, equivalents, or substitutes

(p. 88). If the comparison of functional theory to biological theory is carried through a step further, there is rarely a pure functional substitute, but rather a series of alternatives and equivalents.

The function of the press in society, according to both Lasswell and Wright, is not open ended. Lasswell saw the media as having three major operations: surveillance, correlation, and transmission. Wright expanded on this, adding entertainment as the fourth (Lasswell, Wright, 1986). Surveillance is the collection and distribution of information; correlation is the editorial function of interpretation; and transmission is the normative process of communicating society's values over time and across generations (Wright, 1986, p. 5). Lasswell saw the transmission function as a crucial process for immigrants because it transmits social heritage and catalyzes the transformation of "immigrants into a new (new to them that is) society" (Wright, p. 5). The four operations are abstractions because a newspaper could contain elements of all four functions. For newly arrived immigrants, the entertainment sections may also perform correlation (Wright, p. 6).

Function of the Ethnic Press:

Despite the economic necessity of immigrant labor, there has always been, to varying degrees, anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. Because of this continuous climate of discrimination, the ethnic press elevated itself as advocates for immigrants and developed a reputation for being rabble rousers on the issue. Cross, in his analysis of the treatment of immigrants by historians, wrote that Benjamin Franklin had written about the need for immigrants to settle the land and help America realize its economic potential. He noted that Franklin was also fearful of what the impact would be

on American culture, so he proposed several remedies, one of which was “control or elimination of the ethnic press” (1973, p. 5). Because of this, ethnic newspapers made advocating for their readers a priority.

In this study, the New York-Irish American press is framed as a functional intersect and bonding agent for the underlying community. The Irish American press is well suited for this type of analysis because it performs many of the common functions that define ethnic media: political advocacy, vocal criticism of discrimination, and guides in assimilation and character building. The Irish American press consistently tried to smooth the transition for new arrivals when there were strong anti-immigrant sentiments from nativists, few advocates, and a system that preyed on the immigrant who was naïve in American ways.

The functional implement of newspapers in the immigrant community helped them remain self sustaining culturally and economically. Park, in his book *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, a seminal work on the topic, described American cities as little language colonies and cultural enclaves where:

Each of these little communities is certain to have some sort of cooperative or mutual aid society, very likely a church, a school, possibly a theatre, but almost invariably a press. In the city of New York, at any rate, there is so far as can be learned, no language group so insignificant that it does not maintain a printing press and publish some sort of periodical (1922, p. 7).

Park found that immigrants read their ethnic papers more than they read the news back in their native country: “News is a kind of urgent information that men use in making adjustments to a new environment, in changing old habits, and in forming new ones” (p.9). The immigrant press fulfills the need for information about the old country and helps new arrivals to negotiate the American way of life. Immigrants actually have a

greater need for news and are thus more dependent on the function of the press. Park also made the point that the difference between the written and spoken word, and “the language of the streets” in America, is far less than in other countries, making the American press more usable for the common man (p. 16). Many European immigrant groups came from countries where the press was written for and by the educated elite; some ethnic newspaper publishers made the mistake of trying to duplicate this and failed (p. 68). The struggle for political recognition increases the vitality of the ethnic press as well. Park wrote, “It is probably not a mere coincidence that nationalist movements have so frequently originated and been supported from abroad” (p. 49). This is important to understanding the Irish press in America and the *Irish Echo* in particular, which put Irish unity at the forefront of its editorial agenda. Charles Connolly, the founder of the *Echo* was a rabid republican and like many Irish immigrants of the 1920s he had emigrated after the bitter loss in the Irish civil war. The *Echo*’s early readership was built with embittered veterans looking for an organ to re-invigorate support for Irish nationalism.

Political strife in the Irish homeland drove the circulation of the Irish American press, according to Miller in *The Ethnic Press in the United States* (p. 19). Metress wrote that Irish American newspapers had little competition from the mainstream American press, because the Irish believed the American press had a pro-British bias (p. 17). O’Hanlon took it a step further, writing that “the troubles” defined the Irish American press: “If war is the ultimate story, then Irish American journalism is to be envied,” he wrote. “Would there have been a discernible Irish American press if not for the troubled circumstances of Ireland’s history?” (1998, p. 151). Irish American journalism was in its heyday in the latter part of the nineteenth century when the Fenian Rebellion and the

aftermath of the potato famine created an Irish American population who harbored deep hatred for the English. O'Hanlon described how papers like *United Irishman*, *The Irish Citizen*, *Gaelic American*, *Irish World*, and the *Chicago Citizen* were "each more eager than the next to bash England on her crowned head, while saving the back of the hand for one another" (1998, p. 150).

Patrick Ford, publisher of the *Irish World*, approached the conflict with England from a more socialist perspective in the *Irish World*. He attacked the Catholic Church relentlessly for its indifference to the conditions of the poor in England and the United States. Ford's attacks got the attention of church members who began to spread rumors that Ford was a communist. Ford responded by criticizing Cardinal McCloskey for riding around in an elegant carriage that was more suitable for "European aristocrats" than for a clergyman whose carriage was paid for by desperately poor Irish immigrants (Rodechko, p. 528). Ford went on to write that "the 'destruction of British domination' was not only essential to Ireland, but 'conducive to the honor of the Irish race in all lands'" (Rodechko, p. 529).

Ford's attack on the Catholic Church was a risky proposition for an editor of a newspaper whose readership was made up almost entirely of Catholics. The *Irish World* prospered because of Ford's loyalty to the Irish poor and his ability to reflect the sentiments of Irish Catholics who began to question their religion over its disregard for their plight. The Irish were not the only ones reading the *World*. New York politicians were as well. Many of them picked up on Irish sentiment and exploited it for their gain. According to Rodechko, "Those same non-Irish statesmen and politicians made the Irish immigrants feel that they had an exaggerated concern for Irish freedom, whereas their

only concern was for Irish votes” (p. 537). This fostered a lack of trust in mainstream American newspapers, which dramatically improved the position of the Irish American media.

The singular focus of Irish-American newspapers on Irish unity made the function of political advocacy less complicated than that of other ethnic newspapers. Planning the content for many ethnic newspapers can be difficult because they often serve a readership that possesses a wide range of political and cultural views. This is particularly pronounced with Asian ethnic publications which serve a less homogeneous culture than that of the Irish (Olzak, 1991, p. 458). *India Abroad*, which is one of thirty Indian ethnic newspapers in the United States, is an example of an ethnic newspaper that embarked on an aggressively activist role since the issue of offshoring American jobs to India created a climate of xenophobia in the United States. *India Abroad* followed the fourteen Indian delegates to the 2004 Republican national convention in New York to find out what they intended to do about legislation that would penalize companies that exported jobs. Their readers were equally interested in what they were going to do about the conflict with India’s neighbor Pakistan (Sangillo, 2004, p. 26). This example parallels the history of the *Irish Echo*. The *Echo* used its leverage within the American political community to push the agenda of Irish unification, but the backlash of offshoring jobs to Ireland didn’t create the same stir that it did with Indian offshoring. The function of advocacy that is performed by ethnic newspapers is highly dependent on the publisher’s ability to target the needs of readers and express them in a way that is culturally congruent with that of the underlying ethnic group.

The Italian immigrant press had a more difficult time mobilizing readers than the Irish press did because Italian immigrants had one of the highest illiteracy rates compared to other ethnic groups (Vecoli, p. 17). Most of the Italian immigrants were dependent on the *padrone* banker class and the *piccolo borghese* (lower middle class) who established newspapers to extend their influence (p. 20). According to Vecoli, there was also a significant battle for the consciousness of the literate Italians from a variety of hegemonic groups including the Catholic clergy, the colonial elite, and radicals of every variety: “The fragmentation of the press reflected the factions of politics, ideology and regionalism among Italian immigrants” (p. 19). Catholicism was not a central component of Italian American journalism because many Italians came to the United States with a strong sense of anticlericalism (p. 24). The internecine rivalries of the various radical factions who controlled Italian newspapers watered down their effectiveness within the community and drove away many readers (p. 27).

Political advocacy by ethnic newspapers segues into the function of fighting against discrimination. Discrimination against ethnic minorities in the United States has been not only a catalyst for forming newspapers, but it has also cemented the loyalty of their readership. Olzak and West wrote that institutional discrimination, which is discrimination directed at specific ethnic groups by the government, is a political action that generates such loyalty (1991, p. 459). At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a strong backlash against immigrants, and organizations like the Patriotic Order of Sons in America lobbied for laws like the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which limited the number of Chinese immigrants (Olzak & West, p. 461). Irish newspapers saw Chinese exclusion as an institutional trend that could threaten the Irish community as well (Olzak

& West, p. 461). Olzak and West said that ethnic newspapers take on the role of organizer for social movements when the underlying group suffers extensive discrimination: “Because they have broad connections to their constituent ethnic communities, such organizations take on some of the features of social movement organizations in addition to their conventional business characteristics” (p. 458).

The ‘exile image’ that helped shape the Irish American press is similar to the self image reflected in the Jewish press. Barbara Straus Reed described the development of Jewish journalism in the United States as being driven by such strong anti-Semitism that Jews viewed themselves as permanent outsiders (1995, p. 21). The first Jewish publications were established in the early 1800s as a response to Protestant evangelical efforts to convert Jews to Christianity (p. 21). *Jew and Israel’s Advocate*, which were established in the 1800s, made no attempts to provide standard newspaper journalism (p. 22). Their mission was to act as a watchdog for anti-Semitic trends. The content was written by Jewish theologians and scholars with the purpose of disproving Christian dogma. They basically “ignored news of the world as well as news within the Jewish community” (p. 23). Unlike Irish American newspapers that encouraged assimilation, the Jewish press emphasized the importance of ethnic diversity (p. 27). The only exception was that the *Occident* tried to discourage the practice of speaking German by many Jews of German origin, because it made Jews stand out (p. 41). The *Occident* expanded on this model and began to address issues like the establishment of blue laws which prohibited Jewish businesses from conducting business on Sundays (p. 35). This cause was similar to the Irish American press’ campaign against prohibition, because it shut down pubs that were integral to Irish social life (Wittke, p. 212). What makes the Jewish press different

from the Irish American press is that assimilation was a very conflicting spiritual issue. Jews wanted to be accepted but they always feared renewed waves of Christian missionary zeal. For the Irish American press, assimilation was viewed as beneficial and inevitable.

American anti-immigrant sentiments made assimilation a painful and uncertain process. Discrimination also fueled demand for guidance in the process and the Irish American press quickly filled that void. According to O'Hanlon, the *Echo* made a strong commitment to advocacy for immigrants beginning in the 1970s, when the number of immigrants was far greater than the number of visas being issued: "Immigration and immigrants were at the heart of the *Echo's* strategy. The paper was neither expected nor really required to be objective on the matter" (p. 161). The *Echo* added a weekly green card column giving advice on a wide range of immigration issues, accompanied by a steady supply of letters to the editor with requests for information on immigration related problems (O'Hanlon, p. 160).

The directional movement of immigrants in the United States can be viewed in two ways: a movement toward the "good life" in the United States or a movement away from an unsatisfying one in their native country. Mendelsohn framed the issue with the question of whether people are "running toward" what mass media defines as the American good life or "running away" from an unrewarding life elsewhere (1966, p. 51). Mendelsohn disagreed with the escapist "running away" theories and he cited several studies to disprove them. He saw the movement as "running toward" and he uses Gans' study of Italian immigrants in Boston's West End as an example. The study showed that rather than using mass media as an escape from a hard life, the Boston Italians were

genuinely interested in life outside of their enclave and they appreciated the portrayal of their aspiration by people outside of their interest aggregate (p. 52).

German immigrants remained more insular than the Irish did because of the language barrier. The Germans had an entrepreneurial bent which made them very dependent on the German-American press to assist them in interpreting the nuances of life (Knoche, p. 6). The German ethnic press was most widely read by newly arrived immigrants. According to Knoche, “The papers served as a bridge between the old and the new world; on the one hand they helped to preserve the cultural ties to the old country and at the same time endeavored to reveal to the immigrant, and to interpret for him, the political social pattern and way of life in America” (p. 18). What made the German press distinctive was that their content was very similar to the stories covered in the American press. The language barrier that the Germans experienced made their newspapers much more broadly focused, whereas Irish American newspapers focused on events in Ireland and Irish neighborhoods (p. 244). Irish immigrants who wanted more up-to-date news of events in the United States could easily shift to American newspapers because they were written in the same language.

Chinese immigrants had a much more complex language and cultural gap to breach in the United States. Chinese ethnic newspapers in America are highly fragmented due to a rich mix of languages and culture. Like the Italians and the Germans, Chinese immigrants were dependent on their ethnic newspapers because of the language barrier. However Chinese immigration patterns are very different from the Irish experience. Irish immigrants usually stay in the urban enclave for the first generation. The Chinese immigrate in large family groups that pool their resources and move to the suburbs

quickly in pursuit of business opportunities. This creates a huge demand for the advertising and informational services that a newspaper provides (Zhou and Cai, 2002, p. 425). There are currently hundreds of Chinese ethnic newspapers in the United States, and part of this is reflective of the fact that the Chinese disperse rapidly from the central urban Chinatowns and form smaller Chinese enclaves with their own newspapers (Zhou and Cai, p. 424). The suburbanized Chinese entrepreneurs also branch out of the ethnic enclave rapidly, starting businesses that serve the non-Chinese community

The demand for local news in the Irish communities resulted in successful newspapers that began to modernize and professionalize in the late nineteenth century. They improved their distribution networks and increased advertising (Miller, p. 17). Miller wrote that an ethnic newspaper required only a nucleus of a particular community, a basic level of literacy, and a local businessman who was willing to put in the necessary funds and energy to get it started (p. 15). Pamela Paul pointed out in *American Demographics* that many ethnic newspapers are operated as a second business for earlier arrivers who saw newspapers as a means to foster community spirit and ease the transition (2001, p. 27). The act was probably not pure compassion because new immigrants are a ready source of business for the ethnic business community who advertise in the ethnic papers. O'Hanlon wrote of the "Irish remittance" that made Western Union a regular advertiser in the Irish papers (1998, p. 25).

Riesman approached functional theory of the press from a more positive perspective, putting the role of newspapers in society on a par with parents and teachers on "the assembly line of character" (Riesman, 1964, p. 85). In his book *The Lonely Crowd*, Riesman analyzed the role of newspapers in restructuring the attitudes and values

of Polish peasants at the end of the nineteenth century. He described the press as a fulcrum where newspaper reading allowed peasants to move away from their primary group and leveraged new, albeit anonymous, associations that broadened their value system (p. 90). The Polish press expanded the social horizons of literate peasants and introduced “character building” measures like temperance and thrift. The newspaper functioned as a guide for readers’ inner dialogue, providing direction and tools which allowed them to expand their scope (p. 91). The character building function of the Polish press has direct correlation with how the ethnic media functions in the United States. Ford, editor of the *Irish World* at the beginning of the twentieth century, saw character building as a significant editorial mission (Rodechko, 1970, p. 525). His purpose was to educate Irish immigrants so that they could lift themselves out of poverty.

The Irish American newspapers not only lobbied for fair and just treatment by the government, but they acted as facilitators in helping immigrants find jobs and living quarters among their own kind. Ford was self-conscious about the fact that many Americans in his native city of Boston considered the Irish inferior, permanent outsiders who had nothing to contribute to American life except the strength of their backs (Rodechko, p. 525). Ford responded to discrimination against the Irish in the late nineteenth century by trying to dispel many of the stereotypes of the Irish. He used the pages of the *Irish World* to encourage education upon its readers by citing the economic advantages that they would reap if they furthered their education (Rodechko, 1970, p. 533). He created an advice column that addressed employment, in which “he specifically urged his readers to seek vocational training and informed them of better employment opportunities” (Rodechko, p. 525).

American patriotism was also seen in the Irish American press as a way for its readers to fit in better. Like the Ulstermen in Walker and Officer's study "Protestant Ulster: Ethno-history, memory and contemporary prospects", the allegiance of immigrants in America has always been questioned. Publishers like Thomas O'Connor, the founder of the *Hibernian Chronicle*, actively tried to transform the Irish into patriotic Americans to counteract this bias. According to Wittke, "He advised naturalization as rapidly as possible and urged subscribers to 'love and serve your country with the devotion of free men'" (p. 203). The masthead of the *Hibernian Chronicle* prominently displayed an eagle and a harp with the words, "Fostered under thy wing, we die in thy defense" (p. 204). But the concept of the great melting pot was something that meant very little to ethnic minorities subject to discrimination, according to Cross. He said that the supposed ease of assimilation was conditional: "Immigration was praiseworthy completely and exclusively insofar as the newer arrivals helped realize the ideals of the founding fathers" (1973, p. 5).

Highlighting success stories is common in the Irish American press and this theme is an extension of the guidance function. This function is also performed in Chinese American newspapers, but in a different way. Many Chinese businesses that do not actually serve the ethnic community still advertise in the Chinese media as a statement of their success: "The purpose is not to get new business but to make a statement about yourself" (Zhou and Cai, p. 436). Successful startups give Chinese businessmen special status within the Chinese communities. Irish success stories are immersed in the editorial content, and advertisements are more transactional than they are statements of individual achievement. The constant striving for achievement by

immigrants is often a survival technique that ensures rapid assimilation, but it can also erode the cohesiveness and cultural values of the underlying community.

It was stated in the previous section that one of the challenges of functional theory of the press is that functional apparatuses perform similar or complementary functions and have both manifest and latent effects. These functions and effects are integral in the function of ethnic media as well. To illustrate these effects, Wright referred to a study done in 1972 by Heli de Sagasti on the effects of the increase in adult literacy among migrant workers in Lima, Peru. The newly literate migrant workers became more interested in national affairs and were able to modestly improve their occupational opportunities (Wright, 2003). But literacy had an unanticipated societal impact. Literacy increased the desire of migrant workers to stay in the city and not return to their rural homelands, because they wanted their children to take advantage of the opportunities of urban society (p. 203).

Like the migrants in Peru, Irish immigrants transitioned from a largely rural country and settled within the cities of the United States. The Irish urban enclaves in New York became a part of what Harold Lasswell referred to as a quilt of sentiment areas and attention aggregates. An attention aggregate is a group with a common system of reference (Lasswell, 1948, p. 96). A sentiment area is a smaller subset of the attention aggregate with less permeable boundaries. New arrivals would occupy a sentiment area (p. 97). According to Lasswell's theory, the immigrant's attention to their surroundings changes from passive to active as they progress from a sentiment area, to the New York attention aggregate, and finally to the mainstream of American society. The community's movement across geographical boundaries is important. Migration away from the urban

ethnic enclave to the suburbs can be viewed as a major step in assimilation, but the societal grouping still exists, albeit dispersed. This research is focused on the *Irish Echo* because progressive uses and needs for information play a role in this attention modification process. The question is not simply what items of the newspaper they read to satisfy particular needs, but how this process of having needs met affects the Irish American community. The guidance function is often performed through entertainment.

Mendelsohn wrote that the entertainment function of media produces its greatest social consequences by allowing people of virtually all social classes to be able to emulate the practices, lifestyles, and recreational trends of the elite (p. 58). He defines this as pre-experience:

To the farm girl planning to live in the city, for example, the fashions worn by city women, their behavior on dates, their working and living environments – no matter how unrealistically they are portrayed – still represent some foretaste of what her future life may be. In effect, such pre-experience, even though it is vicarious, nevertheless serves to facilitate adjustment to the real thing (p. 63).

A significant amount of ethnic media content is “looking back,” but this activity is not necessarily escapist. The process of “looking back” through ethnic media is within the focus of this research.

In fact, the phenomenon of pre-experience happens within the entertainment operation. Technological advances in mass media have changed the means of transmission dramatically and these advances have also changed the entertainment operation described by Wright and others. The function of humor in the mass media has a number of different social consequences. Wit and satire are expressed within a social milieu that is very culturally dependent. Learning what is funny is part of the acculturation process for immigrants. Reading the comics in a newspaper provides the

cues necessary for those unfamiliar to identify what is funny and to have the opportunity to dissect the meaning with fellow immigrants. Mendelsohn wrote that humor, wit, and comedy serve three specific sociological functions:

First, humor, wit, and comedy implement the socialization process by pointing out to members of a society or group those behaviors that are considered to be peculiar and ridiculous. By making fun of institutions, places, and types of persons, humor, wit, and comedy reinforce social norms of propriety and indicate the price that has to be paid for deviance from those norms (p. 80).

In this description, humor's purpose is to maintain the status quo. Humor is also intended to serve the opposite function. Humor is designed to upset the status quo and to target the sacred institutions of society. In this function, it is a weapon used by the "have nots" directed at the "haves." An example would be a cartoon about an uneducated immigrant who is actually smarter or more cultured than the overbearing American boss (Mendelsohn, p. 81).

The function and effect of media within an ethnic enclave aren't always positive. There are negative effects derived from media function. Riesman described the "whip of the word," or the influence that media have on an immigrant's desire for a higher standard of living. The new arrival has a baseline understanding of what a traditional standard of living is, but he might not have a realistic understanding of what and how long it takes to achieve a change in their standard of living (Riesman, p. 91). The image of success can drive someone to work harder and longer and expect more even if it is not within his grasp: "Doubtless the printing press alone cannot completely assure any particular form of social coercion," said Riesman, "but print can powerfully rationalize the models which tell people what they ought to be like" (p. 91).

Mendelsohn pointed out that the entertainment function of mass media has some powerful critics: “To sociologist critics such as Merton, Lazarsfeld, Rosenberg, Riesman, and Klapp the anticipatory socialization function of mass entertainment is fundamentally dysfunctional” (p. 65). Klapp called it “hollow hypocrisy” and the transmission of the social values function emphasizes the boasts of materialism, a deliberate byproduct of a commercially driven mass media. The “good life” that it is selling is often contrary to the basic values that immigrants bring with them (Mendelsohn, p. 67). The values and culture of ethnic groups are essential to group identity. Preservation of these values is accomplished through the process of social memory.

Ethnic Cultural Identity and Social Memory:

People don't refer to themselves as ethnics. They reference themselves by national or cultural origin. For the purposes of this dissertation, an ethnic group will be defined as a group of people who identify with each other because of common national origin and who are united by common adherence to behavioral, cultural, linguistic, and religious practices. Much of the early research on ethnic groups identified geographic and social isolation as the two essential critical factors for social groupings to sustain a cultural identity (Barth, p. 9). The ethnic experience in the United States defies these conditions. Barth wrote that ethnic groups persist despite contact and interaction with social groups outside the ethnic boundary (p. 10). Since ethnic groups are a form of social organization, the ethnic group isn't self ascribed or ascribed by others until social interaction occurs at or outside of the group boundary. According to Barth, “Socially relevant factors alone become diagnostic for membership, not the overt, ‘objective’ differences which are generated by other factors” (Barth, p. 14).

Ethnic communities develop institutions ranging from schools to churches and newspapers, which act as mediators for the ethnic community with the larger society (Dabrowski, p. 49). Institutions provide the rigor of ethnic experience through social memory which operates in the process of mediation, ethnic definition, creation of shared historical experience, and formation of nationalist and political agendas. Memory formation is a process of social exchange that allows the specific memories of individuals to become group memories. Memory is integral to history but historical memory has limitations that must be recognized. Precision is difficult to achieve in historical research because archival and oral discovery are created and transmitted through the human instrument. Historical findings derived from memory can only be vetted for accuracy when these revelations are viewed in the context of other historical exposures.

An example of a study on ethnic group memory formation is Officer and Walker's essay, "Protestant Ulster: Ethno-history, memory and contemporary prospects." The article focuses on the formation of Ulster Protestant memory, which they describe as a process of "fashioned memory" to counteract the politics of Irish Home Rule policies. Ulster Protestants felt that their loyalty to the Union was not powerful enough against the groundswell of the heavily mediated political movement of Irish Nationalism: "Ulster Unionism emerged as a political ideology intimately related to the strenuous efforts made by many to find and unify a complex 'ethnie' in the face of its potential fragmentation and possible extinction" (p. 294). War is a strong adhesive for strengthening ethnic identity building, and the Ulster movement, according to Officer and Walker, crafted a glorious chronology of the Ulster 36th Division's destruction of a powerful German defensive system during World War I, as a decisive example of the burning loyalty of the

Ulstermen (p. 300). What makes this preconstruction most interesting to the authors is that the social memory process was accelerated and placed within the ethnic psyche instantly. The publication of the exploits of the battle in British and Northern Irish newspapers demonstrated a start point of ethnic identity that was always considered a hybrid. There are clear parallels found in Irish American folklore describing the exploits and valor of New York's "Fighting 69th" Infantry Regiment during World War I. The 69th was made up almost entirely of Irish American immigrants from New York City. The 69th's glory is recreated annually in New York's Saint Patrick's Day parade.

The glorious history of ethnic groups is also reinforced by the social memory of suffering. Bieber described how the "recall" of stories of Serb suffering revived the glory of the 1389 battle of Kosovo as a mythic rallying point in the Yugoslavian civil war six hundred years later. The Kosovo myth, as Bieber called it, is a "complex construct comprising ideas, images, interpretations and purposes centered on a single event" (2002, p. 96). The battle, which is viewed as the beginning of almost five hundred years of Serbian suffering under Ottoman rule, contextualized and justified the developments in modern day Serbia (p. 97). Irish American history is steeped in the historical memory of "Black 47," which was the height of the death toll from the Irish potato famine in 1847. This social memory of repression remained intact for migrants who passed it on to future generations.

The process of social memory can also occur within geographically limited sub communities. Beiner wrote an essay which studied the roots of historical accounts of the united Irish rebellion of 1798, when a group of men in County Mayo, in Western Ireland, joined a French expeditionary force that landed to support the insurrection against the

British. The British defeated the French assisted rebels, but the memory of the brave Irish fighters had been reinvented by the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1930s (Beiner, p. 201). The event which became known as “the year of the French” in Western Irish communities became central to the region’s historical identity (Beiner, p. 202). The additions that were made by the Irish Folklore Commission revealed several important characteristics about historical memory: Folk history does not reflect a homogenous cultural history and “each folk group records events and personalities of the past through its own particular lens” (p. 217). This study also found that the construction of history diffused through generational memory is not static. In “the year of the French,” the composite history “is the product of continuous struggles over the construction and reshaping of local social memory” (Beiner, p. 217). Beiner’s study exemplifies the limitations and lack of precision put on history by the memory process. Beiner’s essay also points out that historical events and memories of them are sharpened, strengthened, and augmented when they are commemorated.

The social setting and conditions of ethnic groups also have a powerful effect in shaping memory. The basic demographic unit of the family is a focal point for this process. Having parents and grandparents who pass on memories first-hand will increase the likelihood of the survival of memory. The process is then diffused to “larger organizational actors” who expand the social boundaries, heightening the impact of events and giving memories durability and sustainability (Swidler & Ardit, p. 319). Durability is an essential part of social memory in ethnic communities. Durability allows memory to extend its spatial boundaries and helps maintain cohesiveness as ethnic groups break out of their insularity in the assimilation process. Honoring or preserving the

memories of others helps clarify the cultural milestones that provide definition and shape to ethnic identity.

Swidler and Arditi wrote that commemoration provides “a stable image upon which new elements are superimposed” (p. 309). The process of commemoration has strong parallels with the way art and literature is used to preserve cultural heritage. Lasting art and literature is often the product of subsequent scholars’ ability to keep cultural objects alive through revivals and other forms of cultural promotion. Lalioti’s essay “Social memory and ancient Greek theatres” described how ancient Greek drama has preserved the uniqueness of current Greek identity. The author maintained that representative reconstruction of the Greek stage and performance of ancient Greek drama have made a powerful connection between ancient and modern Greeks (2002, p. 156).

Media are pivotal in commemoration. Kitch identifies the practice as “summary journalism” in her essay on the production of special anniversary issues by *Time* magazine. She identifies anniversary issues as mnemonic constructions that are not strictly history, but rather “recycled material presented anew, old content that acquires new meaning and added resonance with each repetition. Indeed, it is the familiarity of certain media narratives and images that helps them seem as if they are the property of ‘everyone’” (p. 96). Journalism is not strictly history per se, but magazines and other popular media are “a primary source of what people know about history” (Kitch, p. 95). Many of the commemorative issues that are created by magazines, despite having commercial intent, create a product that is inclusive and connects living people to a past that they ordinarily would not see as part of their past (p. 100). The medium in many ways is the message in these products, because they are able to present historical

memories with a sense of the familiar, and “personalization is an inclusive gesture that brings the reader into history” (Kitch, p. 100). Magazines have a greater sense of permanence than newspapers, but the *Irish Echo* created a similar nostalgia product in the 1990s as an attempt to rekindle Irish community. Nostalgia is an important component of this case study because the newspaper has and wants to increase its second and third generation Irish American readership. People buying ethnic newspapers for nostalgia have become a recognized potential for readership. The *Echo* regularly runs features that appeal to this participation in the memory of the ethnic community.

Ito described the memory formation process as becoming increasingly dominated by modern media, especially television. Ito wrote that the most sensitive ethnic and racial memories are not formed in public debate; rather, “it is a process of the hegemonic purveying of a particular version of memory and history, ultimately founded upon institutionalized power and vested interests” (2002, p. 21). Ito said that this process is embedded in the hierarchical fabric of Japanese society and reinforced through mass media (p. 25). He described the collective social and cultural memory process as binding individual memories into a powerful concept of “we Japanese” (p. 27). Mass media act as an amalgamator that can not only reignite social memories but implant them in the young who have had little social exposure to certain events of history. Research he conducted on a television series that documented the historical contribution of Japanese scientists to modern technology produced comments from some of the children in his study that validated his theories: “It made me aware of myself as Japanese,” and “It really encouraged me to see that Japanese are capable of great things” (p. 28). Ito’s study was conducted when Japan was in the depth of a ten-year economic depression.

Commemoration is not simply a respite of nostalgia for ethnic groups stuck in a one way process of assimilation. Most studies conducted about ethnic enclaves and the functions of their various parts address the topics of immigration and assimilation in depth. Much of the literature concludes that there were valid reasons to assimilate rapidly, like avoiding discrimination and finding greater economic opportunities. There are also numerous studies that emphasize that there is an undercurrent of resistance to the melting pot which contradicts the straight line theory of assimilation.

Straight line theory is a macro sociological theory which defines the process of acculturation as being the result of structural forces within society. Thompson wrote that straight line assimilation is not the norm; instead, “Developments may require a revision of the classical sociological picture of assimilation as a zero sum model of acculturation, in which the acculturation of immigrants and their children involves the gradual replacement of their ethnic culture by that of the culture of the host nation” (Thompson, 2002, p. 409). Thompson found that newspapers, and more recently, the Internet, have allowed diasporic communities to maintain native country customs and exist in a virtual community in the United States (p. 410). New technology does not necessarily have the homogenizing impact that many had expected, and “media such as the Internet are being mobilized by the diasporic communities to rediscover their fundamental affiliations and allegiances” (p. 412).

Gans also refuted the straight line approach theory. He felt that straight line theory largely ignores the possibility of “agency” or personal choice (p. 76). In his essay “Ethnic invention and acculturation, a bumpy line approach,” Gans pointed out that ethnic customs are not lost simply because people shed their ethnic group affiliation. Customs

are sustained through symbols like ethnic foods, festivals, ancestral collectibles, and trips to the “Old Country” (Gans, 1992, p. 43). Gans also wrote that the immigrant dream of returning to the Old Country recedes as ethnics develop a taste for popular American culture: “Even illegal Irish immigrants coming briefly as sojourners soon develop a taste for American popular culture, including its appliances, and then discover that when they visit or return to Ireland, it no longer looks quite as attractive as they remembered it” (p. 46). Mass media create a tipping point between acculturation into a consumption driven society and a community bounded by ethnic memory.

Social memory formation can also be pervasive enough to foster identification from people who are only peripherally connected to the ethnic group. A study done by Hout and Goldstein on Irish immigration found that census studies done in the 1980s showing an increase in the number of people claiming to be Irish cannot be substantiated by immigration records, birth rates, and other factors. They conducted a quantitative analysis accompanied by surveys and found that the increase reflected several possible trends. One is that ethnicity has been a fairly subjective identification, and many respondents felt that they were Irish if they had a distant ancestor from Ireland, while others considered themselves Irish by marriage (p. 64). Although Hout and Goldstein did not offer an explanation for their findings, it is clear that the generational process allows people to exercise a great deal of latitude and choice in defining their ethnic identity. Renewed ethnic self identity is an important part of this study because the *Echo* has made attracting second and third generation Americans an important part of their strategic plan.

The Irish Experience:

The Irish self image is a complex blend of rebellion and conformity that is a byproduct of the conflicting memories of repression and national pride. British repressive rule of Ireland “inoculated” generations of Irish with loyalty to “Mother Ireland” long after they immigrated. Swacker and Jenkins described it as a “dual citizenship of the soul” (p. 171). The impoverished condition most Irish exiles encountered in the United States in the 1800s forced new arrivals to deal with the harsh economic realities of life in America in what was ultimately a one way journey, according to Shannon in *The*

American Irish:

Irish life in America begins from a sharp and tragic rejection. To “come out” to the new country meant thrusting behind the old, usually forever, unless in a few instances success brought enough money to financially afford the return visit to Ireland never made the trip. It would be a journey back in more than one sense, a journey back into the house of their father, into the womb of old memories and long forgotten sadness. To return would be to reconsider the crucial decision that it was no use to reconsider. The pleasure of nostalgia would not be worth the pain (p. 25).

Many Irish during this period refused to pass on the customs and cultural symbols of their Irish heritage because they wanted to spare their children the ridicule. Despite their desire to forget, the seeds of memory were implanted in their children, creating an interest in all things Irish for many second generation Irish. Interest in Irish heritage is an important area of inquiry for this study. The irony of the “exile image,” according to Miller in his book *Emigrants and Exiles*, was that the Irish left a bleak future back in Ireland (Miller, p. 106).

Going from the isolated villages of Ireland to the cities of the United States wasn’t an easy transition for the Irish. The stereotype of the ignorant Paddy who never seemed to fit in persisted in the United States up until the Second World War. Miller cites the diary

entry of George Templeton Strong, an Anglo American New Yorker, who described the Irish as “almost as remote from us in temperament and constitution as the Chinese” (p. 107). Miller said that even economic prosperity did little to assimilate the Irish immigrants who came before 1921. Recurrent prejudice kept the exile mindset alive (p. 495). In Hayden’s book *Irish on the Inside*, he described a general mistrust that was pervasive among the Irish: “Not even the neighbors could be trusted, for they would take advantage if they could. Safety lay in assimilation, blending in, preserving appearances of success and respectability” (p. 54).

Prejudice against the Irish in the nineteenth century was fueled by nativist movements that viewed all immigrants as inferior. The Irish had the added burden of being Catholic which brought with it the fear that their loyalty was to Rome first, making them poor candidates for citizenship. One of the stereotypes of the Irish is that they have all been Catholics. A distinction needs to be made between the Irish Catholic and the Scotch-Irish immigrant. The Scotch-Irish, according to Watts in *The Irish Americans*, descended from Scots who were removed from Scotland and sent by the English to Ulster to establish Protestantism (p. 35). Suffering discrimination from Irish Catholics who predominated in Northern Ireland, many immigrated to the United States in the eighteenth century, contracting themselves out as indentured servants (p. 36). Upon release, most dispersed throughout the Appalachian Mountains and the South. The Scotch-Irish assimilated rapidly and many had strong antipathy toward the Irish Catholics who began arriving in droves a century later at the height of the Irish potato famine. The rift between American Protestants and Irish Catholics was further antagonized by the increasing Irish Catholic political activism within the Democratic Party. Miller described

the increase in Irish activism in the Democratic Party as resulting in “mass defections of Yankee Democrats (who switched party allegiance rather than associate with the sons of former servants)” (p. 499).

The Catholic roots of the Irish made them the object of hatred both in their native Ireland and in the new world of the United States. The Catholic Church remained a central institution that shaped the Irish experience and in many ways transformed America. The Irish settled in urban centers like New York because they were fearful of striking out to places barren of churches, according to Watts (p. 43). The traditional European ideal of the monastic priest devoted to the spiritual side of his calling didn't fit into these Irish ghetto churches. The priests of the new world were activist and “could stand up to a bully and also invoke the lessons of Christian brotherhood” (Watts, p. 56). Irish priests became masters of the parochial schools, which took a pragmatic approach to education as well. The Catholic education that formed the Irish immigrant children emphasized acquiring the skills for a good job for boys and becoming good wives and mothers for the girls. This was also mixed with a “healthy dose of patriotism” (Watts, p. 57). The purpose was to elevate the Irish children from the ignorance of the bog, allowing them to rise above the slurs placed on their parents.

Glazer and United States Senator Moynihan's book on immigration, entitled *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City*, focuses on the political empowerment of the immigrant classes in the city through politics, which the Irish were very involved in as far back as the 1850s. By the 1890s, the Irish made up one third of the population of New York City. At the time, eighty percent of the city's population was of foreign parentage (1970, 219). Irish

machine politics was a force to be reckoned with in the city, and its style of influence building was directly descended from rural Irish customs, according to Glazer and Moynihan:

The Irish village was a place of stable, predictable, social relations in which almost everyone had a role to play, under the surveillance of a stern oligarchy of elders in which, on the whole a person's position was likely to improve with time. Transferred to Manhattan these were the essentials of Tammany Hall (p. 226).

Glazer and Moynihan described the way the Irish ran the Democratic Party as “creative not imitative” (p. 223). The authors described the Irish temperament as being an advantage in helping them assimilate and a reason why many second and third generation Irish Americans still refer to themselves as Irish:

The more amiable qualities of the stage Irishman have persisted in tradition. The Irish are commonly thought to be a friendly, witty, generous people, physically courageous and fond of drink. There is a distinct tendency among many to try to live up to this image (p. 250).

The authors describe the Irish immigrant and his way of conducting business with a quotation that purportedly was made by United States Congressman Timothy Campbell, an Irish immigrant, in a meeting with President Grover Cleveland. When the President refused a request by Campbell on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, Campbell replied, “Ah, Mr. President, what is the constitution between friends?” (p. 224).

However, Irish involvement in politics was more of an act of survival than pure natural affinity to political life. Hayden describes the process as an endeavor achieved through:

Strength of numbers, organizational skill, and a powerful survival instinct, the Irish Americans succeeded economically in lifting themselves from unskilled laborers to skilled workers and, in my parents' time, into the professions. They did so through the Church, the trade unions, and the

political machines, making themselves a force that had to be accommodated (p. 84).

Despite an Irish American making it to the White House with the election of John F. Kennedy, discrimination against Irish immigrants persisted. In *The New Irish Americans*, a book that covers more current Irish immigration, O'Hanlon, the author and senior editor of the *Irish Echo*, said that the crackdown on illegal Irish immigration from Ireland beginning in the 1970s was viewed as a "slap in the face" to a country and people who believed that they made a heavy contribution to the American economy (p. 38). By the end of the twentieth century, millions of Irish had assimilated and were accepted as equals, but as more illegals came into the country in the 1980s, the expression "no Irish need apply" was heard again. The editors of the glossy magazine *Irish America* quickly came to the side of their illegal countrymen with a scathing attack on the government and its policies of hunting down illegal Irish workers (O'Hanlon, p. 23). The cause was strenuously argued in the pages of the *Irish Voice* and the *Echo*. *Irish America* was a magazine of affluent readers who had reached a position of significant power in American politics. The issue was brought to the attention of then President Ronald Reagan, who made a trip to his ancestral homeland in Ballyporeen in County Tipperary. O'Hanlon noted an editorial in the *Echo* that said, "Some of the local kids were not around to wave at him. They were back in the states giving his government agents the slip" (p. 22). O'Hanlon also said that the crackdown on immigration was the result of the well intentioned 1965 Immigration Act, but the Irish press saw it as a trick "to keep the Irish at home" (p. 57).

But the slurs that the Irish were subjected to became good fodder for fiction. Much of the history of immigrants in New York has been exploited for seedy tabloid

stories about crime waves, gangs, sweatshops, and glaring stereotypes. Reckner, an archeologist who worked on an archeological dig of the former Five Points Irish ghetto on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, wrote an article entitled “Remembering Gotham: Urban legends, public history, and representations of poverty, crime and race in New York City.” The study of Five Points led to numerous stories written in *The New York Times*, *The Village Voice*, and the *Daily News*, almost all of which emphasized the lowest common denominator of immigrant life and Irish immigrants in particular. Herbert Asbury wrote *Gangs of New York* about the Five Points and it was made into a movie starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Daniel Day Lewis. Appropriately, it was directed by Martin Scorsese, who had made previous New York gangland films like *Mean Streets*, *Good Fellas*, *Taxi Driver*, and *Once Upon a Time in America*. Exploitation of immigrant stories did not begin with the Five Points study, but Reckner was frustrated by the fact that the press ignored most of the findings which shed a significantly more positive light on the neighborhood:

The artifacts that emerged from Block 160 included massive amounts of decorated ceramic tea wares and tablewares, glassware, etc. Faced with a preponderance of evidence of material wealth far in excess of expectations, one confounded archeologist bluntly suggested that the material must have been stolen by thieves and carried back to the dens in Five Points (Reckner, p. 103).

The power of the mediated memory was so pervasive, and a scientist found its influence so overpowering, that even discovery was categorized on the basis of tabloid media memory.

In addition to the Five Points study, there are a number of studies that use oral history to provide explanation and richness to undocumented stories of immigrant groups. Louise Ryan wrote about an oral history project she conducted of Irish women who

migrated to England in the 1930s. The experience has strong parallels with the Irish who immigrated to New York. In this essay, she adds the dimension of space and place as having a strong influence on how memories are framed for immigrants. Movement across geographic space is an underlying part of migrant peoples' histories. The assumption is that the immigrants' context of space and place are broader than those of static populations. Ryan found that the memories of these immigrant Irish women were an enclosed and bounded site of cultural experience. The geographic space of the immigrant communities in London was based on their social circles, which in turn gave special meaning to their "overlapping spaces and places" (Ryan, p. 68). When Ryan interviewed these women, they were mostly living back in Ireland and were in their seventies and eighties and generally at an immobile point in their lives. Ryan makes a connection between their immobility and the nostalgia that they associated with their former life in the immigrant neighborhoods of London. Memory provided a pleasant respite of nostalgia: "Their memories of youth are framed by the movement which signified their independence, activity and freedom" (p. 70). This study, where immigrants have fond memories of their experience in the Irish enclaves of London, has a strong connection to the Irish experience in New York because many immigrants have returned to Ireland because of its robust economy. The nostalgia that they felt for Ireland is also felt by many for their experience in New York. The *Irish Echo* now publishes in Ireland to provide news of the Irish enclaves in New York. This trend shows that there is nostalgia for the community rather than simply news of the United States. This is part of the changing history of the Irish immigrant experience and it is addressed in this study.

This nostalgia for youth is also reflected in Maureen Waters' book *Crossing Highbridge*, which is a memoir of growing up during the 1950s and 1960s in the formerly Irish American neighborhood of Highbridge in the Bronx. The central symbol in the book is what is referred to as "the Highbridge," a now closed pedestrian bridge that crosses the East River from the Bronx to the Washington Heights section of Manhattan. Waters uses the Highbridge as a mnemonic device to represent the mobility and opportunity that filled her childhood in the Bronx. As she shifts between nostalgia and the present decay of her former neighborhood, there is an attempt to recapture the sense of mobility that the Highbridge represented and the lost space that can only be maintained by revisiting her past through memory.

Liam Kennedy's article, "Memory and hearsay: Ethnic history and identity in *Billy Phelan's Greatest Game* and *Ironweed*," explores how memory is used in fiction based on the Irish American experience. The novels capture what Kennedy described as "an ideology of Irish-Americanness that naturalizes specific values and traditions as organically and timelessly distinct to the ethnic group" (p. 74). The two books create an interesting combination of memory construction for the reader, especially if they are Irish American and trying to understand the community's past. The reader is reading a book in the present day, which is written about characters living in the 1950s who are reconstructing their past as it happened in the 1930s. The reader is trying to make sense of social memories through a protagonist who is trying to interpret his past: "One of the important functions of memory in *Billy* and *Ironweed* is to express an ethnic anxiety about the past and frame the protagonists' struggles to clearly define and locate their identities" (Kennedy, p. 77). Francis Phelan, the protagonist of *Ironweed*, is indulging in

an almost therapeutic exercise to make sense of his present. This process of finding meaning in the past while living in the present is the process of the interviews that will be conducted in this case study of the *Irish Echo*. *Ironweed* and *Billy* create a sense of intimacy through reminiscences (Kennedy, p. 80). These novels feature down on their-luck old hustlers and former politicians because they question many of the central tenets of the Irish American identity – assimilation and upward mobility through their rejection of them (Kennedy, p. 81). The objective of Phelan’s “therapy” in *Ironweed* is to remember so that he can then forget. Reminiscing and remembering are integral to the identity formation of Irish Americans. The process is ongoing and Phelan realizes that it will not stop. This case study of the *Irish Echo* is a construction of the ongoing reflective process. The newspaper is viewed as a point of convergence where ethnic identity and social memory are incubated and reinforced.

Conclusions and Discussion:

The success of ethnic newspapers largely has to do with the sharp edge of advocacy journalism that they practice. This keeps them closer to the community they serve, allowing the ethnic press to maintain localism and fight for the causes of its readership. The Irish American newspapers under the stewardship of editors like Patrick Ford, the editor and publisher of the *Irish World*, made issues like immigration, conflict, and discrimination the focus and thrust of their publications. The conflict in Northern Ireland defined Irish American journalism and largely kept the collective memory of British oppression alive within the Irish American community. The vibrancy of the Irish ethnic press was also born from a general distrust of American newspapers, which most

immigrants saw as having a pro British bias. Content written about Northern Ireland in the Irish press was a powerful mobilizing force for the cause of Irish reunification.

It is evident from this literature review that political advocacy is not limited to Irish ethnic newspapers. A question that needs to be researched further is whether the function of hard edge advocacy journalism in ethnic newspapers will be able to survive a downturn in immigration. The entry of Ireland into the European Economic Community (EEC) has resulted in a huge level of sustained economic growth. The “Celtic Tiger,” as it is being called in the mainstream media, is experiencing reverse migration. Jobs and wages have grown to the point where Ireland is becoming a net importer of labor from Eastern Europe and Africa. Some of the effects of this trend are addressed in this case study.

Ethnic newspapers also foster a sense of community and ease the transition for new arrivals. Pre-experience and character building are a common thread in this function, which often segues into encouraging rapid assimilation. The highlighting of success stories, which is seen in most ethnic newspapers, is a byproduct of this function. Assimilation is not a straight line process. There are clearly benefits to rapid assimilation, but the vibrancy of the ethnic press and ethnic communities suggests that there is a resistance to the melting pot through what Gans highlighted as personal choice and agency. The ethnic press plays a role in creating dialogue on these issues.

In the absence of immigration, the *Irish Echo* will become almost completely dependent on second and third generation Irish Americans. This study addresses the function of the *Echo* for this group. For some, it functions as a mnemonic device allowing them to hold on to their Irish cultural identity. The maintenance of Irish cultural

heritage becomes more dependent on the process of historical memory as the number of people who lived the cultural history dwindles. The literature shows that there are limitations of precision and advantages of richness derived from historical memory. Commemorative issues are one way of reinvigorating cultural identity; highlighting the “great past” is another.

Ethnic newspapers are usually born within the geographic boundaries of tight, urban communities. The spatial relationships developed in this setting are disappearing as Irish Americans migrate to the suburbs. How time, space, and economic stratification affect cultural identity formation is addressed in the research. The *Irish Echo* is not simply the focus of research but the lens through which the New York Irish American identity is examined.

The Research Questions:

This dissertation utilized case study methodology using oral history interviewing and archival research. The multiple methods approach of the case study takes advantage of converging lines of inquiry, which establishes a well grounded qualitative approach. Archival research is used to establish the punctuality of experience, and oral history provides the richness of human experience.

The case study methodology lends itself to questions of how and why. Yin advocates case studies for these types of inquiries because “such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence” (p. 18). The “who” of the study is the Irish ethnic community. The “where” is the greater New York City area. The “what” is the weekly circulation *Irish Echo* newspaper. The research questions are:

- How does the function of the *Irish Echo* contribute to fostering Irish American identity? How has this function changed over time?
- How does the *Irish Echo* contribute to the culture of the New York Irish community? How has the sense of place changed for the Irish in New York?

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

The *Irish Echo* has several characteristics that make it a ripe area of focus for communication research. The newspaper is still operating, publishing weekly since 1928 without interruption. The underlying community of Irish immigrants and subsequent generations still exists, despite having dispersed out of the urban neighborhoods of New York City. And the survival of the newspaper demonstrates that a demand for ethnic newspaper content still exists despite the readership's expanded boundaries and wide range of functional alternatives. The Irish American community also lends itself to this type of research. Ethnic groups like the Indians and Chinese have many diverse sub groupings, which would make them a difficult study to draw general conclusions from. The Irish American community is fairly homogenous in comparison and they speak English. They have also undergone enormous class stratification and immersed themselves within the American mainstream. The current wave of "new Irish immigrants" has mostly bypassed the ethnic enclaves, mainstreaming immediately because of higher education levels than previous generations. The *Echo*'s circulation has not experienced a major decline as a result of these demographic changes.

The study of ethnic enclaves and their distinctive character has been a growing area of scholarship in recent years. Ethnic communities are built from a need to emigrate to unite families, flee ethnic or religious discrimination, or simply to pursue economic opportunity. In this study, the *Echo* acts as a lens into the underlying people which it serves, and oral history interviewing reveals insights into the newspaper's functional utility.

Case Study:

The case study design allows the researcher to address a broad range of attitudinal, historic, and epistemological issues, constructing a system of converging lines of inquiry that are useful for establishing veins of future research. In teaching, the case study establishes a framework for discussion and debate. Case studies use concrete situations that are based in fact and help students make the critical decisions about substance and content that will be typical in the practice of their profession. The use of case studies in education, however, is not predictive and can not determine the right answer.

The case study has traditionally been used as an exploratory tool to provide focus and direction to empirical researchers (Yin, p. 17). The logic of this method helps researchers address open ended questions about contemporary phenomena existing in a real life context. Yin describes case studies as a pluralistic strategy to research because it can incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methods. Its purpose can be exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory simultaneously (Yin, p. 15). The aim of this research project is to understand social and cultural processes within an organization that is integral to the sociological sub group. Proximity is essential because it concerns ordinary human behavior. This project incorporates oral history and documentary research, creating what Barzun and Graff describe as “the recollection of the past in the minds of the whole people” (p. 49).

Research utilizing case studies within a historical context is well suited for communication studies because communication researchers grapple with intractable subject matter that is composed of many interlocking variables (Shafer. p. 4). Research

into the history of ethnic minorities, the poor and disappearing indigenous cultures, has helped create understanding of cultural conditions, beliefs, frustrations, and motives. This allows scholars to provide leaders and other researchers a vehicle from which to develop a sense of empathy and an understanding of human society that can guide decision-making for future generations.

Historical case studies are done within the context of the group environment because they are attempting to connect contemporary behavior and events with the past. They combine oral and archival history through the memories of the living and the documents and artifacts left behind. Neither method is relied on exclusively because that would deny the scholarship of case study the reciprocal value of the multiple methods approach. Thompson, in exemplifying the need for multiple methods, wrote, “You can not interview grave stones” (p. 24). This method links current cultural phenomena with the past, allowing researchers to study changes over time.

The case study enables researchers to synthesize these elements and focus on both the common ground of group experience while providing for the human reality that not all people think alike. Yin describes three dominant modes of analysis in case study research: pattern matching, explanation building, and time series analysis (p. 105). Pattern matching is a technique that attempts to find a relevant structure to qualitative findings that is simple and flexible enough so that broad cultural nuances can be considered. In explanation building, the researcher does not start out with a theory that he is trying to prove or disprove. Its purpose is to add to the conversation of specific qualitative research. Time series analysis in this case study will simply be a way to attempt to recognize that the temporal sequence of events has the potential to add

richness to the study. These tools tend to be utilized more in quantitative studies, but elements and modifications of these techniques can also be utilized in qualitative case study research. This study uses single case study design because it concentrates on one newspaper and one ethnic subgroup with a common geographic location. Pattern matching and time series analysis from a single case can create common ground with multiple case examinations that focus on different ethnic subgroups in different locations. For example, a study involving Indian, Italian, and Irish newspapers in New York would find pattern matching useful to establish common experiences of ethnic newspapers in New York. Time series analysis could also punctuate phenomena from each group and build explanations as to the temporal commonalities and differences. The primary methods used in this case study are oral history and archival research.

Oral History:

Oral history allows for the thick description and richness that captures the essence and significance of history. The *Irish Echo* is a reflection of the diversity of newspaper media in the United States. The product of news can be studied using other means, but oral history strikes closer to the motives, experience, process, and ultimately the meaning of how and why the *Echo* acts as a cultural institution within the New York Irish community.

Thad Sitton described oral history as “the history of the common person, rich with personal triumph and tragedy – undocumented but not inarticulate” (p. 4). History has been traditionally written downward, making it almost exclusively institutional, nationalistic, and elitist. It is important to understand what oral history is not. It is not journalistic interviewing, which has the specific purpose of finding and reporting what is

deemed as newsworthy. Journalism tends to mirror the institutions of society, especially the government. The inverted pyramid style of newspaper writing permits the editor to “cut from the bottom” of a story, emphasizing the unusual and salient features of a story. The news story is frequently framed prior to the interview because it is event driven. If the news lead is unfounded, rendering the story a non-event, it will be killed. Slim and Thompson wrote that the nature of the interview is the key difference between journalism and oral history (p. 116). In interviewing for a news story, there is pressure for fast answers, and the source is expected to be concise and summarize (Slim & Thompson, p. 116). Oral history interviews are open ended, allowing the interviewee to choose between alternatives of what to talk about. One of the most important distinctions is that the notes and transcripts of a news story are the property of the reporter and are usually not made available to the public. Oral history transcripts are made available in some form to subsequent scholars. The transcripts of this study will be made available at the research library of the American Irish Historical Society. The transcript is not the end but the means for further study. Unlike quantitative research, which requires a process of falsification by other scholars to authenticate its validity, qualitative research is a continuous conversation. The purpose is not to question the veracity of previous studies, but to use it to provide further insights, clarification, and explanations. This process means that qualitative researchers can pick up at any point within an available study and they are not compelled to attempt to recreate the conditions of the underlying study. The ultimate goal of journalism, as Studs Terkel described, is to sell, whereas the purpose of oral history is discovery (Frisch, p. 30).

Oral history is history written upward. It provides a human context to traditional historical method. The chronological references for traditional history are paced by wars, reigns, political terms of office, and economic cycles (Lummis, p. 278). Lummis describes the oral history of ordinary people as being punctuated “on the basis of personal and familial events, births and deaths, leaving school, changing occupations, moving house and so on” (1983, p. 279). A reasonable interpretation as to why a family relocated to another neighborhood is frequently assumed to be a change in occupation. The detail that oral history provides can often dispel this rationalization. The better job is fundamental to the move and change in financial status, but the cause might have been something simpler like moving away from pesky neighbors or in-laws.

This human context that oral history operates within also gives voice to those who have been omitted from history. The context of the lives and experiences of blacks, women, Native Americans, immigrants, and the poor has been largely overlooked or deleted from the history books. Haley’s *Roots* and Terkel’s *Oral History of the Great Depression* are examples of rich veins of the American experience that would have been lost without deliberate oral history research. In the 1890s, the United States Bureau of Ethnography recorded songs of Native American tribes that were rapidly disappearing with the westward expansion (Ritchie, p. 3). Oral history also can dispel many of the assumptions about the life of people living on the margins. Terkel’s study of the depression did not simply chronicle the misery of millions of out of work Americans during economic hard times. He showed the remarkable sense of hope and solidarity that permeated the ranks of the unemployed and rural poor (Frisch, p. 30). The human context that Terkel fleshed out was largely absent from the history books. Prior to Terkel, many

oral historians made the mistake of beginning with assumptions and generalizations derived from archival history. These assumptions can distort the record.

The lack of human context in history has led to many stereotyped and caricatured accounts and inaccuracies. Thucydides was frustrated by the lack of accuracy in accounts of the Peloponnesian Wars. Voltaire's history of the French Kings recorded only those facts that the current rulers agreed with. Michelets's history of the French Revolution documented accounts by peasants – most of which directly contradicted official accounts (Ritchie, p. 2). Thompson wrote that the inaccuracies in history are a direct result of history's original purpose: documenting conquest and territorial seizure by providing supporting symbols for politicians in the struggle for power (p. 22).

An understanding of the role of memory when conducting oral history is essential. In Portelli's essay "What makes oral history different," he describes memory as "not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation and meanings" (p. 69). He also points out that it is impossible to exhaust an interviewee's memory, which makes the product a contextualized account, created by the historian and the interviewee. Frisch discounts objection to the value of memory by citing the fact that Studs Terkel's *Oral History of the Great Depression* was compiled from interviews that took place in the 1960s, thirty to forty years after events took place. These recollections were filtered through the passage of time; "the people who spoke to Terkel so movingly of the past were also trying to live and understand the 1960s" (p. 31). The gap in time between an event and the recall of the event contributes to limited accuracy but this gap is an unavoidable component of writing history. Memory contextualizes events in the present and provides a unique richness.

Johnson and Dawson, of the Popular Memory Group at the University of Birmingham in England, wrote that memory is unique because it is constructed and reconstructed as part of a contemporary consciousness (p. 84). The products of oral history are accounts that were formerly private ruminations or thoughts that were never intended for the history books. Its retrieval in the contemporary context of the interviewee's life and experiences results in what Lummis calls refractive memory (p. 273). Lummis tries to distinguish between memory and recall. Memory is the information that interviewees tell that have been told and retold before. For example, a soldier who landed at Normandy on D-Day would have some polished stories and anecdotes about his experiences at Normandy that have been used repeatedly (Lummis, p. 274). But recall would be when he is subjected to a structured interview that focused on the events of the weeks leading up to D-Day. These are dormant memories, or recall, because they are experiences that have not yet been structured in the individual's present day values. (Lummis, p. 274). Bornat added that recall has been viewed as being both therapeutic and harmful for older people, who are frequently used in oral history. Living in the past is viewed by some psychologists as a denial of the present, while others see it as normal, healthy activity that is part of the aging process (Bornat, p. 193).

The reliance on memory in oral history puts a burden on the historian because recollection isn't an exact process and it isn't possible to reconstruct an interviewee's past completely. Bornat believes that the accuracy of recall is less important than the process of exchange and listening (p. 198). What is important is the establishment of a social context so that memories can be aggregated in a way that future historians can make generalizations and construct a richer history that goes beyond the purely

chronological. Attitudes and motives are essential to the multilayered, thick description that provides historical context and understanding to human intentions. The research questions in this study are structured to take advantage of the reflective process of self and group definition.

Oral historians do not want to lead or structure the interview process too much. However an entirely unstructured approach can result in a disconnected collection of facts that have no more richness than if they had been obtained by more orthodox historical methods. Peter Friedlander believes that it is necessary to stop and almost interrogate interviewees multiple times from different angles to assist the individual in getting out the truth. He gave an example of a study of a factory in which the interviewer asks an interviewee what percentage of the factory workers were Polish, and the response he got was ninety percent. By checking census records, it was found that only thirty percent of the employees were Polish. By repeating the question, he found that the individual was describing the number of Polish immigrants in his department. This piece of information added significant richness to the study because it showed that certain departments tended to have higher concentrations of immigrants because they needed to work in a place where language skills were less important (p. 317). Friedlander defined this process as an “intensive approach to extensive narratives” (p. 320).

Guiding interviewees through their memories makes the role of the interviewer very important to the oral history process. Morrissey described oral history interviewing as a difficult business and that anyone who becomes successful at it should probably be interviewed themselves (p. 113). There are tools that can be used to assist in the process. Physical objects like photographs, artifacts, and souvenirs can be used to help jog the

memory of an interviewee. Technical, cultural, and individual knowledge are key to success as well, and require the oral historian to do in depth preparation before conducting interviews (Slim & Thompson, p. 119). Techniques include pacing interviews so that the interviewee is not overwhelmed and making notes to return to subjects at a later time if recall is fuzzy.

Most of what people remember about their lives breaks down into personal, social, economic, and spiritual categories. Problems often arise because historians are writing for an audience that is different from the person that they are interviewing. Society and culture have evolved and value systems have changed from the accepted values of the period being recalled. For example, particularly the role of women and the social status of ethnic and racial groups have changed. These changes reflect an evolution of values within a community, and these changes generate judgments about past values and social structures. Borland, a feminist historian, described a situation where she was interviewing her grandmother whom she viewed as an early feminist. She reached this conclusion because her grandmother had gotten divorced at a time when divorce was not acceptable and had embarked on a successful career. Borland approached the study from a feminist perspective, which she characterized as a “powerful critique of our society” and that that critique should be made as “direct and forceful as possible” (Borland, p. 322). When she presented her grandmother with the article based on the interview, her grandmother was very upset that Borland had gotten her story wrong. Her essay about the experience, which is entitled “That’s not what I said,” cautions the oral historian about their own process of interpretive shaping. Her intention was to empower her grandmother, but her attempts at deconstruction backfired. She concluded that it is

dangerous for the historian to “gather data with the purpose of fitting into our own paradigm” (p. 330). Borland’s example highlights the need for oral historians to proceed with caution by building flexibility into the discovery process and avoid prepackaging the historical record.

Traumatic experiences – racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic discrimination - which frequently surface in oral history require special treatment by the interviewer. Interviewees often change their pace and tone when covering particularly painful areas. Prior research allows the historian to anticipate fragile areas of inquiry. Empathy can also skew historical findings when the relationship between historian and interviewee leads to identification, idealation, affective response, and vicarious experience (Portelli, p. 67).

Portelli points out the importance of the tone and pace of narration, which can be frequently lost in the process of transcription. Rhythms change based on the person’s attitude toward the subject. The ratio of time spent on narrating particular events can often far exceed the time frame of the actual event (p. 64). Some historians start with more open ended interviewing and go back and focus on events that were glossed over. Glossing over topics is often a reflection of reluctance on the part of an interviewee to talk about events because their convictions on ideological issues may have changed significantly over time, or they are embarrassed about what they now consider youthful indiscretion (p. 66).

The use of the tape recorder and the process of transcription have become a big part of the oral history process. Good photographers know that a picture must be composed through the medium of the camera. Oral historians also have to be aware of the limitations of the tape recorder. Tuchman did not use computers or tape recorders in

her research. She believed that note taking is a crystallizing process and that the absence of a tape made her ear more attuned to what was significant and what was not (p. 76).

Tuchman saw tape recorders and computers as a hindrance because they package and collate large quantities of material and reduce it with historical generalizations that could have easily been arrived at with less data using ordinary deduction or intuition. The sheer volume of output using tape recordings and computers can drown historical analysis.

Tuchman was also skeptical of the use of diaries for the same reason. She felt that events were brought down to too small a scale. She compared it to a cartographer trying to draw a map on a scale of 100 miles to the inch by working on surveys of a scale of one mile to the inch. She advised oral historians to find “a subject who did not keep a diary” (p. 78).

Examples of Relevant Oral Histories:

Oral history has added significant color and richness to the history of ethnic groups, newspapers, and women. Several oral history projects are worth noting to identify the strengths of the method: “Moving spaces and changing places: Irish women’s memories of emigration to Britain in the 1930’s,” by Ryan; *For the Record*, by Brennan; and “Moving with the Times: an oral history of a geography department,” by Jenkins and Ward.

This last study is an oral history of the geography department at Oxford-Brookes University, which had developed a strong reputation in the United Kingdom as being particularly innovative in the development of “active learning methods” (Jenkins and Ward, p. 191). The department had been written about in academic journals and daily newspapers a number of times since its founding in 1968, but the focus was always on noted scholars and their record of research and publication. The oral history project

included junior faculty members, students, and women, whose views the authors felt were substantive to the formation of the department. One example is their interview of Judy Chance, a new hire in 1980 who came from another institution, where she said she was assigned a class and room like she was being “allocated laboratory space” (p. 202). When she moved to Oxford Brookes, she was taught to “organize seminars and how to arrange the seating so it was friendly” (p. 202). Chance found the new teaching environment conducive to her interest, but she also describes how institutional demands for cut-backs in staff changed the way they ran the department, producing a negative effect on morale. According to Chance, professors were required to use tapes of their lectures and then tape the discussion among students while the professor was not present. The result, as Chance described, was that students received little specific guidance on their research. The process was so time consuming that teaching quality and staff morale eroded (p. 203). The relevance of the geography department oral history is that the instructors who were responsible for the bulk of the teaching load were not consulted during the process, and the University could not understand the reason for staff defections. Prior to this oral history, the only documentary record was that of senior distinguished faculty and their research. Newspaper work is similar to the geography department in this study because newspaper history is not just about editors and publishers.

When organizational changes are presented with a top down perspective, the human perspective is often largely ignored. In Brennen’s oral history of Rochester news workers, *For the Record*, the effects of institutional changes like new technology and broader demographic changes like women working in news rooms are addressed. Robert

Beck, an interviewee discussing women in the newsroom in the 1950s and 1960s, described how most women at the time were writing fashion, society, and garden sections, and that they were not “sophisticated” enough to recognize the double entendre of the male dominated profession (p. 41). An example he gave was when they had to stop the presses because of a headline in the garden section that read, “The Big Red Cock Greeted the Morning Dawn” (p. 41). Male interviewees also described female reporters who did work the news beats as “hard bitten, cigarette smoking, old maids” (p. 41).

The technological changes in mass media have been studied for their effect on business practices and competition between media, but how new technology affected the culture of news rooms is better answered through oral history research, as Brennen demonstrated. Beck described television as the beginning of a slow death for the newspaper business (p. 120). Newspaper reporters viewed their job as a craft, and they were proud of their trade. As the production of newspapers became increasingly focused on money, the pride in achievement was lost. According to Beck, “The achievement effort probably was the most important aspect of a newspaper in those days” (p. 121). This study of the *Irish Echo* hopes to illuminate this sense of achievement and its potential loss caused by the introduction of new media technology, which make it easier for Irish immigrants to stay in touch with events in Ireland through online Irish newspapers.

Space and the sense of place are concepts that are important to the immigration experience. Histories of immigration document the demographic movements and economic conditions that prompted them, but the human element of immigrants’ lives can be documented better through oral history. Louise Ryan’s oral history of Irish women

who immigrated to London in the 1930s showed that for some immigrants, their sense of place is not bound by geographic and spatial boundaries. Ryan wrote that the narratives of the women she interviewed were far from vacant landscapes and foreign spaces: “I suggest that a dynamic and complex web of inter-personal relationships form a key element of the oral narratives of emigration and help to explain the changing relationships to space and place” (p. 71). The concept of identifying space and place by human relationships will be an area of focus in this underlying study as well. The Irish neighborhoods of New York and their meaning to immigrants could be a rich vein of narrative.

Archival Research:

History is a vicarious experience (Barzun and Graff, p. 52). It is also not an exact science, and a great deal of latitude has been given to historians for making interpretations: “History means a discipline, a field of study that has developed a set of methods and concepts by which historians collect evidence of past events, evaluate that evidence, and present a meaningful discussion of the subject” (Shafer, p. 3).

However, the continuous process of historical research allows subsequent historians to clarify information or destroy myths. There are numerous definitions of what history is, and Barzun and Graff offer a suitable one for this study:

History proper is more than its elements; it is more than information about objects, customs and situations: it is a chronological narrative of actions by persons with motives, these actions and motives clustering in what is called events.

To understand the motives and their outcome certainly requires knowledge about artifacts, habits, and institutions but unless a synthesis is made of these elements with each other and with the elements of time, the reader is not supplied with a history.

The sense of the past may be awakened by a description of this or that object, site, incident or person, but it remains skewed and incomplete until developed by the reading of a genuine history (p. 253).

Historians using both oral and archival methods have a huge responsibility deciding what is relevant for history, what to include, exclude, and emphasize (Jenkins and Ward, p. 192). This case study will be structured so that oral history will provide richness and a human context, and archival research will augment findings and provide a framework. The approach for the study will be to include findings that respond to the research questions through intersecting lines of oral and archival inquiry. Reading archival material will require an orientation period that Shafer described as an essential preliminary process: “This may be thought of as orientation reading. The object is to get some notion of the character and dimensions of the subject, of some of the attitudes toward it adopted by investigators, and of problems of evidence and interpretation” (p. 28). Archives will also be used to verify oral history as well as catalyze testimony on areas that have been forgotten, suppressed, or rendered indistinguishable from other events through the process of time. The written record that will be used is primarily newspaper archives. Constructing a historical framework will require more than copies of transcripts; it will require extensive note taking, as Shafer pointed out:

If the orientation process is thought of as involving the quick scanning of several hundred pages in about a week, it is clear that note taking must be sketchy. Try to get some idea of the major subdivisions of the project – chronologic, geographic, and topical (p. 29).

The reading and note taking process is an operation of compilation, but it is also a process of developing questions which will require further leads and inquiry. Questions

about the origin of records, and how and why they were created, are relevant questions for initiating a historical study according to Shafer:

They are developed to give shape and direction to research. They will be applied to the evidence as it is collected, helping to determine what to look for, and what to take down as being relevant. Some of the questions may be adopted as tentative hypotheses quite early in the research process.

In any event from the beginning of his work the researcher should try to make sense of it by inquiring what it means, how it came about. If this is not done, there will be no basis on which to select from among the mass of data available.

The researcher should not be disturbed by the thought that some of the early questions will be abandoned or changed and new ones developed later. This is unavoidable (p. 30).

The *Echo* and the New York Public Library have preserved every issue since the *Irish Echo*'s inception in 1928. The multiple methods approach of this case study will enable maximum comparison by including any relevant documentary evidence.

Oral history has been a good fit for studying immigrant communities because immigrants leave few records, and most historical records come from top down approaches to history. The oral history project at Columbia University was partly motivated by the depletion of written records like diaries and letters, a byproduct of the wide spread use of the telephone (Sitton, p. 4). But as Tuchman pointed out, the plethora of diary entries and letters can make the task insurmountable, and volume does not always add to the richness (Tuchman, p 77). Histories using archival sources and oral interviewing often present a classic "chicken or egg" question of which comes first – the oral record or documentary evidence? But in this multiple method approach it can go either way. Documents can stimulate memory and memory can help locate missing documents.

Loss and destruction of written material has also increased the tendency of historians to rely on more current records. Manolis described this as the record leading the investigation: “New records are not necessarily better – they are just easier to find and what is missing is more current” (Manolis, p. 380). Manolis also emphasized that what is missing, which he found to be the case in older Greek Orthodox parishes that he was studying, is not necessarily non-existent. Records are frequently taken for safe keeping as institutions close and people die. The oral process can often jog the memory of the location of records, making it important for the oral inquiry to always question the location of missing records (Manolis, p. 380). Manolis’ experience showed him that openness to the possibility of an unknown storage site led to material that greatly enhanced the record.

La Capra viewed archival and oral material as mutually supplementary. The archive can act as a framework, or *gestell* as Heidegger described in his study of forms and their relationship to the whole (LaCapra, p. 25). Artifacts should be looked at with some skepticism, because many archives are prior constructions, making the raw material pre-selected. Shafer wrote that the historian needs to question priorities and how things fit together:

Developing questions to put to the evidence, and to the publications of scholars who have used some part of it, it is a challenge to the researcher’s sense of the fitness of things, of priorities of human affairs, of the ways in which men judge their own actions and those of others. Do not be afraid to ask the most important questions (Shafer, p. 31).

Government and religious archivists have been known to destroy embarrassing material. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has been an aggressive buyer of documents that connected the church’s founder with mysticism. The purpose is to remove

them from public view so that church history remains congruent with church doctrine (LaCapra, p. 25). The structural flaws and biases of history keep historians returning. Writing history is a process of continuous improvement. The record is always open to scrutiny.

Historical records are an important tool in fact checking, but the process cannot uncover omission and suppression. Newspapers frequently do not cover their own strikes, and people's convictions are not necessarily reflected by whether they signed a petition or not. The fear of reprisal that was present during the act might not exist in the present. Historians need to be flexible with this and not view the written record as a "got you." There is no absolute historical truth, but merely "a calculation of probabilities" (Vansina, p. 103). Shafer expands on this point by saying that motives for testimony aren't always clear:

Even when the person under study leaves testimony as to his motives, we cannot be sure that he is trying to tell the complete truth; in any event, some of his motivation may have been obscure to himself, if only because men often are driven by irrational considerations, or because his motives were too mixed for him to disentangle accurately (Shafer, p. 53).

Vansina also points out that information that has gone from oral interview to hard copy history should also be questioned, because all history is an interpretation: "If a Rwandese source tells us that a certain king conquered a certain country, what does this statement mean? It may mean that a cattle raid was carried out in enemy territory and was highly successful" (p. 105). On the same subject of African history, much of the archival record has been written by Europeans documenting their experience on the "dark continent" in the nineteenth century. Okihiro described the European version of African history as an inversion of subject and historian: "The focus therefore was on the white man, who was

the historical actor; and the African was merely a docile object to be manipulated” (p. 207). Like African natives, Irish immigrants are also not merely unseen and unheard hordes providing backfill to the American culture. Their customs, experiences, and values are integral to American history, and this study will augment this historical dialogue.

Shafer adds that historical events must be viewed in the context of social theories:

In sum, although there are discoverable facts (as events, battles, births, deaths, famines, voyages, inaugurations) that often can be agreed on regardless of the views of the historian, they can be interpreted only in the light of theories about society and man therein. Historians carry different theories to the raw material of the event (Shafer, p. 37).

One of the more frequent questions to arise in the historical process is whether a person’s experience was typical. Archival history is an important tool in this normative process. Immigration and naturalization records can show trends that are not an end in themselves, but they can focus inquiry to try to understand reasons. Measurements of price fluctuations, demographic movement, and the amount of leisure time will add richness and open lines of inquiry. In 2003, Ritchie illustrated this point in describing the work of French historian March Bloch, who interviewed American soldiers during World War II. Some meaningful and startling insights were gained by testimony on how many times a soldier fired his rifle or how many soldiers were killed by friendly fire (p. 7). But motives of the individual cannot be viewed in isolation, wrote Shafer:

Motivation may be seen as a special case of causation. But often the researcher must ask himself: Do the motives of this individual much matter in the interpretation of the events under consideration? In many cases it will be decided that it does not much matter, unless simple biography is the objective (Shafer, p. 54).

Archives will also be used to orient the author to conduct more meaningful directions of inquiry into patterns of coverage and shifts in editorial position. Caution will be used in the study so that questions derived from documents are open ended and not leading, so the archives do not give testimony a preconstruction. News archives can lead to information on editorial decisions and the moods and tendencies of particular staff members. Because of the byline, newspaper men and women must take ownership and have some form of pride in their work. Historians share the human tendencies of newspaper men and women, and they are also embedded in institutions and cultures that affect their interpretation. Shafer laid out three requirements of the historian to explain these tendencies:

There are three overriding requirements in the study of individuals and institutions: 1.) That they be conceived of as interacting, but with the power of the individual much inhibited by the organized and established strength of the ideas and interests of men grouped in institutions;

2.) That it be clear that the historian cannot understand an historical figure except in the context of that figure's own culture. Slavery and permissive homosexuality were facts of ancient Hellenic society, to be understood in that context, not in that of Victorian England;

3.) That it be clear that historians are products of their own times – that is, of the institutions of their specific cultures, even if their culture encourages them to study others. Even in a culture that encourages individualism, men are not entirely free, either physically or spiritually (Shafer, p. 46).

In discussing the attention paid to the archival record, it needs to be emphasized that the same care needs to be placed on the record being created. Samuel said in his essay "Perils of the transcript" that "Boxing in the spoken word in written prose is a distortion" (p. 389). The rhythms and cadence of the human voice have little in common with written prose. The historians Evans and Blythe developed a technique that permitted

this: “italics are used to indicate unexpected emphasis, punctuation to bring phrases together rather than separate them, and occasional phonetic spellings to suggest the sound of the dialect” (Samuel, p. 391). The more closely transcripts reflect the spoken word, the more valuable they will be as a components of the written historical record for future historians. The oral history technique of transcribing testimony in its entirety will open numerous avenues of scholarly approach in the future.

Transcripts from the *Irish Echo* will not be used for content analysis, but rather for product analysis. This is not a single issue study, and it is also not an inquiry of hermeneutics, discourse, or deconstruction. These research techniques will not be ignored, but the functional impact of the *Irish Echo* within the New York Irish community is the direction and purpose of inquiry.

Research Plan

Background:

The idea for this study began with a conversation that I held with my faculty advisor, Andrew Mendelson, Ph.D., during a class break in October of 2005. I had been interested in doing a magazine article about the *Irish Echo* as part of an advanced journalism class. The first question that Mendelson asked was whether I could get access. I placed a phone call to Sean Mac Carthaigh, managing editor of the *Irish Echo*, who invited me to come in for a meeting the following week. I was introduced to the staff and had a long discussion with Ray O’Hanlon, senior editor at the paper, Barry Lynch, advertising sales director, Sarah Archbold, the distribution manager, and several reporters, researchers, copy editors, and classified ad salesmen.

Mac Carthaigh said that the *Echo* would give me access to their archives and current staff for interviews. Archbold and O’Hanlon agreed to help me locate former staff members. The newspaper had been bought by Sean Finlay, an Irish investor who owned a portfolio of Irish media properties. The newspaper had been owned for fifty years by the Grimes family, who had bought it from its founder Charles Connelly. This change created an undercurrent of tension from some staff members. An example of this tension was Archbold’s response to a question about the previous ownership: “That depends on what my new boss wants me to say” (Archbold, 2006)

My original meeting at the *Echo* was exploratory, but the staff was prepared for me to start immediately. Discussions on a start date were premature because it would take at least six months before the project would be defined and institutional approval was

received from Temple University. I spoke with Mac Carthaigh several times in the interim and it was agreed that the bulk of the interviewing would be conducted between May and December of 2007.

Study Parameters:

The data collection phase of the study was approximately eight months.

Interviewees came from five groups:

- Editorial staff
- Owners
- Advertising sales and advertisers
- Distribution staff, distributors and vendors
- Readers

A prospography, or database of potential interviewees, was created using the “snowball” approach – every potential interviewee was asked to refer other potential interviewees. A demographic information sheet was created for each potential interviewee. All references to other sources were made through the person referring them. A letter of introduction was sent to potential interviewees and a phone call was placed a week later. I made the initial contact by phone to gather demographic and pertinent information, and an initial meeting was arranged.

A release document and statement of use that was in accordance with Temple University policy for studying human subjects was shown to the interviewee at the initial meeting, and any questions they had were answered then and at any time thereafter. The policy of this study was that any participant could change his or her mind about participation at any time up to publication. A copy of the voided release agreement, the

original transcript of their interviews, and a letter thanking them for their time would be immediately mailed to them.

The amount of time dedicated to each interview was dependent on the interviewee's interest, time, and the extent of their experience and relationship with the *Echo*. The target interview length communicated to interested interviewees was one to two hours, but the schedule blocked off one half of a day. If interviewees needed more than the allotted time, they were given the opportunity to discuss it at a later scheduled date. Ideally, interviewees were interviewed separately, but if certain people felt more comfortable with a friend or family member, this was accommodated.

Interviews were conducted using a tape recorder, and tapes were catalogued by the name of the interviewee and the date of the interview. Tapes were immediately transcribed. All interviewees were given a copy of their transcript for review and clarification as soon as they were available. They were asked to review their transcripts for any corrections, deletions, additions, or changes that they felt were necessary. The interview process was conducted with the intention of getting oral history that matched the interviewee's recall of events.

In addition to creating a transcript that the interviewee was satisfied reflected their intentions, each transcript was vetted for accuracy and consistency. Names of people referenced were checked with available archival records. The chronology of events was verified from archives and interviews with other interviewees. When the interviewee was satisfied with the record, an updated and corrected copy was sent to them.

The number of interviewees used in the study was a moving target that was dependent on the extensiveness and richness of the histories. Many people had relocated

out of the New York area or moved back to Ireland. The protocol was for all interviews to be conducted in person, but due to financial and logistical constraints, those individuals who resided within one hundred fifty miles of midtown Manhattan were interviewed first. As the study progressed and local interviewees were exhausted, interviews moved outside of the one hundred fifty mile radius, depending on the need and potential importance of the interview. The degree of importance was a judgment call, but potential interviewees were deemed as a high priority based on the following criteria:

- Length of service
- Importance of position held
- Time period being underrepresented by other interviewees
- Having been involved in important historical events
- Having been instrumental in the development of the paper
- Tenure involved significant conflict, controversy, or achievement
- Were highly recommended as a source

If an interviewee fell into one of these categories, attempts were made to secure an interview, and the author traveled to their location. If an interviewee fell into two or more categories, an interview was arranged despite additional travel time and costs.

The number of histories to be taken was dependent on the quality of the interviews, but numerical targets were used. The following targets were based on the number of interviewees used in similar studies like Brennen's oral history of Rochester news workers, Hinds' study of Quaker immigrants to the Americas, Jenkins' history of a university geography department, and Ward's oral history of the effect of a rail system on gender mobility in New Zealand (Brennen, p. 20, Hinds, p. 8, Jenkins, p. 196):

- Editorial staff - 12
- Owners and management - 3
- Advertising sales and advertiser - 2
- Distribution staff, distributors, and vendors - 2
- Readers – 10
- Total – 29

After fact checking and review by the interviewee was completed, transcripts were catalogued by group (editorial, management, etc.) and date of experience with the *Echo*. Analysis of transcript information was conducted when interviewing was complete. In addition to fact checking and cross referencing, time series analysis, pattern matching, and explanation building were used. The study attempted to identify experiences, perceptions, and recollections that were typical. Conflicting perceptions were also analyzed. Both patterns of typical perceptions and conflicting perceptions were analyzed with the intent of explanation building. The explanation building process was conducted within the theoretical framework of press function, and specifically the functions and values of the press that Gans discussed in *Deciding What's News*. Some broad areas of inquiry were the following:

- How does Irish journalism differ from mainstream American journalism?
- What is singularly Irish about the experience?
- How do American life and Irish American life intersect and diverge in the production of the *Echo*?

- How important is the newspaper to members within the community, and how does that importance change with time, technology, and economic stratification?
- What are some of the values that the *Echo* expresses? Has that changed over time?
- Is the *Echo* ethnocentric? What judgments of American society do they express? Have they changed over time?
- What issues does the *Echo* cover that would be directed at the “public interest?”
- Does the *Echo* portray politics as a contest?
- How is American capitalism portrayed?
- How is the welfare state viewed?
- Is life back in Ireland viewed nostalgically? Is it used as a point of comparison to life in the United States? Has it changed over time?
- Is individual achievement viewed as a goal? Are individuals who become financially successful viewed as the model?
- Is social disorder something that is highlighted or overlooked in favor of social order?
- Does the *Echo* have an assumption of altruism on the part of public officials?
- How are rebellion and conformity viewed? Has this view changed over time?
- Does the news favor old values, people, and topics over the young? How are the young viewed in the pages of the *Echo*?

The interview design was open, with the intent of allowing the interviewees to tell their stories, but topical areas or clusters guided the interviews so that the study can retain some focus. The following topic clusters were addressed in interviews with former and current *Echo* staff:

Work routines:

- Training and experience
- Finding stories
- Area of responsibility – beat
- Quantity of weekly output
- Photography
- Amount of field work
- Training and indoctrination
- Use of new technology
- Finding sources
- Getting access
- Investigative journalism
- Business pressure on editorial content
- Conflicting ideology

Editorial routines:

- Editorial position
- Story selection
- Art selection
- Use of wire or institutional news sources

- Use of stringers
- Advertising pressure
- Letters and complaints
- Political pressure
- Consensus forming
- Conflict resolution
- Evolving readership
 - o new vs. old readers
 - o geographic movement
 - o assimilation

Business and strategic decisions:

- Site selection
- Advertising sales
- Pressure on editorial content
- Hiring and firing
- Expansion
- Investment in new technology
- Going online
- Distribution in Ireland
- Competition
 - o Irish American newspapers
 - o Mainstream American newspapers
 - o Irish newspapers

- Internet

Interviews with readers of the *Echo* included questions that lead to insights on how the newspaper functions within the community from the user end:

Readers:

- Frequency
- Number of years
- Reading order
- Reading pattern
- Usage
 - Decision making
 - Voting
 - Purchases
 - Entertainment
 - Travel
- Favorite sections
- Change in pattern
- Irish politics in the *Echo*
- Information about “the troubles”
- Other sources used to get information about Ireland
- Interpretation of news events in the United States
- Events and affairs within the Irish American community
- Information about people they have lost touch with
- Learn about ethnic roots
- Nostalgia

- Connection (or lack thereof) to Irish culture

In addition to fact checking, archival research was conducted with the purpose of directing individual interviews, stimulating memory, and identifying topical trends and changes in editorial position. Archives were also used to identify facts that could be used to develop areas of inquiry. Observation of newsroom activities and meetings was also conducted. Some of these areas of interest were the following:

Archival Information:

- Years of service
- Circulation
- Number of pages
- Staff size
- Number of stringers
- Advertising rates
- Ratio of advertising to editorial space
- Percentage of classified advertising
- Number of wire stories
- Percentage of content dedicated to
 - o American politics
 - o Irish politics
 - o Arts and culture
 - o Sports
 - o Editorial and op-ed
 - o Neighborhood news

- Irish news
- Guides to assimilation
- Religion
- Irish American business
- Travel

Conclusion:

The greatest value to be derived from oral history interviewing was the richness and dimension that could be added to Irish American history and culture. The intent was not to simply compile transcripts and facts for a historical archive, but to identify the human areas and common ground that immigrants experience. The sorrow, joy, frustration, anger, and hope that Irish immigrants experience was documented and interpreted through the lens of the *Irish Echo*.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This case study was conducted over a one and a half year period. The proposal phase was conducted in 2006, and most of the interviewing and archival research was conducted throughout 2007. Finding and vetting people to be interviewed was a critical task that needed to be conducted simultaneously with the proposal process in late 2006 because of the lead time required to network and find suitable candidates.

An advertisement was run in the *Irish Echo* for several months from May to July 2006. The advertisement was run again from March to May 2007. The procurement process was an important part of the discovery process about the *Irish Echo* and the underlying community. There were only thirteen responses from the advertisement, despite the author introducing himself as a second generation Irish American New Yorker whose grandparents hailed from Counties Leitrim, Mayo, and Tyrone. Later in the study, after conducting approximately fifteen hundred hours researching the *Echo* and its history, it became clear that the Irish don't respond well without a personal introduction from a member of their concentric Irish social circles. Finding people who worked for the *Echo* was a much more straight forward process than finding readers who were interested in being interviewed. Speaking to current staffers at the newspaper and networking generated a contact list that started with 61 potential candidates. This was pared to 17 people who were editorial staff, publishers, advertising salespeople, distributors, and advertisers. The remaining 37 candidates were readers of the newspaper. Nineteen were eliminated because follow-up attempts found that they had died, couldn't be traced, or had moved back to Ireland. Of the remaining 18 reader candidates, eight were unable to

arrange time because of travel, family, health issues, or a loss of interest. There were 14 oral histories conducted with readers.

Finding readers was difficult at first. Responses to the advertisement resulted in four out of 13 that were actually interviewed. The nine other respondents wrote because they wanted to know if the author was related to someone they knew or knew the author or his family and wanted to wish him luck. Locating readers was the result of months of networking. There were several start points for this. The American Irish Historical Society was contacted, three people were recommended, and all were interviewed. Three more came from referrals by a semi-retired Irish American dentist from the Inwood neighborhood in upper Manhattan. The last four were recommended by these referrals.

The *Irish Echo* archives were largely intact with a few caveats. The newspaper maintains its archive up until 1996 on microfiche at its office in Manhattan. Issues after 1996 are being preserved digitally. The problem was that the microfiche printer was no longer serviceable. Fortunately, the New York Public Library's main branch on Fifth Avenue preserves most ethnic newspapers published in New York City on microfilm. The four thousand, one hundred sixty issues of the *Echo* were available at the library with the exception of most issues from the 1920s. Unfortunately the first issue of the newspaper was missing. Most of the 1940s were also missing because the newspaper had largely shut down publication during the Second World War.

The interviewing, research, and writing of the results of this study took approximately fifteen hundred hours. Out of the thirty-seven people selected, in depth interviews were conducted with twenty-nine, which resulted in forty-nine hours of taped interviews. These interviews produced roughly eighteen hundred pages worth of

transcripts. Archival research consisted of about sixty thousand microfilmed pages. Research was originally focused on the dates and years laid out in the research parameters that corresponded to major events and periods of historical significance. The findings showed that the schedule did not correspond to periods of any significant editorial richness. An important finding was that the *Echo* largely ignored most American political, economic, and cultural news (this trend began to change in the mid 1990s). The *Echo* is a weekly newspaper whose “city desk” coverage is almost exclusively news from the Irish enclaves in New York City. News that wasn’t “local” consisted of regular stories covering the political situation in Northern Ireland and a variety of feature news about prominent people, economic and agricultural news, sports, and stories about ordinary Irish people and occurrences in Ireland.

There were four exceptions where the *Echo* covered political news in the United States. There was a significant amount of coverage of the American British Trade Agreement of 1938. The *Echo* was vocal in its opposition to the treaty. The newspaper actively lobbied to reject the treaty, sending form letters addressed to the White House and Congressional Representatives. The letter campaign was the first major effort by the newspaper to rally its readership to exert political pressure on the United States government for Ireland. The second period of activism was supporting the candidacy of John F. Kennedy. The third period came during the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s. The newspaper changed its tact from being solely focused on reunification and primarily focused on fighting for the civil rights of Catholics living in the six counties of Northern Ireland. The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland followed the civil rights movement in the United States led by Martin Luther

King. The newspaper rallied for similar reform. The fourth period was the push for immigration reform during the 1980s when there were an estimated two hundred fifty thousand illegal Irish workers living in New York City. The Northern Irish peace process of the 1990s was covered largely from the perspective of Ireland but the *Echo* did lobby for President Clinton to become involved in it, which he ultimately did.

The results of the study are broken down into five chapters, which correspond fairly closely with the main topical areas found in the literature review. Chapter V covers work routines, which describe how the newspaper was produced over its eighty year history. There was a shortage of news workers available for interview from the first forty years of the newspaper's history. The *Irish Echo* was always written by a "kitchen table" staff of journalists, many of whom were stringers, who either stayed for a long time (twenty to thirty years) or worked for a short duration. Most of the long term journalists who worked at the *Echo* prior to 1978 died before this study began. The people who were interviewed for this section who are from the early years were stringers. Dorothy Cudahy, the daughter of James Hayden, the first social editor of the paper and a close friend of Charlie Connolly, the founding publisher, was available to be interviewed. She is now eighty-nine years old and was a regular fixture at the *Echo*'s original editorial office in Harlem. She added richness to the oral history.

Chapter VI addresses the guidance function. The *Echo* featured columns focused on assisting new arrivals for its entire history, mostly under the "Education Notes" column. Guidance was provided directly through advice columns and indirectly through editorials and feature stories which were written with the intent of easing the burden on the new arrival. They provided information about how to successfully negotiate

establishing a new life in the United States. The general thrust of *Echo* guidance was aptly named “Education Notes” because education was the number one theme throughout the newspaper’s history. Education was promoted at all levels and the importance placed on it also reflected the social stratification that was achieved by the Irish in the twentieth century which was largely accomplished through education.

Guidance segues into Chapter VII, which covers immigration advocacy and reform, which the newspaper consistently covered, especially during the 1980s. It is important to note that the problem of illegal immigration always existed, but the number of illegals grew exponentially starting in the 1970s because of the expansion in air travel from Ireland. Prior to affordable air travel, it was difficult for Irish nationals to get a tourist visa. By the 1980s, overstaying a tourist visa to work illegally was standard practice, which resulted in a large invisible population living in New York City ripe for exploitation.

Chapter VIII covers the extended Irish civil war which resulted in the partition of Ireland and the “long war” for reunification. “The troubles,” which are marked by the marching period, terrorist bombings, and hunger strikes, took place from the late 1960s to the late 1980s. This was the most editorially active period of the newspaper on the topic of Northern Ireland. But the newspaper was founded as a republican newspaper by Charlie “Smash the Border” Connolly, so its roots were in strong activism to end partition and reunite Ireland. Connolly’s edge is what mobilized the readership of the *Echo* and helped maintain a core following of republicans throughout its history. When referring to “Irish republicans” in this study, “republican” is lowercase, and it refers to

people from the Republic of Ireland or southern Ireland, who support a reunification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland into one independent Irish republic.

Chapter IX covers the topic of Irish ethnic identity and how the *Echo* reinforced and kept this feeling alive for immigrants and opened a window to Irish cultural heritage for the second generation. All Irish Americans who were born in the United States are referred to as second generation in this study. The topic of Irish ethnic identity would best be described as an atmosphere or feeling that the newspaper created over the years in both subtle and overt ways. Chapter IX looks at why second generation Irish develop an interest in their heritage and why they turn to the ethnic news to recover this. Chapter IX also addresses the way that the newspaper is written with a combination of longing, nostalgia, and pride mixed with an ever-present note of sadness. The sadness is particularly Irish. Sadness is reflected in the descriptions of the gloomy Irish weather, the letters written looking for lost relatives and friends, and the heritage of famine and civil war. This sadness was noted in Moynihan and Glazer's 1970 study of immigrant groups and it bound Miller's thesis of Irish Americans as permanent exiles (1985). The sadness is most reflective of the fact that for most Irish, immigration was a one way journey.

CHAPTER V

WORK ROUTINES

Introduction:

The work routines of newspapers attempt to reflect the industrial nature of publishing with scheduled inputs and outputs that result in a standard editorial product. The work routines for ethnic newspapers are also reflective of industry standards, but the product and processes have sufficient variation to classify them as alternative press. In depth interviewing with reporters, editors, and management at the *Irish Echo* covered a range of topics in the area of work routines to include production cycle, readership, values, editorial tone, finding stories, art, use of freelancers, the public interest, dangers in covering the troubles in Northern Ireland, protecting the privacy of sources who are illegal aliens, and the trend of its readership migrating to the suburbs. What is important in understanding the readership at ethnic newspapers is that they don't remain static. The core readers of ethnic newspapers are immigrants who are in a constant process of transformation. This poses a particular problem, because assimilation usually results in dispersion away from the ethnic enclaves and a decrease in demand for ethnic news. The needs of the second generation also change significantly. The lives of ethnic newspapers tend to reflect the life cycle of the ethnic community. The 80-year length of publication for the *Irish Echo* makes it an outlier and a suitable subject for a study of ethnic media.

Getting Hired:

How journalists come to work for the *Echo* is varied but fairly typical. Most have a tie to the Irish readership. It is not required that a journalist be Irish-born, or of Irish background, although most are. The few exceptions are people who have experience or

interests that are shared by the readers. An example is Jay Mwamba, a native of Zambia who covered boxing for the *Zambia Mail*, has covered boxing and soccer at the *Echo* for five years. He is a freelancer, as are most of the *Echo* writers. Mwamba is a fulltime publicist for the City University of New York, and writing for the *Echo* allows him to stay current as a sports journalist. Peter McDermott, a journalist at the *Echo* for thirteen years, is more typical in how and why he came to the *Echo*. He chose journalism out of passion for sports and the *Echo* because he had experience on the ethnic beat:

It's like a passion; it's like people who are actors. I mean, it's a passion for something, whether they'd rather act with a small company than be doing something in a bank, you know; you'd probably get half the money. I did stuff for *Newsday*, too.

Altogether, I did something like, in the late nineties, I did about twenty features for *Newsday*; they used to have a thing called Queens neighborhoods or city neighborhoods, things like that. I did a lot of stuff on ethnic - not just Irish, one or two Irish stories - but about ethnic groups.

One about the Sikhs, an article about the *Jewish Daily Forward*, I'm sure you've come across that (McDermott, 2007).

Weekly newspapers require that journalists perform multiple tasks, and McDermott spends a significant amount of his time copyediting in addition to covering his beat, which is the Irish neighborhoods in Queens:

Well, as I said, about half of it'll be copyediting, so I do a lot of rewriting of other people's stuff. A lot of our freelancers wouldn't be professional, so I get a lot of what you might say is 'heavy-lifting,' and then I get a lot of the formatting and styling of other stuff (McDermott, 2007).

Generally, present and former editorial staff who come to the *Echo* had an interest and aptitude for journalism. For most of the freelancers, it is either a hobby or a means to

make money. For Edward O'Donnell, it was a combination of expertise and the desire to make some money on the side:

Because I have four kids, and I'm working at a City University salary, for me it was largely a way to earn some extra money. It's also very much close to my heart and my interests as a historian. It just seemed like a perfect match.

I had the primary sort of gimmick, or hook for the thing; at some point I started collecting, thinking along the lines of a 'this day in Irish American history calendar'. So I collected; any time I saw any date related to Irish American History, or somebody's birthday, I just added to this ongoing database I had.

I don't know if you read the column, but the column begins the same way every week. 'This week something [meaning how many] years ago' (O'Donnell, 2007).

Jill Sheehy, who is second generation Irish-Italian American, came to the *Echo* because entry level journalism jobs at the major New York newspapers were rare. Most of the New York newspapers require prior experience. She was in college and wanted an internship and thought of the *Echo* because she had seen it at her grandparents' house:

It was actually by chance that I ended up at the *Echo*, and I didn't actually end up here as a reporter first. I was at my grandparent's house and they read the *Irish Echo*, and I picked it up and I'm like, 'They're going to take interns,' because I was looking for one [during one] summer while I was still in college.

I worked in the design and production end of the paper for a few years, and then I just basically started pitching articles to the editor once he warmed up to me. That was basically it. I've been here five years. I started as an intern (Sheehy, 2007).

A key ability required of editorial staff at the *Echo* is that they need people who can connect with the Irish American community. Sheehy is an exception in being second generation American. The majority of the staff is native-born Irish. Finding Irish with

work visas has always been a problem, but it became more serious by the 1980s because new legislation put the impetus on employers to vet potential hires for legal working status or risk significant fines. Claire Grimes encountered this decision frequently and recalled knowingly hiring illegals while she was the publisher:

On two occasions, I hired someone quickly to fill a role. Don't forget, it's a small operation. There was one person handling subscriptions, one person handling classifieds, and that type of thing. It occurs to me that those were the two instances where I moved too quickly, and so those two people didn't last.

Usually I made decent decisions. Interesting enough, there were two people on the staff who I hired who were not legal. I was taking a chance - there was a ten thousand dollar fine - but I took them on. I called my attorney and said, 'Look, these guys are interested in becoming citizens,' or, 'They wanted to get their visas in order,' or whatever it was to receive citizenship.

In another case they wanted to get a green card. He said as long as there is paperwork involved that shows that you are conforming to the spirit of the law. I took them on, and they were the two bright lights that I hired. They were so, so terrific, and they still are (Grimes, 2007).

Grimes joked that she got her position at the *Echo* because she slept with the publisher.

She took over the newspaper after the death of her husband John in 1978. She came at a period when the newspaper industry was going through steep technological changes and the readership was evolving dramatically:

Oh, it was very, very difficult. I was married twenty-six years to a sensational man and it was very traumatic; I really mean that - very, very traumatic. At the same time, you do what you have to do. So, in the beginning, that's the only way I can describe it.

I went back to the *Echo* two weeks after John died, or after he was buried, because I didn't want anyone to think that there wasn't somebody at the helm, even though I didn't know about the *Voice* [the *Irish Voice* began publishing at this time] at that point. At any rate, it was a very difficult time for me. Having said that, it had to be a couple of years, but I really felt very confident.

I make decisions rather well and rather quickly when the time arises. I knew what I wanted. I knew I wanted changes and I knew the paper had to look better and write better. It was difficult with a couple of people. I was a woman, and I was new on the job. I was not a newspaper person.

I can attest to the fact that I am now, but I wasn't then in those days. I had someone at the office who didn't take kindly to the new technology, and I had to walk around this individual all the time, to the point where I felt it was very important that the change be made if the *Echo* was to survive.

That was incredibly difficult. It was a long term employee who was a nice person, just not the right one for what I knew had to be done. This is when I started migraines and so forth. I really felt badly about it, but as I say, you do what you have to do. So, that was a difficult hurdle to be jumped (Grimes, 2007).

Production:

The *Echo*'s weekly production cycle hasn't changed much since its inception. The newspaper is available on the newsstand on Thursday night in New York City and by Friday morning in the outer suburbs according to Ailbhe Jordan:

What usually happens is, the papers come out on Tuesday... sorry, excuse me, the paper comes out on a Wednesday. So obviously, Tuesday is the deadline, we're busy getting everything finished. Then Wednesday, you know, it's kind of the beginning of the week again, and you're just looking around and sort of sorting various things out.

Then on a Wednesday evening, we would usually e-mail provisional, I suppose, story lists to our editors. So that would be stuff you're working on. I mean, it's not set in stone by any means. It's to give the editors an idea of what you're working on (Jordan, 2007).

Dorothy Cudahy described a slightly different cycle. Due to manual paste-up performed in the 1920s and '30s, the deadline was Monday, and there was little room for late arrival of photographs or copy:

They got most of it in. If they didn't get it in this week, they got it in next week. And of course, I don't think they ever refused, like, [briefs or diary

accounts about] dances or something. Like they might say, 'I can't put in your wedding picture until next week.' It was like that kind of stuff. Now they operated pretty much like that. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday.

But Monday, everything was in Monday night, and usually Tuesday night it went to press. And most of the papers were printed for Wednesday. And then a little slower on Thursday and then they would start again on Friday, you know, and that's how it went (Cudahy, 2007).

The *Echo* was a black and white tabloid style newspaper up until the 1970s. As more newspapers began incorporating color, Grimes made this one of her priorities when she took over after the death of her husband. The recession in the 1970s took priority, and cutting costs became the paramount issue. Increases in the cost of newsprint were significant enough during this period that costs had to be contained in order to survive. One means of savings was to use a non-union printer. Going non-union could have presented a problem for a newspaper whose readership was traditionally rank and file union members, but the issue never came to head:

There wasn't. I was concerned, the family was concerned about it, but there wasn't. I think because it was just a very small operation at that point, so they weren't printing it themselves; it was printed in... well, that was Long Island. Actually, at that time, the printer that they used did have a union book and so that maybe was their leg up.

Then when I came onboard, I took it out of the union hand for two reasons: number one, they couldn't grow the paper as we needed it to, and they didn't have color options. So I went to a non-union shop, and that was a great saving. But at any rate, that was later on.

Getting the right printer was paramount in those days. Getting another one during the recession that we had was another matter. What I did was I reduced the size of the paper three quarters of an inch. I saved thousands, many thousands in doing that. Newsprint was so expensive.

I noticed that some of the other newspapers have done that now that they're feeling the pinch for advertising. Then I reverted back when the recession was over. I had the extra space, because at that point we had so much news (Grimes, 2007).

Grimes' inclinations were more toward the visual than the editorial, and she focused most of her attention on creating a more visually pleasing newspaper. The problem was finding printers that could accommodate their budget:

But at any rate, I didn't do too bad a job. So I had to learn the business. So I had to go around to printers to find out what they could offer, and that in itself was a learning experience. We needed color. Color was brand new in all newspapers.

And so what we wanted to do was put a color picture on the front page. We had occasional photographers, Tommy Matthews being one. He wasn't a man on the street; he would go for the grin-and-grab pictures that you and I discussed yesterday.

We wanted to have color on the front page because it was all so exciting, so we went to AP and we could get a picture on occasion from them. We still do that if it's something that's really important and we didn't have somebody on the scene.

These pictures were primarily from the Irish Tourist Board; they were beautiful pictures of Ireland, and of course the color just made it jump out (Grimes, 2007).

Competition:

The main competition for the *Echo* until the 1960s was the *Irish World* and the *Advocate*, which were in steep decline:

There was no competition; sometimes the pictures in the other papers would be upside down. Ours was a small operation; at least there was a sense of professionalism in there. There was none in the other papers. Now, years before, that didn't matter, but in the sixties, it certainly mattered, and those papers were really on the wane (Grimes, 2007).

When Grimes took over, she had to make changes not simply to satisfy her aesthetic leanings, but to stay ahead of the *Irish Voice*, the competitor that the *Echo* had been in a constant battle with since 1987:

I happen to be visual and like it more than the writing. So it was important to me to make changes in the *Echo* when I came onboard. I started to do it in the way I described by each department upgrading and so forth, introducing more computers; my husband introduced the computers, but not to any large measure.

I realized that all of the technology we had was antiquated, so I had to learn what was needed and sort of got my MBA from the seat of my pants, if you will. It was an emotional difficult time for me, but what happened just about a month after I came on board was news about another weekly.

Now you can imagine the frame of mind that I was in at this point, just trying to see what was necessary. Well, I had to ratchet up my time table big time in order not to lose the ground that we had established.

It was the *Irish Voice* of course, and I didn't know what to expect. It was very, very nerve-wracking, but all I knew was I had to proceed and proceed more quickly than I would have. In a sense, I have them to thank for it [for not producing a professional newspaper]: the fact that we didn't lose any market there (Grimes, 2007).

The *Echo* benefited from the competition according to Grimes, and the *Voice* and *Echo* have been in a constant battle to scoop each other on news from Ireland, but especially local news from the Irish neighborhoods.

The principle of the local angle sets the tone of the work routines of journalists in finding, reporting, and writing stories. The local angle principle is applied very differently in alternative news, especially ethnic newspapers. Journalists who work on small community newspapers are urged by their editors, before going out on a story, to get as many names as possible in a story. Parents that have children playing school sports like to read about their children and their neighbors' children. Getting names can be extended to news briefs; get as many wedding announcements, photographs, graduations, promotions, and deaths covered as possible. But when a newspaper starts moving away

from its responsibilities to report and interpret the news, and the content becomes filled with the above referenced items, it becomes a bulletin board.

Grimes felt that the newspaper needed to change because it was being put together in a haphazard and uninteresting way:

While I intended to do things, because I felt the *Echo* was boring to me, and so I wanted it to be a more interesting product. But certainly, boy I have to move pretty fast, and as I say, not knowing what they are going to be like [not knowing how much of a threat the competitors would be]. Well, when I came on the scene, they were very iconoclastic. A lot of people didn't care for that tenor.

So that was the story with the *Voice* coming onboard; they were quite different than the *Irish Echo*. Even with the changes that I implemented, I had to get rid of about three writers. Boy that was hard. They had a write-in campaign.

I'm sure they got all their relatives to write-in and complain that they miss these columns, but they were very provincial and it was time that the *Echo* moved on (Grimes, 2007).

Finding Stories:

Grimes didn't have any training in journalism, but she assigned articles that were appealing to her. The job was a tight balancing act because the neighborhood columns were uninteresting to her, but they had a following. The wedding photos didn't fit into her vision of a professionally produced newspaper, but she didn't want to alienate too many of the core readers too quickly:

There was a lot of stuff that wasn't news, a lot of opinions and so forth back in those days. Well, sports and [neighborhood] news very local community. Queens, for example, had a column, and I'm trying to think of where else - perhaps Staten Island and the Bronx. This is in the early eighties now. They zeroed in on little pockets of communities.

You couldn't relate yourself if you were not within that community. Oh, we had those until I came on board. They were the, if you will, fillers. But they served the purpose [they highlighted people and organizations]

achievements] and so far as somebody was being acknowledged as doing something above and beyond.

Uninteresting pictures, but nevertheless they served a purpose. Let's say the hard news that appeared was primarily cut and paste from where they read it before (Grimes, 2007).

This local angle principle requires journalists to focus on what the readers are interested in and how news affects them or others in their community. In general circulation newspapers, the local angle is set by the geographical coverage area, and this is broken down into established beats. The system avoids overlap and duplication of resources. At a small newspaper, if there is no news in the beat, reporters have to look outside of their beat according to McDermott:

I do. I mean, having worked on small newspaper yourself, I'm sure you appreciate that; it tends to be, people's roles tend to be somewhat less defined in the sense that yes, you have editors and reporters, and I'm very much a reporter here. However, in terms of a beat, I would find myself often doing things for I suppose on various subjects.

But, if you mean geographically [how their beats are defined], it is very much the Irish areas: Woodside, Woodlawn. A lot of stuff going on in Manhattan, regarding.... My beat, I mean ideologically I suppose, the beat is basically anything that concerns an Irish or Irish-American community, any news that's happening around the individuals who are in the news, who are a part of that community or related to it somehow (McDermott, 2006).

Coverage of Irish enclaves became more difficult by the 1960s, when second generation Irish Americans began to migrate to the suburbs. The high population pockets remain until this day, and even attract many of the more affluent "new Irish" to them. Jordan hales from Ireland, so coverage was difficult except when she covered the Woodside section of Queens where she lived:

At the beginning, that was the challenge in a way, because I was quite new over here and a lot of the time it comes from knowing people who know about things that are going to happen, and that's something that develops over time, that kind of contact based way of finding stories.

At the beginning, I basically kept my eyes and ears open. Living in Woodside was an advantage in one way at that point, because you were very much in the heart of the community of the neighborhoods. So, you could see what was going on, you were close, you were even close to places like Emerald Isle Immigration Center, who would be very involved in the Irish community in the area. I'd build up contacts that way (Jordan, 2006).

Throughout the history of the *Echo*, most stories were derived from a meshwork of overlapping social circles. Reporters were often people who had strong social networks established. Cudahy's father was an Irish musician, so he was attending Irish dances and events every week, and every night in the weeks leading up to Saint Patrick's Day:

There were always benefits: putting the roof on the church in Ireland with some nun or some priest, mostly for the priest; somebody would be raising money and send it home to Ireland - you know how good they were at that. Everybody participated, everybody enjoyed it.

That was their social life. It was Friday and Saturday nights, and sometimes Sundays, not as much on Sunday nights. Sunday night was busy, but not as busy as Saturday night. Yea, he'd bring a notebook and write who he met, and what the affair was for. He'd write about someone who just came out here.

He'd write whatever the news: you were there with your wife, or your daughter was getting married. He'd say where it was, where they honeymooned, whatever they did, you know. Just like, social letters, that's all I can tell you, like the news here (Cudahy, 2007).

The publishers of the *Irish Echo*, Charles Connolly, Paddy Grimes, John Grimes, and Claire Grimes, were very active in the Irish community. Staff reporters were in attendance at most events or stringers would attend. Presence at Irish events enabled the newspaper to stay close to the community that it served:

Well, Charlie was very involved. I didn't know him personally. I know of him. He was very active in the Irish community.

He had his finger on what was happening. When the *Advocate* and the *Irish World* were going down, the *Irish Echo* was the last paper that was being run by people from Ireland. He still had his finger on the community. The *Echo* went up, while the other two went down (Ridge, 2007).

The local angle for reporters at the *Irish Echo* became more difficult as the population dispersed, so one of the key ways that they would find stories was to scour other news sources and websites for stories about people who had Irish surnames:

A lot of the time, it comes from literally keeping your eyes on the news when you see people cropping up who seem to have strong Irish backgrounds. And then that can turn into follow-up stories on those people or on their kind of cases (Jordan, 2006).

The sports section of the *Echo* had traditionally consisted of the games that were sponsored by the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). Sports coverage of football, hurling, and rugby that were played in Ireland were covered by piecing together reporting from the Irish newspapers. At different times, they would have a writer in Ireland who would dictate a story. As the interest in the GAA began to wane in the 1970s, sports reporters like John Manley depended on writing feature stories about known Irish athletes playing college basketball, track, or soccer. Mostly they came from scouring sports statistics and newspaper coverage of games to find athletes with Irish surnames. The issue became how close a connection to Ireland was necessary for it to be a valid story about an Irish athlete:

Really, all I have to go on is the rosters with the hometowns, and if it's going to [the hometown of a player on the roster], say, somewhere in New York or New Jersey, it might have a name that looks like yours. I could write the whole newspaper, cover all those people. There are enough

people here from Ireland that I can focus just on them; you have to draw the line somewhere.

Although, I mean, if there's someone who's really prominent I might make a little extra effort. I know two or three years ago, when Syracuse won the NCAA Basketball Championship, I sent up an email to their sports information director regarding Gerry McNamara. We traded a few messages back and forth; I couldn't get a sense of how many generations this guy has been here.

When you're writing for this audience, which tends to be more having settled from Ireland or first generation, you start saying, 'Well, he's 4th generation or 5th generation.' It's getting a little far off the reservation (Manley, 2007).

Manley also looked for colleges that appeared to have a "pipeline" to Ireland. The sports where this was most prevalent were soccer or track and field, which are popular sports in Ireland. Coverage of college sports in the *Echo* didn't really appear until the late 1950s, when there was a steady flow of second generation Irish going to the predominantly Catholic colleges of the Northeastern United States. Some of the schools that received frequent coverage were Holy Cross, Iona, Manhattan, Saint John's, and Fordham. But these colleges were dependent on a large flow of Irish immigrants which began to dry up in the 1950s. Manley still covered soccer and track and field, but he would have to research where the "pipelines" were established. Pipelines started when a college would bring in an Irish coach:

I'll tend to do that more for basketball, where there are fewer people to choose from. Whereas with soccer or track and field, you know there could be literally eighty to a hundred people out there in this country who are actually playing that are from Ireland.

I'll tell you they end up, they tend to end up, at a lot of small schools too. There's a school down in Tennessee by the name of Martin Methodist; their coach is from Ireland, and I'd say about two thirds of the Men's soccer team is as well. These pipelines develop (Manley, 2007).

also covered thoroughbred horse racing and used the same technique of finding stories by looking for an Irish connection:

Mostly what I do is races that are held here, and what I'm looking for are either people who have some Irish connection, be it a trainer or an owner or maybe the horse originated in Ireland. It was bred there or something with that, some kind of connection (Manley, 2007).

Like most small community newspapers, reporters have limited resources to research stories, so a major source of ideas comes from reading other newspapers or listening to broadcasts. Most *Echo* reporters read the local New York newspapers, but they also read the competitors: the *Irish Voice* and several other small run ethnic newspapers or "free sheets":

I mean, as a matter of course, I read newspapers. I mean, obviously it's the profession I'm in, so you always feel that sort of need to keep on top of the news. I do read, I mean just for kind of interest; I suppose I do read the other Irish newspapers to see if they got anything we missed or what's going on with them.

I mean, I suppose the *Irish Voice* is the other kind of big Irish newspaper, and then there are a couple other ones like *Home and Away*, *The Irish Immigrant*, and more recently one called *The Irish Examiner*. So, although I probably don't read as much *The Immigrant* and *Home and Away*, they're kind of free sheets and I think they tend to be just bars. If I see a copy, sure I'll read it (Jordan, 2006).

Focusing on the local angle - the Irish angle - tends to make the content more features oriented. The *Echo* was always a feature newspaper because it was a weekly. Hard news doesn't sit for a week. If the story is big enough, it appears in the mainstream media. Over the years, many of the writers for the paper tended to be Irish history, trivia, or genealogy buffs. McDermott took the approach of looking for Irish connections in the pasts of famous Americans. Sometimes the thread of an Irish angle is very thin:

And then I do a lot of historical features, general features. I mean, I'm not much for the hard news - I mean I've done it - but I read more for the features. And we're doing more series, like three or four articles over three to four weeks on a particular topic.

We started to do that earlier in the year; it was sort of an innovation, but Tom never really liked that type of thing, but Shawn Mac Carthaigh is into that, and the Irish readers would be more into that. With the British, it would be more of a series type thing. Last year I wrote something on Alfred Hitchcock.

He was mainly Irish; he's got Irish and Catholic in his background. I talked with the biographer who stressed that certainly the Catholic aspect of it would be his influences, just how he approached life.

Things like, even something like a few years ago I wrote an article on the Wright brothers. Now, the Wright brothers aren't Irish, but a guy called Tobe [laughs] whose grandfather was Irish wrote the book; it was enough to hang [to go with]... (McDermott, 2007).

Sheehy, being two steps removed as a second generation Irish American, felt that finding stories was much more difficult because the enclaves are shrinking and the dispersion to the suburbs made it difficult to pin down exactly where and what was Irish news. She had also become mainstreamed and had lost her connection to the concentric Irish circles. As the Internet came into use in the 1990s, she relied on searching the web for Irish related activities that would be of interest to the *Echo* readership:

When I was a reporter, it was very much kind of find your own stories. There are some things that are given that we always have to cover - anything Irish leads. St. Pat's, anytime there is a big name that happens to be Irish or something. *New York* comes up with a good Irish story once in a while.

You have to go out and dig, and it's getting harder because there aren't that many Irish people left. It's kind of hard; people love their Irish-American culture, and that's [the people interested in Irish culture] kind of a bigger audience. It's almost, too, that there's not much going on.

It would be a matter of keeping your ears open; the Internet helps a lot for looking for stories. Like, I don't even know how people did it before then. It might be a lazy way, but... (Sheehy, 2007).

In addition to the serialized news story, there is the occasional investigative journalism piece. There has to be a similar tie back to Ireland or the Irish American community, and it has to deal with issues that are relevant to the readership. A significant amount of investigative work is done for the advocacy function, which is covered in the chapters on assistance and immigration. There is also a significant amount of in-depth reporting on the Northern Irish peace process. The "where" of stories is usually an either/or situation: It happened in Ireland or in the Irish community in the United States. Some stories that require investigative journalism begin in Ireland and migrate to the United States. Jordan wrote an investigative story about an unscrupulous wedding planner from Dublin who was setting up a similar business in New York:

Yeah, there was one a couple weeks back or a couple of months back maybe; it was about this guy, he was a wedding planner and he was from Dublin - no he wasn't from Dublin, he was from Cork I think - but he was from Ireland and he was a wedding planner.

He was moving to New York to set up a business, but there were all these couples in Ireland who were trying to bring lawsuits against him, who had claimed he had ripped them off, and he hadn't provided the services he was going to provide and that kind of thing.

So that actually involved quite a lot of investigative work because I was talking to the couples and trying to find out more about him, and then eventually trying to get a hold of him and get his side of it. It worked out quite well in the end (Jordan, 2006).

Generally, the impression of reporters and editors interviewed was that getting interviews with politicians and Irish celebrities was easy. Jordan felt that it was easier than with other newspapers that she wrote for. Politicians generally think in terms of

blocks of votes and the Irish were always considered a fairly homogenous block. The *Echo* has been viewed as an expeditious way to reach them. Grimes, in her role as wife of the publisher and later the publisher herself, visited the White House on Saint Patrick's Day upon invitation from every President since Truman. The style and thrust of the *Echo* tended to be less intimidating or threatening than mainstream newspapers:

Generally, it's quite easy, I have to say. If you're looking for access to someone, a politician say, or even an interview with an Irish celebrity of some sort who is coming over, generally it's quite easy for the *Echo* to get access to them.

From that point of view I would say, particularly with regard to [getting interviews with] politicians, public figures, probably I find it easier here than I did in Ireland. Now, I don't know whether it's just the politicians are more open here, or there's more of a willingness on people's part generally to speak to the media, or whether they feel that with the *Irish Echo* they have a certain level of comfort with the style of reporting that the *Echo* has. I'm not quite sure what the reasoning behind that are (Jordan, 2006).

A significant number of readers have always been the illegal Irish immigrants, and the *Echo* catered to this segment of the readership with advice columns and advocacy journalism. Advertisers also catered to the undocumented with ads for legal advice, travel planning, and financial planning. Having a readership of predominantly illegal aliens poses difficult problems for reporters. Illegal aliens live an invisible life working within the underground economy. They work in trades and businesses that are owned by documented Irish or businessmen who are looking to cut costs on expenses like health benefits and workers' compensation insurance. Invisibility makes it difficult to generate stories that are relevant to this community, because they don't want to be identified in writing for fear of tipping off the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS):

Yeah, it definitely makes it more difficult. I mean the issue of - the immigration issue is probably the single biggest issue facing the Irish community at the moment. People are very wary, and understandably, about speaking to you - not so much on the record, but identifying themselves.

For instance, last week I did a story about – basically, it was a feature about - because there are so many Irish people going home - going back to Ireland, I had this couple who were unsure; they were like, ‘Should we stay, should we go?’ They reached that point; they’ve been here about five years and they were thinking about starting a family and blah, blah, blah.

So, I had that couple and the idea was to find two other couples to offer their advice. Like, one had moved and were delighted they moved, and one couple who had moved and weren’t so happy they had moved. So I did that and that was fine.

The couple who was thinking of moving - the male in the couple was illegal, was undocumented, and he was very worried about putting too much detail in the article, running the risk of identifying him in any way. I had to use false names for both of them, just in case someone associated the woman with him – just, you know, that worry, that constant kind of worry (Jordan, 2007).

The issue of the use of confidential sources also came up frequently with reportage of the Northern Ireland situation. Grimes’ reporter on the Northern Ireland situation was Jack Holland. According to Grimes, he had excellent sources within the IRA and the various players within the organizations that were fighting in Northern Ireland. The policy was, according to Grimes, “He would never identify or divulge the names of his sources. We trusted him and he was always superb, superb. He was just amazing” (Grimes 2007).

In the 1980s, the *Echo* hired Anna Cadwallader to report from Northern Ireland on the peace process. Cadwallader gave the newspaper sharper, more current reportage in interviews with participants in the peace process:

I’m a very current working journalist. I cover all the main press conferences. I’m out on the street, in the road, meeting people, talking to

people; I'm not sitting behind a desk getting stuff second hand. I'm out and about meeting people, and doing it day by day.

When it comes to Monday [her deadline], it's a question of getting everything that I've done during the week and trying to sift through it and decide which are the most important stories (Cadwallader, 2007).

Cadwallader was a seasoned reporter when she joined the *Echo*. She had significant experience writing for other newspapers and radio stations on the Northern Ireland situation. Reporting on the troubles from Northern Ireland is a security issue for the participants and Cadwallader acknowledged that it was dangerous:

When I started work here in the 1980s, things were pretty hairy. At times, when I've been out in the field, I've been in physical danger. I've been threatened by loyalists. I've been in physical danger, both from loyalists and the police in times of street battles.

The last house I had, I had received the official warning by the police that I was under threat. I had to have security like tougher glass put into windows and stuff like that. I don't regard myself with that anymore. It's no more dangerous than covering news anywhere else I think. It used to be (Cadwallader, 2007).

Connecting to the Readers:

Reporting on the Northern Ireland situation in an Irish American newspaper whose readership is sixty percent American-born did not require the level of explanation that would have been required of her if she wrote for a mainstream American newspaper, according to Cadwallader. She was writing for an audience that was well versed in the historical context and the nuances of the peace process. Cadwallader's column was carefully read and responded to by the *Echo* readership:

I was told, and I subsequently discovered that it's true, that most of the people who read the *Irish Echo* are extremely well versed, really up to date with what is going on. Like, I don't have to explain stuff. They already know the background and context of stuff.

So I don't have to say, if I'm talking about the peace process, I don't have to say the peace process which began in 1994, or when I'm talking about the IRA cease fire, I don't have to explain what that is. They're pretty well versed. They are extremely politically aware and politically knowledgeable about events in Ireland (Cadwallader, 2007).

The reporters' understanding of who their readership is shapes the work routines, news gathering, research, and writing process. The perception of most of the current reporters is that they are writing for an Irish American audience that reads because it is a family tradition. The immigrant readership is considered young and has access to the Internet, so they are not reading about news from Ireland. They are more interested in the social agenda within New York:

Yeah, I mean, I can certainly give you my perception, which is that the readership is primarily Irish-American really, almost more so than Irish immigrants. But definitely there is a strong presence in the Irish immigrant community there. So I would say Irish-American, Irish immigrant.

It's almost two separate demographic with the Irish-American community and the Irish immigrant community, because with the Irish-American community you have people who have been reading for generations. Their grandfather read it, and then their father read it, and now they read it.

Also, I do get a sense of somewhat older population amongst the Irish-American community reading it. I definitely get that sense just from the letters that we get. In recent months, we've introduced a few things to try and, I suppose, modernize some aspects of the newspaper coverage, and definitely you would notice a few letters coming in where there's resistance to that with some of the older readers.

In the Irish immigrant community, I would say you would have a younger audience, and they would kind of read it more so for the Irish news probably than the American news, which is difficult in a way because so many people have access to the internet now, it doesn't quite mean the same thing.

People have so much access to news about Ireland on the Internet that there isn't that need to seek out an Irish newspaper in the place that they're in. So that's kind of an interesting thing, and a challenge I suppose (Jordan, 2006).

The *Echo* has made clear inroads to accommodate their new readership, but it has been very slow in changing: “The *Irish Echo* was old style, lots of shamrocks, lots of standing heads - when I talk about standing heads, middle-age or older guys with their regular columns” (McDermott, 2007). O’Donnell, whose focus had been Irish American history, writes for an older Irish American audience. His perception is that much of what this readership understands about Irish American history has been shaped by memory and their current ideology and demographic position in American society. He believes that it needs to be shaken up:

Part of my thoughts, my thinking, is that whenever I can write about something that will raise the awareness of the Irish American audience or poke some holes in their too wonderful view of Irish American history. I profiled John Rock a couple months ago.

He is the guy who invented the birth control pill. I always think of my mother - my mother is eighty-one years old and a super conservative Irish Catholic woman - and I kind of think of her. She is obviously [within the newspaper’s] demographic; but she is a little bit older than most *Echo* readers (O’Donnell, 2007).

But the readership is far from ignorant on the topic of Irish history and politics as Cadwallader noted. The traditional readership of the paper has always been voracious letter writers, specifically to set the record straight on historical facts. Frequently, they are not basing their position on the actual facts but what was passed down to them through the process of generational communication mediated through memory. However, many are astute students of Irish history, and the writers learn from the readers as O’Donnell did after writing about John F. Kennedy’s trip to Ireland:

I can’t remember, the last email I got that I can remember was, I wrote about JFK’s visit to Ireland in the summer of sixty-three and I could tell

this was an older gentleman that wrote and said, ‘You slighted.’ He was sort of half serious. ‘Great article but you slighted the great county of Limerick and Kennedy,’ because I mentioned he stopped here and he stopped there.

I didn’t mention he stopped in Limerick; he wrote me an article to sort of set the record straight. I think he even had his ticket stub that his family had passed on to him from the event in Limerick. So I wrote him a nice note back saying thanks, I’ll keep that in mind. You get articles where people make corrections (O’Donnell, 2007).

The routines, layout, and bent of the newspaper have evolved slowly, especially in the late 1980s when a fine line separated the old and new Irish. The established Irish-born readership is vanishing. The traditional enclaves have disappeared and the potential readership has migrated to the suburbs. A large number have returned to Ireland to take advantage of the unprecedented Irish economic expansion. Sheehy, who is now the assistant editor under the new ownership, constantly deals with the requests to publish old photographs and to cover events that are stale, except within the memory of the aging readers, for whom the events are vivid and significant:

I’ve seen it more now, like being more responsible for the content in the paper. That’s a lot of our readers, and you don’t want to shoot yourself in the foot either. But you don’t want to be like, well we’ve gotten pictures from people’s birthdays and stuff, and people asking if we’d run their parents’ anniversary picture.

I think they may have actually done that kind of thing in the fifties, but I think they would bend to it. But that was also when there were a lot more Irish people here, and it kind of made sense. Or it’s usually a very small time event like an Irish-American club; they just want to see their names mentioned.

It’s been hard to kind of soften up to them, because we like to think of ourselves as... We don’t want to, just because if you cover one small event, you’re going to have to cover them all (Sheehy, 2007).

The content of the *Echo* has always been predominantly social. The social calendar, as well as those interested in it, is predominantly young single people interested in “meeting and greeting,” as Grimes described it (Grimes, 2007). A typical “Social Guide” in the *Echo* was this 1964 entry:

SOCIAL GUIDE

Friday May 15: Benefit Dance, Rev. Dr Patrick McCarthy (Bantry, Co. Cork); Gaelic Park Casino.

Saturday May 23: Building Fund Dance, Kilrush, Co. Clare Convent; Carmelite Hall.

Saturday May 23: Annual Spring Dance, Div. 11 A.O.H., Bronx; St. Simon Stock Hall.

Saturday May 23: Benefit Dance in aid of Mrs. James McGrath of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary; Irish Institute (p. 17).

As the number of young single immigrants decreases, the young readers who remained are now married with children and have less interest in the social scene. The number of benefits cited in the calendar began to diminish and dances became a practice of the past. Elaine Ni' Bhraonain's column, the “Celtic Tiger,” which began at the start of the twenty-first century, talked more of bar hopping and U2 concerts (Ni' Bhraonain, 2005, p. 6). Writing and editing to the readership is not a simple formula:

You know, when they're not living in an Irish enclave anymore, it becomes less important, and I guess understandably so. So it's harder to get to people who have probably a home, and a family, and they're more involved in their kid's life than they were when they were single, and they would look in the *Irish Echo* for something to do.

I'd say it's harder [to connect with the entire readership], but also one of the things we're trying to do is still attract those people by kind of weaning up-market. We've been trying to add things like financial columns (Sheehy, 2007).

The big migration to the suburbs began for the Irish in the 1960s. Columns started to appear at this time covering this migration with the “Notes” columns from New Jersey,

Fairfield, Westchester, and Rockland Counties. The newspaper is distributed on newsstands in these areas and as far north as Dutchess County, New York. The mail order readership ranges from Tennessee, to Florida, Texas, and California. The community “Notes” columns were always written by a freelance correspondent who was enmeshed in the social scene. They were written as letters listing the births, marriages, and deaths of Irish in the community. But news from the suburban enclaves is sparse because the newspaper is still written in Manhattan:

I don’t go out to those areas, like the far regions of Long Island or Westchester, and a lot of that has to do quite simply with resources, balancing the need to have someone out there on all these beats and also have someone kind of in the office as well.

I mean, probably more so than a bigger newspaper, a fair amount of the work I do is over the phone; where possible, I always aim to be out there rather than kind of doing phone journalism, but just time and resources... (McDermott, 2006).

Summary:

The work routines at the Irish Echo share some similarities to those of weekly-community newspapers but there are a number of differences. The readership of the Echo is not geographically bound or static. The New York Irish community was in a constant state of expanding, assimilating and dispersing. Finding the local angle is unique at the Echo because reporters would look for news information by searching Irish surnames on the Internet and in other New York newspapers. Having a large readership that consists of illegal aliens also required sensitivity and reporters often resorted to doing stories with anonymous sources. Being Irish born was never a requirement to work at the Echo but it helped. Writers and editors had to have some interest that they shared with the Irish readership and that could be experience in covering boxing like Mwamba, or being

second generation like Sheehy. The jobs of editor and publisher at the newspaper were difficult because there was a constant need for balance between the interest of the second generation reader and the native born Irish. Ni' Bhraonain's column that was written in Irish about the travels of a young single woman in Manhattan is an example of how the editors tried to satisfy both groups of readers successfully. Competition throughout the *Echo* history was not significant until the *Irish Voice* began publishing in 1987. This resulted in a 15 year circulation war which the *Echo* largely won.

CHAPTER VI GUIDANCE

Introduction:

Ethnic groups that immigrate to the United States share the harsh reality of not being entirely accepted by native Americans. The decision to emigrate is largely economic, even when discrimination and repression are influencers. Uprooting from the familiar to enter the unknown world of the receiving country entails exchanging a bleak future for a brighter one without the comfort of familiarity. The hope is for a higher standard of living and a life of opportunity for children. Arriving in the Depression years when the *Echo* was founded was a one way journey for most Irish immigrants. As Shannon described, “To return would be to reconsider the crucial decision that it was no use to reconsider” (p. 25). Despite the harsh realities of life in Depression era America, the Irish stayed and weathered the journey with pre-existing survival skills. The social memory of struggle is boiler plate ethnic experience in the United States. The records of this study show that overall, the Irish fit in. The advantage of language shaped the collective success and ambition of the Irish. Civil service and communication heavy jobs were open to them unlike the first generation Italian or Pole. The established landing areas of ethnic enclaves softened the blow, making the unfamiliar less so. The Irish press also acted as a cushion for the inexperienced new arrivals.

Seeking Advice:

The *Irish Echo* performed a guidance function from its inception. The guidance content of the newspaper had a distinct two way flow of communication. Letters to the editor and the advice columns were vigorous. The demand for guidance was such that

Patrick Flood, a City University of New York history professor who wrote “Education Notes” from 1930 to 1964, kept regular office hours at the *Echo* offices in Harlem to conduct follow up and assist the letter writers seeking assistance that couldn’t be published due to lack of space. Guidance in the *Echo* was delivered through a variety of editorial content, including advice columns like Flood’s, opinion pieces, editorials, and feature stories. Despite Hayden’s assertions that were noted in the literature review, that “Not even the neighbors could be trusted, for they would take advantage if they could,” there was a consistent pattern of reaching out to the *Echo* up to the 1980s (Hayden, p. 54).

Assistance was in high demand, but the distinction was frequently made that the guidance columns were educational and could not substitute for professional help. This was evident in a 1935 letter to Flood about assistance in a legal matter:

My brother in law, holding a pretty good job in New York has failed to contribute any support to his wife (my sister), a resident of Ireland with their three children. This man as far as I know, has no other associations in this country and I can’t attribute his failing to support his wife to any motive except selfishness.

I visited the Catholic Aid Society and they said that I had no right to interfere. The company for which he works said it does not interfere with the private affairs of its workers. This state of affairs has been going on for over two years and no amount of persuasion from either his wife or myself has had any effect. I hope you will be able to recommend me to someone who can help.

Answer – If you see me at the “Irish Echo” office I shall recommend you to a good lawyer who will handle this case for you and do whatever should be done in the matter. I do not take care of legal problems nor can I handle domestic affairs since I try to keep this column strictly educational.

But there are so many Irish people in New York who seem to have no one to turn to as have the people of other nationalities. Other races seem to have many agencies for helping them. That is why I can do what I can to

help in any problem where my advice can be of assistance (Flood, 1935, p. 26).

The guidance function within the *Echo* was clearly directed at a readership that was too poor for professional help and didn't have access to educated people. Assistance wasn't always direct: asking advice and receiving it, or solutions to problems through features and editorials. Several interviewees perceived the role of assistance as indirect. Securing gainful employment is a top priority for new arrivals but the employment classifieds in the *Echo* were aimed almost exclusively at finding domestic help in the form of nannies and maids, like these classified advertisements in 1981:

A&E
Yorkville Agency
TOP POSITIONS IN FINE HOMES
HOUSEKEEPING & CHILDCARE
205 E. 85th St. (Third Ave.)
Rm. 400
570-6190 (p. 25).

These jobs were frequently the first step for many women upon arrival in the United States according to Edward O'Donnell, a fifteen year columnist for the *Irish Echo* and a professor of Irish history at Holy Cross University:

The primary thing is also the employment angle; if you were a domestic servant or nanny at the turn of the century, you'd look at the Irish newspapers for employment, because that is where people would put their ads.

That's one of the ironic hangovers these days; if you were West Indian immigrant in New York, you'd place your ad in the *Irish Echo*, and if you're a woman, or a family looking for a nanny, you'd buy the *Irish Echo* to read the personals and classified ads, because that's where people placed their ads. That tradition has long outlived the Irish nanny herself (O'Donnell, 2007).

Claire Grimes, the former publisher of the *Echo*, said that the classifieds are the trestle of ethnic newspapers:

Not just fairly useful, classifieds are the backbone for a newspaper. Ours was the best classified in the city. Bar none, it just was amazing. And, of course, it was all how we wanted it at that point; the change in demographic also has an effect on classifieds.

At any rate, that was the big thing, and so nannies were very famous and still are famous in this area. The *Echo* was famous because so many people would buy the *Echo* especially for nannies; you find many non-Irish familiar with it for that purpose (Grimes, 2007).

The newspaper was a resource for the Irish to learn about ways that they could improve their conditions or prospects in the area of employment. Flood's column frequently received questions about where to acquire skills ranging from how to get training in becoming an elevator operator to finding schools that taught classes on taking civil service exams. The *Echo* had a predominantly New York City readership, but there were frequent letters from people who migrated to other parts of the United States and knew of the *Echo* advice column. An example of this was a letter to Flood in 1960:

Dear Professor Flood:
I am interested in police work and am intending to take the next examination that comes up for police officer in my city. Perhaps you wonder why I cannot ask someone in Buffalo about it instead of writing you down in New York City. You have a thorough knowledge of what to study to enlarge one's knowledge of various subjects (Flood, 1960, p. 16).

Many people received job assistance through their social circles, as Cudahy described, but the Flood column was also a resource for sensitive questions that readers would seek his answers to, because they might feel that their situation was unique, like in this letter: "Dear Professor Flood: I am a house wife and would like to know how I would go about

to apply for office cleaning. I would like to make a little money since my husband was put on short time lately” (Flood, 1951, p. 13).

In addition to direct assistance for letter writers, the help columns would make note of schools and businesses where other Irish had success. The assistance was not only directed at achieving economic success; it was to steer Irish immigrants to places where they would be treated with dignity and not be exploited:

The following letter has been received from Mr. George C. Wigle, principal of the Brooklyn Technical High School. The letter is self explanatory. I hope that many will avail themselves of this school because Irish students have been given very fine treatment here and the principal is especially interested in helping them. Besides it is one of the finest schools in the city (Flood, 1935 p. 26).

The guidance columns were a vital part of *Echo* content from 1928 up until the 1980s.

The columnists like Flood were performing beyond the duty of simply being journalists.

They had to maintain office hours to resolve problems for issues that there wasn't room for in the newspaper. Flood noted in a January, 1935 column that the volume was too great for him make personal responses to people's inquiries:

It is impossible for Professor Flood to give personal replies. The only use he can make of stamped addressed envelopes is to notify the writer just when to expect a reply in the paper. As each case is confidential, no one should have his or her identity disclosed (Flood, 1935, p. 26).

Frank O'Connor wrote an advice column around the same time as Flood, which was directed specifically at policy, law, and labor. His column wasn't exclusively help seeking, but acted as a forum where readers could express their views on different policies. The content tended to be heated and visceral, prompting O'Connor to post this message:

I shall be compelled of course to use a certain amount of discretion in the publication of letters. The opinions expressed must be honest opinions. Personal abuse will land in the waste basket; letters related only to program and policy will be countenanced.

And while writers may sign pen names to their letters to be used in their publication, each letter must be accompanied by the names and address of the writer. These names and addresses, however, will be treated with the strictest confidence (O'Connor, 1935, p. 24).

Publishing names was a sensitive issue because of the large number of undocumented Irish who were in the United States since the *Echo*'s inception. The undocumented Irish generally were Irish citizens who came to the United States on tourist visas and overstayed their visit. An explosion of undocumented Irish arrived in the 1980s, and the *Echo* became instrumental in issues like immigration reform, which will be discussed further in a later chapter. Grimes, who took over the stewardship of the newspaper after her husband died in 1987, became involved in the Irish Immigrant Reform Movement, using the *Echo* to provide advocacy and assistance:

I guess it was just when I took over in 87, maybe 88, that a young guy who worked part-time with Patrick Hurley established the Irish Immigrant Reform Movement; the very first time that it ever happened. He was a very, very savvy young man who had just become a citizen, and he involved himself with Washington.

So he went to that source, the congressmen and so forth, and really made tremendous noise along with his organization to establish reforms that would benefit the Irish; he was the first one that did it, and he did it behind closed doors if you will. A couple of articles in the paper which I'm sure I saved as well about his efforts, and then it was picked up by others.

Not right away, but his was just the most effective, and since then there have been others. But the IIRM was the first of the young immigrant recourse to the legal system in this country (Grimes, 2007).

The undocumented Irish were susceptible to exploitation because of their illegal status. In the nineteenth century, unsavory advertisers would often post ads in ethnic newspapers for domestic help, and the unsuspecting immigrant would be forced in to indentured servitude or prostitution. In the 1980s, Grimes found that businesses would advertise for workers in the *Echo* but would either not pay them what they were promised or were forced to work in unsafe or unhealthy work conditions:

There is certainly an element of it today, but it was very, very pronounced and very blatant when I came on board. There was a time when I discontinued an advertiser; it was when the undocumented were coming in the late eighties in droves. They got jobs, mainly [from the classified advertisements]; one of them was for a Jewish moving company.

They are still on the streets of New York. At any rate, one of them, they not only advertised every single week; it was very, very good revenue. The people who they hired they gave accommodation to [they overlooked the fact that they were undocumented aliens] and as a result they had them under their thumb. They also sometimes didn't pay them what they should have paid them.

And so I heard about this, and I said no way I'm going to have them in the paper. So I discontinued that and I was glad I did. They also had an operation up in Boston as well. We had to watch very carefully when these undocumented came, that they were not being taken advantage of, which is what happens when you get a flood like that in any country; you have to be very, very careful that your readers are being treated fairly (Grimes, 2007).

Assistance didn't just come in the form of guidance in employment and education or legal affairs. The *Echo* also stood up against the general environment of anti-immigrant feelings among Americans. Many Irish were particularly sensitive to the stereotype of the hard drinking Irishman, and Grimes was in particular. The newspaper photographers, at Grimes request, would always ask people at social events to lower their drink glasses for pictures (Grimes, 2007). The battle against the drinking slur brought Grimes in direct

confrontation with Hallmark, the publisher of greetings cards. Hallmark was a major advertiser in the *Irish Echo* around Saint Patrick's Day. Greeting card advertisements were lucrative business for both the *Echo* and Hallmark. The *Echo* had access to a large number of purchasers of Saint Patrick's Day greeting cards and Hallmark had a rich advertising budget:

Oh, it was always a war to fight. At one point, Hallmark was called on the carpet by one of our readers who purposely got some shock [they were shocked by the Irish slurs in the greeting cards] and appeared at their annual meetings and raised cane with them, to say there was just tremendous bias that was so evident in the St. Patrick's cards.

That was the first time; there again the Irish are finding a way to make their positions felt. Till this day, every St. Patrick's Day in the past anyway, there have always been some articles about some caricature that has been presented of the Irish as a drinking group. In fact, when I came on board, I said whenever there are any pictures to be taken, would you kindly lower your glasses.

They were purposely not appearing only a perfectly decent reception [they were purposely keeping alcohol out of newspaper photographs to downplay the slur of the hard drinking Irish]; it just became very important to me and to other people as well. They were happy to do it, so this is not the focus (Grimes, 2007).

Assistance was also provided consistently in the area of health. Immigrants are highly susceptible to unscrupulous ads for unconventional cures. They were usually ignorant of their rights to receive medical treatment as well. The *Echo* explained the system to readers and became instrumental in their lobbying efforts: "What are your rights here? One of the big rights - healthcare, emergency healthcare, so that no hospital could turn you away - those kinds of things, we made all of those things evident" (Grimes, 2007). As late as 1970, there were still advice columns about personal hygiene and health issues like how to clear out ear wax, handle nosebleeds, and warnings about

spending time in the sun with fair Irish skin: “Upon first exposure to the sun this summer use your skin coloring as a guide. Those with fair skin should limit their first exposure to no more than 15 to 20 minutes of sun per side” (“Health Hints” 1970, p. 15).

Socialization:

The newspaper acted as a guide to social, religious and cultural interaction which resulted in readers expanding their social circles and boundaries of cultural experiences, as Ryan discussed and as was noted in the literature review (p. 68). The social role of the *Echo* remained throughout the history of the newspaper, as Grimes noted in describing the atmosphere during the 1950s:

In the period of the fifties, the county organizations were really quite active and flourishing. I do know that one of the big things was the ballrooms - people did not meet in bars, women and men that is. They went to dances, and there were any number of ballrooms in the German section of Manhattan, on the Upper East Side in the eighties.

They flourished; there were more marriages that resulted from these dances. So anything that had to do with that social life was very important. The education was still very important in the fifties, but it became very social because there were a lot of people who had just arrived and were eager to meet and greet.

Of course, sports too were very important. It was the social time. So, you’d find that reflected in the different columns (Grimes, 2007).

Publishers of ethnic newspapers are frequently entrepreneurs or owners of businesses within the ethnic community who start newspapers as a service to support their other business interests. When Paddy Grimes bought the *Echo* in 1955, he was the owner of a popular travel agency that was prominently located at 59th Street and Columbus Circle. His office in the *Echo* became a clearing house for Irish booking trips to Ireland. Grimes’ central location and the main source of booking trips to Ireland put

him in a position to receive and put out information to the Irish community. As Ray O'Hanlon noted, Irish American newspapers were usually founded with the intent of making a profit, providing a community service, and creating a sounding board for prominent members of the community (O'Hanlon, p. 154). Charles Connolly established the newspaper in 1928 to establish a sounding board for the Irish republican cause, the most vocal sound coming from him, according to John Ridge:

Well, Charlie was very involved. I didn't know him personally. I know of him. He was very active in the Irish community. He had his finger on what was happening. When the *Advocate* and the *Irish World* were going down, the *Irish Echo* was the last paper that was being run by people from modern Ireland. He still had his finger on the community. The *Echo* went up, while the other two went down (Ridge, 2007).

Grimes bought the newspaper later, sharing Connolly's support of a united Ireland, but it was an incubator for other enterprises and a catalyst for his travel business. Shannon described the way Grimes operated:

Paddy Grimes was popular in GAA circles and his agency was as much a social club as a ticket agency. As Clare Grimes, his widow, who after his death became the Katherine Graham of Irish American journalism, recalled, in the fifties and sixties buying a ticket to Ireland was an occasion in itself. People would come into the agency to buy their ticket, and 'have a little nip' in the kitchen behind the shop in Columbus Circle (Shannon, p. 265).

Paddy Grimes not only published the news from the community and sold them tickets for travel to Ireland, he established Gaelic Park, which was one of the most active social sites for Irish Americans in New York City:

So then the games of course were progressing up in Gaelic Park; he was the first one, Paddy was, to lease Gaelic Park from the city. So he built the stands, built the bar that's standing to this day. But any rate, he kept it as I say until he had to get out, just before the war ended.

But at any rate, sports obviously were paramount to him, and that was so in the *Irish Echo*. So, all of those things had a bearing upon the success of that generation of Irish (Grimes, 2007).

Grimes' conglomerated business interests contributed to the content of the *Echo*, in both editorial and advertising, and they were complimentary to the assistance function of the newspaper. The advertising content of the *Echo* was focused on the needs or perceived desires of the Irish immigrant community. There was a strong desire to socialize so many of the county societies and athletic associations advertised there. Bars and restaurants that played Irish music were regular advertisers, as were travel agencies, immigration lawyers, and various Irish professional services and businesses. The increased advertising contributed to its circulation and utility within the community:

Ethnic newspapers took pain to connect with the ethnic community. And if you can't go to the guys who have the dancehalls and get an ad or a radio program, if you don't know those guys, you can't get the ad. If you look at the late *Irish Advocate* or the *Irish World*, they had no advertising left.

It was virtually a newspaper without advertising. The *Echo* had very strong advertising. They had all the travel agents, they had all the county societies, and Irish organizations would put in ads announcing all their major social functions (Ridge, 2007).

The ethnic community is a series of concentric social circles of bounded communities with demands and needs. The newspaper acted as an adhesive for the circles, which were building blocks to the overall community. The *Echo* was clearly a distribution point for ideas and news, but Paddy Grimes' gregarious nature and multiple business interests often contributed to assistance in simpler ways:

But at any rate, he was widely known and used to be very good as far as a handout, if somebody had to get home and didn't have the fare. He was

very kind in many ways, and people did pay him back, most of them, eventually; he was a kind man in that regard (Grimes, 2007).

Classifieds directed at men by employers seeking laborers were fairly sparse. Dorothy Cudahy was the daughter of James Hayden, the first social editor for the *Echo* and a friend of its founder Charlie Connolly. Cudahy spent a great deal of time as a child at the *Echo* offices in the 1930s and 1940s. She also accompanied her father to the numerous dances, benefits, and sporting events that were elemental to the Irish American experience in New York City. She expressed the opinion that employment wasn't generally found directly through the newspaper but through social interaction at the events that the newspaper publicized. She discussed how the job network operated in the 1930s and 1940s:

Yeah, you know, they would get you in this union or that that union. Or you would go on Sunday afternoon up to Gaelic Park. And at Gaelic Park you would meet people, and you would play for Galway, because someone in Galway would get you a job.

That's how all the jobs were made; they needed a match [they needed players to make a hurling match], and men needed a job and they would match. It was amazing in Gaelic Park. Wherever the games were played, that's where they would match and where the jobs were gotten. And there were girls there. It was all Irish – well, Irish and Irish Americans (Cudahy, 2007).

Cudahy recalled that specific job information was not derived from the newspaper. Getting jobs was a two step process, where the newspaper publicized and augmented participation in social and sporting events, and the business connections were made through the resulting relationships that were cultivated:

O'Connor: Now would you say publicizing job openings was a function of the paper, publishing information so that people could find jobs?

Cudahy: No.

O'Connor: No?

Cudahy: No, I would say that. I don't really remember but even to this day I don't really recall.

O'Connor: How was it done?

Cudahy: Right, certain things you didn't write about, you know. Socially, it was socially. It was playing the games, playing the games here, whether you were a hurler or a footballer. Like Charlie and all them played hurling.

And you had to get on the team, and if you didn't play or you played on the wrong team, God help you, you know? Charlie was a real good player from home you know. And then there was a fellow from Wexford, looking for a hurler or something, so he would say you come with me and I will get you a job.

It was how it goes. But he was playing with the wrong team you know, and they would straighten him out. It was very interesting; you would find it very interesting, you know (Cudahy, 2007).

Finding housing in the *Echo* has been a well kept secret for many generations. It became a sensitive issue when housing costs in New York rose exponentially in the 1960s and 1970s. Finding apartments in ethnic neighborhoods has always been viewed as a source of cheaper housing in relatively safe, tight knit ethnic communities. These vacancies were rarely advertised in the mainstream New York newspapers. Theresa Geoghegan, a lifelong reader, said that her daughter began to pick it up to look for apartments for herself or friends:

Yeah, yeah, she would read it. If we had it in the house, she would pick it up and look through it, and she'd see who was around, not that she knows many of the Irish entertaining groups; she doesn't. She wasn't that much into it. Like, what else, advertisements then they would have for apartments, when she was looking for apartments and stuff (Geoghegan, 2007).

The classified advertisements for apartments were brought to the attention of the Better Business Bureau in the 1960s. The complaint was that the location listings of the housing ads were not listed geographically but by parish:

Oh, interestingly enough, my husband got a call from the Better Business Bureau in New York City saying that they were taking umbrage at ads that were appearing in the *Irish Echo* classifieds: namely, houses and apartments for sale, for rent, located in the St. Margaret's parish. [Laughs] So he said, 'No, that's really a geographic [designating the parish was a way of saying what neighborhood the rental was in].'

So at any rate, they didn't comprehend it until he explained it to them. When I was a young girl, you go someplace, they don't ask where you live, but what parish are you in? So it was a geographic term, but I remember smiling when I heard that story (Grimes, 2007).

Assistance and the Second Generation:

As the second generation of Irish Americans began to outnumber the native-born Irish after the Second World War, the assistance function took on a new direction. Irish American readers began to lose touch with Irish history and culture as the older generations began to die off. There was also a renewed interest in travel to Ireland. Edward O'Donnell's column, "Hibernian Chronicle," which he starting writing in 1995, was very targeted toward the Irish Americans who knew little of their history but had a desire to learn more:

I'll write about something that will trigger something in their mind. I wrote an article a couple years ago about Castle Garden, which was the facility before Ellis Island in New York for about forty years. So clearly, most of the Irish who came to American went through Castle Garden not Ellis Island. I sort of told that story.

I got a ton of mail from people saying, 'I never knew this, where can I find those records?' I was able to kind of direct them to the right place. When Tom [Connelly] was the editor - I don't really have as much contact with the new regime; that's neither here nor there. Tom used to [the editor liked these types of stories] every now and again.

He said, 'We can't do it now, but rest assured that in your column, they used to do surveys.' This is my impression from what Tom told me, which is that the 'Hibernian Chronicle' was one of the more popular features in the newspaper. I get emails from people often saying that its the very first thing they turn to.

They happen to be the history people. It's short, I always have something interesting. Every now and again they'll be something they never heard of, or a recap of something that they were somewhat aware of (O'Donnell, 2007).

The desire to return to the nation of their roots is a tendency that will be addressed in depth in a later chapter, but much of the content of the *Echo* directed at travel also falls under the function of guidance. For many second generation Irish Americans, their knowledge of Ireland was limited to reminiscences that were passed down from grandparents. Many had only a sketchy idea about family birth places, and the descendants of famine era migrants frequently had no records for finding family roots. Many settled for a general experience Irish holiday and the newspaper consistently provided assistance in this area, especially after the Grimes family bought it. In an "Education Notes" column written by Frank O'Connor in 1964, O'Connor wrote about the benefits of travel to Ireland in the summer, especially Dublin. He described the character of Dubliners in this way: "The Average Dubliner is a happy, friendly, type of person who seems to delight in meeting strangers or foreigners and is ever ready to give directions or information and even a helping hand when the occasion arises" (O'Connor, 1964, p. 18).

The 1951 World's Fair made New York City a magnet for people from around the world, especially those who had relatives in New York. The *Echo* recognized that many Irish people wanting to come over no longer had relatives and the cost of hotel rooms in

New York City was too dear for Irish citizens who were still in the final stages of the Great Depression. Charlie Connolly started a drive in the *Irish Echo* for people with spare rooms to take in Irish travelers during the World's Fair. "When we announced that the *Irish Echo* was opening up a bureau to supply accommodations for Fair visitors, thousands offered their spare rooms. We have chosen the most suitable and are still adding to our list" (Connolly, 1951, p. 2). Advertisements also mimicked the theme of guidance in travel. An ad placed in 1960 by Maher Travel said this:

FOR HELP IN PLANNING TO BRING RELATIVES OR FRIENDS
HERE.

We attend to all details, including affidavits of support (1960, p. 31).

Life Skills and Education:

The most consistent theme of guidance in the *Echo* that appeared throughout the twentieth century was the emphasis on acquiring more education. The benefit of a common language made the educational route a viable one for Irish immigrants. The Education Notes column explained the benefits of both formal and informal education. A 1935 editorial said this about education:

The one secret of success is education. Learn something every day. The knowledge of life, as taught in great books especially designed to impart information without superabundance of words and loss of time in study, may be obtained in the idle intervals of every day and week; and this is taking care of opportunities (Connolly, 1935, p. 2).

Advancing education also took on religious overtones in the Irish community. The Irish Christian Brothers, whose mission was to follow the Irish migration to the United States and establish schools for Irish children, was stamped in the psyches of Irish parents and journalists. The following excerpt is from an editorial entitled "A great privilege; a great obligation":

It would be impossible to count the number of prominent Irish-Americans who owe their success to this belief of their parents that a good education is essential. This great privilege of education imposes an equally great obligation. Having received so much surely the graduate must make a substantial return.

But parents are looking not so much for any direct return for themselves, as for a realization in their child that he must make a return to God and to society according to his gifts, both native and acquired. It is not too much to expect (Editorial. 1962, p. 6).

Readers interviewed reiterated the emphasis placed on education both in the newspaper and in the memories of their extended families. Terrence O'Neill described his father and the scarce resources and sacrifices that families made to ensure at least some of the family would acquire an education:

Oh, he worked; he completed two years of civil engineering at Marquette, he dropped out to put his brother through medical school and his other brother through. He got a degree in chemical engineering, a student during the Great Depression.

His brother graduated from high school when he was thirteen years old, but there was no scholarship money at Marquette, so Dad had to stop his course and he went out and worked at a sewage treatment plant, and gave money to his brothers to get through University, which they both did.

Lawrence was a commodore in the Navy medical corps and he had seven [siblings] at the starts World War II. Vincent, he worked with Sherman-Williams in New Jersey in chemical engineering, but Dad never finished his course due to putting his brothers through. That was the way things worked back in the twenties and thirties; you didn't have any money, you were farmers, but you all worked and stuck together as a family unit (O'Neill, 2006).

The tone of the "Education Notes" also reflected an emphasis on the life skills, changes, and sacrifices that would be necessary to acquire an education. At times, the tone was paternalistic and lecturing, which today would probably be received by readers as pontification:

There is very little snobbery among students about earning a dollar, whether it is used to buy clothes, keep an old car running, or is really needed to meet the expenses. They have no hesitation in spitting on their hands and bending their backs (O'Connor, 1960, p. 13).

As late as 1967, this tone still appeared in the newspaper, emphasizing the need to make education a daily practice or ritual: "Meeting new people, being patient with their views, being willing to listen, broadens the mind and puts us in possession of new knowledge" (Murphy, 1967, p. 6).

With the exception of trying to alter United States policies toward illegal Irish immigrants and Northern Ireland, the general thrust is stoic acquiescence. Many articles emphasized patience, waiting one's turn, and not expecting things to come too fast:

A fifteen dollar a week clerk who expects to be hoisted into the ten thousand ranks by one stroke of fortune will expect in vain. The great leap to fame and fortune, which we witness every day of our lives, is due to the ready qualifications for it.

These men and women who reach the heights of success have improved themselves. The short journey to success lies in the mastery of the art of self improvement. The key to the door of opportunity is education and personal culture (Flood, 1960, p.16).

In 1954, O'Connor received a letter from a reader who had been out of work for three months after having an appendectomy. O'Connor clearly questioned the character of the reader and chastised him for his sloth:

Three months out of work for an ordinary appendectomy seems a bit thick. Anyway try them down at the unemployment office. They can't hate you for making the application and they might even pay you. While you're at it, put in a chit for the trip, and the medical expenses. It seems the more outrageous the claim is today the more likely they are to pay it (O'Connor, 1954, p. 13).

Readers also sought guidance in hobbies and interests outside of work. Many letters to the advice columns were seeking assistance with quality of life issues, ranging from housing, to where to vacation, finding an Irish step dance school for children, or studying the Irish language. The following writer is an example of a reader who was unsophisticated in the music business in the United States:

Dear Sir: I have written several lyrics for songs but before offering them to someone to put them to melody I would like to have them gone over to see if they are grammatically correct. I have no money to pay for this as I have been out of work for nearly two years JEO (Flood, 1935, p. 26).

Models of Success:

Providing models of success was a consistent part of editorial content in the *Irish Echo*, and it is a pattern that appears consistently in the pages of most ethnic newspapers. People who were highlighted as models of success were usually noted for their achievements in business, civil service, the church, and entrepreneurship. People who had contributed to the Irish cause in Northern Ireland appeared fairly regularly, but this served the double duty of propaganda for the cause, something that is performed regularly in newspapers with a political thrust. As with advocacy for immigrants, the *Echo* made little attempt to be objective in their praise of Irish success stories like this one announcing the appointment of an Irish American to a judgeship: “It is believed in well posted circles that the scholarly and highly competent administrator and Jurist Quinn will be almost certain to succeed the late Judge Frank” (Rapp, 1960, p. 14). The *Echo* ran stories that tried to define the characteristics that successful people had and what distinct traits of the Irish lead to success:

That fighting spirit which has made the American soldier the world’s best on the battlefields owes much of its deathless gallantry to the Irish blood that is in us. We are full of faults in our civil march and many times those

faults derive from the immemorial waywardness of the Irish as an individual; we have a record of national achievements unparalleled and many of them owe in part their glory to our Irish blood. A grand, sweet race – and dynamite (Connolly, 1935, p. 3).

The above referenced editorial was accompanied by a story with a headline of unblemished purpose: “County Judge William O’Dwyer of Kings; A Brilliant Example of How America Has Lured Irish Immigrant Boys Here to Carve Success for Themselves and to Build America Into Greatness” (Sayford, 1935, p. 2). By the 1980s, there were far more Irish success stories, and the new models were often CEO’s of corporations and celebrities like Neil Jordan, the director of the 1980s academy award nominated film *The Crying Game*:

Anyways, Neil became very big right now in the eighties - the eighties or early nineties - both of these guys really were, and actually Neil was our Man of the Year. We had various people who were in the news; a lot of business people, too, were highlighted in these publications, because so many Irish Americans were, at this point, heading the board of Fortune 500 companies.

That was newsworthy; the business aspect I found to be really fascinating because the Celtic Tiger was catching hold there (Grimes, 2007).

Financial achievement is a key element of the model for a success story. In Chinese ethnic newspapers, it is done in subtle ways. Successful Chinese businessmen take out ads that are not designed to stimulate business but to announce their achievements (Zhou and Cai, p. 436). News briefs like this one from 1981, announcing promotions and graduations, were frequent because of the social stratification taking place within the Irish American community:

PEOPLE IN WESTCHESTER:

Mrs. Kathy Conroy, daughter of former Governor Malcolm Wilson, who has five children, passed the New York State Bar Exam recently and will

work for a while as a law clerk at her Dad's old firm, Kent Hazzard in White Plains. Kathy's husband John is principal of Pelham High School (p. 25).

Reader Marian Donohue described it as almost a Darwinian struggle that resulted in winners and losers; the winners were what she wanted to hear about:

Success in business is a goal for most Irish. Most of the young people coming out now are very well educated, and especially in the computer industry. A lot of them are working for Morgan Stanley, or a lot of big companies, financial companies. As a matter of fact, my husband's nephew-in-law, he's one of those stories; he lived in England and immigrated here a few years ago, and is very successful.

He works in the finance industry down near Wall Street. So, I think it is one of their goals to be successful, and some of them would return home; not all of them can stay here. If there would be a death in the family, they may not even have their green card status, and they may have to return.

But, beyond that, they can still apparently open up their own business, pay their taxes, even though they're undocumented (Donohue, 2007).

Civic responsibility:

Civic responsibility was also emphasized. Unlike some ethnic groups that came with the intention of returning, the strategy of many Irish was to stay. Achieving the financial success to do that was important, but acceptance within American society was always a goal. The Irish participated heavily in politics, beginning in the nineteenth century, often as blind sheep following unsavory "guides" who would tell them who and what to vote for (Glazer & Moynihan, p. 218). The tone by the 1950s emphasized the importance of participation as an act of good citizenship that was important in becoming well rounded American citizens:

How many able – perhaps great – men were lost to public service because enough citizens did not care to support them for what they considered a minor post? How many men who were not fit to guide the destinies of

their village, town or county were elected because enough citizens did not study their records? (“Editorial”, 1970, p. 3)

The newspaper did endorse candidates, but this was not very prominent until the 1960s. Frequently, endorsement was based on shared Irish ethnicity, but non-Irish politicians who supported Irish causes were endorsed as well. An example was United States Representative Mario Biaggi, who, in the 1980s, was a fighter for the rights of undocumented Irish. Although political affiliation of the second generation began to migrate to the Republican Party in the 1960s, there was strong support for John F. Kennedy - not always for his views, but for his family’s success in the United States:

Kennedy has set his party free. The Democrats job now is to get a new manager, bring in some good bright boys from the minors, and make him and his catcher worthy challengers of the formidable team of Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller (1974, p. 13).

By the 1970s, Democratic causes were still pushed in the newspaper. The concerns of the newspaper shifted from old line Democratic causes like healthcare, the rights of the undocumented, and labor, to issues like the environment, which were directed at the survival of the planet in general:

But what can the average man do about the appalling pollution of our environment? For one thing he can become informed about the subject. For another he can evaluate proposed government programs and proposed industrial developments in the light of his knowledge. The problem of our environment is probably the most important single issue facing mankind – yet too few of us are aware of it at all (“Editorial”, 1976, p. 3).

The *Irish Echo* displayed a consistent patriotic bent in its guidance function. Assimilation was the goal, despite Miller’s theory that the Irish immigrants considered themselves permanent exiles. The newspaper had regular announcements about military

promotions of Irishmen, and military heroes were regularly held up as models of success. As Wittke noted, encouraging patriotism and military service as a means to assimilation and acceptance was a strong theme in the *Hibernian Chronicle*, whose motto above the masthead read, as previously mentioned, “Fostered under thy wing, we die in thy defense” (p. 204). A 1954 editorial marking the death of Commodore John Barry, an Irish American, described his contribution and influence on the Irish community:

As we honor the memory of Commodore John Barry, we can be grateful that his spirit still moves among us. American men, hating war but stern in their resistance of oppression, still leave their benches, their desks, their tractors, and their peaceful docks to repel the threat to human liberty (“Editorial”, 1954, p. 14).

The emphasis on military service and good citizenship will be addressed again in the Irish Ethnic Identity chapter.

Summary:

The guidance function in ethnic newspapers is a clear distinguishing point from the mainstream press. Guidance in the *Echo* evolved from tips for survival to ways ethnics could improve their life and standing within the community. The tone and objective of guidance evolved in very subtle ways over the eighty year history of the *Irish Echo*, and these changes are in response to an evolving and mobile community. Travel advice evolved from assistance with visas and affidavits of support to what sites were worth seeing and what native Irish people were like. Guidance in education changed from finding training to become elevator operators to study abroad opportunities for American-born college students. The immigrant in the twenty-first century has evolved to University educated, middle class Irish who arrive in the United States with corporate sponsorship. For this evolved reader, guidance takes on the form of personal finance, fashion, and

vacation travel within the United States. Despite higher levels of education and financially secure jobs, ethnics will always have a deficit of local culture information. The current generation that still reads the *Echo* is looking to it for Irish cultural connections as opposed to career and health advice.

CHAPTER VII IMMIGRATION

Introduction:

The *Irish Echo* was founded in 1928, at a time when certain changes had taken place in immigration. The famine era diaspora was long over; these migrants had either died or their offspring knew little about Ireland or their past. Famine Irish tended to discourage their children from seeking information about their culture, and most were caught in the hardscrabble day to day of making a living in a country that had strong anti-immigrant sentiments. Blending in was paramount for the offspring of the famine immigrants. The founding of the *Echo* was also the early stage of the Great Depression, when the United States was cutting off the flow of new immigrants, in effect closing the door to more hungry mouths to feed. The Great Depression was an unprecedented economic slowdown that the United States had yet to experience. The founding of the *Irish Echo* came at the end of conventional military operations of the Irish civil war. But the newspaper wasn't exclusively directed at what later became known as "the troubles." It was an advocate for new arrivals, and it performed this in the following ways: interpreting the various immigration acts and laws, advocating for fair treatment in front of the law, in housing, education and healthcare, mustering support for legislation to improve immigrants rights, providing a voice for the invisible population of the undocumented, and acting as a watchdog against exploitation.

Historical Background:

The underlying immigrant population that is the subject of this dissertation came to the United States in the post famine Irish diasporas that took place between 1890 and 1990. The bulk of Irish immigration was driven by the famine in the mid-nineteenth

century. From 1820 to 1920, there were about five million Irish immigrants who arrived in the United States. This accounts for about seventy percent of the total Irish immigration to the United States from colonial times to the present (Meagher, p. 3). In the 2000 census, thirty-five million people identified themselves as being of Irish or Scotch-Irish descent, making them the second largest ethnic group in the United States, behind German Americans (p. 3).

Understanding the history of Irish immigration patterns and the underlying economics and politics that drove them is important. History gives a framework of reference that explains patterns like the rate and degree of assimilation, community formation, and particularly the formation of the New York Irish community that is the *Echo's* readership. The Irish are an ethnic group that is a study in predictable behavior and contrasts. Despite the fact that the Irish are viewed synonymously with Catholicism, most of those people identified of Irish descent in the 2000 census were Protestant. The Irish became the symbols of patriotism in the twentieth century while they vocally supported the cause of nationalism in the Irish homeland and revolt against Great Britain, one of the United States' closest allies. The Irish are difficult to categorize as a result. Meagher wrote, "Neither the assumption of inevitable assimilation nor cultural resistance, however, is a very useful way to look at Irish American history" (p. 7). Irish American culture must be viewed as a hybrid as well, because much of what is identified as Irish customs, like the Saint Patrick's Day parade and Irish music, were invented in the United States and exported to Ireland (Coogan, p. 317). But the development of culture in the newly adopted country is an essential part of boundary development, according to Barth. What defines ethnic groups is the boundary of differences that they are able to create

through cultural invention and definition (Barth, p. 9). This will be addressed in the chapter on ethnic cultural identity. The distinctions between the Irish immigrant during the famine of the nineteenth century and the new Irish immigrant of the twenty-first century are stark. Understanding the history of Irish immigration is part of understanding Irish America and the function of the *Irish Echo*.

In 1980, the census bureau did a survey of Americans to determine the breakdown of ethnic origin for people in the United States. The information was used to create a map of where people of different ethnic backgrounds settled. There were high concentrations of people who identified themselves as Irish in Massachusetts cities like Dedham and Quincy, as well as Albany, New York City, and Philadelphia (Meagher, p. 19). But there were equally high concentrations of Irish in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the Appalachian Mountains in the Carolinas and Georgia, and thick pockets of Irish throughout the south extending to Missouri and Texas (p. 19). The counties with the highest concentration in the Northeast were Suffolk and Norfolk around the Boston area, which received a high percentage of famine era Irish immigrants. Smith County, Mississippi, Houston County, Tennessee, and Lafayette County, Florida had equally high percentages (p. 22). Histories of the Irish in the United States tend to focus on the famine era as a start point of the Irish diaspora, and this focus creates a history that is centered on Irish Catholics. The group that is generally referred to as Scotch-Irish represent an earlier migration period that goes back to Colonial America. The reason for the controversy and the hyphenated name is because there was a large concentration of Scots living in Ulster in the seventeenth century. This is partly due to the proximity to Scotland and a long standing pattern of migration from rural parts of Scotland to the active ports of Ulster.

But Ulster was considered a hotbed of seditious Irish Catholics. The British had conquered Ireland by the late 1600s and confiscated most of the land from Irish tribal chieftains. Confiscated land was distributed to Scotch settlers who were Protestant. Between 1698 and 1715, approximately fifty thousand Scots migrated to Ulster (Meagher, p. 23). The Scots and the English government were at cross purposes. The Scots came for economic opportunity, while the English were looking to settle Ireland with people who were friendly with the British crown and would not mix with the largely Catholic population. The British intended to fill the vacuum with a population of Scots who were a low risk to crown sovereignty. The result was that the Scotch settlers were persecuted and vilified by the remaining displaced Irish Catholic population (Watts, 33). Scotch settlers made up the bulk of the Irish migration to colonial America. These people, many of whom had been born in Ulster by the eighteenth century, considered themselves Irish. The distinction of Scotch-Irish didn't begin to appear until the nineteenth century, when many of the colonial era Irish migrants began referring to themselves as Scotch-Irish to distinguish themselves from the largely poor Irish Catholic horde that began to reach the United States by the late nineteenth century (Watts, p. 35). The group known as Scotch-Irish suffered greatly in Ireland from persecution by Catholics, and a strong resentment was passed down to their descendants. In a recent biography of John Mellon, a twentieth century Scotch-Irish American industrialist, it was noted on the first pages that Mellon harbored a lifelong hatred of Catholics (p 3). The Scots were also not members of the Anglican Church. They were Presbyterians who were allowed to practice their religion in Ireland but did not have the full political and social privileges that members of the Church of England received (Coogan, p. 255). These early settlers

became a separate, insular community in Ulster because of the dual animosities that they suffered. The result was that Scotch-Irish Presbyterians immigrated to America in the 1700s.

Discrimination and persecution are a common thread for immigrants of all nationalities, but economics are usually the deciding factor to emigrate. The colonial era Irish immigrants left because the landlords in Ireland were raising rents on tenant farmers. Absentee landlords from England wanted to squeeze as much out of their Irish holdings as possible. Emigration was also driven by the demand for labor in the colonies. Ulster's primary industry was the weaving of linen, in which most of the Irish participated. The export of linens suffered an economic setback during the 1700s, which increased the pressure to immigrate (Coogan, p. 255). Although this wave of immigrants was largely Scotch Presbyterians, many were English who had settled in Ireland. In addition, there were large numbers of Catholics who migrated to colonial America and chose to convert to Anglicism to experience the full rights of colonial citizenship.

Another distinction about the immigrants of this period is that they weren't all impoverished. Many, like the Carrolls, became prominent Maryland planters, and John Carroll was a signer of the Declaration of Independence (Coogan, p. 295). The population of Ireland was still predominantly Catholic, and they made the smallest percentage of colonial era immigrants to the Americas. Poverty kept many Catholics from emigrating, but Miller describes it as being more deeply rooted in the difference in cultural values of Catholics and Protestants:

In broadest terms, much evidence indicates that, in contrast to the Protestants they encountered in Ireland and North America, the Catholic Irish were more communal than individualist, more dependent than independent, more fatal than optimistic, more prone to accept conditions

passively than to take initiative for change, and more sensitive to the weight of tradition than to innovate possibilities for the future (Miller p. 107).

Miller's characterization is heavily disputed by Irish historians. The main arguments are that so few Catholics immigrated during this period because they had extended roots in Ireland, and the Scots had been recent emigrants to Ireland, making their roots in Ireland shallower and more amenable to leaving. Also, those who practiced Catholicism openly and defiantly, like many of the Irish, weren't given the same rights in colonial America as the Protestants (Meagher, p. 31). Travel to America during the 1700s also became cheaper. Linen was in high demand in the colonies, and shippers often took passengers who signed contracts of indentured servitude, who were then sold to settlers in need of household help (p. 33). One explanation of why so many Irish settled in the Appalachians is that they had fled indentured slavery and were less likely to be pursued in the wilds of the Appalachians and unsettled points further west (Coogan, p. 256). Sixty percent of Irish immigrants during the late 1700s and early 1800s were indentured (Meagher, p. 32). Estimates of Irish immigration during this period are difficult because of poor record keeping, but conservative estimates show that one third of the immigrants prior to and immediately following the American Revolution were Irish (Meagher, p. 34).

The seventeenth and eighteenth century Irish immigrants melded into early American society much easier or more willingly than those who arrived in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. This conclusion can be reached because there were very few distinctly Irish communities or ghettos, with the exception of certain neighborhoods like the Five Points on Manhattan's Lower East Side and pockets of Philadelphia. Since many were indentured servants, they lived within the home or estate of their masters, making

community formation difficult. Meagher points out that the Irish Catholics of this period were unschooled in their faith during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, because there were few Catholic clergy back in Ireland and even fewer in the United States (p. 37). The United States, at this point in time, was also largely made up of rural settlers, so different ethnic backgrounds settled in and lived lives as farmers and craftsmen first and Irish second (Hayden, p. 83). The Irish were also “uniformly enthusiastic supporters of the American cause” (p. 84). The tendency to be patriotic to American causes and wars stayed with the Irish into the late twentieth century. The common thread that both Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Irish Catholic colonists had was that they were both subjected to hatred and discrimination by the British Empire.

Historians do not dispute that both Catholic and Scotch-Irish mainstreamed quickly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is open to dispute whether they gave up their culture completely. Studies have shown a strong Celtic influence in traditional Appalachian music and language. The Irish rebellious streak can also be seen in Pennsylvania, where they were strong opponents of the puritanical Quakers (Meagher, p. 40).

After the American Revolution, the migration picked up, causing a vacuum of non-Catholics in Ireland which led to fears of further rebellion. The United States became a magnet for labor and resources from Great Britain and Europe. In the early 1800s, the British parliament put tighter restrictions and taxes on ships that were carrying passengers to North America (p. 44). Miller estimates that there were still about one hundred thousand Irish immigrants to the United States from the end of the American Revolution until 1815, and two thirds were Scotch Presbyterians (Miller, p.143). By this period,

fewer were traveling as indentured servants, and the port of entry shifted from Philadelphia and Baltimore to New York (Meagher, p 47).

During the period of about 1790 to 1830, a new type of immigrant began to emerge. They were not coming because of economic hard times. Many were members of the United Irishmen, who were taking cues from the American and French Revolutions and trying to overthrow British control in Ireland. The rebellion was put down, forcing many to immigrate, mostly to the United States (Cottrell, p. 17). United Irishmen were also more clannish than their predecessors, and they remained interested in the political situation in Ireland. They formed societies of United Irishmen and published pamphlets and newspapers. The societies of United Irishmen that began to appear started a tradition of sedition against British control that remained within the Irish community until the late twentieth century. The United Irishmen was also a movement where Irish Protestants and Catholics joined forces. Many of the Irish became involved in American politics as a backhanded route to influencing the situation in Ireland. The newly formed United States had begun to wield significant economic clout that interested the industrial classes in England more than land holdings in a largely agrarian Ireland. The Irish of this period became vocal members of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party (Glazer & Moynihan, p. 223).

The Protestant-Catholic alliance was short lived because of developments in Ireland. The Orange Order was formed in 1795 to rally Protestant support of union with Great Britain. Ulster began to prosper through trade with England. Southern Ireland, which was mostly Catholic and agricultural, began to slide economically. King George III also refused to grant Catholics full civil rights, so the North-South and Protestant-

Catholic split was solidified (Coogan, p 37). This was especially true in the United States. The common cause party of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans split into Protestants going to the Republican Party and Catholics to the Democrats.

By the 1820s, Irish immigration to the United States was averaging about ten thousand per year (Meagher, p. 52). A combination of the hopeless political situation and the depression years of the 1830s made the exit from Ireland into a steady mass migration. About one million people left Ireland between 1815 and 1845, which was just prior to the famine. Most immigrants of this period were going the cheapest route possible to North America, and this usually meant landing in Canada and traveling by ground from there to New York and Philadelphia (p. 53).

Nineteenth century Ireland began to progress from a collection of remote villages to a country with a national identity. This was mainly due to the improvement of roads and canals throughout the country, which fostered trade of goods and information. People were exposed to more people with ideas, especially about immigration. The Irish immigrants of this period also tended to be skilled craftsman with better financial means than the immigrants of the famine period. Improved transportation and the empowerment of the middle class had spread from Europe to Ireland leading to an increase in the political rights of some Irish Catholics, but only those who became property owners. The improvement of civil rights for Catholics of means translated into land holdings which put the granting of political status on a standard that resembled feudalism. The French Revolution shifted the political empowerment from land to industry and innovators, but Ireland was behind this development on the European continent. The wealthier Irish

migrant of the early 1800s was not migrating to survive like the famine era migrants; they were hoping to capitalize on their skills and ideas.

This class of entrepreneurial immigrants also avoided the largely agricultural South for the more industrialized villages and towns of the Northeast. Immigration patterns tend to be driven by word of mouth. Catholics heard that the United States was more hospitable than Canada. Small entrepreneurs needed workers, which was spread by word of mouth through Irish circles from larger villages to the more remote ones. The Irish circle made an enormous contribution to building the industrial infrastructure of the Northeastern United States (Doyle, p. 689). What is consequential to this study is that this period also showed a growth in the number of Irish presses in the United States. Commerce drove the labor pool and increased the demand for advertising and information. Printing improved and larger presses had excess capacity, which became filled with the publication of smaller immigrant newspapers like the *Catholic Telegraph* in Cincinnati, the *Pilot* in Boston, and the *Catholic Herald* in Philadelphia (Doyle, p. 680-689). With the rise of newspapers came the rise of new political leaders who represented specific sectarian and geographic pockets of influence (p. 678).

This also led to an increased number of Catholic clergymen in the United States. In 1820, there was one Catholic bishop in the United States. By the 1840s, New York, Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati each had a bishop (Meagher, p. 52). The clergy followed the Irish migration as the Irish Christian Brothers would do later in the century. The pre-famine Irish Catholics had become schooled in their faith by this point and were less likely to shed Catholicism and slip into the Protestant mainstream of the United States. The increased secular emphasis within the Irish community made the Irish the dominant

ethnic group in the Catholic Church of the New World. It also planted the seeds of what Miller describes as the permanent exile mentality of the Irish (Miller, p. 131). They also became fixtures in the Democratic Party and would have nothing to do with Irish politicians who left the party of Jackson for the Whigs, whom they viewed as the symbol of Protestant oppression (Meagher, p. 58). As Meagher described, the Irish immigrants and their communities in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century became exclusively “Catholic, embattled and suspicious” (p. 59).

The era of the great famine, which happened between 1845 and 1849, is the most written about era of Irish history and the cause that most people - Irish or not - associate with the arrival of the Irish in the United States. Authors of Irish history have painted it as an Irish holocaust: “Many historians of famine Irish experiences in America depict a horror, a mass of impoverished, ignorant, bewildered Irish peasants washed up like so much flotsam in American ports where they suffered all the hardships that a new, raw, industrial, urban America could visit upon them” (Meagher, p. 61). The famine is a very complicated period of immigration history, because the above characterization doesn’t leave room for differences in experiences in both Ireland and in the United States. But the famine had a number of major influences on the evolution of the Irish immigrant community. The non- famine Irish immigrants left to seek better economic opportunities or to escape an unhealthy political climate. They tended to have more of an entrepreneurial bent; they were risk-takers, and they saw the new world of North America as a place exploding with opportunity. The famine Irish left because they had few options. At the height of the famine, many were shipped at British government expense to the United States to avoid a humanitarian crisis. The famine era immigrants were

sustenance farmers who lived hand to mouth, with the potato being their sole form of sustenance. They came from the rural backwaters of Ireland, like the Connemara region of Western Ireland. Most were illiterate and ignorant of ways in the United States. The caricature of the ignorant Paddy, a dirty, ape-like creature, began to appear in American newspapers during the famine migration. Despite the embrace of the famine as a period of great struggle a century later, the famine era immigrant was seen as an embarrassment by the Irish who preceded them. They were viewed as a slur upon everything that the Irish Americans had worked hard to create in the United States.

The famine was caused by a fungus believed to have been carried to Ireland from South America. It turned the potato into a soft, black, putrid mush. Fungus rotted the potato in the ground as well as in storage piles, so no matter how early it was harvested, the potato was destroyed. The potato fungus destroyed the crop from 1845 to 1849 (Keneally, p. 88). O'Grada estimates that one million people died from starvation during the famine, but many of those died from the sleight of diseases that were brought on by people's condition, which had been weakened from malnutrition (p. 88). The hardest hit counties were Mayo, Clare, and Munster. The fungus affected potato crops on the European continent as well, but it didn't have the devastating effect that it did in Ireland. The Irish population had grown during this period at a rate roughly three times that of the annual population growth in France (O'Grada, p. 63). Europeans were also significantly less dependent on the potato than the Irish were. This explanation put the blame on the Irish themselves, so nationalists blamed the core economic conditions on the greedy and oppressive land system in Ireland (O'Grada, p. 63). Early marriage was common in Ireland at this time, because the increased economic potential of a family improved the

opportunities to work on the large grain plantations. Though agricultural labor allowed for a slight improvement in the standard of living during flush economic periods, it was not enough to elevate the Irish to a higher level of economic independence (O'Grada, p. 66). Irish recollection of the famine is so embittered because Ireland was exporting grain while its people starved:

This claim is rooted in the peculiar economic necessity forced on the Irish peasant to grow wheat or other grains to pay the rent to the landlord while growing potatoes for his own family's food; or to labor in the raising of livestock for a larger farmer while being allowed the use of a small plot to grow potatoes as payment (Meagher, p. 67).

Most of the arable land in Ireland in 1847 was devoted to cattle and grain, which was almost entirely for export. The potato farms that the Irish depended on were merely subsistence gardens. Some Irish kept a few chickens for eggs and meat, but this was dependent on the potato as well. Chickens were fed with the skins or "pucks" of the potato. Mitchell, an Irish revolutionary who moved to the United States, described the situation: "When the Irish nation then being nine million, produced by their own industry on their own land and growing food enough to feed eighteen million, one cannot well say that Providence sent them famine" (Donnelly, p. 218). Donnelly also points out that the near complete dependence on the potato by the Irish wouldn't have been remedied if there were no grain exports: "The food gap created by the loss of the potato in the late 1840s was so enormous that it could not have been filled even if all the grains exported in those years had been retained in the country" (p. 32).

Irish landlords also felt the pressure. The British government put the responsibility of relief for famine victims on the Irish landlords. The tenants they were supposed to relieve were also not able to pay rent. It is disputed among historians how

many Irish were evicted, and estimates range from fifty thousand to two hundred fifty thousand people (Donnelly, p. 218). Hundreds of landlords lost their estates as well in the 1850s due to the Encumbered Estate Act, which sought to sell off assets to provide debt relief (O'Grada, p. 133).

The cycle of immigration for the Irish in the nineteenth century was to go to England first, because it was closer and cheaper, then Canada, and lastly the United States. By 1847 many of the immigrants were so sickly that as many as twenty thousand died en route to Canada and the United States (Watts, p. 41). The early famine migrants were in the best shape physically and financially. The second wave in 1847 had waited it out, hoping the next crop wouldn't fail, but illness exacerbated by malnutrition killed many en route. The bulk of those who stayed and died in remote regions of Ireland were those with the least ability, resources, and ambitions. The desperate situation of the famine era migrants meant that people were leaving nothing and carried even less. This created a population of subsequent generations of Irish Americans who knew very little about their Irish roots. Genealogy studies have become popular recently because of the digitizing of records. The poor leave few records, leaving the offspring of the famine era Irish immigrants with no connection to Ireland beyond a name.

Most of the Irish who did get to Canada or the United States ended up settling in Boston and New York City. One in six residents of New York City in 1855 was of Irish extraction (Meagher, p. 77). However, there were few exclusively Irish ghettos formed from the famine migration. Many lived as squatters on land that is now part of Central Park, some moved to Brooklyn, and large numbers shared the Five Points and the Sixth Ward on the Lower East Side with other ethnic groups (Swacker & Jenkins, p. 24). Most

became laborers or domestic servants and few escaped poverty (p. 24). The lack of financial means and skills meant that most famine immigrants never moved more than two hundred fifty miles from New York. More importantly, there were far more Irish arriving than available jobs and housing in New York. In 1858, more than half of the clients at the New York Alms House were Irish (p. 26). They also accounted for a substantial number of the men and women in jails. What made the famine era Irish even less welcome was that the Nativist movement was on the rise during the middle of the eighteenth century. Groups like the Know-Nothings and the Order of the Star Spangled Banner were fiercely anti-Catholic (p. 29). Ferrie's study of wages and economic mobility shows that the native-born worker did have something to fear in immigrants in general and the Irish in particular. The abundance of Irish who were laborers willing to do anything provided cheap labor that de-skilled the work of many artisans like cobblers (Ferrie, p. 79).

The Irish proved to be a boon for the union during the Civil War. There were almost one hundred forty thousand Irish who fought on the union side in the Civil War, despite the fact that they were mostly Democrats and anti-abolition (Miller, p. 493). The lack of education and skills of the Irish also meant that they suffered economically during the post-war depression era. The ethnic enclave started to become a fixture in American cities during this time, and the Irish were loyal to their own, particularly if they hailed from the same county. Despite the general impoverishment of the Five Points neighborhood, the Irish started tailoring shops, grocers, and saloons which established an Irish commercial class that led the way out of poverty (Meagher, p. 88). They also moved up in ward room Democratic politics. Political activism fit the Irish situation well,

because they were fiercely anti-Whig (who were mostly Protestants), and the saloons that became central to Irish social life made an excellent forum for political discussion. More churches appeared in the cities of the Northeast as well. There were twenty-two new churches built in Manhattan between 1839 and 1864 (Watts, p. 57). The Fenians took best advantage of the bitterness of the famine Irish:

The breadth and passion of their support suggest how they made Irish nationalism a third pole of the new Irish identity in America and how nationalist organizations would become but another critical piece of the infra-structure of Irish American communities.

Anchored by the growing strength of the Catholic Church, the Democratic Party and nationalists like the Fenians, the Irish American community slowly developed cohesiveness and coherence after the famine disaster (Meagher, p. 91).

The Scotch-Irish Protestants and the Irish Catholics would, however, never achieve any form of solidarity again. The Irish Protestants wanted to distance themselves from the hordes of “paddies” that arrived during the famine, so they assimilated further in the American Protestant mainstream. The concept of guilt became a characteristic of the Irish character during this period. There was the guilt of having survived, the guilt for ending up in such a hopeless situation, and the guilt that more could have been done for the cause of a united Ireland. The famine was also etched into the collective memory of subsequent generations of Irish Americans. The trauma, physical force, and sheer numbers involved kept the memory alive and inoculated the Irish of the next hundred years with the lingering slur of the permanent outsider, as Miller has described them. The famine fueled the fire for Irish American journalism and political activism in the United States as well: “The famine migration grew into a memory of oppression that the Irish in America would neither forget nor let their enemies forget. It also created a people too

huge and too distinct to hide their potential power or for others to ignore" (Meagher, p. 93).

By the late 1800s, the famine migration had ended, and the Irish-born population began to decline. For the first time in the United States, there were more Irish Americans than there were Irish (Miller, p. 497). The Irish began to search for an identity within American society. The second generation couldn't really say they were Irish, because they had never been there. As Shannon wrote, "They were in effect asking themselves who am I?" (p. 132). The migration declined to insignificance during the close of the nineteenth century because the famine had, in effect, eliminated an entire class of subsistence farmers (Miller, p. 510). The shift got the Irish away from crops and grains, and most of the land was replaced with pasturage for cattle and sheep (p. 510). Ireland, with the exception of Eastern Ulster, became almost exclusively pasturage. The newer farms, which averaged thirty acres, could only support one heir, who was usually the eldest son. The choice was either live on in Ireland as a bachelor and laborer or emigrate. The spinning and weaving trades had been industrialized, so the role of women became strictly domestic (p. 100).

But the options for emigrants improved because Ireland had a high quality national school system. The country still had a high birth rate, and the opportunities for the Irish improved from strictly physical labor in the new world. Although they still were on the lower socio-economic rung in the United States, they began to leave the neighborhoods of the Lower East Side for points north in Manhattan and Brooklyn. The term "lace curtain Irish" emerged, which described those Irish who had moved into the middle class. Combining a solid eighth grade education and the ability to read and write

English, the Irish began to work in white collar jobs as bookkeepers and clerks. The new white collar Irish began to push into Queens and the Bronx, where the Irish middle class neighborhoods began to emerge. The second generation Irish Americans were also more devout Catholics, largely because the Church began to establish a parochial school system in the larger dioceses of the east coast cities (Watts, p. 48).

The opportunity for homeownership in what was then the largely rural outer boroughs also gave the ethnic enclave more staying power. But the upper reaches of society were jealously guarded by the Protestant upper classes. The Irish reached a ceiling in the upper middle class. The neighborhoods, schools, clubs, and other establishments of the industrial class were strictly closed to Irish Catholics on the east coast. Many Irish moved into the upper echelons of society in the more wide open Western towns and cities, but not in New York or Boston.

The blue collar class of Irish began to experience a higher standard of living in the early 1900s, because the Irish were heavily involved in the labor movement in the United States. Many of the unions in New York during this period had a distinct socialist bent. The Irish were largely members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which was considered more conservative and less interested in class warfare than they were in simply elevating the standard of living of their membership (Miller, p. 500). As the financial condition of the Irish improved from hand to mouth existence, there was a surge of interest in things Irish, which ranged from language to music and sports. The interest in ethnic roots is prevalent today with the rise of genealogy societies and Irish dancing leagues. The interest in things Irish at the turn of the twentieth century was also a reaction

to the ceiling that the Irish reached within American society. Meagher described what emerged:

By the early twentieth century, Irish American definitions of themselves began to harden into a fixed form that would dominate in most Irish American communities. This was a militant American Catholicism. It had several hallmarks. Its first hallmark was an uncompromising almost jingoistic American patriotism (p. 115).

The Irish political persuasion was, however, far from conservative reactionaries. They were strong supporters of organized labor, private schools, and social welfare policies. Strong Catholicism and socialism weren't congruent, so the Irish were vocally anti-communist and patriotic. The Irish version of politics began to form itself in the early years of the twentieth century. With very few exceptions, the Irish were American patriots and Catholics first, leaving little room for socialist dogma. They were almost exclusively Democrats and began to run for local government very successfully.

The relative calm between the famine and the early twentieth century changed when Ireland erupted into full scale revolution by 1918 (Cottrell, p. 40). The brief civil war put economic hardships on Ireland because England was their main trading partner. As the revolution lost steam and partition was implemented, many of the IRA men who were the losers in the civil war emigrated en masse came to the United States. Between 1926 and 1936, the destination choice for emigration from Ireland switched from the United States to Great Britain. This was primarily caused by increased restriction on immigration to the United States during the height of the Depression. The demand for labor in England was growing, and the cost to travel to England was much cheaper than passage to the United States (Meagher, p. 124). The success rate of Irish immigrants began to improve in the early twentieth century. There were almost no illiterate Irish due

to the national school system, and the chains of family and friends made the transition easier for those immigrants entering the country for the first time. Improvements in transportation in New York City and an apartment building boom changed the destination of choice within New York City from Manhattan to Queens and the Bronx. The Irish-born immigrant also stood out more in the largely American-born Irish community, creating an “ethnic community within an ethnic community” (Miller, p. 497).

The Irish American character was largely shaped at this point by the parochial education of the Catholic Church. According to Moynihan and Glazer, “They seemed to eschew anything entrepreneurial and burrow into the lower echelons of government bureaucracies or safe stolid, public utilities like electric or telephone companies” (p. 257). This characterization is born out of the belief that Catholicism promoted stoic fatalism with a faith in a reward in heaven (Miller, p. 124). The Irish did manage to take control of the Catholic Church in New York and kept it out of the control of other Catholic ethnics until the latter part of the twentieth century (Watts, p. 59). The Church grew as the emblem of Irish ethnic identity, more so than the language, music, or culture of Ireland. The definition of being Irish began to take on the “starchiness” of Catholic stoicism as the Irish began to dominate the outer boroughs and suburban middle class in New York (Watts, p. 59).

Access to the elite schools and clubs in New York was closed to the Irish Catholics as a group, despite individuals having broken the ranks. The Irish were forced to remain insular and accepted exclusion stoically. But the economic success and education were allowing the second generation of Irish immigrants to feel the need for some type of cultural affirmation: “it was only in the late 19th century that a new

business corporate elite began to try to develop the institutional and associational infrastructure and community rituals that would forge them in a caste” (Meagher, p. 138). The starchiness of Catholicism also excluded them from the liberal intellectual elite within the Democratic Party. The Catholic Church inculcated the Irish with a special brand of conservatism, which was considered Fascist by the intellectual, left-leaning members of the party. There was also resentment over Catholic schools, which were dividing the nation on the value of a public school system.

The line between the old line Protestants and Jews in the Democratic Party was most divisive on the subject of communism. The ideological divide was not the issue. Polls showed that there wasn't a great difference between the Irish position and that of the liberal Democrats (Meagher, p. 141). The issue was not necessarily ideology but hegemonic battles between ethnic groups for control within the party. The Irish were strong in the labor movement despite their anti-communist bent. The Irish still viewed the system as being biased against them in favor of Protestants, and they weren't prepared by the mid-twentieth century to form risky alliances. The Church was also anti-communist, and for most Irish, union or not, this was sufficient. Conformity never paid off for the Irish, so maintaining a distinctive brand of Irish-Catholic Democrat remained into the 1960s, when most political ideologies were opened to question.

What made the Irish immigrants' journey most symbolic in the 1960s was the election of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency. This event broke the Protestant barrier, and it was also a formidable achievement to show that the Irish had finally arrived. Kennedy's assassination also served the Irish, because it elevated him to the position of American hero for eternity, as suggested by the flame over his grave in Arlington

National Cemetery. The 1960s and beyond also saw a mass migration of second generation Irish Americans from the cities to the suburbs. The movement spawned church and school building. The Irish economy was elevated during this period, which resulted in a decline in immigration in the 1960s. Emigration from Ireland had fallen from about four thousand a year in the 1960s to about one thousand a year by the 1970s. The Irish economic emergence was short lived, and the pressure to emigrate rose dramatically in the 1980s. The problem was that the former quotas that favored northern European countries like Ireland had been revised in the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which started to give more visas to Asian and Latin American countries (Coogan, p. 265). Immigration reform created a flood of Irish immigrants who overstayed their tourist visas, becoming illegals. The formerly “legal” Irish neighborhoods of Bainbridge and Woodlawn became a haven for largely laboring illegal Irish immigrants. The political clout of the Irish was felt with the writing of the 1987 Irish Immigration Reform Bill, which allocated sixteen thousand more visas to the Irish (O’Hanlon, p. 32). The illegal Irish of the 1980s had to deal with the difficulty of working and living illegally in the United States, but they were generally not poor. Studies showed that illegal Irish workers in New York City, on average, made twice what illegal Dominican workers made (O’Hanlon, p. 153). The eruption of renewed violence in Northern Ireland during this period also made this group of illegals fiercely nationalistic and pro-IRA.

But the problem of illegal immigration largely solved itself because economic conditions began to boom in the 1990s back in Ireland. Ireland became a destination for computer companies to man their help desks. The Irish economic boom was also the result of joining the European Union, which required Ireland to upgrade its civil

infrastructure and streamline the welfare system and taxation. Immigration slowed, and many of the Irish illegals returned permanently. The Irish immigrants in the 1990s were college educated and had arrived with secure jobs, many of them bypassing the Irish enclaves entirely. The Irish American outnumbered native-born Irish by a ratio of two hundred to one in the latter part of the twentieth century. The result was a renewed interest in Irish music and culture: “The cultural revolution that swept the United States in the 1960’s, with its rejection of modern bureaucratic civilization’s spiritual emptiness and its consequent passion for the ‘authentic’ and the ‘natural’ sparked a startling new interest in folk music and folk arts” (Meagher, p. 167). Irish studies and language programs became a popular area of the liberal arts beginning in the 1970s, but much of the renewal was driven by Madison Avenue style marketing. Irish festivals were sponsored by breweries and held in Irish bars that had become chain restaurants. Immigration had all but ceased from Ireland, and culture and pride of destiny is all that many Irish Americans had to cling to, “What was important now was that it was a choice. It was not determined by social or political constraints but chosen to fill some personal need for identification” (Meagher, p. 169).

Immigration Drives Circulation:

The history of Irish immigration is an important setup to interpreting the oral history and textual analysis in this study. The Irish immigrants who came during the tenure of the *Echo* were all educated because of the reforms that were implemented after the famine and in the lead up to the rebellion in 1918. This provided a strong readership market, which many of the other immigrant newspapers, like the Italian and Jewish newspapers, did not enjoy said John Ridge:

Of course, it's in English. All other ethnic newspapers were in their own languages. So you had a lot Irish Americans who would read it as well, whereas other ethnic newspapers, it was almost entirely from their own countries (Ridge, 2007).

The presence of a high number of Irish Americans always helped the circulation of the newspaper, but immigration was the life blood. The patterns of immigration were always directly correlated to the *Echo* circulation according to Claire Grimes:

When immigration would go up, circulation would go way up. Immigrants were huge. When immigration went down, circulation would go down. But by that time, the second and third and even fourth generation of Irish American was used to having it in their homes.

And they were our readership, distinct from the *Irish Voice* who just had the Irish immigrants initially. I don't know what their circulation is, but that's what I'm told anyway. At any rate they didn't have a market with the Irish Americans (Grimes, 2007).

Irish immigrants were also leaving neighborhoods of the Lower East Side and moving to the Bronx, upper Manhattan, and Yonkers in Westchester County. This migration was a well established pattern of mobility and gentrification performed by previous and subsequent ethnic groups. A new group would fill the vacuum made by other groups moving up. This expanded the circulation of the newspaper out of the city and it increased the responsibility to provide news outside the core enclaves:

That is what immigrants do. That is one of the most wonderful contributions that they make. The Irish did that with Yonkers; Yonkers was really down the tube and with the influx of Irish [the neighborhood was regentrified], and some of them came and went.

But a lot of them stayed there and bought homes and just rejuvenated that whole area. It is quite vital now (Grimes, 2007).

The traditional Irish immigrant prior to the 1960s was taking a one way journey. There was no real hope for returning. Edward O'Donnell agreed with Miller's characterization

of the Irish immigrant as a person locked in the economic struggle for survival, with their memories of being a secondary citizen in their own country, and carrying that mistrust to the new world:

I wouldn't even know how many, but a large percentage of Irish Americans definitely had that kind of exile mentality, that no man's land mentality, that they were no longer from Ireland, but they definitely weren't fully American, and never would be.

They reflected on their troubles in America, or they imposed on their troubles in America, kind of an exile narrative (O'Donnell, 2006).

Doing Tolerably Well in America:

The story that was sent back to family and friends remaining in Ireland was of economic opportunity in the United States. The twentieth century Irish were educated and literate and there was significant correspondence with family and friends who remained. There weren't stories about streets paved in gold as the cliché describes, but there was a way out, and there were fellow countrymen to help new arrivals along. A 1945 item in the "Odds and Ends" column in the *Echo* is typical of the optimistic time that was painted within the pages of the newspaper about the prospects and success rate of Irish immigrants. The piece was in response to an article in an unnamed Irish newspaper which warned of the risks in leaving Ireland for an unfriendly United States:

About the warning in an Irish newspaper that emigration was based on a delusion. They will have to come forward with something better than dire warnings of what may become of those who leave the native soil to seek a livelihood elsewhere.

The intending emigrants have seen summer after summer 'returned Yanks' parading in all their glory in Ireland dressed in the finest and money to burn. Fine feathers make fine birds and who doesn't want to be a fine bird?

The paper says nothing about this incentive to emigrate. This warning has been sounded in Ireland many a time, but the young people there with the

idea of going to America in their minds seem to regard it as a false alarm and taken scant notice. They know as everybody knows that the average Irish immigrant does tolerably well in America (1945, p. 5).

Marian Donohue, who has been reading the *Echo* for thirty-five years, reflects the economic conditions that most Irish immigrants faced. Ireland had the highest birthrate in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century, according to O'Grada (p. 63).

Ireland was primarily an economy of subsistence agriculture, with the farm being left to the eldest son. For women, this left marriage or immigration; Donohue chose the latter:

I mean, when I first arrived, I was getting paid a very low wage. But again, I was living in, so I was able to save money. And after four years of working six days a week, I mean I worked very hard, and I looked after two children, plus I cleaned the house, and that was like thirty-two years ago.

So, I did work very hard, but I saved my money, and once I got my green card, I went home for about a month. I came back, and I worked with them for another couple of weeks, and I gave my notice. And then, I started working for an insurance company downtown; from there, I met my husband, Sam (Donohue, 2007).

The *Echo* was always very clearly a Catholic newspaper, despite many who said that it was read by a mix of Catholic and Protestant immigrants from Ireland. The Irish Protestant pattern was to move away from the cities and rapidly immerse themselves in American society without drawing too much attention to themselves as Irish. Irish Catholics remained more insular and carried the sting of discrimination with them in the twentieth century, despite the large number of Catholic immigrants from other European countries like Italy and Poland. There were occasional references and announcements for the Ulster Irish Club, which was active in the 1930s and 1940s:

Well, there were a couple of Protestant societies. There was one called the Ulster Irish Club, it ran in the 1930s and 40s. It was supposed to be non

sectarian, but it was basically a Protestant group that had sympathies clearly with the British. They did invite Catholics to their meetings.

But underlying the whole thing was the Orange Order. Some of those journals are still around. It would be interesting to take a look at them. I think it's called the *Ulster Irish* (Ridge, 2007).

Despite stories of struggles and spending time as an illegal, most of the Irish who arrived before the 1960s came by ship, and illegal entry was more difficult and usually unnecessary. They had extended family to live with and there was a well established path to jobs. The twentieth century Irish diaspora was not the mass of starving, uneducated peasants that arrived in the nineteenth century at the height of the famine. Many who arrived in the 1920s were losers on the side of the Irish war of independence and they created an early core readership for a rabble rouser like Connolly:

Yes, one of the reasons was that so many of the people who come over as immigrants in their twenties were on the losing side of the Irish civil war. These guys that remained active until the 70s were actually leading things like Irish Northern Aid. You had all these revered old timers and you had legions of people who listen to their every word.

They were worshipped. It set a really republican tone to the whole New York community that was unlike Ireland. Charlie was very involved. I didn't know him personally. I know of him. He was very active in the Irish community.

He had his finger on what was happening. When the *Advocate* and the *Irish World* were going down, the *Irish Echo* was the last paper that was being run by people from Ireland. He still had his finger on the community. The *Echo* went up, while the other two went down (Ridge, 2007).

Covering the Irish troubles will be addressed in a later chapter, but the republican tone of the *Echo* was a welcome voice for the arrivals during the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Because of the revolutionary tone of the *Echo*, it shared many of the

traits of dissident newspapers. With dissident newspapers like the Cuban exile newspapers in Miami, there is intent to return to the homeland after a toppling of the regime. The tone and focus of the *Echo* was rebellion against British occupation of Northern Ireland with a sense of resignation that America was their best opportunity. The result was that the Irish were exiles in spirit, but they adapted a patriotic, almost grateful opinion of their newly adopted United States:

The intending emigrants have seen summer after summer ‘returned Yanks’ parading in all their glory in Ireland dressed in the finest and money to burn. Fine feathers make fine birds and who doesn’t want to be a fine bird? (“Odds and Ends”, 1952, p. 13).

The Catholic Church also ingrained a mindset of stoic resolve to turn the other cheek and prove their loyalty through work and military service. This brand of Irish patriotism remained through the Vietnam War, despite a significant trend toward war resistance by Americans of military service age.

The civil war was a driver for interest in the newspaper, but the provision of guidance to immigrants was equally important to readers. Flood spent a significant amount of time trying to unravel the immigration regulations for his readership in his column. Irish immigrants came to the United States via different routes with varied immigration statuses. The Irish came through Canada, on temporary work visas, visas for military service, and many simply overstayed visitors’ visas. An example is a letter from a man in 1945 who wanted to know about getting citizenship despite having arrived illegally into the country through Canada in 1924:

I shall feel deeply grateful if you would let me know if I can get my citizen papers. I came to the USA in May 1924. I came from Ireland by Canada without passport.

Response by Flood: Persons coming to the US before a certain date cannot be deported; others coming over can actually take out papers although they entered illegally. I am sending you to someone who can help you. There seems to be a lot of questions coming in about bringing persons here and going to Ireland after the war.

I would like to ask all who wrote to me on these matters to be a little patient. I am making inquiries in the proper quarters about these questions. (Flood, 1945, p. 16).

Going Back:

The desire to return for the famine era migrants was not a realistic consideration, but the twentieth century brought more opportunity. Conditions in Ireland began to improve slightly in the 1930s, but this was also bolstered by the Irish remittance, money sent back by successful immigrants to help family members. When prosperity returned to the United States after the Second World War, airplane travel increased, making returns for short visits possible. The longer the immigrant stayed in the United States, the less likely a full time return became:

That's a tough one, because from my own viewpoint, when I return to Ireland, I could tell you now, that I've lived here for so long, that I don't think that I could settle back comfortably in Ireland, because I've grown accustomed to the lifestyles here. And, I find that people are, especially younger families, are living paycheck to paycheck (Donohue, 2007).

The decision to return became more problematic after the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which reduced the number of visas issued to Irish citizens and resulted in a huge increase in Irish who would arrive on tourist visas and overstay, remaining as illegal aliens. This complicated the return in several ways. By overstaying their visas, illegals risked being arrested, fined, or minimally denied travel visas in the future. These actions made the decision to return for a visit more difficult. Ailbhe Jordan wrote about this problem in a

number of feature stories about the decision that people face and the implication of returning:

For instance, last week I did a story about – basically, it was a feature about - because there are so many Irish people going home - going back to Ireland, I had this couple who were unsure; they were like, ‘Should we stay, should we go?’ They reached that point; they’ve been here about five years and they were thinking about starting a family and blah, blah, blah.

So, I had that couple and the idea was to find two other couples to offer their advice. Like, one had moved and were delighted they moved, and one couple who had moved and weren’t so happy they had moved. So I did that and that was fine.

The couple who was thinking of moving - the male in the couple was illegal, was undocumented, and he was very worried about putting too much detail in the article, running the risk of identifying him in any way. I had to use false names for both of them, just in case someone associated the woman with him – just, you know, that worry, that constant kind of worry (Jordan, 2007).

The Invisible Irish:

Stories like this were hard to come by in the 1980s because immigration enforcement increased under the Reagan administration. Enforcement increased the need for secrecy that is characteristic of the illegal alien’s life:

Yeah, it definitely makes it more difficult. I mean the issue of - the immigration issue is probably the single biggest issue facing the Irish community at the moment. People are very wary, and understandably, about speaking to you - not so much on the record, but identifying themselves. (Jordan, 2007).

But it also fomented the first real agenda of activism for the *Irish Echo* directed at the United States government:

Absolutely, you have to be extremely sensitive. There are more and more issues with this kind of lobby, the relatively new formed associations, the Irish lobby, the immigration foreign lobby that they’ve been grooming up to Washington and that. You are seeing more Irish people coming out and

say, 'We're undocumented; we want the right to live here legally' (Jordan, 2007).

Immigrants from Northern Ireland by the 1970s were people who had become fed up with the troubles said Belfast *Irish Echo* reporter, Anna Cadwallader. Unemployment for Catholics was high, and families became worried that their children would get sucked into the cause that manifested itself with bombings and endless street battles with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC):

Well, they still have an interest. I mean, some of them left because they got fed up with the troubles; they were despairing. They're very interested in the thought that things will come right in the end. Some still, no matter how prosperous they become in the States, still desire to return home if the conditions were right (Cadwallader, 2006).

The 1970s saw a worldwide recession, but it was felt more strongly in Ireland. The recession resulted in a huge migration of illegals to the United States. By this point, the second and third generations were fully immersed in American society, and for many, harboring illegal relatives was too much of a risk to get involved with. Illegal immigration created a huge vacuum for advocacy on the part of the *Irish Echo*. In 1978 the newspaper published a report released by the United Irish Counties Association entitled "The Needs of the American Irish community in the City of New York." The report stated that the Irish population in New York was actually seven hundred thousand, which was three times the number that was reported in the census (Miller, p. 17). This group became the core of the readership in the 1970s:

Don't forget this was the explosion of the young undocumented, so it was important to appeal to them. We had formatted the paper so it was reader friendly; we had a strong sports section, had a very strong A&E section - not just because of them, but because it was news that they were interested in (Grimes, 2007).

One of the strongest voices in Congress and in the pages of the *Echo* was not even Irish:

Just going back a bit, there were a couple of Congressmen, US Congressmen, that took the Irish under their wing. In the, let's say, late 70s, early 80s, a guy by the name of Mario Biaggi - I'm sure you can Google him.

And Mario, for some reason, took a great interest, a great personal interest, in the Irish immigrants. He was quite prominent in the *Irish Echo* (Grimes, 2006).

Biaggi was an activist voice in pushing immigration reform as well as initiating a bill to boycott British goods in response to the January 30, 1972 Bloody Sunday shooting of peace marchers in Derry by British soldiers.

The root of the Irish immigration problems were the reforms outlined in the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which cut back on the quotas from European countries in favor of those in Latin American and Asia. The 1965 Act was viewed as a betrayal by President Lyndon Johnson, whom the Irish supported. A 1967 editorial summed up the feelings of betrayal in this way:

The new law gives preference to those with professional credentials and higher education. "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," says the message from the great lady. But now the message has changed.

Now the message is a cynical one. Give us your highly educated, your economically sound, your financially well off, but keep your young men and women who have no special skill. Is American now to turn its back on the Irish by imposing an economic brand of discrimination ("Editorial", 1967, p. 3).

The Irish felt betrayed by the revised immigration quotas, and the *Echo* expressed this sense of betrayal. However, it didn't take on the indignation and combative tone that the newspaper took on Northern Ireland. In 1967, an editorial quoted John Collins, then the

chairman of the American Irish Immigration committee, who noted that there had been an 80 percent drop in the number of Irish immigrants admitted to the country since the implementation of the law:

If our people were good enough to help build this country, to serve in its wars from the Revolution to Vietnam, to work in its factories, offices, cities and farms; then I say we are good enough to have a just immigration policy for our people. (“Editorial”, 1967, p. 3).

The immigration bill also happened to be during the Vietnam War, when non-US citizens could receive temporary visas if they enlisted and went to Vietnam. Numerous Irish took this route, possibly to increase their chances in getting a green card. A letter written to Frank O’Connor’s advice column expressed this frustration:

My personal feelings about fighting, and all that goes with it – such as digging in and fighting from the same foxhole as my American buddies, and taking the same chances of survival, or of being shot up or blown up – is that it is ridiculous and wrong that such a man be refused citizenship if he is lucky enough to return from this combat zone.

I think if politicians were to put themselves in our shoes, they would consider an alien returning from combat eligible for citizenship.

Reply: One of my past students was honored for bravery last week in Vietnam but will not be eligible for citizenship for another two years. For God’s sake, let us show the rage. Pettifogging politicians must be awakened (O’Connor, 1967, p. 8).

By the 1970s, the tone of editorials, letters, and feature stories took on a much more critical tone than the newspaper had maintained over the previous forty years. The *Irish Echo* rarely criticized the American government or the economic system. The general tone and feel from the record and in-depth interviews, was that the Irish reserved their animosity for England. The sense of betrayal felt over the repeal of the National Origins Act of 1924 for the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was palpable by the 1970s:

So much is going on in Washington it is easy to ignore what is not happening. Congress has indeed been active – actually flexing its flabby muscles – during the Watergate hearings which have virtually immobilized the executive branch of the government.

The present immigration law is unjust and should be amended. We American Irish need not apologize for pushing Congress to act to change the law. After all Congress needs to be pushed into action on this type of measure. So let's push ("Editorial", 1973, p. 3).

But a 1973 letter to the editor expressed a different view on the immigration reform bill.

The writer, Charles McConnell from Chicago, felt that Kennedy did a service to the cause of Irish Catholics [the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which put tighter restrictions on immigration from Ireland was initiated during the Kennedy administration but wasn't made into law until the Johnson administration] and the eventual uniting of Northern Ireland with the Republic. During the 1950s, the decade prior to the immigration bill, there were five hundred thousand people who left southern Ireland and ninety thousand that left Northern Ireland; almost all were Catholics. The writer felt that this drain of resources was depleting the ability of the Irish to fight for a united Ireland:

As most people know, this immigration policy was put into effect during the late President Kennedy's term of office [the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 was initiated during the Kennedy administration but it wasn't made into law until the Johnson administration]. Now, have any Irish Americans ever asked themselves about the reason for this immigration policy? For the Catholics in Northern Ireland to gain their civil rights or for Ireland to be reunited, the leaders in these causes must always be the young.

If the young people emigrate from Ireland, leaving only the old people behind, then an Ireland free from England will remain only a dream in the minds of the Irish and Irish Americans. From the study of history, young people cause the change in society and not the old people.

With this in mind, for a completely free Ireland, the immigration laws should remain as they are today (McConnell, 1973, p. 3).

Alpha Immigrants:

The Irish position in American society in 1970 had changed dramatically from a century before. The Irish “had arrived” by the 1970s, and the political clout that they held was real. There was support in the Senate from Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. Much of the support came from Italian American representatives like United States Representatives Mario Biaggi and Peter Rodino of New York. The Irish Italian Immigration Bill, the Donnelly Bill, was approved by the United States House of Representatives on March 16, 1972. The irony of the date wasn’t lost on the Irish or the *Echo*. The bill was passed on the day before Saint Patrick’s Day, one of the most important “meet and greet” opportunities for New York politicians who were looking for Irish support.

Ray O’Hanlon described how the Irish were pushed to the forefront of the immigration masses waiting to get into the United States from Mexico, the Philippines, and Korea. It was the power of the press. The Irish story was easy for reporters, because the Irish spoke English:

They didn’t appear foreign to the average English speaking America. The Irish were accorded the privilege – and it was a privilege – of being described in terms of national or ethnic rather than racial terms. This helped when tapping the very tangible good will factor as so many Americans considered themselves at least part Irish too.

The hefty representation that the Irish had in the media was another factor. There was, quite simply, a lot of Irish Americans producing and directing the segments: speaking to camera, assigning the reporters, writing the stories, editing them and pushing them into prime spots on page this or that(O’Hanlon, p. 56).

That same press has given a significant amount of negative press to the issue of the “border.” The border they were addressing, however, was the border with Mexico, not

the one dividing Northern and southern Ireland. The *Echo* was clearly the loudest print voice supporting the Donnelly Bill because it benefited Irish illegals and those back in Ireland wanting to immigrate. Immigration for the Irish was treated as a separate issue, as Grimes describes:

When people from Europe emigrate, of course years ago there was only one way to go and that was by boat. They left their families, and they would never see them again. Then of course, there was the airplane that became a frequent mode of transportation.

It was the mentality: you cross an ocean, and that is quite different from taking a walk and crossing a border. That mentality shouldn't be dismissed. That is very different; these people are here for a brief time and should make an allotment to safeguard their families back home, and it is just a different mentality.

You have to look at it like that, that there is a distinction (Grimes, 2007).

Advocacy for their ethnic readership is the function of all ethnic media. Taking on a broad-based appeal for all illegal immigrants would have watered down support from readers as well as the Irish American political clout. The large group of what O'Hanlon described as the "alpha immigrant 1980s style" proved to be a real test for the second generation. The illegal neighborhoods like Bainbridge and Woodlawn were very close to the second generation living in Westchester and Manhattan. The presence of their illegal countrymen was only felt when the "narrowbacks" decided to go slumming at the Irish music clubs. The broad issue of immigration rights was a stretch for a generally conservative group:

You know something, I don't have an answer. I've given it a lot of thought and I simply don't have an answer. And I don't think anyone else does either. It is a huge conundrum for this country, huge. I would like to separate the problem from the Irish situation and I really can't.

I think I look at it as a whole, and that is my take on it. I just find it very disturbing and I can't come up with an answer; I simply don't have one (Grimes, 2007).

The undocumented Irish of the 80s and 90s were the direct beneficiaries of immigration reform, and the *Echo* was a beneficiary as well. The Irish of this era were loyal readers and advertisers. Many went on to own businesses and do “tolerably well” as Cadwallader described:

People make a lot of money in the States, and they can save up and come home. I don't know too much about that. I know the people whom I know personally, who if they had remained living here would still be on public welfare, have gone to the States and made massive successes [of themselves] and became millionaires and stuff.

That is in the last twenty years, and if they had stayed here, they would still be economically very marginalized. Given the opportunity, given a level playing pitch, they showed that they can really achieve things (Cadwallader, 2006).

But the Irish immigrants from this era formed a community within a community. Within the New York City Irish community, Irish-born are called “donkeys” and the American-born or second generation Irish are called “narrowbacks.” A mutual resentment developed between the two generations. The second generation saw the Irish-born as a threat, and the Irish-born often saw the second generation as a pampered lot who had what they wanted – citizenship. The conflicts sometimes resulted in fights within the neighborhoods of the Bronx in particular. Theresa Geoghegan, a lifelong reader of the *Echo*, described it this way:

They don't hit it off. I don't think so. You know, my son even found that, when he was in Manhattan College, they'd go to the bars on 242nd Street, and he said when a group of Irish guys came in, you know there was going to be a fight.

He said, because they all seemed to have chips on their shoulders, they pick some fight with an American kid over something stupid. A couple drinks in them, and they're ready to fight everybody. I mean, it gives them a bad reputation (Geoghegan, 2006).

Jordan said that she was aware of the conflicts, but the undercurrent never made its way into the pages of the *Echo* in any substantial way:

I mean, I'm certainly aware of that having happened. Now, since I've been here, there's never been any major instance in the time I've been here, so it's difficult for me to answer in a way. I don't think we could ignore it because it's so obviously a story that involves two of our core readership groups, and that is the Irish immigrants and the Irish-American.

Yeah, I mean, there's definitely, I mean, definitely if you read the paper yourself – sorry, not you specifically but anyone who reads the paper is probably - it's fair to say that it's very much... written from an Irish perspective, for want of a better way of putting it.

Now, I don't mean that to say it's completely biased for Irish people, because as I say, if an Irish person commits a crime or something like that... If it happens, we'll report it. But Irish people and Irish events are our whole reason for existence, I suppose, and maybe with that there does come a certain...caution. Caution, yeah, and desire to not... yes, caution is even the best way of putting it (Jordan, 2007).

The 'New Irish' Immigrant:

The economy improved and the 1990s was a magical time for Ireland because of economic reform, admission into the European Union, and a decreased need for young Irish to emigrate. The “new Irish,” as O'Hanlon described them, were more educated and had options. They went to work in financial services and the new media startups that were appearing in “Silicon Alley” in lower Manhattan. *Irish Echo* columnist Elaine Ni'bhraonain said that many were bypassing the traditional Irish ghettos of the outer boroughs for Greenwich Village and the Upper East Side:

It's hard to describe to people who I am not sending money back home to my family and that if I was living in Dublin I would be living the exact

same life paying astronomical rents. Dublin is as expensive as New York. We don't get to know Americans that much, which is too bad.

All of my Irish friends live in Manhattan; they finished their degrees at home and they got their visas and are working in corporate America. It's not like they're illegal working on building sites (Ni' Bhraonain, 2007).

The new Irish were not the Irish who New York was accustomed to, and the *Echo* had to address them in different ways:

That traditional image of the Irish, and indeed many of the immigrant Italians, you know getting off the boat, sailing off to America and never coming back. I think that has almost entirely disappeared. What you have now is people come over here by choice, and they have so many more options, and people don't have to stay, and I suppose that makes it difficult (Jordan, 2007).

Affluence, education, and options changed the *Echo*. As Sean Mac Carthaigh described at the beginning of this dissertation project, "This is not your father's *Irish Echo*."

O'Donnell echoed this sentiment in a different way:

I just think that young Irish, coming from Ireland, coming to America, they have no romantic notions of Ireland, and the Church, and the sort of pillars of Irish identity. Not to say they're self loathing - you know I think undoubtedly some of them who are [interested in Irish culture and history] would be interested in my take on Michael Collins, or reading about the Irish in the American Civil War - but I would think that probably far less (O'Donnell, 2006).

The content of the newspaper began to reflect the new generation, and it was resented by many of the old Irish American readers. Some of them, like Terrence O'Neill, saw the Irish economy as another trick by the British against the stalwart supporters of Irish unification:

Well, the reason the economic upswing is something that was long overdue and I think was a reward for not going for unification. Get their mind off of the nationalist thrust; it's been on their mind for about thirty

years or so. It's a 'troubles' thing. It's a gift made up by the English and the Irish.

The English and the Americans have more power in the community. It's a gift to them to keep them going, and it's a bubble, so sooner or later it's going to burst. It's just like all the periods of prosperity over there (O'Neill, 2006).

This will be addressed further in the chapter on the Irish civil war.

Summary:

Advocacy for immigrants in the *Irish Echo* was a consistent theme throughout the newspaper's history. The content and focus of this function evolved with the rise and fall of immigrants arriving in New York and it changed with the needs of this loyal component of the readership. Much of the content that falls under the function of guidance is directed at the immigrant readers. The newspaper encouraged immigrants and emphasized that despite the hard struggle in a competitive nation most Irish immigrants did 'tolerably well'. Unlike the famine era Irish, most immigrants since 1928 held out the hope of returning to Ireland. Accounts of those who returned, the visa related problems of returning and the difficulty of re-adjustment, accounted for a significant amount of immigration related content. The *Echo* was on the forefront in pushing immigration reform when the number of illegal Irish immigrants spiked up in the 1980s. Covering immigration was also difficult during this period as the newspaper tried to balance content directed at struggling illegals while keeping the second generation happy with Irish history and culture. The 'Celtic tiger' or the robust Irish economy has forced the *Echo* to change again in the 1990s to make readers out of the young 'new Irish' immigrants who have largely bypassed the traditional Irish neighborhoods. Grimes

emphasized that immigration drives circulation but the Echo's history shows that not all Irish immigrants were alike.

CHAPTER VIII

IRISH CIVIL WAR

Introduction:

The founding of the *Irish Echo* came at the end of conventional military operations of the Irish civil war. This period was the beginning of the “long war,” which was financed and supported largely from the United States and England, where republicans had fled to avoid jail or worse.

Connolly was one of these republicans, and he founded the *Irish Echo* with the intent of using it as a sounding board to keep the spirit of Irish independence alive within the large New York Irish community.

Historical Background:

Conflict in Ireland permeated the twentieth century and saturated the news hole of Irish American newspapers like the *Irish Echo*. What became known as “the troubles” however refers to the period of unrest that began with the 1968 civil rights marches in Belfast and ended with the Belfast Agreement in 1998, which is symbolically referred to as the Good Friday Agreement. This period invigorated Irish American journalism and the underlying community who had been inoculated with the bitterness of their ancestors toward their English oppressors. However, ethnic strife is frequently placed within the frame of horse race journalism. Conflict is reduced to two or three major players and current developments are elevated to the most important. The troubled history and resentment of the late twentieth century needs to be placed in historical context to better understand the roots of the conflict. The issue is often framed as exclusively a conflict between the English and the Irish, Catholics and Protestants, or occupied (the Irish) and

occupier (the English). The root of the troubles is permeated with internecine rivalries, intervention by the Vatican and European powers, and a struggle for economic resources and autonomy.

The roots of the conflict began with the Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169 by Richard Strongbow at the invitation by Dermot MacMurrough, the then exiled king of Leinster (Moloney, p. 537). MacMurrough's invitation was endorsed by Henry II, who saw the conquest of Ireland as a way to extend English empire, not the establishment of an autonomous kingdom (Padden, p. 41). Henry II was given a decree to invade Ireland by Pope Adrian IV in the form of a writ, and the tribal chiefs of Ireland relented to Strongbow's army. The clouded purpose of the Norman invasion was the beginning of continuous conflicts of interest between the English and the Irish. The emplacement of Strongbow by Henry II was also the beginning of indifference to the affairs within Ireland: "So long as the country's nobility paid lip service to the King's Writ they were left more or less to their own devices, whilst the Crown only tended to pay attention when there was a threat to its authority or when foreign invasion loomed" (Cottrell, p. 14).

The English King's purpose in invading Ireland was to extend the empire for his sons, while the Pope in Rome saw it as a means of converting the heathen population of Ireland to Catholicism. The Church believed that the entire world was its jurisdiction because it had been decreed to the papacy by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century (Padden, p. 41). Conversion to Catholicism was the means to this end. The troubles, which have often been characterized as a long struggle between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, are rooted in twelfth century collusion between the English

monarchy and the Church. The fragmentation of Irish society along Catholic and Protestant lines didn't begin until the Protestant Reformation almost five hundred years later (Cottrell, p. 17). The break between England and the Catholic Church in Rome was part of a trend throughout Europe to break away from the influence of Rome. The Church of England began as a component of the Catholic Church in Rome but evolved into a separate entity whose authority was derived from the English government. Like the church before it, the Church of England sought converts. Conversion was mainly accomplished through colonization. The extension of religious authority is often thought of as a process of aligning the spiritual faith of the underlying population, but this is the overt interpretation. The acquired wealth of the Catholic Church became more apparent during the Renaissance. The rising middle class, resentment by the poor, and jealousy of the rich created a general anti-clerical trend in England. The Renaissance saw an increased movement of people to the cities and accelerated exploration for raw materials and colonization to create markets for manufactured goods. Economics was at the root of the Catholic and Protestant split in Ireland.

As the struggle for control of Ireland took on the dimension of a religious struggle, Henry VIII concluded that Ireland needed an infusion of English blood (Shannon, p. 4). He declared himself King of Ireland in 1541 and the six counties of Ulster were established as Ulster Plantation. Henry's purpose was to break the power of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy as well as the native Irish tribal chieftains (Padden, p. 46). The planters of the 1600s evicted native land owners because the Penal Laws stripped the rights of ownership from any dissenters from the Anglican Church. This included Presbyterians. The Penal Laws were mainly directed at Catholics, both native Irish and

the established Anglo-Irish barons who remained Catholic: “Ultimately the Reformation and the plantations created a socio-economic underclass of the Gaelic Irish Catholic majority who were governed and looked down on by an Anglo-Irish Protestant minority” (Cottrell, p. 14). The plantations took three and a half million acres of land away from the Irish ruling class. Despite a series of failed insurrections, control by the Irish aristocracy in the North was broken. Southern Ireland “beyond the pale,” or the land beyond a few miles of Dublin, remained wild and under control of the Irish chieftains, who also remained Catholic (Shannon, p. 5).

In 1649, Oliver Cromwell came to power and led what many interpreted as a religious crusade into Ireland. Cromwell’s campaign ended with the massacre of three thousand members of the Irish force at Drogheda, which included many Catholic priests. The death toll nationwide as a result of the war was three quarters of a million people (Shannon, p. 5). Cromwell rewarded his soldiers with two thirds of the land in Ireland. The Irish at this point had been simply fighting for the rights to their land and freedom to practice their religion, rather than political autonomy and national independence (Shannon, p. 5). Many of the Irish aristocracy, who became known as the “Wild Geese,” fled abroad to Europe and the Americas. It was the beginning of the long trend of Irish emigration and the “exile image” that Miller described (p. 107). The Penal Laws also reduced the Irish who remained to beggars and serfs in their own country. The status conferred on the Irish by the Penal Laws incubated a simmering hatred by the Irish of all things English. Hatred was filtered through social memory to subsequent generations, and was illustrated in the *Irish Echo* throughout the 20th century.

The Penal Laws failed to render conformity, and their removal in 1780 marked the beginning of the formation of militia groups by Catholics and Protestants. The transplanted Protestants felt betrayed and responded with the formation of the “Peep O’Day Boys” who attacked natives. The Catholics responded with the formation of the Defenders (Moloney, p. 537). But the conflict was not along strict sectarian lines at this point. A nativist movement, which established the Society of the United Irishmen, consisted of Catholics and Protestants who were united against control by a foreign power. They launched the United Irish Rebellion, which was put down by British forces in 1798. The 1798 rebellion, or the “98,” was inspired by the French Revolution, and the French sent troops to augment the Irish forces against their mutual and bitter enemy, the British (Beiner, p. 202). The failure of the United Irishmen was a crucial turning point in the nationalist movement. The loyalists formed the Orange Order, which lasted in different forms into the twentieth century. Its purpose was to break the back of any future rebellions by separating Protestants and Catholics into permanently warring camps (O’Malley, p.12).

In 1801, the Act of Union created the political glue that united England and Ireland as components of the United Kingdom (p. 12). The union continued to endorse institutional discrimination against Catholics, which led to the Catholic Emancipation movement in 1829, led by Daniel O’Connell, who became an Irish folk hero. The movement was ostensibly a civil rights movement, but O’Connell hoped to repeal the Act of Union, restore the Irish Parliament, and subsequently declare independence (Cottrell, p. 17). This was the beginning of what became the “Home Rule” movement (Hopkinson, p. 6-7).

The Home Rule conflict divided the country into two political parties: nationalists who wanted independence and unionists who wanted to remain a part of Great Britain. The mainstream members of the Nationalist Party weren't for severing all ties with England; their aim was self governance. Nationalists who wanted to sever all ties with England were considered the radical fringe of the party. The mainstream nationalists evolved into the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) under the leadership of Charles Parnell, who emphasized home rule and land reform (Cottrell, p. 17). Ulster province, by this point, had strong unionist support. Many of these were descendants of the Scotch Protestants who were moved to Ulster a century before to counter-balance Catholic influence. Ulster was also the most industrialized part of Ireland and was economically dependent on free trade with England (Bell, p. 47). The linen and ship building trade made Belfast a major industrial city. The Protestants in the North feared that the activities of the Catholic dominated nationalists in Dublin would have a chilling effect on Belfast commerce. In response, they formed a number of secret defense groups, including the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) (Hopkinson, p. 157). Many of the members of the British army quartered in Ulster were Irish-born loyalists as well, which further embittered Catholics. Loyalist mobilization catalyzed the formation of secret nationalist societies, two of which were the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the Fenian Brotherhood.

Most of the nationalist societies and efforts during the late 1800s failed. Because of these failures and the great famine, many chose or were forced to emigrate. The bulk of this migration ended up in the United States and Canada. The Fenians organized in the United States and made an unsuccessful, abortive invasion of Canada in 1866 (Cottrell, p. 17). After the invasion of Canada, the Fenians became known as the Irish Republican

Army (IRA). The IRA of this period was an embittered group, and they set the anti-British tone for Irish American journalism for the next 140 years. The failure to win the civil war forced many nationalists to flee to the United States. Nationalism became implanted by this first generation, as Glazer and Moynihan described: “For the Irish, nationalism gave a structure to working class resentments that in other groups produced political radicalism” (p. 241). Many of these embittered Irish immigrants financially supported nationalist organizations back in Ireland. The Irish American view of affairs in Northern Ireland was never quite in sync with the political evolution that was slowly taking place in Ireland. The Irish American sentiment was congruent with the radical nationalist views of the nineteenth century. Cottrell wrote that “The most significant Irish émigré, both then and now, were those who crossed the Atlantic to Britain’s first lost colony, the USA. Many Irish-Americans hoped for the day when they could return and throw off the ‘yoke of Saxon tyranny’, that, in their eyes, was responsible for all of Ireland’s ills” (p. 17).

The Home Rule movement continued to build momentum into the twentieth century, and unionist organizations garnered members and stockpiled arms because of IRA infiltration and propaganda. Home Rule advocates like the Irish Parliamentary Party were making headway in the British Parliament. A limited home rule bill was passed in 1914, but it fell short of the republican expectations (Hopkinson, p. 6-7). Protestants in the North vigorously denounced home rule. World War I pushed the issue of home rule to the back of the agenda (p. 27). In 1916, the IRA and the Irish Volunteers launched an uprising in Dublin. It was put down by British forces, and fifteen of the uprising’s leaders were killed, making them martyrs and greatly radicalizing Irish sentiments (English, p.

4). The uprising and its results empowered the Sinn Fein Party, which illegally set up the Da'íl (Irish Parliament). Guerilla fighting spread throughout Ireland and the IRA declared itself the army of Ireland, launching attacks against “military targets,” including police and security forces, which included many Catholics. These campaigns, which were waged up until 1920, are significant because Irish Home rule paramilitary groups began to view all activities of the British government as enemy activity, whether they were Catholic or not. The tone and message was that working for the British government was colluding with the enemy, and Irish Catholics who did so became targets as well (Hopkinson, p. 167).

The strong negative sentiments toward Great Britain by the Irish also put them at odds with the United States, particularly during the World Wars. There were significant anti-British sentiments among Irish Americans, and many of the Irish American organizations were believed to be infiltrated by German propagandists (Griffin, p. 23). In 1915, a joint German and Irish rally was held with the purpose of trying to keep the United States from entering the war (p. 23). The Irish conflict with England surprised many Americans, who viewed the Irish American efforts as anti-American. Failure to rally behind the allies contributed to the stigma of Miller's theory where the Irish viewed themselves as permanent exiles. Shannon described the archetypal Irishman at the turn of the twentieth century as:

A man at the bottom who knows he is at the bottom and must conserve and endure or crack up. The Irish did not break. They mustered their aggressiveness, rolled and twisted their anger into a knot, and tried to hold on to what was theirs: their rights in the land, their family identity, their memories, their pattern of speech, and their way of looking at the world (p. 9).

Great economic and social strides were made by Irish Americans in the early twentieth century, but their inability to see Great Britain as an ally opened their patriotism to question (Hopkinson, p. 169). There was also evidence that there was a disconnect between the assimilated Irish, many of famine era parentage, and the more radicalized new immigrants. Americans never fully understood the radical Irish hatred of all things British, which continued to isolate the Irish, especially as they rose to the middle and upper middle classes. The loyalty and heroics of Irish American soldiers during World War I greatly softened anti-Irish sentiments. In 1918, one hundred thirty-eight members of the United States House of Representatives sent a petition to the British Prime Minister, urging him to settle the “Irish question”(Griffin, p. 1917).

Sinn Fein separatists continued the pressure in Ireland, and the Irish began to recognize the Da’il as the governing body of a separate Irish state. The war of this period between 1918 and 1921 is significant because it resulted in the partition of Ireland into southern Ireland, which became the Republic of Ireland, and Northern Ireland (Hopkinson, p. 163). The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 legitimized the partition, and the war in the south ended with the creation of the Irish Free State. Northern Ireland remained part of Great Britain, with its own Parliament, which largely legislated over local affairs. The structure in Northern Ireland was satisfactory to most unionists, but Irish nationalists saw it as an illegal partition. The system of governance was believed to have been gerrymandered in favor of Protestant districts (O’Malley, p. 15). The Catholic Irish nationalists accounted for thirty-five percent of the population of Northern Ireland in the 1920s, and the violence and renewed civil war shifted to the North. Much of the violence was directed at Catholic nationalists by loyalist militias and through skirmishes

with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the British army (Hopkinson, p. 180). The Irish civil war in Northern Ireland was bloody. Both sides committed atrocities, usually acts of revenge or retribution for assassinations. What became clear during this phase of the conflict was that civilians were now targets and churches were routinely bombed and burned. Many of the loyalists' militias, like the black and tans, were made up of World War I veterans lured into the fight with the promise of money (Padden, p. 154). At this point in the history of the troubles, the IRA was outlawed in both the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. In 1925, the Boundary Commission made the partition of Ireland permanent.

One of the most visible heroes of this period of the conflict was Eamon de Valera, an American-born Irishman who returned to Ireland to fight on the side of the Irish nationalists during the civil war. De Valera saw Ireland's best chance for unification garnered from convincing the United States to intervene (Padden, p. 156). He met with President Woodrow Wilson unsuccessfully, and came away from the meeting believing that Wilson hated the Irish like an Ulster Orangeman (p. 155). However, De Valera was very successful in enlisting political and financial support from Irish Americans (p. 156). Irish American support of the Irish civil war has always been an anomaly. It is not really a true political position. Despite dreams of returning to Ireland, most knew that was not likely. The second generation had already become entrenched in American society. Support of the Irish rebels was a demonstration of solidarity against the inferior treatment that the Irish suffered under the British and that many believed was the root cause of social mistreatment in the United States: "Self government would remove the stigma,

fulfilling a psychological and social need for respectability that had long eluded the upwardly mobile Irish in America” (Dezell, p. 198).

The Irish civil war ultimately failed. Failure was partly due to internecine rivalries among nationalists and turf wars between de Valera and Michael Collins, another heroic nationalist figure in the rebellion. But the Anglo Irish Treaty of 1921 split the opinion of the Irish between pro-treaty and anti-treaty forces. The split had certain parallels to the American Civil War, where families were split in their allegiances, often pitting fathers and brothers against each other in combat (Metress, p. 11). De Valera’s anti-treaty forces were outgunned by the pro-treaty nationalist forces, and he was forced to go underground. This began what would be referred to later in the century as “the long war.” The split in Ireland also split the opinion of Irish Americans for the first time. Irish Americans began to arrive in the economic mainstream of American society, and their attention was turned to issues of American politics, which became more pressing for them at this stage: “Most Irish Americans, satisfied with the virtual independence of Ireland, turned their attention to purely American issues” (Griffin, p. 25).

DeValera was jailed briefly at the end of the war, and by the 1930s, he had formed the Fianna Fail, whose purpose was to allow Ireland to achieve its destiny as a united Ireland free of British control. He did this as a “former revolutionary,” creating a parallel state of Ireland in which he served as Prime Minister on and off until the late 1950s. Fianna Fail broke with Sinn Fein completely, and his government banned the IRA and other para-military groups that remained in Ireland (Padden, p. 161). The IRA remained despite many being executed by De Valera. The IRA declared war on Great Britain with a new strategy of bombings in English cities. The strategy was to define the

real war with England, and it forbade attacks against southern Ireland security forces. The Irish Free State government neither condoned nor condemned the IRA bombing campaigns in England, and the secret war built momentum up until World War II (Padden, p. 165).

World War II gave the Irish nationalist an opportunity to put pressure on England to reunite Northern Ireland with the Irish Free State. De Valera's position at this time was that Ireland wouldn't get involved in the war with Germany as long as England controlled Northern Ireland. Many Irish did fight in the war next to British soldiers, and Irish Americans fought on the American side. The decision by the Irish government to remain neutral was viewed by many Irish Americans as disloyal. Neutrality widened the divide between Irish Americans and the government of Ireland: "When Ireland remained neutral during World War II most Irish Americans were shocked. Irish Americans, who tend to be a patriotic lot, felt let down by DeValera and the land of their ancestors" (Metress, p. 12). Ireland was accused of being sympathizers with Hitler and the actions of De Valera before and during the war promulgated this attitude: "For De Valera not to see by 1945, that what Hitler had done and was doing to powerless victims (Poles, Slavs especially Jews) paralleled what had been done to the Irish by the British was willful blindness" (p. 163). The refusal of De Valera and many Irish to denounce Hitler was an action driven by animosity toward England, not sympathy with the Fascists. Irish Americans began to cool on De Valera because:

The free state was a reasonable response to the Irish demand for freedom that Ireland's sovereignty would resolve. By insisting that Ireland must be Gaelic as well as free, post treaty Irish nationalism became parochial, exclusive, isolationist and irrelevant to the Irish of the Diaspora making their way in the urban industrial centers of the English-speaking world (Dezell, p. 200).

As much as the Irish government claimed a position of neutrality, they turned British pilots shot down over Ireland back to the British, and German pilots were interred for the duration of the war. During the late 1940s and the 1950s, the IRA remained underground but more visible. As Padden described it, “they were given the ok to march again” (p. 161). But the long IRA border campaign was largely abandoned by 1962 (Moloney, p. 56).

The fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter rebellion, combined with the internationally recognized civil rights movement in the United States during the 1960s, marked the beginning of what is commonly referred to as “the troubles.” Large scale civil rights marches were staged to condemn the unequal treatment of Catholics in the North and a general dissatisfaction with partition (Bell, p. 54). Ulster Protestants saw this movement as a threat, and the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed. The troubles started as a peaceful movement modeled after the civil rights movement in the United States started by Martin Luther King Jr. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) held a peaceful demonstration in 1967, but it quickly devolved into violence between nationalist and loyalist groups who were either too impatient for the nonviolent route or saw the movement as a threat to their autonomy. The aims of NICRA were to address the gerrymandering of political districts in the North that favored Protestant districts, fairness in employment and housing, and elimination of the Special Powers Acts, which allowed internment without trial for individuals who were perceived as a threat to Crown authority in Northern Ireland (p. 54). The peace marches in Belfast generated a violent

response from loyalist reactionaries with passive assistance from the Royal Ulster

Constabulary (RUC):

Scenes of loyalists' attacks on nationalist ghettos in an attempt to burn them out appeared on prime time American news. Likewise nationalists counter attacks which led to the barricading of their ghettos and the appearance of regular British Army patrols on the streets of Northern Ireland raced across TV screens (Metress, p. 13).

The height of the street battles between nationalists and loyalists was seen at what became known as the battle of the Bogside in 1969. The predominantly Irish Catholic neighborhood of Bogside had been barricaded after the civil rights marches, and an Ulster loyalist militia group organized a march past it. The skirmish decayed into a citywide street battle between the British security forces and Irish nationalists (O'Malley, p. 105). The RUC tried to put down the rioting with armored personnel carriers in the largely Catholic sections, which resulted in the killing of a nine year-old boy in the Falls Road area of Belfast. The IRA was accused by many Catholics of doing very little to defend the Catholic sections, which were largely burned down by loyalists militias, leaving fifteen hundred Irish families homeless. The British army was brought in by late 1969 to restore order, because the Irish population was so inflamed at the RUC and Northern Ireland security forces, whom they considered to be instigators. Both sides welcomed the army. But the nationalists soon cooled to the British army, whom they also considered to be supporting the unionists.

The scenes from Northern Ireland inflamed many Irish Americans, especially the predominantly blue collar working class Irish who remained in the cities of the Northeast. Michael Flannery formed Noraid in 1970, which ostensibly collected funds for the widows and orphans of imprisoned IRA soldiers. Flannery, who was eventually arrested

for gun running, insisted that Noraid was humanitarian relief and he was quoted as saying, “an IRA fighter who is freed from financial worries for his family is a much better fighter” (Dezell, p. 201).

The bloodiest period of the struggle for Irish civil rights and independence was the early 1970s (Bell, p. 483). Both sides pointed to different events as to what caused the downward spiral. Unionists saw the formation of the provisional IRA, which was a breakaway from the traditional or Official IRA. The Provos were committed to a militaristic armed struggle to overthrow British rule in Northern Ireland (O’Malley, p. 15). The nationalists blamed the violent response by unionist gangs against peaceful marchers during the civil rights movement. They also pointed to the practice of internment without trial, which was used almost exclusively against Irish Catholics. The Provos were formed as defenders of the underlying Catholic community, who were being burned out and killed by the unionist militias with passive support from the Northern Irish security forces. The tactics of the Provos were to destabilize Northern Ireland’s institutions, weaken British resolve to maintain the union, and reunite Northern and southern Ireland independent of Great Britain (O’Malley, p. 16). The Official IRA, which had evolved into a Marxist political group looking for wide scale reform, also resorted to taking up arms despite initial intentions of nonviolent resolution.

In Derry on January 30, 1972, Irish Catholics were holding an illegal but peaceful protest when the protest turned violent, and the British army fired on protestors, killing 13. The event that became known as Bloody Sunday became the flashpoint that inflamed the Catholic population who gave tacit support to a retaliatory widespread bombing and killing campaign by the Provisional IRA (Metress, p. 13). Bloody Sunday also mobilized

the support of Irish Americans and gave Noraid their “first big publicity break” (English, p. 152). The Bogside killings of fourteen protestors also demonstrated the hopeless situation that the British army was working in. The largely peaceful demonstration was incited to violence by bands of loyalist thugs along the parade route. The RUC’s complicity of inaction with the loyalists turned a fairly benign event into an international incident (p. 148). In 1972, the Provos committed over a thousand bombings, killed one hundred soldiers and wounded another five hundred. The Provisional IRA began a campaign of bombing commercial targets in Northern Ireland that they considered the artificial economy (O’Malley, p. 16). The Provos launched a retaliatory attack by setting off twenty-two bombs in the centre of Belfast and the day became known as Bloody Friday (p. 16). The Official IRA called off military operations by 1972, but the Provos, despite a temporary ceasefire, were committed to an armed struggle that would last until Ireland was reunited. The British government lost faith in the home rule government of Northern Ireland and implemented direct rule in 1972. The British wanted to resolve this revolution in their back yard because it was gaining international notoriety and sympathy, especially from the United States government through lobbying efforts by Irish Americans. These efforts didn’t stop the violence which had devolved into campaigns of revenge and retribution by both sides. But the British government made a good faith effort and implemented many of the changes that the civil rights protestors had set out to achieve in 1968, like equitable districting of voting and the formation of the Northern Irish Housing Authority, which ensured fair allocation and distribution of housing resources (Bell, p. 650). Direct rule was intended as a temporary emergency measure to

restore order, but both sides were unable to reach an accord that would have restored home rule.

By 1973, talks began on what was called the “Irish dimension,” which brought parties from the Republic of Ireland into the governing process in Northern Ireland. The Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 outlined this cooperation. Its main feature was the establishment of a Council of Ireland to share power in the decision making and governance in Northern Ireland. The agreement was not supported by unionists, who feared that the Council was a first step toward an Irish Parliament and unity, which they opposed. The IRA also rejected the Sunningdale provisions, because they had become committed to accepting nothing short of severing ties with the United Kingdom entirely. The unionists rejected the agreement in 1974 as Harry West the Unionist Party leader campaigned on the slogan that “Dublin was only a Sunningdale away” (Bell, p 399).

The IRA became entrenched by this point, and the violence directed at Catholics, with either the assistance of British security forces or their passive allowance of it, drove the Irish to the IRA. The strategy became “the long war,” which was a steady, unrelenting campaign of violence. The belief was that it had worked in other British colonies and it would work in Northern Ireland. However, there were people from both sides of the conflict that were interested in a peaceful resolution in Northern Ireland, preferably through constitutional means. The Peace People was such a bipartisan group, and they were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1976. The damage of the riots and counterattacks of the 1970s left Irish Catholics with a deep distrust of the Northern Ireland security forces and the British army. The IRA tactics were distasteful to many of the Irish, but

people refused to turn in IRA fugitives or provide the police with information about IRA operations (O'Malley, p. 141-142).

The British had committed to being in Northern Ireland for the long term, and the war shifted to the prisons which held IRA bombers. They took away the status of political prisoners, and IRA prisoners were jailed with ordinary criminals. Protests led the British authorities to move about five hundred IRA prisoners to the Maze prison where prisoners began hunger strikes. The first to starve to death was Bobby Sands, who was given a full military funeral in Belfast, which was attended by over one hundred thousand people (English, p. 200)). The hunger strikes affected the situation by inciting the nationalist community and further entrenching unionists who believed that the nationalists sided with terrorists. Loyalist paramilitaries like the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) began to stock pile arms.

While the paramilitary war escalated on the streets of Belfast, political initiatives were in constant motion. Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Provisional IRA, became more active. Gerry Adams, who led Sinn Fein, began secret talks with John Hume, Social Democrat leaders, and British government officials. The hunger strikes at Maze prison were another turning point in the conflict. Sinn Fein began to see that the international sympathy was with the nationalists, and Gerry Adams saw the climate as beneficial for decisive gains: "The need for political initiatives, mindful of publicity, the role of the media, and the reaction of allies, were clear" (Bell, p. 630). On the streets of Belfast, the strategy on both sides of the conflict was to demonstrate to the government that they were planning a long war. Discussions about constitutional solutions and power sharing schemes became secondary to achieving a lasting cease fire. The conflict also had the

added complication that both sides were represented by a consortium of splinter groups. Cease fires were difficult to achieve and even more difficult to sustain (Bell, p. 642-647).

In 1985, the British and Irish governments officially accepted the Irish dimension by signing the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which gave the government of Ireland an official consultative role in the affairs of Northern Ireland (Bell, p. 704). In 1993, the peace process inched forward with the Downing Street Declaration, which guaranteed self-determination for Northern Ireland. The Downing Street Agreement committed both the nationalist and unionist sides to accepting the outcome of a vote. If the majority of Northern Ireland's people wanted to be unified with the Republic, then the British government would sanction and recognize it without dispute. If the people voted for a continuation of union between Northern Ireland and Great Britain, nationalists would abandon all claims to Northern Ireland (English, p. 290). While talks were being conducted in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the street battles reached a fever pitch. There were killings to settle old scores and also to demonstrate the resolve of each side. In 1994, a ceasefire was declared that was short lived but was the first step toward a more permanent peace plan. The IRA ended their ceasefire in 1996 by exploding a bomb in Canary Wharf, the financial district in London. The move was a response to the demand that the IRA lay down its arms prior to conducting talks (p. 290).

The peace process continued without Sinn Fein, and eventually they came back to the table. The result was the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998, which is also called the Good Friday Agreement because it was signed on Good Friday. The Belfast Agreement was mailed to every home in Northern Ireland. A referendum was held, and the agreement received overwhelming support, with seventy-one percent of voters in

Northern Ireland and ninety-one percent of voters in the Republic accepting its provisions (Bell, p. 394). There were incidents of violence after this, but the bombings were the result of internal squabbles on either side vying for power.

The agreement set up a power sharing government and established quotas of Catholics on the Northern Ireland police forces. Gerry Adams and Ian Paisley announced that they had reached agreement and the political climate changed significantly. The process shifted toward conflict resolution within the communities which remained mostly segregated and where animosities were still strong. A robust shift in the southern Irish economy had a positive effect on the troubles. As employment opportunities improved in Ireland and border restrictions were relaxed, much of the animosity was set aside in the interest of economic betterment. However the improving economic conditions in the Republic of Ireland weren't experienced in the North at the same level. The Northern counties had a decaying industrial infrastructure that was experiencing stiff competition from Eastern Europe and China. In addition, most of the population of Northern Ireland lacked the education to participate in the web driven economy that was expanding rapidly in Ireland.

The final issues that remained to be resolved after the acceptance of the Belfast Agreement and the establishment of a Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive was the decommissioning of paramilitary groups, particularly the IRA, and the banning of participation in the assembly if the individual had ties to armed paramilitaries (Bell, p. 394). In 2006, Gerry Adams announced that the IRA would decommission and commit itself to peaceful resolution of issues going forward. Decommissioning removed a major obstacle to peace. The Belfast Agreement led to the closing of the Maze prison and

release of most of the political prisoners held. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was changed to the Police Service of Northern Ireland, which had quotas for the hiring of Catholic policemen. The most visible symbols of the conflict - the graffiti covered peace walls and concrete barriers that separated Protestant and Catholic communities - still remain.

Smash the Border:

The founding of the *Irish Echo* would seem perfectly timed to take advantage of republican sentiments among Irish Americans, but it was actually much more complicated and reflective of the patterns of immigration and assimilation. The bulk of Irish Americans in the United States were descendents of the famine era immigrants, and the political situation was more of a curiosity to those who had already moved into the American mainstream. At the time the newspaper was founded by Charles Connolly, there were a large number of republicans in New York who fled Ireland on the losing side of the Irish civil war. These republicans became loyal readers and Connolly's republican war cry gave the *Echo* traction. The tone was sharp edged and unrepentant in the view that partition wouldn't work and the only solution was a free and united Ireland.

The passion that drove Connolly's stewardship of the newspaper was "the border." As much as he wanted to cover the social scene and sporting events within the Irish community and to advocate for new arrivals, he wanted to know most importantly what people had to say about the Northern Ireland situation. His angle was always "the border" according to Dorothy Cudahy:

He was really committed, and he was loud. He had a lot of different good men through the years. And he would start arguing with them, you know, and they wouldn't take it. Some would come in with a column you see, maybe you would write something big, and maybe you were at a festival.

And you gave in the festival, and Charlie didn't know what you know; he wondered about what they had to say about the border or whatever. And that's all I know, and I can't swear to all of this, because it was so long ago and I was young (Cudahy, 2007).

His front page railing against the evils of the British oppressors and his editorials were liberally sprinkled with words, phrases, and sentences that were written in upper case for emphasis.

A 1938 cartoon depicted a woman trying to raise the Irish flag over Ireland and an overweight, over dressed Englishman raising the British flag over Northern Ireland with the caption, "The fight must go on! Until the flag of Ireland United expels the Falsehood of Partition from my people's life!" ("Editorial", 1938, p. 1). Cartoon depictions of the results of the Irish partition appeared almost weekly on the cover of the *Echo*. Connolly was very clear about the side that he was on, but he knew that oppression was as much the story as war. His front page cartoon rhetoric conveyed the message that what the American revolutionaries fought against was still going on in Northern Ireland. A caption below a cartoon of a boot stepping on Northern Ireland and crushing flags that said "Free Speech," "Human Rights," "Liberty," "Patriotism," and "Tolerance" said:

The stern military boot of British tyranny is shown above descending on every last semblance of human rights in the persecuted Six Counties of Northeast Ulster. Freedom of speech is gone; religious toleration is gone.

Equal opportunity for all, the foundation of all democracy, never existed. But it won't work, Britain. The people you tried to crush always rose up again. So will these, and sooner than you expect ("Editorial", 1936, p. 1).

The tactic in the early editions of the *Echo* was to put political pressure on American politicians to intervene in scaling back the partition of Ireland. An editorial written in 1937 said this:

A WARNING TO SENATORS COPLAND AND WAGNER

This unconstitutional exercise of executive authority, this outrageous using of the United States to work upon Ireland a shameful wrong, the signature to that treaty will be the signature to your political deaths.

The Irish vote in New York, still possessing the balance of elective powers, will retire you both from public office (Connolly, 1937, p. 2).

The American–British trade agreement of 1938 was a big target for the *Echo*. The newspaper and Connolly were vehemently against signing the agreement. The intention was to put pressure on the United States government to withhold signing the bill, which would hurt British industries that wanted to trade with the United States. Another 1938 cartoon showed President Franklin Roosevelt driving in his car around the United States looking for votes one month prior to the 1938 elections, with a caption that read, “Look out for the Irish vote Franklin. While he speeds west to have his way with the elections, let the President remember Irish sentiment about signing the British trade treaty” (“Editorial”, 1938, p. 1). Connolly’s campaign against the British trade agreement wasn’t successful despite the newspaper supplying petitions to readers to send to their congressional representatives and the President. A letter to the editor in response to the petition said:

Dear Sir:

Enclosed are some petitions from the *Irish Echo*. If you will send me 25 or 30 more, I will have them filled.

Wishing you every success on such a wonderful undertaking; carry on until Ireland belongs to the Irish again. Edward Mannix (“Letters”, 1938, p. 5).

IRA Men in America:

By the 1930s, the civil war was fought underground with militias targeting British targets, particularly military garrisons and police stations. These were viewed as military targets within the strategy of fighting a war. Connolly did not laud the bloodshed in the pages of the *Echo*; instead, he emphasized the economic plundering of the Irish land and resources by what he and many of his readers viewed as an occupying force. A 1938 article written by McPhillips exemplifies this position:

Unsung Heroes of the Irish Republican Army
Seamus O'Malley was puzzled by the fact that thousands of acres of fertile soil and forests, deer reservations, salmon reservations and other natural productive industries were seldom used except for the benefit of the absentee landlords and their associates, while the native boys and girls had to emigrate in order to earn a living (McPhillips, 1938, p. 4).

The boys and girls that the author described brought with them strong anti-British sentiments that, for some, was cold blooded hatred. This hatred was powerful because many of the people who came in the 1920s were IRA militia men on the run from both the Republic and the British. As Ireland settled into living under partition, Claire Grimes said that the seed of a long standing feud was planted within the Irish American community by the defeated:

Yes, but also interesting is the fact that after the Republic was founded, there were a lot of guys who were running; they were IRAs, and they were run out of the country. They didn't want to have any legal difficulties. Sometimes you'll hear people say, 'Oh yes my grandfather came from Ireland, but he doesn't talk very much about why he came.'

These are guys who escaped to the USA. Regrettably, all of the hatred that they brought with them, they had for the Brits. This has been passed down from generation to generation. There's still a modicum for that now. Fortunately, because of the peace initiative, that has been reduced significantly since they recognize that it does no goodwill on the part of the IRA.

And so, there's a change there, by the reader of the *Irish Echo*, from the early time. I don't know; you have to accommodate the new times and just as I felt you had to accommodate the young reader that was coming from Ireland. Changes have to be made all along, and the *Echo* has been very resilient, and that's why it has success (Grimes, 2006).

Terrence O'Neill remembers the stories that were passed down from his mother who lived in Ireland during the Irish civil war before emigrating:

She said that her father used to bury a rifle in the farm yard, and they threatened to kill my grandfather. The English came during the 1920s when they came outside the church on a Wednesday, and they stood around and told all the men coming out to cease and desist or they would be shot.

They came into the farm house and roused everyone out and took all the food stuff that they had stored for the winter. They took all the food out, and my mother pretty much said for that winter she was pretty much starving. She had to go down to the sea and pick snails off the rocks to keep going, and the fisherman brought in fish for them. The English came into the house and they stole everything (O'Neill, 2006).

The story that was passed down through social memory was about humiliating evictions, arrests, and detainment. What are worth noting about these narratives of social memory are the details that remained and give the narrative texture and shape. O'Neill's description of the British soldiers arriving on a Wednesday and his mother having to pick snails off the rocks all winter to eat gives the history a vividness that lends grip and traction to accumulated social memory. Memories of plunder like O'Neill's are what fueled the post-famine Irish anger. Readers like O'Neill wanted the wrongs righted through action.

The general consensus was that the *Echo* was not only pro-unification, it was pro-IRA. Grimes felt that was the editorial bent of the newspaper from the beginning, and it was passed down from Connolly to Paddy Grimes, who bought the *Echo* from Connolly

in 1955: “He [Connolly] had a lot of anti-British sentiment in the paper. It was very, very pro-IRA” (Grimes, 2007). Connolly continued to write of his support for the cause into the 1950s, but in many ways his columns sounded more like a history lesson. There were exhortations of the glorious spirit of the civil war, as well as reminders to the second generation that had never learned the legends of the war. Connolly’s coverage would often consist of reminiscences stoked by an anniversary or event, the passing of an IRA hero, or simply his recollections:

Father Stanley, our old revered Irish-Ireland soggarth aroon, sends his yearly Christmas message. To our youthful readers we have pleasure in informing them that Father Stanley is a brother of the famous Larry Stanley, one of Ireland’s most famous international ‘booters’.

The Stanley brothers were not only noted for their prowess as exponents of Ireland’s national pastimes, they were honored and trusted disciples of De Valera’s and Pearse’s concept of an Irish republic. ‘No Surrender! No Compromise!’ with Ireland’s enemies, was their slogan (Connolly, 1950, p. 1).

Grimes said that there was no discussion or conflict in how to cover the IRA. They were consistently in support of the IRA. Support for a subversive cause within the territory of an American ally led the *Echo* staff to believe that their phones were always tapped:

Uh... no conflict; it was still very, very much, even with Paddy there, an emphasis on, definitely, on the IRA. There never was a visit from the FBI, but my daughter has written twice now to Washington to get some transcripts on things that were perhaps phone taps and so forth on Paddy. We’ve not had any results yet. We’ve been getting sandbagged, but I suspect that that was definitely the case; I really do (Grimes, 2006).

The coverage clearly supported the IRA, and it never faltered until the 1970s bombing campaigns. O’Connor demonstrated this change in his 1974 “Education Notes” column,

where he began to question the rationale for the IRA bombings: “It is painfully obvious the IRA is calmly deliberating and responsible for hundreds of cold blooded killings. Their success has prompted Protestant groups to emerge and emulate them. Surely this is what we should be attacking here in America” (p. 8).

Some readers felt that it was too moderate a voice on the issue:

Irish Echo pretty much holds the middle, the center; that’s where most Irish-Americans are. However, they would react if some further atrocity in Ireland - if there was a rebellion again. I’m sure a lot of them would be there (O’Neill, 2006).

The nationalist position was consistent, but the view on IRA tactics began to show some differences of opinion according to Ailbhe Jordan:

Are there any values that the *Echo* expresses? I would definitely say nationalism, and when I say that I mean republicanism in an Irish sense, not an American sense: a very patriotic stance towards Ireland, a support of free Ireland and that kind of thing, a very strong stance on the Northern Ireland issue and that is pro-nationalism, for a united Irish republic. I think the paper has tried to move away from this more (Jordan, 2007).

A 1996 editorial about British Prime Minister John Major in the *Echo* shows this move toward more of a tone of bipartisanship:

This is the situation in a nutshell.
Whichever way he moves he will run terrible risks. If he gives the guarantees requested, including one that decommissioning will be a precondition; he will probably provoke a Unionist walkout. If he does not he will not get another IRA cessation of violence (p. 2).

Schism Over Tactics:

The Irish American community was in a constant process of assimilation during the twentieth century, and this had an effect on the volume of IRA support in the newspaper. By the end of World War II, many Irish Americans were veterans and took

advantage of the GI Bill to advance their education. The war pushed Irish Americans into the mainstream, and they were viewed as upwardly mobile and patriotic. There was a falling out between the Irish and Irish Americans over Ireland's choice to remain non-allied with Great Britain. The changing social and economic status of the post World War II readership pushed the *Echo* to take on a more conservative tone in the 1950s. There had been some resentment against Ireland for its position of neutrality during World War II, which was noted in the previous section. Politics were still central to those whose genetic memory was stamped with the cause of the Irish civil war:

So, always the thread throughout the paper, I would really say from nineteen twenty-eight, has been the North, has been 'the troubles,' because the country, the Republic was just being founded and established when the paper was established. It was a very difficult time at this end and also at the other end.

We had the Great Depression, we were post civil war, and then the Depression hit us. But in Ireland, of course, it was the news that was coming out of Ireland that was really pivotal from the point of view of Ireland. And it's still not been resolved, [the story] has been Northern Ireland (Grimes, 2006).

The coverage in the American press by the late 1950s was of a terrorist war being waged against honest citizens of Northern Ireland. This coverage fueled an already suspicious Irish readership that believed that the American newspapers were quietly pro-British from the start of the conflict. An example of this sentiment appeared in Frank O'Connor's "Education Notes" column entitled "The Year Ahead":

For the past two years in its international business report, issued January 2, *The New York Times* has not printed one word on the Irish economy. I do not think there is any question of prejudice involved, though that element appears in other matters such as classifying the raids in North Ireland as the work of "terrorists".

For years the big news services have emphasized the fear of the North Ireland Protestants being dominated if the six counties became part of the 26 counties (O'Connor, 1957, p. 8).

As Irish American affluence grew, a sense of responsibility and a desire to right the wrongs with money changed the intensity of the attacks. A schism appeared in the position of the Irish Americans and the Irish. The Irish began to see violence as a byproduct of Irish American blood money collected in churches and through Irish American organizations. Patrick Lynch, a lifelong reader and supporter of the IRA, said:

Sometimes they wore a couple of hats, and that made it harder to maintain your cause. And often the Irish over there would be resentful to the Irish Americans, and Boston and New York. They would say, 'Fine, you send the money over here, but you don't see any of the terror' (Lynch, 2006).

O'Connor wrote of his frustration with the intransigence of the Irish American viewpoint:

For years I have been trying to impress the editor of the *Irish Echo* with the need to present all sides of the Ulster conflict to Irish Americans. I have been largely ignored and even the letters section has been discontinued, removing the opportunity to record differing viewpoints (1974, p. 4).

It was believed in Ireland and the United States that the IRA bombing campaigns were being financed by Irish American groups like Noraid, many of them through collections in the Catholic Churches in New York City, especially the Bronx, which was always a hotbed of IRA activism. There was a schism within the Irish American community however. People like Sharma and many other women interviewed were fed up with the violence, but O'Neill's complaint was that the campaign was inept, and the supporters of a united Ireland in the United States weren't getting their money's worth.

Asked whether the violence turned him off to IRA tactics, O'Neill made it clear that he had no quibble with violence:

Well, not the violence - I think it is inept to really blatant stupidity on the part of the people with Gerry Adams, and a bunch of [sigh] you know crazy people. Yeah, I mean they sent over eighty to one hundred million dollars in donation to keep this thing going.

Like everyone else, they want something back for their layout, and the IRA didn't do anything at all, or hardly; there were no offensive actions taken on their part. They're all going around assassinating, blowing up banks and stuff like that.

There was no battle; there were no cross-border operations this time around, and that arms deal, that deal with Libya, they sent over a representative that was unstable to Khadafy who was another wack job, so they really blew it.

They didn't screen their individuals, which caused them major problems; they didn't really take a good look at the people they were putting into position of prominence, power. They didn't look at these guys at all. It's evident by this Dennis Nelson, who was just eliminated a few months ago.

He was a British operative for twenty to thirty years, right at the top. They never really did check these people out. That was a complete flaw. I'm a history major, from Marquette University, in Wisconsin, and I read about all the failed attempts and why they failed, and the major reason that comes through in all of them is because they always have an English operative right close to the leadership.

So the English knew exactly what we were going to do, and they were there waiting for us, every major operation we had. They never checked those people out. You can't run an organization like that (O'Neill, 2006).

It was also a problem for Irish Americans who wanted to remain respectable members of the community of which they fought long and hard to become a part. Lynch, a retired New York City police officer, had an even more difficult predicament because of his IRA support. When asked if his allegiance and profession came in conflict, he said, "No, as long as you didn't do something they could arrest you for" (Lynch, 2006). Part of the

Irish American agenda was to hold constant demonstrations outside of the British embassy, for which there was a long roster of volunteers to man the barricades. But the Irish demonstrators had achieved a respectable position in American society by the late 1950s. They knew the value of playing by the rules of society and not feeding the stereotypes of the brawling, ignorant paddy:

After our demonstrations on Saturday afternoon outside the British embassy on 50th Street, we would sweep up in front of the consulate. Where have you ever heard of a demonstration that they swept up? You didn't want any confusion with America; it was the Brits (Lynch, 2006).

Support for the IRA was not unanimous for readers. Patricia Sharma, who has been a lifelong reader of the *Echo*, felt that the coverage by the *Echo* was fair, but she didn't agree with the violent tactics of the IRA. She became a student of Irish history and of the Irish language, but the accounts of terrorist bombings in the New York papers did not make her a vocal supporter of the IRA:

I didn't like the violent tactics of the IRA, and didn't support them when there was violence. But I do support - I think first of all they should have their own Parliament and they should handle their own affairs, and in time if they want to become one [a country united with the Republic of Ireland]... I don't think they'll become one with the Republic of Ireland because they may incorporate.

But I think they want to be seen as separate. I've tried to understand the coverage situation... I'm sure it's fair coverage, and they do cover all the news there, so I don't know how to judge them politically (Sharma, 2006).

This distaste for violence was expressed by several readers, but the archives don't contain letters to the editor that reflect this. The awareness on the part of the *Echo* of the difference between Irish and Irish American views did not change the position of the newspaper or its readers on their opposition to the partition of Ireland. The period from

the peace marches, to the hunger strikes and the ceasefire, and ultimately the Good Friday Agreement, began to show a divergence between Irish and Irish Americans views. Lynch acknowledged this difference of opinion in his 2006 interview:

Well, you know, nobody is without sin. I often read sometimes with a bit of anger, with the Irish giving us advice on some of the local problems we had at home. But now, they're getting a bit of it themselves, and finding out all isn't always what you think it is (Lynch, 2006).

The Troubles:

In the late 1960s, the nonviolent civil rights movement of Martin Luther King Jr. set the tone of the movement in Northern Ireland. Marches became the new means of expression. Like the civil rights marches in the southern United States, the marches by Catholics in Northern Ireland were illegal and incited violence by unionists. The flashpoint that became known as Bloody Sunday occurred on January 30, 1972, when 50,000 marchers were turned on by the British army and 13 marchers were killed. The event became worldwide news and it incited the ire of many Irish Americans who watched as Irish people were being gunned down in the streets like the news that was regularly broadcast from Southeast Asia:

As the world watched the civil rights demonstrators in Newry carried out a dignified, peaceful march and rally. An estimated 50,000 people participated in the march which showed the strength and determination of the Irish people to resist oppression.

The fact that they did it in such a peaceful manner contrasted dramatically with the action of the British troops a week earlier in Derry which led to the wanton murder of 13 young men ("As the World Watched", 1972, p. 2).

The 1970s experienced a reinvigoration of pressure on American politicians. The pressure was consistent in opinion pieces, editorials, and stories in the newspaper. The

Echo tried to make the Northern Ireland troubles an issue in the 1972 Presidential election:

In this Presidential election year, it is up to all of us to know the feelings of the candidates on the Irish question. We cannot accept lip service. We must demand concrete support for the end of internment without trial in Northern Ireland, the implementation of full civil rights, the withdrawal of British troops and steps towards the reunification of Ireland (“Where the Candidates Stand”, 1972, p. 2).

United States Representative Mario Biaggi, whose district in the Bronx had a significant Irish population, injected himself in the situation and became a strong activist presence on the Northern Irish troubles, and later with immigration reform which led to the Irish immigration bill:

As I pointed out in my first report (*Irish Echo*, March 4) on my trip to Northern Ireland, I have been active over the course of the last two years in trying to bring about a solution to this conflict. Legislatively, I have introduced measures calling for the end of hostilities, the withdrawal of British troops and the holding of a plebiscite of all Ireland to determine the question of national reunification (Biaggi, 1972, p. 2).

The *Echo* also demonstrated its understanding of the historical power of Irish American voting power in this 1973 article:

Make no mistakes about the influence of the Irish-American opinion. Back in 1921, the historian Giovanni Costigan pointed out that Lloyd George convinced a divided British Cabinet to seek peace in Ireland. His main argument was that Irish American opinion and money was willing to support the IRA indefinitely (Driscoll, 1973, p. 16).

The Irish Northern Aid Committee (Noraid) organized a mass demonstration at the United Nations in response to the Bloody Sunday massacre. Noraid took out a full page ad in the *Echo* for the event:

The Irish Northern Aid Committee responds to the Bloody Sunday Massacre

The Irish Northern Aid Committee announces a MASSIVE PROTEST DEMONSTRATION to take place on LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, Saturday, Feb 16 1972, in front of the UNITED NATIONS starting at 12 noon and continuing until 6 p.m. ("Advertisement", 1972, p. 3).

The struggle changed in tone at this time. It wasn't simply an extension of the Irish civil war; it was a war for civil rights, and the emphasis was that the Irish were viewed by the British as secondary citizens and inferior beings. Discrimination stoked the sting of social memory for Irish Americans who harbored memories of the stereotype of the apelike Paddy. In 1974, a British army memo was leaked to the press in which the commander of the British army contingent in Belfast described operating procedures:

To more reasonable men, however it must be clear that the chances of peace in Northern Ireland are considerably reduced while the British army behaves in the fashion described by Col. McKay in his 'communiqué' detailing searches and screenings and interrogations of Nationalists.

In this same soldierly message McKay called the people of Andersontown 'yobs and yoblets' because they didn't take kindly to his presence among them (Cronin, 1974 p. 10).

The bombing campaigns that resumed after Bloody Sunday didn't help the cause with Americans. The hunger strikes held by the IRA being held in Long Kesh prison had a strong impact on the Irish on both sides of the Atlantic. The *Echo* was a strong voice against the conditions at Long Kesh that led to the hunger strikes:

Demands for a full scale inquiry into conditions at Long Kesh snowballed last week after incidents at the prison when Loyalist and Republican prisoners climbed onto the compound roofs and cheered relatives who were refused scheduled visits because of the tension inside over the quality of prison food ("Long Kesh Prisoners Protest Food and Conditions in Jail", 1974, p. 2).

Bobby Sands, the first hunger striker to die, drew more than one hundred thousand people to his funeral, where he was buried with full military honor by the IRA. The *Echo* covered Sand's death sympathetically:

The end of Bobby Sands agonizing ordeal came on Tuesday morning when he died at 1:17 a.m. (Belfast time). He succumbed after 66 days on a hunger strike seeking political prisoner status. British authorities refused any concessions on five demands made by Mr. Sands and three other hunger strikers. To the end the British government was unyielding (1981, p. 1).

An Anti-Violence Commitment:

When Claire Grimes took over after her husband's death in 1978, she continued the *Echo's* tradition of strong support for the IRA. The newspaper continued to bash the British for civil rights violations and discrimination against the Irish living in Northern Ireland. However she made a commitment to anti-violence as a means to achieving the end of a united Ireland:

I was very, very anti-violence from the time I took over; that was very much the case and I made it very clear to the editors that that was the way we were running the paper. We were no longer pro-IRA. We were pro-IRA if the occasion demanded it, but anti-violence in the name.

So that was a very definite editorial thrust (Grimes, 2006).

Murphy's 1974 Commentary shows a subtle turn toward the more conciliatory tone that Grimes described: "Today Ulster maintains the state of siege in Derry by a refusal to surrender to the force of circumstances and the demands of a different age" (p. 18). Grimes' stewardship at the *Echo* began when the movement for Irish nationalism began to model itself after the civil rights movement led by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. in the United States. There was a tone of inclusion, and the approach was not to promote strict nationalism. The emphasis was placed on economic civil rights and harsh treatment

of Catholics in the North by RUC and British security forces. The nonviolence tone of the newspaper also reflected the big schism that had developed between the Irish and the Irish Americans. While the Irish had to evolve under a system of partition and occupation in Northern Ireland, the immigrant community in New York wasn't part of the gradual evolution. Their thinking was locked in the 1920s and the bitter defeat in the civil war that ended with infighting and flight to the United States. By the 1970s, the tone of the newspaper reflected a commitment to nonviolence, and the newspaper began calling IRA bombings "terror attacks." The *Echo* even began to interview the hated police and security forces in stories:

A terror bombing in the heart of Belfast on July 16, wrecked the Northern Bank building on High Street, and injured 31 people, nine of whom were hospitalized. The blast, the most serious in the city center sabotage campaign begun in Belfast a fortnight ago – there have been 65 explosions this year already – caused terror stricken shoppers to flee from neighboring department stores and caused widespread alarm throughout the business area of the Northern capital. A police spokesman described it as, "a despicable act" (1970, p. 1).

Grimes' position reflected the sentiments of many Irish American women, like Sharma, who began to think more in line with the Irish who were tired of the violence and mayhem cause by the IRA bombings and assassinations:

I was very disgusted with the politics and the IRA's terror campaign, and everything like that; that turned me off. But since they've been making peace and everything, you know, I've been more interested in what the politics are over there (Sharma, 2006).

The tension between the Irish and Irish Americans was publicly noted by the Irish government who was responding to its constituency that was suffering from the "long war" of terrorist bombings:

Irish Foreign minister Garrett Fitzgerald said last Thursday that money contributed by Irish-Americans to the cause of the Irish Republican Army 'had prolonged the fighting in Northern Ireland.' He said the contributions were in the millions of dollars and had been used to buy 'bombs and bullets that kill Irish people' ("Minister Raps US Gifts to IRA", 1974, p. 11).

The newspaper became very vocal in their non-support of the IRA bombings by the 1980s. This trend was led by Jack Holland, Grimes' prize reporter in Northern Ireland, who had what she rated as "fantastic" sources:

The IRA's obsession with legitimacy has at times like this, reached comical and surrealistic proportions. Russell followed this up with formal declarations of war against the British Empire, made on January 12, 1939 and delivered to the British Foreign Secretary.

The brutal and callous bombings in London last week by the Provisionals did more than kill 10 people. They blasted Northern Ireland Secretary of State, James Prior all over the media in the United States, where he was on a two day visit at the time of the explosions (Holland, 1982, p. 2).

Kelly was also calling for a solution, and his description of what it was like to be at the scene of a bombing resonated with many readers:

The terror and screams, the blood and above all the horrific ripping sounds of high explosives detonating, will live in the memories of those who were unfortunate enough to be in the vicinity forever. There are some things that will never be forgotten – nor forgiven (Kelly, 1982. p. 2).

The IRA terror war often reflected anarchy, and this frustrated its Irish American supporters. An example was when IRA spokesmen didn't know who was responsible for a London letter bombing campaign, and the voice from the *Echo* began to echo with frustration:

The IRA has no plan, the Dublin government has no plan nor do the unionists beyond that of retaining their position of privilege. No amount of buildings blown up nor people killed and maimed will bring a solution.

Until intelligent responsible people enter into a dialogue based upon the fundamental thesis that Ireland is one nation will any solution emerge which will respect the equal rights of all people (O'Connor, 1974, p. 4).

Kelly interviewed IRA leader O'Connail, who denied being part of the letter bombing campaign, at which O'Connor had expressed disbelief:

'We stated that it is not and never has been the policy of the IRA to bomb targets without adequate warnings to ensure the safety of civilians' and he added that the bombings of innocent civilians was murder (Kelly, 1974, p. 3).

But the IRA was not the direct target. The focus was on the British press for ignoring the denial:

It was an interview that I as a journalist regarded as being important. Yet in spite of the fact that Daithi O'Connail flatly denied that the IRA in Britain was implicated in the 'letter box' bombing campaign, and that it was still investigating the source of the Birmingham bombs which killed 19, the interview was not quoted to any extent on RTE (Kelly, 1974, p. 2).

Grimes attended a conference at this time where Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, was present. She made it clear that she was not a supporter:

I met him on one occasion. He recognized that I was not a fan. I mean, if I saw him tomorrow I would extend my hand in a civilized way. But it was hard to be civilized, if you know what I mean. I'm still not a fan today. I think he is a hard man but at any rate (Grimes, 2006).

But the coverage of Adams didn't reflect this view. In describing a fallout within the IRA between Adams and Ivor Bell, Jack Holland wrote this in his 1997 commentary:

Although Adams made several attempts to repair the old friendship, it was made plain that whatever happened he would not be allowed to play a role in the movement again. The episode demonstrated the pervasiveness of Adam's control over the movement (p. 27).

Adams was still very popular among Irish American readers of the *Echo*. Grimes saw the change in tone as simply an act of fairness, but it was also a move to get the newspaper more in sync with that of people in Ireland:

It was not something that you could be hit over the head with. It was how we presented the news. I wanted us to be fair. Fair was really important to me. And the troops recognized that, and I felt they really were. There was not one guy on the paper that had strictly an IRA perspective.

Jack Holland was our primary writer of 'the troubles'. He was fair as could be, and I never felt the need, except when it came to one of the bombings in Ireland in the North, that I had to insinuate myself into the editorial stance. I was a hands-on person. Not that I interfered, once the guys in editorial knew where I was coming from and how I wanted the news presented in a fair and balanced way.

I hate to use that phrase because it reminds me of Fox TV. Fair and balance was really important to me, and they got that very soon after I arrived. I never had to insinuate myself; I can only think of one, well two instances, where I had to give some thought to something.

And that was with the fact that Ray O'Hanlon wrote about this in his book. He was quite incorrect, but it was too late to change anything. I gave John Hume a half page, to write anything he'd like. I felt his voice was really important.

Having done so, Adams' people said they want to have a page too. And I said, 'Oh hell.' The editors gave a really strong feeling that they had to have it. I said, 'I am going to think about this over the weekend.' I didn't usually insinuate myself in the editorial policy, or the editorial department rather.

But I did in this case because it was very, very clear to me that it was just not my way of thinking, but I thought over the whole weekend about how it was a newspaper and how you have to take that into consideration and not think about your own personal feelings at this point.

And the other perspective is very important for a newspaper, so I came back Monday, well I guess it was Tuesday - Tuesday was deadline I think. I said, 'Let's go with it.' At this point, the *Irish Voice* that week had an article that I was not running it, so that wasn't my reasons for running it of course (Grimes, 2007).

O'Hanlon did describe the decision to run the Hume and Adams pieces. What is most important about the event and editorial decision is that the IRA and Gerry Adams were very aware of the clout that the *Echo* had within the Irish American community. The event was also an example of the tight competition for readers between the *Voice* and the *Echo*:

Another direct swipe at the *Echo* stemmed from an op-ed written for the *Echo* by Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams in 1989. It was a response to an opinion piece published in the *Echo* by SDLP leader John Hume. The Adams reply didn't immediately appear in the *Echo* and this prompted a *Voice* front page story headlined "Sinn Fein Alleges *Irish Echo* Censorship."

The story was written by Patrick Farrelly. Unfortunately for the *Voice*, the Adams piece ran in the *Echo* that very same day. There were subsequent suggestions that publication had been vigorously opposed by *Echo* publisher Claire Grimes. Grimes was certainly wary of Sinn Fein and Gerry Adams, but her approach to running the editorial side of the *Echo*'s business was almost entirely hands off (O'Hanlon, p. 163).

By the late 1980s the *Echo* began to focus more on a solution, and this was a difficult strategy. The newspaper had always portrayed IRA men as the brave heroes in the fight for the homeland. Fairness to Grimes meant that they would deliberately chastise the British and the IRA when they committed an act that was not in the spirit of a peaceful solution:

I think when the Brits obviously promoted violence, promoted the fact that they were not genuinely interested in a fair application to civil rights, then we would rap their fingers. When the IRA had wanted violence, we would rap their hands, you know? At that point it became political. There were opportunities of peaceful negotiations.

In the beginning, neither one, neither the IRA nor the Brits, were well meaning. I think they were sort of forced into that position by the people. And, but then of course, that did change, when I think when it was recognized that change could be implemented. That is when the US came into the picture (Grimes, 2007).

The Irish Peace Process:

The nationalist stance of the *Echo* didn't waver during the peace talks in the 1990s and up until 2006. Its stance on the British and the peace process was very much in sync with conservative political elements in the Republic of Ireland. Edward McDermott characterized it in this way:

We don't just take the superficial road; we take a stand on issues, on human rights issues, on Northern Ireland. The paper would be seen as strongly nationalist; a lot of people aren't nationalists at all, but that's the tradition of the paper.

It is a much more traditional Irish nationalist position. It would be like in the main of Ireland, it would be like we say in Ireland, the 'green wing,' the more nationalist wing of the main party of Ireland. And the paper takes a strong editorial stance (McDermott, 2007).

The issue of unification is also not dead among readers of the *Echo* and its editorial stance. The IRA laying down of arms really marked a period where the conflict took on a diplomatic process. Anna Cadwallader sees this as a real possibility that many *Echo* readers are hoping for:

It depends entirely on your point of view. As far as republicans are concerned, they're prosecuting that, pushing that forward to the best that they can. They're doing that politically rather than militarily now. They would say that is still very much their agenda. They're actually having more success since the end of the IRA campaign than before it (Cadwallader, 2007).

Cadwallader and the *Echo* editorial board expressed satisfaction with the peace process. Economic growth in the south also helped the situation. The newspaper's current position is that the problem was never really economic or religious:

I don't think it was ever a religious issue. I think the whole thing was to do with power and domination. I mean Ulster, the northern part of Ireland,

was always the most bestially opposed to British rule, which is why the British crown planted it with Scots Presbyterians in the seventeenth century, because it was the most rebellious part of the country.

As it was the most rebellious, it was punished the most. The land was taken away from the native Catholic Irish and given to planters from low land Scotland. It's that decision and the historical legacy of that which has caused the troubles. Religion was a complication factor, but it was mainly to do with ownership, control, and property (Cadwallader, 2007).

The position that the Northern Ireland conflict was not economic is not consistent with the position of the newspaper in the past. In 1987, O'Connor pointed out in the "Education Notes" that the economy fed the desperation of Catholics living in the six counties of Northern Ireland:

North Ireland is now an economic wilderness. Joblessness is at a 36 year high. Places such as Derry have a male unemployment rate of 21 percent. Strabane, another Catholic town has male unemployment at 35 percent. The overall unemployment in North Ireland is twice that of Britain.

In the past year or so, 50 factories have closed and emigration has almost tripled from the 1960s. Last year 16,000 permanently left North Ireland, which is almost double that of the previously high emigration rate of the 1950s (O'Connor, 1987, p. 6).

The parties involved in the peace process were also very cognizant of the power of the Irish American press, particularly the *Echo* and the *Voice*. Cadwallader also feels that this pressure is what got President Clinton to inject himself in the peace process, albeit late:

Most people, most politicians yes. They are very keen to get their story across - Nationalists more so, the STL more so, the unionists as well. They're becoming more aware and more keen to make sure their story is told accurately in the American press. Yea, but also US government policy is influenced by what Irish Americans say and think and do.

I mean, Irish Americans pushed Clinton to take an interest in the peace process and he did. I don't think they had to push hugely hard, but they had to push. I think unionists learned a lesson from that. They also have

to enter that particular marketplace and tell their story too (Cadwallader, 2007).

Cadwallader also feels that the *Echo* readership is an astute constituency of the peace process. The *Echo* tries to present the Northern Ireland situation with a strong dose of reality. It was clear that there was a schism between the Irish American readership and the people in the Republic of Ireland.

By the 1990s, the economy in the Irish Republic began to experience the growth associated with entry into the EEC. The requirements for EEC entry included welfare reform, vast improvements in transportation and civil infrastructure, and a strong emphasis on technology in education. The Irish government actively courted businesses like Microsoft and Dell to offshore call centers, which greatly reduced the chronic unemployment in Ireland. By the 1990s, there were strong overtures from both sides of the war in Northern Ireland for a peaceful solution. The *Echo* advocated strongly for it, often chastising the IRA for perpetrating violence and stalling the peace process:

As people prepare for the Christmas celebration throughout a Northern Ireland that is still hovering between war and peace, the Provisional IRA seems intent on springing a few nasty surprises of the sort that do not come out of Santa's Christmas sack ("How long a phony war"? 1996, p. 2).

But the economic prosperity that was felt in the south did not transfer over to Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland was heavily regulated by government, and there was a huge tax burden in addition to the instability, which discouraged business from setting up in the six counties of the North:

I mean, we missed the rising tide that lifted the Republic's economy; we missed that tide. We could have caught it, but we missed it because the

peace process did not get embedded for whatever reason; whoever was at fault, it just didn't take off like it should have done.

If it had taken off, then the economy would have taken off, but it just didn't. We missed the tide. You know timing is very important, and we missed that tide. What happened in the Republic is fantastic. I mean, businessmen up here look down south and kind of wring their hands and say, 'If only it was us,' you know?

Loads of people from the North go to work in the south now. There are more jobs, and more well-paid jobs. There was a huge outpouring of goodwill in 1994 because of the IRA ceasefire. If the peace process had taken off like a rocket at that time, I think we would have caught up with the Republic by now.

But because, everything has happened so piecemeal and so slow, the economic kick back that we might have expected didn't happen. So, the North economy has always been heavily influenced by the public sector. There have been a lot of people, the people who have been best paid, have been who have worked for the police, for the prison service, for the civil service, the public sector.

When the North began to privatize some of it, the commercial manufacturing base began to decline, with the ending of old industries like ship building, engineering. The service sector didn't take off. It has just been a story of continuing decline - the private sector, that is.

The slack has been taken up by the public sector and civil servants and others. That is now coming to an end as well. Peter Hain and others - he is current secretary of state - and others have said you can't keep on paying people to do jobs.

The North is over administered. There are too many health boards, too many educational boards, too much administration. I mean, nobody has really looked at that in the past because, you know, they felt, the British felt, they had to find jobs for people because there wasn't any in the private sector. That is becoming less so (Cadwallader, 2007).

There was also a sense in the newspaper that the Irish people on both sides of the Atlantic were ready for an end to violence, and the focus began to be on the heavy toll that was placed on children growing up in the war-torn city of Belfast. A 1996 documentary entitled *A Leap of Faith* was undertaken jointly by the Anglican Church and

the Catholic Church in Northern Ireland to educate children about conflict resolution and living with cultural differences. A review of the film in the *Echo* reflected frustration and fatigue:

Anyone who is unfamiliar with the details of Northern Ireland's history could be forgiven for thinking that this noble objective would receive broad support from authorities, in the interest of civic harmony. But the traditional inertia of the churches of both persuasions, and the social compulsion to take one side while viewing the middle ground with suspicion, meant that the parents' pain was paved with obstacles (Gray, 1996, p. 21).

There were still plenty of bitter resentments during the Irish peace process, and this was still reflected in the *Echo*, especially by readers. The newspaper had to do more than pay lip service to its core readership, who had carried the memories of oppression and a bitter loss in the civil war:

Well, the reason economic upswing is something that was long overdue and, I think, was a reward for not going for unification. Get their mind off of the nationalist thrust. It's been on their mind for about thirty years or so; it's a troubles thing. It's a gift made up by the English and the Irish.

The English and the Americans have more power communally. It's a gift to them to keep them going, and it's a bubble, so sooner or later it's going to burst. It's just like all the periods of prosperity over there (O'Neill, 2006).

The *Echo*, which, by the 1990s, had a fairly conservative and American Republican readership, acknowledged the strong efforts made by President Clinton in the Irish peace process:

President Clinton's reelection has meant that there is at least one less element of doubt in the complex equation that is the Irish peace process. A Bob Dole victory would certainly have seen the Northern Ireland issue slide down the US agenda ("Editorial", 1996, p. 2).

The newspaper's treatment of Clinton is important to understanding the purpose and thrust of the *Echo*. Acting as a strong advocate for civil rights for Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland and pushing the nationalist agenda overrode the underlying American political stance for both the newspaper and the community. What had become an American Republican Irish community was willing to support a Democrat if the cause was in the interest of the people of Northern Ireland:

Clinton was a huge catalyst. You have to bear in mind that you're talking to a moderate Republican. Paul O'Dwyer said to me - we were talking about the paper - and he said, 'I don't even know your party affiliation,' and that was the best compliment I could have gotten.

Clinton was front page news, big time, more than anybody. Well deserving of it, his intrusion, as you will, happy intrusion, into the peace process was fantastic. It was the one thing that I'm sorry that it didn't come to total provision while he was in office, because he gave so much of it, he gave so much of his time to it, and it was quite amazing.

No other president can make that statement. He was more interested in Ireland than any president before or since (Grimes, 2006).

Summary:

The consistency and traction that defined journalism at the *Echo* was the Irish civil war. The newspaper's founder, Charles Connolly, set the tone and solidified the readership among former IRA men who had fled to the United States on the losing side of the war. Connolly recognized the political power of Irish Americans and he regularly directed his hard hitting commentary at American politicians. One of his first major campaigns was his opposition to the American British Trade Agreement of 1938. There were regular features up until the late 1950s glorifying the heroes of the Irish struggle. Readers like O'Neill were inoculated with the IRA through the memories passed down from their parents and grandparents. There was never any conflict at the newspaper about

the coverage of the troubles until the 1970s when the IRA began its bombing campaign. Readers like Sharma were disgusted by the violence but most remained staunch supporters of the underlying IRA cause. By the 1970s the *Echo* staff were aware that there was a schism over tactics and they began to “rap both sides on the knuckles” over senseless violence. The Bloody Sunday massacre in 1972 acted as a flashpoint to the Irish cause and this event as well as the hunger strikes of the 1980s brought many lesser committed supporters back in the fold. The *Echo* covered the peace process in depth and Cadwallader, who covered it from Belfast, felt that the readership of the *Echo* were very well versed and interested in the process. The intervention of President Clinton in the peace process was welcomed enthusiastically by the newspaper and American Republicans and Democrats alike. The end of armed conflict was welcomed despite the fact that re-unification wasn't achieved.

CHAPTER IX

IRISH ETHNIC IDENTITY

Introduction:

When interviewees spoke about why they read the *Irish Echo*, there were a variety of responses, ranging from following Irish music to reading a newspaper that trumpeted the Irish republican cause. A consistent sentiment expressed by most readers was that they read the *Irish Echo* to keep a connection with Ireland. Providing readers with a current supply of news from Ireland and information about Ireland is an important function of the *Irish Echo*. For Irish Americans, the need to connect or re-connect with things Irish is driven by a variety of motivations said Ailbhe Jordan:

I know people read it; they read it in a way to feel closer to, they feel like they're not [the newspaper helps them feel less isolated from their fellow Irishmen who are more dispersed now because of suburbanization]... As the people come more dispersed, they feel more isolated, and I definitely think reading some of the stuff that the *Irish Echo* covers, they both feel closer to Ireland, where they came from.

There is a real - even with Irish-Americans who haven't visited Ireland - it's a huge sentimental attachment to the country, and I think they definitely get something out of reading the *Irish Echo*. They get a sense that they have a tie to their home country, or the country their ancestors came from, that they know something about it, that they know what's going on there, and that's important to people, too (Jordan, 2007).

Maintaining Irish heritage through the *Echo* ranged from seeking out a respite of nostalgia or taking Irish dance and language classes that were regularly advertised in the newspaper. The interest in Irish language took seed in the late 1950s and built up to an “explosion of everything Irish” in the 1980s as Grimes described. What also became apparent though this study is that loyalty to America was an essential part of being an Irish American.

Nostalgia:

The journalistic format of the newspaper became less formal in the 1960s. A significant part of the editorial content was written in the first person as weekly diary entries. They contained reminiscences, observations, and were almost always written by people who were well connected within the Irish social circle. The tone was more social and educational. The assistance of decades before had changed to assistance in Irish travel, college educations, style, real estate, and personal finance. The long held emphasis placed on education and urged upon immigrants reached a point of measurable success by 1967 when Frank O'Connor, who taught a high school completion class for the Irish in addition to writing a column for the *Echo*, reminisced about his experience teaching over the decades:

When I say it's given me a slice of life of our people, I mean literally. I have attended weddings of people who met in the classes (up to ten years ago up to 50 couples who met in our classes had gotten married but I've lost count since).

I've attended baptisms and unfortunately wakes of students who died here and on the battlefield of Korea. I hope we never have to attend one from Vietnam, though many past students are out there. I have also attended bon voyage parties of those going back to Ireland for good.

While the average age of the students runs in the 20s or so, their ages have ranged from 18 to 72 years. Grandmothers and grandfathers have attended. I published a delightful letter about a year ago, telling of the grandchildren giving a graduation party for one of the students – their grandfather.

At that time I hoped there would be 27 grandchildren to give him a party when he graduated from college (O'Connor, 1967, p. 6).

Readers often start buying the newspaper when they feel nostalgic for a dead parent or grandparent. Others take an interest after the birth of their children because they

want their children raised with a sense of their ethnic heritage. The *Echo* responds to this need by assembling editorial content about Irish history, travel, and cultural events. For many, the partition of Ireland and the troubles was a strong rationale for staying in touch. Some readers like Patricia Sharma felt an emotional and intellectual vacuum in their mind for meaningful cultural content that ceased as Irish-born family members died and became distant memories:

I took a course at Manhattanville on just some lectures. I was just getting ready to be interested. I think after my father died in 1990, I think after that I just started getting more interested in Ireland. The first time I visited Ireland was in ninety-eight, and I started getting interested in the genealogy of the family. Now, I have applied to become an Irish citizen (Sharma, 2007).

The tint of nostalgia in the newspaper became especially true after 1950, when the population of second generation Irish Americans far outnumbered those born in Ireland. The beauty and vitality of the land is a consistent theme, as it was in the 1960 column “Carbery Calling from Irish Glens and Hills”:

Irish midlands are particularly attractive in early summer and the bloom on the hawthorn hedges that line the road from Maynooth to Mullingar looked richer than ever. In the city suburban groves there are half a dozen shades of hawthorn, but along the heavy loamy flats of Kildare, Meath and Westmeath the hawthorn hedges were one glorious line of snow white thorn, beautifully perfumed. The very air was rich (Carbery, 1960, p. 20).

Much of the journalism tends more toward the creative and relies heavily on reminiscing. The descriptions of life in Ireland convey a love for the simplicity of life on the land and the inevitability of the incessant rain. A 1961 “Education Notes” column was filled with a reminiscent stream of consciousness about assembling fishing gear:

I have many memories of the rain – who wouldn’t, being born left footed over there, or acrobats or something – they put the crutch on the bamboo

wrong side. Now for the bamboo pole, the line, all in great shape; the ball of lead fine, the hooks – no hooks – all I ‘wing’ – for filling the barrel, good wasted work.

Maybe I could get Maurice Downey to give me three hooks for a penny –. Where are they I’d better get Johnny – No, no Maurice they’re under that salt ling over there. Now off for the Falls and give them starving white trout something to chew on. Good, good, there’s nobody there but Jimmy the Cottages, Gorey, Donal the Post Office and a stranger with a split cane rod – the idjit is fishing with flies. ‘Any luck, Jimmy?’

‘No, not a bite.’ ‘That’s a fierce lunch, then, you have in the bag. You have half a dozen trout, you liar – and, my God! – a salmon.’ I have many memories of the rain – who wouldn’t being born in Ireland – and in Kerry, yet. But this conversation piece never bothered me; I love the rain. The rain with the wild wind was my brew.

Many’s the time, I pedaled far off the tarred roads in the pelting rain looking for a gallon of sour milk for the homemade bread and felt secure in the oilskin while the farmer or herself with a burlap bag over their heads took me out to the churn. And home, home with the wind to my back, flying a sail, saying, ‘Good day,’ to postmen, agricultural inspectors, their heads between the front wheel coming against the wind (O’Connor, 1961, p. 4).

The values that were passed down to many readers such as Kelly Hynes reflect the earthly, family orientation of Ireland. It is this value that gets many readers to start the habit of reading the newspaper. Hynes was looking for a sense of family that she could only remember through reminiscing, but she hoped to find in trips to Ireland and from the pages of the *Irish Echo*:

Um, yes. I want that flavor, that simple, beautiful Celtic tradition, those tight family values. Just the love of the land, the love of your family, and unfortunately you see a big upswing away from that. Like the time, the crime increased in Ireland, especially in Dublin, and the drinking, and the drugs, and that’s all stuff that’s happening here in the United States.

There’s so many years that their rates of that [crime and drugs] were next to nothing; it was very low. The divorce rates, the abortion - those are all on the upswing now, too. They were probably happening, but they weren’t

as high as they are now. It's sad to see, you know; it's sad to see that Ireland is becoming too Americanized (Hynes, 2007).

The bitter memory of Ireland's struggle for civic autonomy was offset by rapid success in the United States. The animosity toward all things English was diluted by time and allegiance to a new country. The memories of the unadorned bloom of Ireland and the communal hospitality of the Irish village were objects of recollection that remained and are diffused through memory into the *Echo*. For the immigrants themselves, it acted as a communal representation of what Ireland was according to John Ridge:

Well, it replaced the old country. They lived in small towns, and rural areas. They had a very close community where they knew everybody. The only way they could keep together was through the newspaper. They would see the names of the people they knew, so they would get a sense of the old country, small town feeling.

Since they all went to the Irish dance halls, they knew the names of a lot of the people who ran the dances. The newspaper just wasn't about Irish politics, it was about them, and real people they knew (Ridge, 2006).

Readers who use the *Echo* out of nostalgia fall into several categories: 1.) regular readers who never fully disconnected from news in the Irish American community; 2.) those who simply used it as a directory to find out about music and Irish cultural events in the New York area; 3.) those who read for name recognition. They read the newspaper to hear about the people who they knew in Ireland or friends of their parents and grandparents, as Jill Sheehy described. The "grip and grin" photos that Claire Grimes tried to get the newspaper away from had strong sentimental attachment for many readers. Sharma didn't participate in the stereotypical activities that many Irish Americans clung to. They had lost most connections to relatives and wanted to make a cultural affiliation with Ireland:

I only knew my one grandmother; the rest were all dead. And she was - for them, Irish was a family connection: the family connection, the music, a certain way of behaving. We weren't, you know, the type that went to St. Patrick's Day parade and all that business. No, we didn't; we never ate corned beef and cabbage, or anything like that.

It was more a connection through the music, culture, and I think mainly the Church was a big source of connection, because my mother's brother was a Catholic Bishop. He got drowned in Catholic religion (Sharma, 2007).

Explosion of Everything Irish:

A revival of interest took place in the 1980s, because people began to see an end to the cycle of violence associated with the troubles. There was also a huge surge in undocumented Irish coming to New York for work. This boosted the circulation, ad revenue, and number of pages in the newspaper:

Well, I don't want to jump around here, but when I came on board in 87, I'm just trying to remember the sequence here now of earlier than that... Music was always paramount, so music was always a part of the *Echo*. A lesser part certainly than sports, but it was certainly always there. There was always some fiddler that was making a name for himself.

But when I came on board in 87, there was such an explosion of everything Irish, and it started - I think initially it would've been the influx of the undocumented Irish. They came on board in huge numbers, to the point where I had to go and find a new printer who could accommodate a large paper for us (Grimes, 2006).

The revival of interest in things Irish included language, music, dance, and genealogy. A lot of the enthusiasm came from the popularity of Riverdance, and Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game*, which was nominated for an Academy Award in 1993. Hynes, a musician, developed an interest in Irish folk music and dance in her 30s. Then she began to perform with a local band at the pubs around New Haven, Connecticut, which broadened her Irish circle. Her circle was widened further by taking regular trips back to Ireland. Hynes used

the *Echo* for information about Irish cultural events and to keep a lifeline to where her ancestors were from:

I sing Irish music, and then I'm also a singer for Connecticut Comhaltas. Comhaltas. C-o-m-h-a-l-t-a-s. It started in Dublin; it's to improve heritage and culture, families, and to introduce Irish music, theatre, literature, dance, anything, you know, having to do with being Irish to young families. To introduce a young family that might have little girls [to Irish step dance], so that doesn't always have to be just ballet.

Here's a place that offers Irish dance, to try to bring the families into our meetings and workshops, and our music sessions, and to show them this is available here in the area. These are things that you could introduce to your family, and to see the young ones coming up and win competitions, and go to Dublin as the lead people in their group - in the certain competitions, to go to Dublin - and then compete.

I remember my grandparents when I was very young, just kind of noticing that they were a little different than my friends' parents were. In that, you know, my grandmother spoke - her brogue was still very thick - and I would remember going over to my friend's house, and their mom or their grandmother's didn't talk like that. And my grandfather was the same thing, a strong Irish brogue.

The stories my dad told me how he was raised, you know, very Catholic because they were Irish - the Irish-Catholic school that he and his brother went to - the whole history of it interested me, and then just signing out information on some of our relatives that came over and had settled in the Boston area, the history of them, and how they started the early development of Boston, politics, industry (Hynes, 2007).

During the period beginning with the end of the Second World War until the troubles reemerged on the streets of Northern Ireland in the 1960s, the news was peaceful, reminiscent, and always emphasized the importance of maintaining a connection with the "old country." In the late '50s and early '60s, there was a reemergence of interest in the Irish language both in Ireland and the United States. By 1964, there was a drive in Ireland to re-introduce the Irish language as a means of re-uniting Irishmen of the North and south, Protestants and Catholics through language:

Fostering interest in the Irish language among all sections of the community in the North and South of Ireland is an important step toward national unity, said Mr. Robert McGoran, manager of the Irish cultural organization, Gael Linn, when he opened an Irish festival at Greystones, co. Wicklow recently.

“North does not agree with south politically or religiously, but there is no denying the fact that even the staunchest Unionist is proud of being an Irishman and it is significant that for many years the Belfast branch of the Gaelic League has as many Protestants as Catholic members.

These members differed fundamentally in politics and in religion, but the common ground of an interest in the Irish tradition was sufficient to bring them together to learn the Irish language” (“Language Will Help Irish Unity”, 1960, p. 13).

Sharma described a similar revival of interest in the Irish language that is occurring in New York City and began in the late 1980s. Currently, there are Irish language programs at the City University of New York, Fordham University, Queens College, and New York University, as well as an *Echo* column that has been written in Irish since 2003:

There’s like an Irish revival going on in New York. I started to read the Irish plays and the poets. I was doing my masters at Fordham like your father, in liberal studies. And I came across some Irish plays, and I speak Spanish, French, and Italian. I said, ‘Why don’t I speak my own language?’ you know, that kind of a thing. Just because it’s like a revival going on in New York of things of Irish interest.

I’m interested in the cultural events going on in New York. The lectures, they have a good listing of what’s happening. And that’s what I turn to first - you know, what lectures are going to go on. I like to go to the American-Irish Historical Association; I’m a member, I’m a member of the Irish Round Table, and even for your research these are two good sources for you.

I go to Ireland House at NYU, so the reason I like the *Echo* is I like what is going on culturally, and also they had - off and on they had - a column written in Irish. I try to read it, but it’s been too hard (Sharma, 2007).

As more second generation Irish Americans took advantage of college education, the topics began to shift to news from the primarily Irish Catholic colleges in the region like Fordham University, Manhattan College, Iona College, and Saint John's University. Irish American college students began to look to study abroad, especially in Ireland, whose University system is very different from the American system. Irish colleges operate in an exam driven system, and it is not the social institution that American colleges are.

Cobey wrote a column in 1962 describing the difference:

One of the best ways to see a country is to live there for a prolonged period of time and to get involved in its particular type of living. One of the best opportunities for doing so comes with college days when the student can take up residence in a country and continue his or her studies at the same time.

The opportunities for study abroad are numerous and exchange programs and mutual recognition of standards between universities of different countries allow a student to change schools mid-stream and not to lose any valuable credits already achieved. What exactly may a student expect to find at University College Dublin?

For the liberal arts student at UCD there is an average of 11 hours of lecture each week spread over six days. The University opens at 10 o'clock but as often as not a student will not have a lecture until 12 noon. Lectures are a matter of listening.

There is neither student participation nor daily assignment and, it might be added, there is no roll call. Outside the lecture halls there is no contact between professor and student, unless one makes an appointment; for the most part both parties happily go their separate ways (Carbery, 1962, p. 13).

The article takes on a tone of a warning to any Irish American college student with nostalgia for studying in the old country. Carbery was describing a phenomenon that happens to all assimilating ethnics. The traditions and values of the old country become

foreign. It is a realization that the entrenched immigrant and second generation must face: returning is much more than booking passage.

Longing for the Green:

The traditions and values of the Irish landscape, especially an interest in agriculture, was a consistent presence in the *Echo*. Most of the Irish population worked in some form of agriculture up until the 1980s. The allure of the land and what it produced was keen, according to Grimes. There is a significant amount of imagery in the *Echo* and in Irish cultural celebration that reflects a longing for the “green.” The green, growth, and yield from the land were consistent areas of hope in the *Echo*.

The connection to the land in the “old country” was closely tied to family and the tradition of subsistence farming. The family connection is a large part of the interest and curiosity about Ireland. A humorous note in the newspaper in 1935 was a brief about a Wexford man who was proposing to abolish bachelorhood as a means of stimulating the agricultural economy: “A Bachelor’s bill to compel every man of 30 years to get married so that there would be a population to consume surplus farm produce, was urged by Mr. D. Power, outgoing president, at the County Wexford branch of the Irish Dairy Shorthorn Breeders Association” (1935, p. 11). The brief also shows the *Echo*’s identification with the sharp Irish wit, irreverence, and the ability to laugh at themselves. The Irish also show the ability to find humor in death, which reflects a mix of fatalism and the deep religious convictions that suffering in the mortal life, would be rewarded in the afterlife. An example was a 1958 brief about a farmer who died tragically by mistaking foot rot medicine for whiskey:

A 58 year old Co. Tipperary farmer died after he had taken a preparation for foot rot in sheep, under the impression that it was whiskey. During the

night the farmer, John O'Donnell, of Mocklerstown, Clerihan, Clonmel, called to his wife, Margaret and told her: 'My God look what I have done, I thought it was whiskey.'

He told her he had taken about a teaspoon full of butyl of antimony which was in a baby whiskey bottle. He was rushed by car to a doctor and then removed to the Cottage Hospital, Clonmel, where he died shortly after admission.

A verdict was returned that death was due to shock and cardiac failure caused by the accidental drinking of liquor of antimony chloride supplied to treat foot rot (1960, p. 6).

This brief probably reflects the Irish sense of humor more than anything. The Irish American readership had become much more Americanized and the glaring economic failings and initiatives in Ireland made some frustrated. As most farms in Ireland were small compared to those in the United States, there was a limited upside potential. Ireland also operated under an antiquated system where the entirety of the family farm was passed on to the oldest son to keep the family name on the land, while the rest of the children who couldn't expect to make a living working for the oldest brother would emigrate. One writer sent a letter to the *Echo* in 1962 making suggestions to consolidate and take advantage of mechanization. The letter shows the stark difference in the thinking of the Americanized Irish and the natives. Tradition and the importance of land, ownership, and the tilling of the earth were thrown out to modern economic considerations, which permeated most business decisions within the market economy of the United States:

Reading reports on Irish agriculture in the past few years it is to be deplored that in spite of all the exhortations, organizations and mechanization, agricultural production is static, if not actually declining, and declining in the face of a reasonably good market.

Taking into account this national and social necessity of holding the small farmer population on the land, would it be possible, under the aegis of three successful cooperative societies and men of merit in the locality, to induce five or six small or medium farmers to merge their farms into one centrally operated unit of sufficient acreage to justify the purchase of mechanical equipment?

It is my opinion that with existing government help (instruction, premises, construction etc.) the five or six farmers involved would triple their present production and income in four years. Three successful pilot examples in the pounds, shillings and pence column is all the small farmer would need in the line of persuasion. Convinced, they would transform Irish agriculture. Yours sincerely, Tom O'Donnell (6/9/62, p. 21).

The reverence for the land began to change as the *Echo* readership slowly became a second generation that had been raised entirely in New York City. Travel became the proximate trend, and the *Echo* fed the void with a significant amount of travel material in the form of explanatory journalism. Like Carbery's piece on studying abroad, the tone taken is that the reader is enthusiastic for travel to the "old country," but they know very little:

Within the last six months we have received innumerable letters with queries as to a holiday in Ireland. Strange to relate the largest percentage of these queries came from Americans who are three or four generations removed from the emerald Isle. Few indeed, had a great knowledge of our fair land but were very anxious to go there and, within a limited holiday or vacation, tour the country (Maxwell, 1962, p. 10).

Like the interest in agriculture, new business developments in Ireland usually received prominent placement in the newspaper. The tone of the newspaper began to reflect more economic optimism by the late 1950s. Much of the business news that started to appear regularly at this time probably reflects a dearth of news in the Irish American community. The majority of people who called themselves Irish at this point were Irish Americans and the migration away from the ethnic enclave was well

underway. By 1960, Ireland was just raising itself from the depression, and a large portion of the economy relied on cottage industries like home knitters. Articles like this still merited placement in the newspaper:

A new fireside industry in Spiddal Co. Galway and the surrounding district (and now spreading out into the counties of Mayo and Clare) are proving a money earner for some 200 women knitters of the West. As a result they are earning from 30 shilling to 2 pounds a week.

Mr. Dermot O'Regan, senior trade adviser, Coras Trachtala, said that his organization with a view to the export potential of Irish hand knit wear, such as cardigans, sweaters and caps, had for the past nine months been helping to put the new industry firmly on its feet ("Ireland's Cottage Industry Expands," 1960, p. 4).

The Irish remittance was always an important component of the Irish economy, and the sense of being Irish always made the Irish American community a fairly easy "touch." Since the *Echo's* inception, there were fund raisers and raffles to help "put the roof on the church" back in Ireland, and this continued to the current period with the 2006 campaign to preserve Saint Brigit's Church on the Lower East Side, which was the parish of the largest group of famine era Irish in New York City. The dependence on a communal sense of being Irish and a people in a constant state of migration made the remittance a significant contribution to the preservation of culture in Ireland and in the enclaves. In 1967, there was an announcement in the "Chicago Gaelic News" column for a field being built outside of Athlone that would be named the Irish Race Memorial Park. The project for the park included a parapet outside of the stadium where donors' names would be inscribed. The field was dedicated "To the glory of God and the honor of the Irish Race, at home and abroad, living and dead, this park will be forever named and dedicated (Hennessey, 1967, p. 7).

John F. Kennedy:

Perhaps the most powerful icon of the “Irish Race” in the United States and in the *Irish Echo* was John F. Kennedy. Kennedy’s election, and ultimately his assassination, was one of the most dramatic periods in the history of the newspaper. Kennedy was the first Irish American Catholic to ascend to the highest office in the United States. The Irish migration to the Republican Party had not fully begun yet, so the Democratic support in the newspaper was strong. His Presidential campaign and election was the first time that American political coverage trumped Irish political coverage. Kennedy’s assassination garnered a full front page photograph, with dozens of columns, features, and opinion pieces filling the newspaper. Kennedy had reached the pinnacle of success for the Irish in the beginning of the 1960s, and it was an affirmation that the Irish felt was long overdue for their contribution to the United States. A November 30, 1963 editorial said this about what Kennedy meant to the readers of the *Echo*:

He came to us of an Irish heritage. He was a symbol to our people. In America and in Ireland. In all the countries of the exiles. And in New Ross. He came to us a Catholic. He proved that a man of his religion can lead the nation. He proved to the doubters that a sincere practicing Catholic can be a loyal American.

He proved it to those of all religions and in all free countries. And to the skeptics. He came to us a rich man who loved the poor. One of his first acts as President was to send additional aid to depressed areas. In the Midwest and in the South. And in West Virginia.

He came to us a freeman who would have all men free. He fought the tyranny of control of men’s minds and hearts. In Berlin and in Vietnam. In the captive world and the free world. And in Birmingham. He came to us a family man.

He showed us that even a president can be a devoted father and husband. He brought us his parents and his brothers and sisters. He brought us his little children and he brought us his wife. He came to us in the most powerful position in the world and yet he was a man of peace.

He used his power to create good will. And he brought us hope. He came to us and gave himself to us. He gave himself to the country (“Editorial”, 1963, p. 1).

The *Echo* published editorials on Kennedy from the *Irish Independent*, the *Irish Press* and the *Irish Times*. The editorial from the *Irish Times* was typical of the outpouring that was made for Kennedy from the Irish press:

Here in Ireland our immediate response to the catastrophe was one of deep personal grief. From the outset we had watched his career with pride, a feeling that was to develop into one of close affection. Not only his devotion to the land of his ancestors, his knowledge of Irish history and his interest in our problems but also his winning manner, his simple approach and easy comradeship were all qualities that endeared him to every Irish heart (“Editorial”, 1963, p. 2).

Daly’s column in “Ann Daly’s Corner” reflected a deep sense of despair, which permeated the *Echo* for several weeks after the assassination:

Rivers of tears have been shed. Thousands of words have been spoken and written. Beautiful words. Moving words. But all the tears and all the words cannot erase the stark horror, the savage brutality, of what has happened.

Decent people everywhere are turning away from one another in a state of hopeless despair. The sun has gone down in our skies, and no moon to take its place, and nothing, nothing, can ever be the same again (Daly, 1963, p. 7).

The despair that was felt in the Irish community over Kennedy’s assassination reflected a deep sense of pride in his accomplishments. Kennedy’s accomplishments were Irish Americans’ accomplishments.

America:

The despair over the Kennedy assassination exemplifies Irish pride and loyalty to their homeland and “America,” as the United States is always referred to in the *Echo*.

American patriotism was described in the guidance chapter, but patriotism was more than a means to an end. It became synonymous with Irish American. As a result, patriotism was a constant theme of celebration of Irish ethnic identity in the *Echo*. Irish newspapers going back to the *Irish World* emphasized patriotism as a means of being accepted into the mainstream of American society, and the Irish generally complied. When Kennedy was assassinated the banner of the newspaper began to run against a large background of the American eagle. A fundamental trait of Irish American journalism, especially in the *Irish Echo*, was the requirement to be a patriotic American citizen. What emerges from the archives of the *Echo* was an Irish American character that placed the adoptive country of the United States at the pinnacle of importance almost immediately upon arrival. The message was that loyalty paid off. The Irish in New York were able to assimilate rapidly and reap the benefits of the American economy. Acceptance in the American mainstream was in stark contrast to the conditions that they left in Ireland and the Irish generally showed their gratitude. A 1935 column written by the grand marshal of the Saint Patrick's Day parade, Judge William O'Dwyer, said this:

Look at me twenty eight years ago I landed at the Battery here in New York, a raw Irish youth of near twenty one with \$25.30 in my pockets, a strange lad in a strange land with no access to influence. What has American done for me in those 28 years?

It has placed me on a bench where I am authorized to judge its own native citizens, determine what their punishment shall be if they be found guilty. It has given me a huge salary to do this work. It has pledged its confidence in my honesty, its faith and my probity, its belief in my ability to make good between the law and human lives.

It has robed me with the right to be merciful with the authority to impose the full penalties of the law (O'Dwyer, 1935, p. 2).

The O'Dwyer column continues and addresses one of the defining moments that many immigrants resist and feel guilty about - when they place their loyalty to the United States ahead of their loyalty to the homeland:

What sort of an Irishman would I be if I did not love America before and above all else? Ireland, that has done so much by emigration to build America, would blush in shame if I should propose myself an Irishman first, an American citizen afterward (O'Dwyer, 1935, p. 2)

Patriotism was often measured in military service, and there were regular columns with military news throughout the wars of the twentieth century. Although there was protest against the Vietnam War by Irish Americans, the reaction in the *Echo* was generally one of quiet acceptance of duty. Praise for returning soldiers received prominent placement, like the one for this soldier, who was awarded the Bronze Star for action in Vietnam:

Raymond F. Barry a native of Cork City became the latest of a growing number of Irish Americans decorated for gallantry in Vietnam. When he received his award from Major Raymond T. Dzierzek, advisor in charge at Fort Tilden, Br Barry said the medal came as a 'surprise' to him.

Commenting on the action he took while under fire with the First Infantry Division in Vietnam, the quiet Irishman said simply: 'I guess it had to be done.' ("Bronze Star to Irishman for Heroic Action in Vietnam", 1967, p. 1).

The Church:

Patriotic sentiments were also bolstered by a strong loyalty to the Catholic Church and suspicion about anything that was perceived as anti-religion. In 1962, when one of the first cases of school prayer appeared in the New York courts, the *Echo* responded with a strong editorial condemning any efforts to have prayer stricken from the curriculum in the public schools. Striking down school prayer struck an Irish nerve that

viewed the ruling as anti-patriotic, anti-religious, and a broadside strike that threatened the newly adopted homeland and the Catholic Church:

This being shy about acknowledging God is something new for the United States. Congress begins its session with a prayer, and the crier of the Supreme Court itself says at every session: ‘God save the United States and this honorable court.’

Even the Constitution is dated ‘in the year of Our Lord 1787.’ Our spiritual heritage is the greatest weapon that our country has against Communism. Is it fair to strip this weapon from the individuals who will have to bear the brunt of the fight in years to come?

The Russian Communists must be delighted. But wait! There’s something those parents have forgotten. What about all that currency so boldly proclaiming ‘In God We Trust’? Surely that must be encroaching on someone’s rights (“This is Establishing an Official Religion?” 1962, p. 6).

Despite their loyalty to Catholicism and the United States, the Irish felt strongly about striking back at ethnic slurs. In 1945, the *Echo* printed an article requesting that readers send any printed evidence of slurs against the Irish people. There was a constant fear of not being accepted because of religion, and religion was the biggest sticking point for the Irish since the nineteenth century:

The Saint Patrick’s Day period gives not only all fair minded Americans an opportunity to indulge in the pleasantries of entertainments, musicals and dances but also provide a chance for persons biased against the Irish and Americans of Irish blood to profit by exhibiting their bias.

The readers of this paper are requested to send factual reports of such instances to Professor Healy. Particularly, are offensive radio programs, newspaper advertisements, store displays, greeting cards and school entertainments as well as inaccurate recurrences of the offense.

Send all communication to Prof. Healy, 542 W. 113th Street, New York, NY (“Irish Cultural Forum Combats Anti-Irish Bias”, 1945, p. 10).

The consistent theme from readers and writers for the *Irish Echo* was that there was a strong interest in maintaining cultural ties. For newly arrived immigrants, whether they came in the height of the depression or the American financial boom of the 1980s, the *Irish Echo* reflects the hospitable Irish village. Second generation Irish Americans who read the *Echo* use it as praxis for ethnic maintenance. The needs of these very different types of readers intersect within Irish cultural content that either provides a respite of nostalgia, or a search for what has been lost or muted in their lives. Reading the *Echo* demonstrates a stronger commitment than simply wearing green on Saint Patrick's Day. It provides a framework of meaning and active participation in maintaining cultural identity. An area of future scholarship would be to define what it is that makes some people long for an ethnic connection while others are content to leave it behind.

Anna Cadwallader characterized it as a matter of choice:

Well, some do and some don't; it's just a matter of choice. I know friends that have gone to live in the states from Ireland, and they totally assimilated into local communities, and they have absolutely no interest in ethnic Irish events, music, culture, dancing, or politics. They've just become completely American.

They don't really take much of an interest in Ireland, and there are others who choose to retain an interest: purely a matter of choice (Cadwallader, 2007).

Summary:

Irish ethnic identity is celebrated in the *Echo* in a variety of ways that help readers remain closer to Ireland. The newspaper's guidance function of educating the second generation fed the collective sense of 'Irishness'. For the second generation 'Irishness' wasn't assumed, it had to be taught. Almost all of the readers interviewed said that they read the newspaper out of a sense of nostalgia. Nostalgia is frequently

triggered by the death of a relative or readers reached a point in their life when they experience a longing that they fill by re-invigorating their interest in Irish culture. Irish born people use it to experience the pleasure of memories through the descriptions of the green Irish landscape or recognition of a name from the past. The immigrant experience is almost synonymous with pride in heritage. Cultural activities like music, dance and language study are paths which people use to reconnect with Irish heritage. Second generation Irish became a solid percentage of the *Echo* readership by the 1960s which resulted in what Grimes called an “explosion of everything Irish” in the 1980s. The explosion really began with pride in Irish success that was exemplified by John F. Kennedy being elected President. In the 1980s it was apparent with the world wide success of Irish writers and film makers like Brian Friel and Neil Jordan. The second generation began to study abroad in Ireland and cultural travel to re-visit Irish roots also experienced an explosion. The level of participation in Irish culture varied with the individual but buying a copy of the *Echo* tended to be one of the first things people did in the process.

CHAPTER X CONCLUSIONS

Introduction:

The 80-year experience of the *Irish Echo*, its accessibility and status as a going concern, made it an apposite subject for inquiry into the function of ethnic media. The findings paralleled much of the material in the literature review, but there were fresh perspectives gained as well. The Irish immigration of the last century resulted in a tightly bounded community made of dense networks of “Irish circles.” The eighty year history of the *Irish Echo* beginning in 1928 reflected a community that changed from predominantly Irish-born immigrants to mostly second generation Irish Americans who continued to read the *Echo*. The community transformed itself economically, geographically, and educationally during the *Echo*’s tenure.

The function of the *Echo* was more integral than instrumental. The *Echo* adjusted with its readership by evolving its role in guidance, its coverage of the Irish civil war, and constant re-calculation of the local angle. The values reflected in the newspaper are not merely a reflection, but also a reference point. They acted as reference for second generation Irish Americans who wanted to re-sync with their heritage and it gave reinforcement to the beliefs and values that immigrants brought with them.

Bonding:

The *Echo* functions as a bonding agent and a bridging agent. It bonded immigrants and the second generation, and helped bridge the gap between Irish Americans and the American mainstream. The newspaper provided the adhesion and

structure that enabled the bonding and bridging operation. As a bonding agent, it enabled community members to communicate politically, culturally, and socially. Name and place reference were strong elements of the adhesive role in bonding. Bonding enlarged the Irish circles by providing a rigid platform to accommodate social exchange and self discovery by the second generation. Ethnicity is defined by the boundaries immigrant communities create and the boundaries that the *Echo* helped define were permissive and receptive to expansion. The bond is inclusive, and membership simply requires a relationship with or interest in Irish culture and heritage.

Ethnic newspapers act as bonding mechanisms by providing reference points of cultural stability through language, music, history, and native country politics. Park described them as language colonies in *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, where he described the ethnic press as an important player in these cooperative societies. The *Echo* assembles these reference points through story telling. Story, more than content, is what distinguishes Irish American journalism from the mainstream press. The assemblage of information in the *Echo* defies journalistic norms by using personal narration and subjective description. Raw information constructed within objective standards is not the newspaper's vocation. The *Echo* is mediated through story because stories have durability. Stories provide the material and richness of social memory. The product of social memory acts as a lubricant for the Irish circles. The social memory of the immigrant experiences a constant process of dilution caused by assimilation.

The narrative of social memory is a continuous process. It is metaphorically like a moving picture image rather than a snapshot. Cudahy's recollection of working with her father as the social editor of the newspaper during the 1920s and 1930s was a process of

assembling names with a continuous narrative. Swidler and Arditì described this as a process of diffusion which gives memories permanence as they are distributed to “larger organizational actors” (p. 319). The bonding function strengthened the Irish social circles through a dense narrative on native country politics and a framework of social and cultural events. Journalism at the *Irish Echo* bound the Irish by keeping the memory of the civil war alive and reinforcing the terrible history of the famine through commemoration and explanatory journalism. The expansion of Irish circles is evident by the inclusion of second generation Irish like Hynes, who used the newspaper to learn about Irish music. Participation through reading the *Echo* enabled passive participation or active involvement. In the case of Geoghegan, the newspaper punctuated her social life with dances and references for gathering. The Irish dance, which Grimes said produced hundreds of marriages, was a lubricant for the reciprocal exchange of information about business, housing, education, and recreation.

The newspaper also became a forum to enhance the environment for reciprocity. Bonding was as simple as matching leasers and tenants for apartment in Irish neighborhoods, or as involved as Lane directing immigrants to night school programs where the Irish were treated well. Reciprocity is a condition of bonding. People have to contribute to receive the benefits of membership within the circle. The drive to find rooms for Irish travelers to the 1955 World’s Fair was one such bonding action that the *Echo* performed. Reciprocity was extended to members of the larger Irish race who were not part of the established Irish circles that existed in New York.

The bonding function of the *Echo* includes re-creation. The newspaper re-creates the hospitality of the Irish village as Ridge described. The constant theme of love for the

land and an interest in Irish agriculture was a mainstay. The first person narratives describing the green of Ireland and the incessant rain were a feeling or atmosphere that was created in the stories of the *Echo*. The ‘new Irish’ and many of the second generation looking for a tie to their ethnic heritage read the newspaper for atmosphere. The *Echo* conveyed the atmosphere of the Irish village with all of the gossip, humor, and localized news that is reflective of Ireland. Jordan had been told by illegals that the *Echo* made them feel less isolated.

The interest in things Irish can be specific like an interest language, or a general desire to belong. Sheehy returned to the *Echo* after recalling the presence of the newspaper in her grandparent’s home. Hynes developed a desire to take her musical interests in a direction that reconnected her with her Celtic roots. The *Echo* gave her the information necessary for musical collaboration and travel within Irish circles. Sharma’s interests were reinvigorated as she approached retirement age and she felt an intellectual longing to study the history of her Irish roots, conduct a genealogy, and learn the Irish language. The process is similar to the process of “personalization” and “inclusion” that Kitch described in her essay on commemorative journalism (p. 95, 100). The *Echo* is not essential reading for achieving these goals, but it is a starting point and a guide to areas of interest.

Readers interviewed said that they depended on the *Echo* for content on ‘the troubles’. Metress wrote that this dependence was fostered because Irish Americans felt that the mainstream American press had a pro-British bias (p. 17). The *Irish Echo* was more comprehensive in its coverage of Northern Ireland than mainstream newspapers. Immigration coverage also reflected a deep understanding of the issues and policy items

on the legislative agenda. On these two issues of Northern Ireland and immigration, the *Echo* was dogmatically committed to advocacy for the position of its readers. The tone was argumentative at times and would border on unfair to Great Britain. O'Hanlon said that the readers didn't expect them to be fair. Sharp tongued journalism on Northern Ireland and immigration was part of the atmosphere that cemented the bond. The values expressed in the *Echo* implied that the Irish had to demonstrate that they were good candidates for citizenship in America and sometimes holding your tongue was expected. The *Echo* had the functional legitimacy that allowed it to express what its readers wanted to say.

The Irish diaspora from the Republic of Ireland ended in the 1980s, and the mass migrations have been replaced by a much smaller scale migration of new Irish, as O'Hanlon described them. The Irish circle among the new Irish still exists, but there are some distinct differences. They are better educated and arrive with visas arranged through multi-national corporations. The new Irish are bypassing the Irish enclaves of the Bronx and Queens and are settling in mixed American neighborhoods in Manhattan and the suburbs. They are more affluent and they return to Ireland regularly according to Elaine Ni' Bhraonain. The new Irish still primarily socialize within an Irish circle, and they also follow similar patterns of dating and socializing that are the custom in Ireland. It is unusual for Americans to enter the circle, and the new Irish usually have fewer second generation relatives in the United States. Ni' Bhraonain comes from a family that never started the pattern of immigration. But the new Irish still read the *Echo* to set their social schedule. They will use the newspaper as a guide to musical or social events that provide structure to meetings within their circle.

Bridging:

The bridging operation of the *Echo* was most powerful in the guidance function. Through guidance, it provided a map for achieving success, and it published success stories as models to emulate. The *Echo* encourages patriotism to the United States first, which is an ideological leap for an ethnic newspaper. Patriotism, education, and self improvement were extolled in advice columns for eight decades with the express purpose of assisting readers in bridging the divide between the Irish enclave and the American mainstream. The bridge was to a new future for immigrants who left a homeland permeated with discrimination, poverty, and a future without opportunity. Flood and O'Connor performed this with the "Education Notes," which made education and Irish synonymous. "Education Notes" conveyed a sense of experience that new arrivals didn't possess. The near obsessive emphasis on education dates back to Patrick Ford in the *Irish World*. Riesman referred to this function of ethnic media as "the assembly line of character" (p. 85).

Stories about successful community members are not exclusive to ethnic newspapers, but holding up models of success as a road map for behavior is distinctly ethnic. Businessmen, judges, military, and civil service leaders were regularly profiled. The *Echo* took a posture of a wise uncle who had seen it done many times before, advising the nieces and nephews to follow the well trodden path to success instead of striking out on their own. The wise voice of Irish American journalism remembered the Nativist movements of the late nineteenth century. The voice of the *Echo* also reflected the parochial approach to success in the United States. Safety was emphasized over risk-taking, and stoic acceptance would make the road easier for the second generation.

Bridging also involved combating stereotypes like when Grimes banned Hallmark ads that were tastelessly bigoted. Combating stereotypes also came in the form of self policing when Grimes made it a policy that everyone would lower their glasses when posing for *Echo* photographers.

The functions of bridging and bonding are contradictory at times. By providing a clear path to assimilation, the *Echo* was also weakening the bonds in the exclusive Irish circles. Bridging provided a confidence level that allowed the Irish to strike out from the ethnic enclaves. The bridge allowed Irish American children to attend schools and enter social circles that were no longer exclusive to Irish membership. This migration contributed to a dispersion of community and it established the second generation in a place where Irish circles didn't exist. Lasswell pointed out that the societal groupings still existed; they were merely dispersed (1948, p. 96). The Irish circles were maintained and reinforced through reminiscing and commemoration. If the bridging function from the dense Irish circles to the American mainstream was one way, the *Echo* would have disappeared like hundreds of former ethnic newspapers. The newspaper began a clear campaign to re-include the second generation by performing a reverse bridging function. By the 1960s, the traditions of the old country had become foreign to second generation Irish Americans. The guidance function became an education in Irish geography, customs, and social practices. Commemoration of heroes, the Irish language drive, and genealogy features were clear examples of the newspaper reaching out to a readership that wanted to reconnect with what they lost. The reverse bridging function also helped to reestablish the Irish circles. Active membership in the American Irish Historical Society and children's programs in Irish language at the Irish Arts Center reintroduced the

offspring of the original Irish circles. The diluting effect of assimilation and the drop in immigration meant that membership in the Irish circles didn't require a strong blood tie to Ireland any more. Many of the participants in the Irish language programs and dance leagues are descendants of famine era Irish who had lost all family connections with Ireland. Irish-by-marriage became a strong qualifier for acceptance as well. Liam Kennedy described the process of reminiscing and re-cultivating Irish culture as integral to the identity formation of Irish Americans (p. 77).

A dispersed readership and looser requirements for entry into the Irish circle made journalism at the *Echo* a challenge. Finding stories requires unusual news gathering skills, primarily finding the local angle. Standard practice is to scour mainstream news sources for people with Irish surnames as John Manley, Ailbhe Jordan, Edward O'Donnell, and Jill Sheehy did. Manley discovered that finding an Irish surname didn't always make a story. He found that an Irish surname four and five generations removed from Ireland was "a little far from the reservation" (Manley, 2007). Hout and Goldstein's study of ethnic identity in the United States showed that a significant number of people who identify themselves as Irish are "a little far from the reservation" (p. 64).

Most of the readers and editorial workers interviewed saw little future for hard news coverage of Ireland. Internet web sites like *Ireland.com* make hard news no longer relevant for the weekly *Irish Echo*. The future thrust of political coverage is explanatory and opinion journalism. The Northern Ireland situation is not resolved yet, and as Anna Cadwallader explained, it could return to the violence of the past. The sharp republican edge will not go away and mobilization is still possible for the future. If the peace process loses momentum, a new wave of immigration is possible. But it will be almost

exclusively from Northern Ireland. The Republic has turned east to the EEU with significant economic success. In 2000, the Republic of Ireland began granting work visas to émigrés from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Ireland is in the position of bringing in foreigners to work as nannies, maids and waiters. The *Echo* has survived downturns in immigration during the twentieth century, and its current function of re-bonding Irish circles and reverse bridging for Irish Americans is successful so far. Competition from the World Wide Web will erode circulation but the *Irish Echo* will stay relevant.

Opportunities for Future Research:

Ethnic newspapers provide a vital record of the sense-making process of immigrants as they negotiate assimilation to the American mainstream. The *Irish Echo* provided an aperture into how ethnic newspapers operate as a guide, coach, mentor, advocate, and rabble rouser for native country political causes. The *Echo* is on the cusp of a technological revolution in publishing and a pronounced demographic shift of its readership. Online newspapers have eroded hard copy circulation, forcing traditional newspapers to publish online. The Irish migration to the United States has reversed – the Irish are returning to Ireland to take advantage of the economic transformation in their country. These trends are not good news for the *Echo*. As its core readership of Irish Americans dies off, a vacuum is created and there is no certainty that it will be filled. However, the renewed interest in Irish ethnic heritage by second generation Irish Americans is expected to grow as the “baby boomers” search for their cultural roots. The *Echo* has transformed its content to service this constituency by printing more historical, cultural, and educational journalism. A fresh line of inquiry is how the “educational sheet” contributes to community formation and whether this structure performs in the

arena of journalism. The research question would be this: Can the educational sheet garner the edge and traction of “cause” that enflamed Charles Connolly, the *Echo*’s founder?

The richest vein of knowledge derived from this study is the guidance function as it is performed in ethnic newspapers. Locating the work papers of Frank O’Connor and Patrick Lane could be an enlightening glimpse into the guidance function in greater detail. The literature review indicated that guidance is not limited to the Irish. While the Irish and Western European migrations have all but ceased, there is a huge surge in migrants from Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Ethnic newspapers from these cultures are flourishing. The research question would be: How do these newspapers perform the guidance function and how does it compare to the way it was performed in the *Irish Echo*. The *Echo* had an unyielding focus on education and patriotism as a means to the end of acceptance in the American mainstream. Research directed at how these new ethnic publications approach guidance would provide significant richness to the purpose and function of ethnic media and how diverse cultures perform it.

Claire Grimes and her experience taking over the *Irish Echo* after the death of her husband also has potential for further research. Grimes was an excellent candidate for oral history and her daily experiences, perceptions, achievements and failures could add richness to the body of knowledge on Irish American journalism. Finally, this study resulted in almost 2,000 pages of oral history transcripts that could be useful for future communication scholars. These transcripts will be made available to future researchers at the American Irish Historical Society in New York City.

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APPENDIX A QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Questions

- How does Irish journalism differ from mainstream American journalism?
- What is singularly Irish about the experience?
- How do American life and Irish American life intersect and diverge in the production of the *Echo*?
- How important is the newspaper to members within the community, and how does that importance change with time, technology, and economic stratification?
- What are some of the values that the *Echo* expresses? Has that changed over time?
- Is the *Echo* ethnocentric? What judgments of American society do they express? Have they changed over time?
- What issues does the *Echo* cover that would be directed at the “public interest?”
- Does the *Echo* portray politics as a contest?
- How is American capitalism portrayed?
- How is the welfare state viewed?
- Is life back in Ireland viewed nostalgically? Is it used as a point of comparison to life in the United States? Has it changed over time?

- Is individual achievement viewed as a goal? Are individuals who become financially successful viewed as the model?
- Is social disorder something that is highlighted or overlooked in favor of social order?
- Does the *Echo* have an assumption of altruism on the part of public officials?
- How are rebellion and conformity viewed? Has this view changed over time?
- Does the news favor old values, people, and topics over the young? How are the young viewed in the pages of the *Echo*?

The interview design was open, with the intent of allowing the interviewees to tell their stories, but topical areas or clusters guided the interviews so that the study can retain some focus. The following topic clusters were addressed in interviews with former and current *Echo* staff:

Work routines:

- Training and experience
- Finding stories
- Area of responsibility – beat
- Quantity of weekly output
- Photography
- Amount of field work
- Training and indoctrination
- Use of new technology
- Finding sources
- Getting access

- Investigative journalism
- Business pressure on editorial content
- Conflicting ideology

Editorial routines:

- Editorial position
- Story selection
- Art selection
- Use of wire or institutional news sources
- Use of stringers
- Advertising pressure
- Letters and complaints
- Political pressure
- Consensus forming
- Conflict resolution
- Evolving readership
 - o new vs. old readers
 - o geographic movement
 - o assimilation

Business and strategic decisions:

- Site selection
- Advertising sales
- Pressure on editorial content
- Hiring and firing

- Expansion
- Investment in new technology
- Going online
- Distribution in Ireland
- Competition
 - o Irish American newspapers
 - o Mainstream American newspapers
 - o Irish newspapers
 - o Internet

Interviews with readers of the *Echo* included questions that lead to insights on how the newspaper functions within the community from the user end:

Readers:

- Frequency
- Number of years
- Reading order
- Reading pattern
- Usage
 - o Decision making
 - o Voting
 - o Purchases
 - o Entertainment
 - o Travel
- Favorite sections
- Change in pattern

- Irish politics in the *Echo*
- Information about “the troubles”
- Other sources used to get information about Ireland
- Interpretation of news events in the United States
- Events and affairs within the Irish American community
- Information about people they have lost touch with
- Learn about ethnic roots
- Nostalgia
- Connection (or lack thereof) to Irish culture

**APPENDIX B
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES**

Interviewees

Archbold, Sarah

June 1, 2006

New York, NY

Administration and distribution

Benson, Tracey

June 1, 2006

New York, NY

Classified Advertising

Cadwallader, Anna

July 12, 2007

Belfast, Northern Ireland (via telephone)

Correspondent – Northern Ireland

Cahill, Martin

July 7, 2006

Mount Vernon, NY

Reader

Campbell, Colin

August 7, 2007

Queens, NY

Reader

Cudahy, Dorothy

September 6, 2007

Brooklyn, NY

Reader and daughter of first entertainment editor James Hayden

Donohue, Marian

June 23, 2006

Yonkers, NY

Reader

Geoghegan, Theresa

June 4, 2007

Bronx, NY

Reader

Grimes, Claire

August 23, 2006 - January 15, 2008

Pound Ridge, NY (several interviews were via telephone)

Publisher

Hynes, Kelly

July 23, 2007

New Haven, CT

Reader

Jordan, Ailbhe

July 25, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

Kessler, Ginny

July 11, 2006

Neptune, NJ

Reader

Lafferty, Charles

August 1, 2007

Flemington, NJ

Reader and freelance reporter

Lynch, Patrick

June 4, 2007

Bronx, NY

Reader

Manley, John

July 12, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

Mac Carthaigh, Sean

June 1, 2006

New York, NY

Managing Editor

McDermott, Peter

June 21, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

McGuirl, Robert

August 13, 2007

Bronx, NY

Reader

Mwamba, Jay

June 5, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

Maguire, Orla

July 14, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

Murphy, Eileen

June 1, 2006

New York, NY

Art Director

Ni' Bhraonain, Elaine

November 6, 2007

New York, NY

Columnist

Nolan, Peter

June 18, 2007

New York, NY

Reporter

O'Donnell, Edward

September 10, 2007

New York, NY

Columnist

O'Hanlon, Ray

June 1, 2006

New York, NY

Editor

O'Neill, Terrence

July 6, 2007

Elmsford, NY

Reader

Ridge, John

August 9, 2007

Queens, NY

Reader

Sharma, Patricia

July 24, 2007

New Rochelle, NY

Reader

Sheehy, Jill

July 20, 2007

New York, NY

Administrative Editor

Whalen, James

June 12, 2006

Roosevelt Island, NY

Reporter

APPENDIX C
***IRISH ECHO* TIME**
LINE

1928	Charles Connolly founds <i>Irish Echo</i> Newsstand price \$.05
1950	<i>Gaelic American</i> (1903-1950) bought by <i>Irish World</i>
1954	Patty Grimes buys <i>Irish Echo</i> and becomes new publisher
1956	<i>Echo</i> goes to tabloid format
1960	John Grimes named publisher
1963	John Thornton named editor
1966	Newsstand price goes to \$.10
1968	<i>Irish People</i> begins publishing
1970	<i>Irish World</i> (1860-1970) closes
1978	Owner Patty Grimes dies Newsstand price goes to \$.15
1981	<i>Boston Irish Echo</i> begins publishing Newsstand price goes to \$.25
1985	Newsstand price goes to \$.35
1987	Publisher John Grimes dies Claire Grimes takes over as publisher <i>Irish Voice</i> opens, starting 15 year circulation war
1988	<i>Irish People</i> (1968-1988) closes
1989	<i>Echo</i> changes over to color printing <i>Boston Irish Echo</i> closes
1990	Newsstand price goes to \$.50 Newsstand price goes to \$.60 <i>Irish Advocate</i> (1893-1989) closes
1991	Tom Connelly named editor Newsstand price goes to \$1.00
1995	Newsstand price goes to \$2.25
2001	Sean Finlay buys <i>Echo</i>
2002	Ray O'Hanlon named editor
2003	<i>Irish Echo</i> online
2005	<i>Echo</i> on newsstands in Ireland

APPENDIX D
SELECTED FRONT PAGES FROM THE *IRISH ECHO*

Selected front pages from the *Irish Echo*:

1. March 26, 1938, “Injustice of Partition Must Cease”
2. July 2, 1938, “Britain Drives the Nails of Bigotry Into Ulster on the Cross of the North”
3. January 16, 1951, “Ireland Looking to Fianna Fail Party for New Leadership, Survey Indicates”
4. August 24, 1967, “All Roads to 26 Counties Blocked By British Troops”
5. January 11, 1958, “Chas. F. Connolly – Founder of *Irish Echo* – Dies at 85
6. November 12, 1960, “Senator Kennedy is Winner; First Catholic in White House”
7. July 6, 1963, “Ireland With Heart and Hand Welcomes President Kennedy”
8. November 30, 1963, Full page photograph of John F. Kennedy with no words
9. June 15, 1968, Full page photograph of Robert F. Kennedy with no headline
10. September 14, 1968, “American Closes the Door; No Visas to Irish in July
11. February 5, 1972, “British Kill 13 in Bogside As Troops Fire Into Crowd”
12. May 20, 1972, “Massive Yes Vote By Irish On Common Market Entry”
13. February 9, 1974, “Bomb on British Army Bus Leaves 11 Dead in England”
14. September 1, 1979, “18 British Soldiers Slain by IRA Bombs”
15. May 9, 1981, “Sands Dead – His Ordeal Is Over; Hughes Also Near Death in H Block”

APPENDIX D (cont.)

16. November 23, 1985, "Anglo Irish Accord Signed"
17. March 20-26, 1991, "Free at Last"
18. September 11-17, 1991, "Morrison Rules!"
19. June 3-9, 1992, "'Lughnasa' is Broadway's Best"
20. December 22-28, 1993, "Course for Peace Is Set"
21. February 2-8, 1994, "Adams Arrives in New York"
22. August 31-September 6, 1994, "Midnight Cease-Fire"
23. December 13-19, 1995, "Wonder and Gratitude"
24. May 27-June 2, 1998, "Ireland says Yes!"