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TRACING THEIR JOURNEY: A NEW BEGINNING FOR IRISH IMMIGRANTS IN 1850 CLEVELAND

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TRACING THEIR JOURNEY:
A NEW BEGINNING FOR
IRISH IMMIGRANTS
IN 1850 CLEVELAND

A Thesis Submitted to the
Office of Graduate Studies
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Master of Arts

By
Kathleen M. Edwards
2018

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Acknowledgements

I begin this thesis by giving thanks to my God. My faith sustained me through this endeavor. Jesus is the cornerstone for my creativity, my personal growth and courage, and my desire for truth. He is my strength, my song, and my breath of life.

I am blessed with a wonderful family. I especially acknowledge my parents Walter and Barbara Loepp, and John Polasky.

I also have Irish family who live across the Atlantic. I wrote this thesis with them in mind. I am very humbled and grateful for my reclaimed Irish heritage. It is evidence to me that redemption exists.

I have many friends and colleagues who listened to me drone on about my research over the past few years. I could not possibly list them all here. But I especially want to acknowledge Bernie McCafferty for his input throughout my program, and for transcribing the 1850 Cleveland census schedules into spreadsheets. My demographic analysis was produced from these catalogues.

I have two mentors who guided me through this process: Dr. Brenda Wirkus and Dr. Valerie McGowan-Doyle. They pushed and encouraged me to grow and achieve beyond my former capabilities. I also extend appreciation to Dr. Maria N. Marsilli and Dr. Malia McAndrew for graciously serving as readers for this thesis.

Finally, I want to thank the community at John Carroll University. This Master's program helped me rediscover the foundations of my faith and my Irish heritage.

Dedication

On April 22nd, 1928, Sarah Jane Quinn stood on a dock in Belfast, Northern Ireland, waiting to board the *Montnairn*. She was eighteen, the oldest of seven children, had a pound in her pocket, and was destined for Quebec, Canada. She joined the chorus of thousands of female Irish emigrants who left home to secure a better economic situation for both herself and her family back in the old country. She spent the better part of the next decade first as a domestic in a private home, and then as a waitress in the service industry. A good portion of her income was sent back home to support the family left in Ireland.

Sometime in her late twenties, she met and fell in love with a man from Cleveland, Ohio who was in Quebec on a work assignment. They married, moved back to the United States, and Sarah gave birth to a daughter, Barbara Sue. Her husband Martin was drafted, and served overseas in Sicily during the second World War as part of the Army Corp of Engineers. Upon his return home after the war, and for reasons beyond Sarah's control, they divorced.

An immigrant, alone and without many marketable skills, Sarah managed.¹ She took up work in a local restaurant, the same employ she had left in Canada. She and Barbara were poor. At first, Sarah rented a bed in a house. Then she secured a room in a house. Finally, she provided an apartment for her and Barbara when Barbara was in the sixth grade. Sarah never owned a car, a

¹ Sarah Jane (Quinn) Straka became a United States citizen on November 12th, 1943.

house, or a large bank account. The American Dream eluded her through no fault of her own. But she held fast to her Catholic faith, and to the family that would emerge when Barbara married.

Sarah Jane was my grandmother. I didn't know the woman described above. By the time I knew Sarah, she was an elderly grandmother. She loved her grandchildren, Johnny Carson, and her faith. I spent many Saturdays with my grandmother. She made the best cup of tea, always had candy in the candy dish, and her ham and butter sandwiches were legendary. We would laugh about the Johnny Carson show from the previous night, and watch old Jerry Lewis, Elvis and Godzilla movies. One year, I had given up television for Lent. She absolved me from my Lenten observance, cautioning me not to tell my mother. She said that Lent had no hold in Grandma's house.

She never spoke of home. I never thought to ask her about it. I wasn't raised in the Irish community of Cleveland. I was raised Catholic, and I was raised in Grandma's living room, on her davenport, on many a Saturday afternoon. She was not only my grandmother, she was my friend and companion. She died when I was seventeen. While she was alive, we never learned about our Irish family in the old country.

In 2006, after an exhaustive genealogical search initiated by my mother, Barbara Sue, we connected with our long-lost family in Ireland. In October of 2006, my mother and I traveled to Ireland to meet our cousins and Grandma's youngest sister, Veronica. (Picture 1) We visited the Quinn family plot, sat in a pew of the church where she probably attended Mass, and spent an afternoon on

the property where she was raised. (Picture 2) The picture included is the only structure on the property that still survives from Grandma's time. The family who now owns this property is also named Quinn. We drank the best tea, and ate butter and ham sandwiches, just like Grandma used to make. We concluded the visit properly with a drink.

I cannot adequately express the impact this visit had upon me. I also cannot understate the appreciation I have that John Carroll University gave me an opportunity to explore Irish history as a program of study. This study was congruently personal and scholastic. I wasn't raised in the Cleveland Irish community, so understanding of my heritage came at a much later date. But I am the proud descendant of a strong, Irish immigrant woman who eventually made her home in Cleveland, Ohio. It is, therefore, my extreme honor to dedicate this thesis on Irish immigrants in Cleveland in 1850 to my ancestor, my grandmother, my childhood companion and friend: Sarah Jane Quinn Straka. You are the bravest woman I have ever known. I love and honor you, and I thank you for my heritage.

Picture 1: Barbara Sue, Aunt Veronica and myself



Picture 2: Shed on the Quinn estate



Introduction

There is an Irish memorial on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River. This memorial was commissioned by the Cleveland Famine Memorial Committee and dedicated by the Greater Cleveland Irish Community on September 16, 2000. Its purpose is to honor the Irish immigrants who settled in Cleveland during the Great Hunger (An Gorta Mor).

The Great Hunger or the Great Famine (depending upon which side of the debate you choose) was the impetus for the large migration from Ireland during 1845-1852.¹ Some Cleveland sources argue that the Great Hunger spurred the large migration of Irish to Cleveland, Ohio.² The depopulation of Ireland during the Famine was dramatic.³ Many left Ireland during 1845-1852 to escape death and disease. This migration stands in contrast to the typical labor emigration patterns of the Irish to the United States during other eras before and after the Famine period.

Almost half a million people currently living in Northeastern Ohio claim some type of Irish ancestry.⁴ I am one of them. But how many of us understand

¹ Scholars differ on the exact end date of the Famine. Crop failures existed into 1850, and migration continued well after the crops recovered. The website for Irish Great Hunger Museum publishes the date range for the Great Hunger from 1845-1852, and refers to the Famine as “the worst demographic catastrophe of nineteenth-century Europe.” “Famine Folios,” accessed June 1, 2017, <http://ighm.org/famine-folios/>. Scholars do agree on the mass exodus of people. Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (London: Penquin Books, 1991), 206-207. Kerby A. Miller, “Revenge for Skibbereen: Irish Immigration and the Meaning of the Great Famine,” in *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, ed. Arthur Gribben (University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 181.

² Reverend Nelson J. Callahan, *Irish – The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, accessed July 5, 2016, <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=l6>.

³ I will detail the population decline in the Emigration chapter.

⁴ John Myers & Judith G Cetina, PhD., *Images of America: Irish Cleveland* (Charleston: Acadia Publishing, 2015), 7.

the circumstances and the reasons why our ancestors left Ireland? Why did they emigrate? Did they have a choice? Why did they settle in Cleveland, Ohio? Did they bring their cultural traditions with them? These are questions that I have asked myself concerning my Irish ancestry. These questions also serve as a platform for this thesis.

Purpose and Thesis Project

I intend to accomplish two things in the pages that follow. Firstly, I shall produce the “original” component of this thesis by filling a gap in scholarship pointed out by Irish historian Gerald Moran (outlined in the section below). I shall use the scholarship of Regina Donlon (also explained below) as my guide. Secondly, I shall use elements from the history of nineteenth century Ireland as well as emigration statistics and data from the United States census from Cleveland to demonstrate that (female) Irish immigrants by 1850 had not emigrated primarily for political or religious or even familial reasons, but as part of a larger wave of labor migration.

Disciplines Relevant to this Interdisciplinary Project

This scholarly work is a combination of several disciplines including history, emigration theory, demography, women’s studies, and Irish American studies. The Humanities Program at John Carroll University is an interdisciplinary program. The courses incorporate several disciplines within their structure, and these disciplines are often integrated to support the main topic. I follow a similar approach throughout this thesis. However, here I discuss briefly the disciplines that I use.

Historical perspective is evident throughout this thesis. I incorporate history in the chapters on Ireland, emigration and Cleveland in 1850. The Ireland chapter highlights rural society in the early nineteenth century, specifically examining the role of women. Irish and emigration historians provide analysis for the various migration waves in the emigration chapter. A concise history of Cleveland, Ohio is included in the Cleveland chapter.

Migration theory is discussed in the chapter on emigration. The waves of migration from Ireland to the United States up to 1850 were a form of employment or labor migration. The Famine of 1845-1852 was an exception. I will demonstrate in the chapter on the Irish Immigrants in Cleveland in 1850 that the Irish immigrant community did follow the typical pattern of labor migration.

I used Grounded Theory Methodology in my demographic analysis of the populations of Cleveland, Ohio and the Irish immigrant community in 1850. Grounded Theory Methodology is used primarily in the social sciences. This method allows the researcher to gather data, examine this data, and then form a theory based upon the results.⁵ I use this methodology in correlation with the 1850 United States Federal Census. I constructed profiles based upon the extrapolated data and incorporated these profiles into charts. I applied this methodology to the general population of Cleveland, the Irish immigrant community, and Irish immigrant females.

⁵ Kumar Ravi Priya, "Chapter 7: Grounded Theory Methodology," Accessed June 10, 2018. <http://www.mheducation.co.uk/openup/chapters/9780335244492.pdf>, 69-70.

I wanted to highlight the Irish woman in this study. The Irish female was the focal point in several sources throughout my research. She was integral to the rural society in Ireland. She sometimes migrated as a single woman to provide economic provision for family members back home. Fertility and marriage patterns centered on the female perspective in the resources I consulted. This focus influenced my demographic comparison between the rural Irish society and the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

Relevance Scholarship and a Review of the Literature

Irish history, Irish immigration, and female Irish immigration have been thoroughly researched. Irish history and immigration to the United States have been studied by many scholars including Kerby A. Miller, Jay P. Nolan, and Arnold Schrier. Kerby A. Miller is an American historian and Professor Emeritus at the University of Missouri. His research focus is modern Irish history and Irish immigration. He served as a visiting lecturer at Queen's University in Belfast in 1985-86. He was awarded the J.S. Donnelly award at the American Conference for Irish Studies in 2004. Jay P. Nolan is a Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Notre Dame. Nolan was a Fulbright Professor at University College in Cork, Ireland in 1986. He taught a course for over 15 years at Notre Dame on the Irish in America. Arnold Schrier was a Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati. His research documented letters written by Irish immigrants in the United States. He worked with Seán Ó Súilleabháin of the National Folklore Commission of Ireland in to produce "Questionnaire: Emigration to America."

This collection is currently available online through the University College Dublin website.⁶

Hasia R. Diner, Margaret Lynch-Brennan, and Janet A. Nolan have written female Irish immigration studies. Hasia R. Diner is the Paul and Sylvia Steinburg Professor of American Jewish History at New York University. She has written extensively on female Jewish immigration. Her book, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* focuses on Irish female emigration to the United States.⁷ Margaret Lynch-Brennan has a PhD in American History from SUNY Albany. She is an independent scholar and her focus is Irish female immigrants who worked as domestics in the United States. Janet A. Nolan received her PhD. in History from the University of Connecticut in 1986. She was an Assistant Professor in History at Loyola University Chicago until her retirement in 2009. Her research included Irish American history, emigration and Irish women in America.

The missing piece in this corporate body of research is the study of Irish immigrants in the communities they settled in. My thesis provides this missing piece for Irish immigrants in Cleveland in 1850. Gerald Moran published an article in 2016 that included a discussion of this absence.⁸ He argued that because of the large number of Irish migrants during the second half of the

⁶ <https://digital.edc.ie/view/ivria:32418>.

⁷ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983).

⁸ Gerard Moran, "Shoveling out the paupers: The Irish Poor Law and assisted emigration during the Great Famine", in *The Famine Irish: Emigration and The Great Hunger*, ed. Ciarán Reilly (Dublin: The History Press Ireland, 2016), 22-40.

nineteenth century, historians have only recently begun to examine the “regional varieties” of the places the Irish emigrated to.⁹ He further stated that it has only been recent scholarship that has begun to examine this mass exodus of people in relation to the background of the Irish, their destination location, and what happened to these groups once they arrived.¹⁰

Regina Donlon is a scholar who is part of this new discussion.¹¹ Donlon recently published an article on Famine-era immigrants in Toledo, Ohio.¹² She used Grounded Theory Methodology in conjunction with the United States federal census data to “establish and construct a profile of the Irish immigrant community in Toledo during the second half of the nineteenth century.”¹³ She supplemented the quantitative data she gathered from the census with qualitative resources to define the immigrant experience in Toledo during this time period. She asserted that the census schedules were a valuable tool for interpreting the makeup of post Famine-era immigrant communities. These schedules, according to Donlon, present the ability to answer certain basic questions about the Irish immigrant community.¹⁴

The Irish immigrants of Cleveland in 1850 have not been profiled in this manner. The purpose of this study is to fill the particular void of scholarship in

⁹ Moran, 22.

¹⁰ Ibid, 22.

¹¹ Donlan received her PhD in 2014 and is currently the Irish Research Council Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the National University of Ireland in Galway.

¹² Regina Donlon, “Constructing an immigrant profile: Using statistics to identify Famine immigrants in Toledo, Ohio, 1850-1900,” in *The Famine Irish: Emigration and the Great Hunger*, ed. Ciaràn Reilly (Dublin: The History Press Ireland, 2016), 131-145.

¹³ Ibid, 132.

¹⁴ Ibid, 132.

this area. The census of 1850 is an ideal starting point for a few reasons. The population of Cleveland in 1850 was just over 17,000. The low population is manageable for a thesis project. The 1850 census was the first enumeration of every household member.¹⁵ It was also the first census that required the state of birth for every person in the dwelling. This allowed me to target the Irish immigrant population with a high degree of accuracy.

This study is unique for Cleveland but is part of an emerging scholarly discussion. The methodology I present throughout can also be applied toward other research topics. It can be used to study other Irish immigrant populations in any given city in the United States in 1850. It can be applied to other immigrant groups in Cleveland in 1850. Finally, this research study can be used as the baseline, or starting point, for future studies on the Irish immigrant population in Cleveland. A researcher can apply this method in conjunction with the 1860 census and beyond to chart changes or similarities of the population.

Methodology

Regina Donlon's project is groundbreaking within the scholarly discussion on Famine-era and post Famine-era immigrant population studies in United States cities. I adopted her methodology when I gathered the data from the census schedules. But there were points that my research method differed from Donlon's. I want to describe the similarities and differences.

¹⁵ Prior enumerations only required basic questions on the head of household.

Donlon used Grounded Theory Methodology as the basis for her research. Her definition of Grounded Theory Methodology coincides with the explanation described above. “This method essentially allows the collected data to form the theory itself rather than manipulating the data to suit an already existing premise.”¹⁶ She used the census data to construct definitions and “supplementary classifications” for the Irish immigrant population.¹⁷ Her definition of the Irish immigrant community was “only immigrants whose stated place of birth was Ireland.”¹⁸ She applied this definition to immigrants born in Ireland and their descendants. I followed her definition of an Irish immigrant.¹⁹ She also used Grounded Theory as a basis for defining her “supplementary classifications.” The classifications she used focused on gender and age categories within the Irish immigrant community.²⁰

I redefine her term of “supplementary classifications” to sub-classes. I also expand my sub-classes for the general population of Cleveland in 1850 and the Irish immigrant (female) population. I categorize the population of Cleveland in various groupings. These classifications include foreign and native born, place of birth, gender, age, and occupation for adults aged 15 years and older. The sub-classes for the Irish immigrant population include gender, age, single adults, married and family units, occupation for male adults aged 15 years and older,

¹⁶ Donlon, 132.

¹⁷ Ibid, 133.

¹⁸ Ibid, 132.

¹⁹ When considering Irish immigrant family units, my study defines an Irish immigrant family as: at least one spouse has to declare their place of birth as Ireland.

²⁰ Donlon, 133-136.

and women. I also detail the sub-classes for Irish women by probable singles and married. I examine the probability of domestic servants for single women. I include married women with more classifications including number of offspring, age differentiation from their spouse, and socio-economic status. (This sub-class is based primarily upon their husband's stated occupation.)

There are several places where my research approach differs from Donlon's. I redefine the Irish married couple and family unit. I focus only on the 1850 census. I use the entire Irish population of Cleveland in 1850. I include an historical perspective instead of primary records from the immigrants.

I define an Irish immigrant as one whose birthplace was Ireland. However, I discovered that some married couples had a spouse not born in Ireland. Additionally, not all of the children in the family units were born in Ireland. I wanted these individuals included in this study. Therefore, I define an Irish married couple or family unit as part of the Irish immigrant community if at least one of the spouses declared Ireland as their birthplace.

I previously described the benefits of using the 1850 census. Donlon used a sampling of the Irish community between the years of 1850-1900. I use the entire Irish immigrant population of Cleveland in 1850.

Donlon supplemented her research with records written by or about the Irish immigrants in Toledo, Ohio. Cleveland has a limited collection of records for

the Irish immigrants in 1850.²¹ These sparse records focus on Irish males who were prominent in the community. I wanted to give this thesis a broader range and place the Irish community of Cleveland in 1850 within a larger perspective. This is why I chose to include an historical perspective of the rural Irish in the Ireland chapter. It is also the reason why I include the chapter on emigration. The inclusion of the historical perspective, along with the analysis of their migration waves provide me with the opportunity to examine whether they transplanted their culture from early nineteenth century Ireland into their new community in Cleveland, Ohio in 1850.

Research Questions, the Argument, and the Evidence

The research questions are as follows. What is the historical portrait of the rural Irish person in the first half of the nineteenth century? Did economic need influence Irish emigration to the United States up to and including the Famine period? What are the demographics of the Irish immigrants? What opportunities did Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 present to the Irish immigrants? Did the Irish transplant their cultural traditions from Ireland into the Irish immigrant community in 1850 Cleveland? These questions serve as the roadmap for both the chapters following and for the central argument for this thesis.

As noted above, the central argument follows. The Irish migration from their homeland to the United States was a form of labor migration. The 1,900

²¹ The Hibernian Guards are one example. The Irish American Archives Society has recently released their book *The Day We Celebrate: 175 Years of Cleveland's St. Patrick's Day Parade*.

Irish adults chose Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 because Cleveland had ample employment opportunities and was a small, multi-cultural city. As the Irish settled in Cleveland, they transplanted parts of their cultural lifestyle into their immigrant community.

There are three chapters in this thesis that complement the final chapter. The first three chapters are Ireland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, Emigration Patterns from Ireland to the United States, and Cleveland: A Demographic Analysis. The final chapter uses the models derived from the previous three and intertwines the data from the census schedules to produce the title of this thesis: The Irish Immigrant Community in Cleveland in 1850.

The chapter on Ireland profiles the rural environment. Ireland in the early nineteenth century is not unique from other agrarian societies in Europe prior to industrialization. Ireland had cottage industries and rural population explosions that were common in agrarian societies. However, Ireland was not only rural, Ireland was poor. Ireland did not industrialize as other countries during the time-period. Marriage and fertility practices were influenced by the increased reliance upon the potato as the main food source. The typical family married young, had many children, and there was a significant age difference between the spouses. The males were generally semi-skilled or of the laboring class. Women contributed to the economic well-being of the family in a variety of ways. The prominent occupation among both married and single women was domestic service. The poverty and the lack of urbanization created opportunity for

migration. Indeed, the lack of gainful employment in this agrarian society encouraged migration.

The purpose of the emigration chapter is two-fold. I will briefly explore and define employment or labor migration. The use of emigration theory explains the reason for Irish immigration. I will describe the various emigration periods. I will demonstrate that as the eras progressed, emigration was an economic necessity. I will also show the changing demographics from era to era. These demographics include skill set, marital status, and the high percentage of singles and women. These demographics are useful when comparing the profiles of the Cleveland Irish. Cleveland's Irish community in 1850 was young, with a significant single population, whose main occupation was labor.

The chapter on Cleveland provides a brief history of the city up to 1850 and an overall demographic composite of the populace derived from the census data. This combination provides the opportunity for me to suggest some concrete probabilities for Irish settlement. The historical perspective demonstrates that travel to the city was efficient. Cleveland was not a crowded metropolis like the cities on the east coast. It also had plenty of employment opportunities. Cleveland in 1850 had a commercial economy. The population demographic is young, multi-cultural, with a healthy mix of professional, skilled, semi-skilled and laboring classes.

I use the census schedules in the final chapter to build a composite of the Irish immigrant community. Their socio-economic status was primarily labor with a small representation of semi-skilled. The gender differentiation slightly favored

females. There was a notable single population among the Irish. However, the majority were married, and many had families. Their population was young. The typical age was under 40. Children represented nearly half of their community. Married couples were also young. The age gap between the spouses was statistically greatest from zero to three years. Their family size ranged from zero to three, with zero children being the most prevalent. The Irish in Cleveland in 1850 included young married couples, and primarily the laborer class. These traits followed their cultural lifestyle from Ireland. The traits that were uncommon to their heritage include the age gap between the spouses and the small family size.

I complete this thesis with a brief conclusion. In this summary, I present a concise overview of how the research presented in each chapter answers the research questions and supports the central argument. The compilation of this document, and the research therein, supports the title of this thesis: "Tracing Their Journey: A New Beginning for Irish Immigrants in 1850 Cleveland."

Figure 1²²



²² "Cleveland, Ohio (2000)," Irish Famine Memorials, accessed May 31, 2017, <https://irishfaminememorials.com/2014/01/16/cleveland-ohio-2000/>.

Chapter 1: Ireland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

I begin this thesis with a chapter on Ireland for a few reasons. First, this segment will answer the research question: What is the historical portrait of the rural Irish person in the first half of the nineteenth century? William Forbes Adams argued that to understand the Irish immigrant experience, it is necessary to examine the history and culture of Ireland prior to emigration to gain a perspective on the reasons for migration.¹ Secondly, this historical portrait speaks to the central argument. It will tell us what parts of the Irish cultural lifestyle the Irish transplanted into the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

This chapter includes an overall synoptic history of Ireland, specifically during the first half of the nineteenth century. It presents a snapshot of Ireland and women in this rural culture during this time period. What we seek to understand here is the society in which the Irish lived. Some of the discussion in this chapter involves factors that involved both men and women. These include population changes (increases), poverty, the potato and the Great Hunger. The portion of the research specific to women focuses on marriage patterns, marriage age and age differences from her mate, children and economics. All of these topics contribute to an analysis of the research questions and the central argument.

¹ William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Immigration to the New World From 1815 to the Famine* (Baltimore: Geological Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), 2.

Much of the information in this chapter includes secondary source material from historians who have studied women in Ireland, Irish emigration in general and the Great Hunger. To accompany their expert assertions, excerpts from both the “Poverty Before the Famine”² and the “Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)” from the Irish Folklore Commission have been consulted.³

Rural and Poor Ireland

Ireland in the 1800s was primarily a rural, agrarian society. The Industrial Revolution had taken hold in England during the late 1700s. As industrialization took place, changes in economics, politics and agriculture occurred in England. After 1800, these policies favored England’s interests – not Ireland’s. Ireland remained largely rural and agricultural.⁴ The 1835 report, “Poverty Before the Famine,” concluded that the primary occupation in Ireland was agriculture.⁵ Janet A. Nolan calls this lack of industrialization in Ireland an “incomplete modernization.” And it was this incomplete modernization that contributed to the drastic demographic and economic changes in Ireland during the nineteenth century.⁶ The small amount of industry that did exist in Ireland was in the North. Dublin, Wexford, Cork and Limerick also boasted a minimal amount of industry.⁷

² “Poverty Before the Famine, County Clare 1835: First Report From His Majesty’s Commissioners for Inquiring Into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland,” was a report conducted by England in the early 1830s concerning the poverty conditions in Ireland.

³ The “Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)” was an oral history project conducted in 1945 by the Irish Folklore Commission in commemoration of the 100-year anniversary of the onset of the Great Hunger.

⁴ Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: Women’s Emigration from Ireland 1885-1920* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 10-11.

⁵ “Poverty Before the Famine,” First Report.

⁶ Nolan, 9.

⁷ Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 1840-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 25.

But Ireland was not only rural, Ireland was poor. “The 1841 census showed that the vast majority of the population lived in rural areas and about 50 percent of rural families lived in the poorest type of housing, consisting of single-room cabins made of mud.”⁸ The “Poverty Before the Famine” report determined that the poorer classes of Ireland encompassed nearly the entire population.⁹

Vagrancy was increasing, showing that poverty was making a strong foothold in Ireland. For example, a shopkeeper named Hynes testified that vagrants in the parish of Abbey were about 30, but only two were recognized as locals. Per his testimony, the number of summer vagrants had increased significantly over the previous 20 years. As the 1835 inquiry noted: “The acknowledged increase of vagrancy is attributed to the increase of a population which has no other means of subsistence than the tilling of land.”¹⁰

Inheritance practices also contributed to poverty among Ireland’s rural poor. Partible inheritance, the practice in which the parents would leave their landholdings to all their children, effectively divided the land into smaller and smaller holdings. “By 1841 over 80 percent of all land holdings in Ireland covered less than fifteen acres and fully 45 percent of all tenant-held farms averaged less than five acres in size.”¹¹

The Potato and Population

⁸ Lynch-Brennan, 2.

⁹ “Poverty Before the Famine,” First Report.

¹⁰ “Poverty Before the Famine,” Parish Abbey and Oughtmanagh.

¹¹ Nolan, 15.

The potato provided nutrition, and it was a low maintenance, sustainable crop. It could be grown in almost any type of plot, including hillsides. Its yield could sustain families as it could be grown in sufficient quantities. The potato was part of the Irish diet. This included all social classes. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was the rural poor who had become completely dependent upon the potato as their main food source. In previous years, they had been able to supplement their food sources with oats.

Lynch-Brennan asserts that by the early 1840s, almost 40% of the Irish were relying on the potato as their sustenance year-round.¹² Seán Ó Conaill reported that 90% of the people in his parish of Ballylobby, County Tipperary lived on 10 acres or less, and relied upon subsistence farming. Their diet depended entirely upon the potato, as oats and wheat were grown and sold to pay their rents.¹³ Micheál Mac Mathgamhna reported that there were approximately 40 families in his district of Kilcornan, County Limerick, with most landholdings being two acres. Food was "potatoes and thick milk for breakfast and porridge for supper."¹⁴ Liam Ó Danachair stated in the Famine Questionnaire that rents in the village of Athea, County Limerick prior to and during the Famine were high. "Farm produce was sold to pay the landlord. Potatoes were the chief food with 'skim' milk, 'thick' milk or sour milk. Very little bread was used."¹⁵

¹² Lynch-Brennan, 7.

¹³ "Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)," Irish Folklore Commission, UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, Accessed March 6, 2017, <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:20162>, Seán Ó Conaill, 28.

¹⁴ "Questionnaire: Irish Famine," Micheál Mac Mathgamhna, 87-89.

¹⁵ "Questionnaire: Irish Famine," Liam Ó Danachair, 63.

It was the lumper potato that became the crop of choice.¹⁶ It was of inferior quality, but it grew well anywhere in Ireland.¹⁷ Mrs. Wirelid reported in the “Questionnaire: Irish Famine” that the potato was “so plentiful that they were pitted by the ditches.”¹⁸ “The fleshy tuber could be grown anywhere, even on the most miniscule of plots, and contained just enough nutrients to sustain the life of the poor.”¹⁹ However, it was also this lumper potato that was highly susceptible to the blight when it began in 1845-46.²⁰

Population increase during the first half of the nineteenth century was rapid. This increase occurred across Europe.²¹ But Irish scholars believe that the potato crop was the major cause for this increase in Ireland. “The cause of this rapid population rise is not entirely clear, but the survival of more people in the absence of warfare, Irish potato culture, and the reduction in deaths owing to disease may have been factors.”²² Nolan contends that the introduction of the potato, or the “spread of potato cultivation after 1750 helped to increase the population boom of that time period.”²³ Census data from 1841 reports the population of Ireland at 8,175,124.²⁴

¹⁶ The lumper potato is a small, white potato that is easily cultivated because it can grow in almost any type of soil. In particular, it can grow in soil that is deplete of nutrients, and still produce a generous crop.

¹⁷ Lynch-Brennan, 8.

¹⁸ “Questionnaire: Irish Famine,” Mrs. Wirelid, 83.

¹⁹ Diner, 6.

²⁰ Lynch-Brennan, 8.

²¹ Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History* (Madlen: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 2.

²² Lynch-Brennan, 22.

²³ Nolan, 10.

²⁴ Diner, 8.

Diner states that the population increase occurred in Ireland because it remained rural while other countries were industrializing. The economic opportunities in other countries such as England during the time period were non-existent in Ireland. The population swell was not due to an increase in foreign inhabitants. Furthermore, emigration from Ireland prior to and including this period was common. "This tremendous growth occurred without any industrialization or increase in economic opportunities and without any influx of foreigners."²⁵ This population boom occurred among the poorest classes.²⁶

The potato was the mainstay diet for these poorer classes. Scholars assert that the potato had a direct influence on this population increase. Two specific areas where the potato influenced population increase were marriage tendencies and fertility rates. "Before the Great Famine, more likely than not an Irish peasant or laborer married young."²⁷ "As the Irish became potato eaters by the end of the eighteenth century, they also began to marry earlier. The poor, in particular, saw no reason not to marry spontaneously."²⁸ Early marriage was associated with the poor classes that included cottiers and poor laborers.²⁹ Fertility rates corresponded with the early marriage rates.³⁰ The potato, per

²⁵ Diner, 5.

²⁶ Ibid, 7.

²⁷ Ibid, 6.

²⁸ Ibid, 6.

²⁹ Cottier is another term for Irish peasant who rented a very small parcel of land, generally two acres or less.

³⁰ This is a logical conclusion. The probability of larger families increases with younger marriage statistics. When this practice occurs across a general population, then a population increase is eminent. However, Irish scholars relate this increase to the dependence upon the potato diet.

Diner, helped to increase these rates.³¹ Women in this economy married and had children “because the potato cultivation allowed the establishment of new households.”³²

Irish men and women married in their mid-twenties from the late eighteenth century through to 1830. This marriage pattern was common throughout Europe. However, as the Famine approached, that age lowered among the poor Irish. The median age would increase to 29 for women and 34 for men after the Famine.³³ As for fertility and children, “In an agrarian society, children were economic assets and a woman’s fertility was vital to her family’s survival.”³⁴

Irish Women in Pre-Famine Years

Women, and in particular poor women, contributed a great deal to the economic stability of their families. It was necessary for all members of the family to contribute financially. The woman’s contribution could be the difference between stability and starvation for herself and her family in pre-Famine Ireland.³⁵ Single and married women in rural Ireland earned money to help support their families.³⁶

The cottage industry was the major source of extra income for the rural woman during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These

³¹ Diner, 6.

³² Nolan, 11.

³³ Ibid, 12-13.

³⁴ Ibid, 29.

³⁵ Diner, 13.

³⁶ Ibid, 26.

industries “dotted the Irish countryside as wives and daughters wove frieze and then fashioned them into garments, gathered turf to warm their homes, and raised chickens.”³⁷ Cottage industries (from linens to everyday items) were common throughout Europe during this time period, and it was often the principal income for the landless.³⁸ Women worked on their farms. Their labor was not restricted to the upkeep of the house or care of the children. They would work in the fields, carry peat, migrated for seasonal work, ran cottage industries, and even begged if necessary.³⁹

Subsistence farming had not always been the primary means of supporting the rural family. Cottage industries such as egg and poultry sales, home cloth production, and dairy making (butter, etc.) helped to pay the rents and were mostly governed by women.⁴⁰ Liam Ó Danachair testified to the validity of these cottage industries in the Irish Famine Questionnaire. "A great deal of butter was made in the parish and sold at markets."⁴¹ Women used to pay their rent monies with the income from their cottage industries. So, without these incomes, rent monies would go unpaid.⁴²

British goods began to compete with and overwhelm these cottage industries in the 1820s.⁴³ Changes in textile production and dispersion in Ireland

³⁷ Diner, 13.

³⁸ Bade, 3.

³⁹ Nolan, 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 14.

⁴¹ "Questionnaire: Irish Famine" Liam Ó Danachair, 65.

⁴² Nolan, 31.

⁴³ Ibid, 14. Increased goods production in the rise of the Industrial Revolution and changes in British laws contributed to this competition.

also suppressed the cottage industries and caused the poor to be more reliant on subsistence farming.⁴⁴ This was confirmed by the “Poverty Before the Famine” report. Thomas Scanlan recalled the textile cottage industry, and how Irish women benefited. He described how women used to work long hours at the spinning wheel in their home to produce products that were sold at fairs. The money earned contributed to their rent payments. “There is nothing of that kind now, and a woman is lucky if she can get employment two months of the year in the fields.”⁴⁵

Domestic service was a popular form of employment for women.⁴⁶ In fact, “domestic service was the most usual waged occupation for females in Ireland.”⁴⁷ Domestic workers were employed in both rural and urban settings and engaged in tasks that included both indoor and outdoor duties. They were generally hired at fairs, and it was not uncommon for them to be married, although the tenure of their work would require separation from their families.⁴⁸ Domestic service was the major form of outside employment for Irish women during most of the nineteenth century.

Women also gained employment in both the industrial textile industries and shop work, even though these occupations were very prohibitive and exhaustive. Where a woman lived determined what type of employment she

⁴⁴ Nolan, 31.

⁴⁵ “Poverty Before the Famine,” Parish Abbey and Oughtmanagh.

⁴⁶ Many Irish females chose this type of employment in the United States.

⁴⁷ Lynch-Brennan, 29.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 29.

might acquire.⁴⁹ Women were not treated as equals when they did acquire employment in the public sector. They were, “marginalized in the workforce and seen as temporary workers, where their labor was devalued, and they got paid less than men, even for work of equal value.”⁵⁰

The Great Hunger and Greater Poverty

The pre-existing conditions discussed above reached their breaking point with the arrival of the Great Famine, spurring emigration on an unprecedented scale. “The Great Famine of the late 1840s has generally been considered the event in Irish history which sent shock waves throughout Irish society.”⁵¹ The Famine of 1845 was not the first famine in Ireland, nor was it the last. Famine and potato crop failures were recorded in Ireland in 1740, 1879-86, 1890, 1897 and 1904. However, no crop failure before or after devastated the population of Ireland as did the Great Hunger.⁵² At least one million people died due to starvation or disease. Nearly three million were enveloped by sheer poverty. Many fled.⁵³ Diner equates the Famine of 1845 with “starvation, disease and destruction.”⁵⁴

There are many reasons why the Great Hunger of 1845 was so devastating. Over-population and reliance on the potato were two reasons. Poor administration on behalf of the British government was another. All combined to

⁴⁹ Lynch-Brennan, 158-160.

⁵⁰ Luddy, 160.

⁵¹ Diner, 2.

⁵² Nolan, 23.

⁵³ Diner, 2-3.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 2. Actual emigration statistics will be discussed in the next chapter on emigration.

create the perfect storm. The British government concluded a two-year inquiry into the status of the poor in Ireland in 1835. The king of England had required the commission to determine “whether any, and, if any, what further remedial measures appear to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish Poor, or any portion of them.”⁵⁵ The Irish poor were no longer an issue just in Ireland. They had begun to be a concern in England as the poor began to crowd into the depressed areas of Liverpool and Manchester – increasing the poor populations there and taxing England’s resources. The commission did produce recommendations. However, these suggestions were not readily implemented in Ireland. England was more concerned about reducing its welfare debt than enacting change to improve the lifestyle of the poor. The result was the introduction of the workhouse system in Ireland based upon the British model.⁵⁶

The Irish Poor Law of 1838 introduced the workhouse into Ireland. There were 130 “administrative divisions, designated unions, each of which constructed its own workhouse.”⁵⁷ During the Great Hunger, the burden of relief was placed upon these workhouses. In January 1847, the English government decided (because they did not want to assume fiscal responsibility for the starving inhabitants of Ireland) that those who were needy would not be recipients under

⁵⁵ “Poverty Before the Famine,” First Report.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Luddy, 7.

the Poor Law. The Poor Law was to be funded by the landlords and property owners.⁵⁸ The result of this would be mass evictions, death, and emigration.

The outcome is unanimously understood as devastating regardless of the causes. The Famine eradicated the social fabric of rural society that had existed in pre-Famine Ireland. However, the Protestant landlords themselves were not the sole aggressor. There were not just inadequate responses in terms of relief on behalf of the British government. There were reports of Catholic head tenants who were heartless in their treatment of the landless poor. Many of these Catholic head tenants evicted the farmers and laborers so they could protect their land holdings. Even family affections turned cold. Husbands abandoned their wives and children. Children neglected aging and sickly parents. Parents deserted starving children.⁵⁹

The Famine affected the land holding system in Ireland. "The Famine wreaked havoc with the land holding system in Ireland, producing a profound change in every Irish institution, and particularly in the Irish family."⁶⁰ Diner's assessment agrees with Kerby Miller's. Margaret Lynch-Brennan furthers their assessment. She argues that almost 75% of the Irish population were peasants prior to the Famine. She believes the Famine affected every societal class in Ireland, but that it eradicated the cottiers and caused massive depopulation. "Approximately two million people disappeared, one million died, mainly from

⁵⁸ Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (Penguin Books: London, 1991), 227.

⁵⁹ Miller, "Revenge for Skibbereen," 183.

⁶⁰ Diner, xvi.

diseases that included typhus, relapsing fever, and dysentery rather than from starvation.”⁶¹

The “Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)” supports the secondary source material concerning poverty, death and emigration. Seán Ó Conaill stated that "an unusually thick 'blight' fog settled on the potato-crop about the end of July 1845. It worsened in '46 and finally in '47 destroyed the entire crop." He also declared that many died in his parish of Ballylobby because of cholera and starvation. "It was no uncommon sight to see persons dead by our roadsides, in fields or even beside their own houses." He confirmed that the Famine affected 90% of the peasantry in the parish. The result was the loss of land holdings and mass emigration.⁶² Mrs. Wirelid reported that prior to the Famine, potatoes were "so plentiful that they were pitted by the ditches." The next year they were rotten. There were large populations in the area prior to the Famine, according to local reports. But by the time the report was commissioned in 1945, there were many ruins of homes. Many people emigrated to the States or Canada.⁶³

Mrs. Ellie Foley recorded that the blight "appeared in the form of a fog in the month of August," and happened during the growth of the crop. It returned for three years. The dead lay by the side of the roads. The living buried the dead where they lay without coffins. "Those who survived emigrated to America."⁶⁴

The common and recurring themes of these reports were: the potato failed, there

⁶¹ Lynch-Brennan, 23.

⁶² “Questionnaire: Irish Famine,” Seán Ó Conaill, 27-28.

⁶³ “Questionnaire: Irish Famine,” Mrs. Wirelid, 83.

⁶⁴ “Questionnaire: Irish Famine,” Mrs. Ellie Foley, 142-144.

was mass devastation in terms of hunger and death, and many of those who survived emigrated.

Conclusion

The majority of Irish were landless, either unskilled or laborers. Women did contribute significantly to the economic stability of their households. The predominant job category for women was that of domestic. The rural Irish married young. Their fertility rate was high, and there was a significant age difference between the spouses.

This portrait has tremendous significance when considering the Irish immigrant community of Cleveland in 1850. They brought many of these cultural traits with them. These include the occupation of laborer for the male, and the occupation of domestic service for the single female. The Irish immigrant population of Cleveland was young. However, there are two major differences between the Irish immigrant community of Cleveland in 1850 and the rural Irish of the first half of the nineteenth century. As we shall see in what follows, married Irish immigrants in Cleveland had small families, and the age difference between spouses was not significant.

Chapter 2: Emigration Patterns from Ireland to the United States

Introduction

Irish emigration to the United States was not new in the mid-nineteenth century. Emigration out of Ireland existed for many generations. I explore some of the patterns of emigration from Ireland to the United States prior to and including the Great Hunger in this chapter.¹ This examination answers two of the research questions that were posed in the Introduction. Did economic need influence Irish emigration to the United States up to and including the Famine period? What are the demographics of those Irish who were migrating? I shall also provide evidence to support the central claim of this thesis. The Irish emigrated from their homeland to the United States primarily as a form of labor migration.

This section begins with an explanation of labor migration. This description provides the foundation for understanding the Irish emigration patterns in general. It also supports the content of the specific periods of Irish migration and the resulting demographics of the groups migrating during these periods. I have separated these emigration waves into specific eras for a few reasons. First, it follows the pattern established by Irish emigration historians such as Kirby A. Miller and Jay P. Nolan. Both of these scholars separated their analysis of Irish migration into particular time periods. Another reason is specific to the

¹ I address the patterns of emigration up to 1850 in this chapter. The Famine ended in 1852, and mass emigration out of Ireland to the United continued into the early part of the twentieth century. The emigration data I use and reference in this study included 1850 and beyond.

demographic profiles I establish. By isolating these time periods, I am able to draw attention to the characteristics of those who migrated within each era.

I have specific denominators for the people in each migration cycle. I examine the port of entry from Ireland to the United States and the projected destination of these emigrants upon arrival. I include the gender and age groups of the emigrants. I review their marital status. I explore the skill levels of the emigrants and the jobs they obtained once in the United States. I take the results of the demographic analysis and form a basic model for each emigration period. These models will answer the research questions specific to this segment, demonstrate the statement posed in the central argument, and provide the opportunity to compare the general traits of the migrating Irish with the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

I formed these models primarily from the writings of specific scholars who have published materials concerning Irish emigration to the United States. Some of these authors have written on Irish immigration in general.² Others have published specifically on Irish female emigration to the United States.³ I consulted the “Questionnaire: Emigration to America” from the Irish Folklore Commission to supplement the historical perspective.

Labor Migration and the Irish

² There are many scholars who have written extensively on the topic of Irish immigration to the United States. The scholars used specifically in this thesis are David Fitzpatrick, Kirby A. Miller and Jay P. Nolan.

³ The experts on female Irish immigration that I chose to include in this study are Hasia R. Diner, Janet A. Nolan and Margaret Lynch-Brennan.

People have migrated for centuries, and for various reasons. “In virtually all areas of life and work, a large number of people covered ground, in one way or another, either voluntarily or against their will.”⁴ Europe experienced depopulation during the early nineteenth century in areas affected by wars, famines and epidemics.⁵ Tragedy or ultimate survival are not the sole reasons for emigration. Economics also influences migration. This is known as employment migration. The most prominent type of employment emigration is labor migration.⁶ The Irish migrated due to wars and famines. But their primary reason for leaving their homeland was economic need. This chapter supplies evidence for that claim, but its foundation was laid in the preceding chapter on Ireland.

Ireland in the early nineteenth century was primarily rural and poor. The landless class comprised the majority of the population. This class was unskilled, relied upon the cottage industries to pay their rents, and experienced a population increase due to their dependence upon the potato as the main source of food. All of these characteristics are typical of a rural, agrarian society with limited or eroding opportunities. This lack of opportunity would eventually make employment migration more urgent.⁷

Irish scholars contend that the potato influenced the increase in population among the rural Irish. But Klaus J. Bade broadens this perspective. He argues that fertility rates in rural areas in the peasant classes works in tandem with the

⁴ Bade, 2.

⁵ Ibid, 2.

⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁷ Ibid, 3.

trend of their exclusion from landholding rites.⁸ He supports the fact that cottage industries were the principal income for the landless in Europe at the end of the early modern period. These industries supported fertility increase because children were incorporated as part of these industries. This “proto-industrial domestic production” would counter the need for labor migration until the cottage industries were done away with by industrialization. Furthermore, the increasing population would outgrow the capacity of the surrounding resources to support the increase.⁹

Emigration in General

There are a few points Irish experts agree upon concerning Irish emigration. The first is that emigration from Ireland to the United States did not begin and end with the Famine. Emigration to America stretched back to the Colonial period. Jay P. Nolan believes that the Battle of the Boyne, which took place in Ireland in 1690, was a catalyst for emigration to North America at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Nolan estimates that approximately 250,000 emigrants migrated from the Ulster region in Ireland to the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard of the New World prior to the American Revolution.¹¹ Hasia R. Diner agrees that migration from Ireland to Colonial America did exist, but her figures differ a bit from Nolan’s. Diner

⁸ Bade, 3. Klaus J. Bade is the Chair of Modern History and Director for the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies at Osnabruck University.

⁹ Ibid, 3-4.

¹⁰ Jay P. Nolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 4.

¹¹ Ibid, 4. The island of Ireland is divided into four provincial regions: Ulster in the north, Connaught in the west, Munster in the south and Leinster in the east. Please see Appendix 2 for a provincial map of Ireland.

estimates that emigration during the Colonial period was very low, never exceeding 5,000 per year.¹² Their numbers differ from one another, but they agree that Irish emigration took place during the American Colonial period.

(Figure 1)

The Famine of 1845-1852 increased the number of emigrants leaving Ireland. This is the second point scholars acknowledge. The numbers and the date ranges vary. But the consensus is the Famine was the impetus of the vast decline in the population in Ireland beginning in the late 1840s. "From 1840 to 1860 two million Irish immigrants settled in the United States."¹³ Nelson Callahan & William F. Hickey also agree that the Famine greatly increased emigration from Ireland to the United States.¹⁴ Kirby Miller argues that between 1845 and 1855, over 2.1 million Irish, roughly one-fourth of the island's pre-Famine population, emigrated overseas. His research indicates that nearly 1.9 million of these emigrants came to North America.¹⁵ (Figure 2)

It is clear why emigration increased during the Famine. "The Famine Emigration, the exodus from Ireland, in which hundreds of thousands of Irish, with fever on the one hand and starvation on the other, fled from their country because to remain was death, is historically the most important event of the

¹² Diner, 207.

¹³ H.J. Desmond, "A Century of Irish Immigration," *American Catholic Quarterly Review* col. XXV (August 1900): 519.

¹⁴ Nelson J. Callahan & William F. Hickey, *Irish American and Their Communities in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1978), 38, <https://www.clevelandmemory.org/irish/index/html>.

¹⁵ Miller, "Revenge for Skibbereen," 181.

Famine.”¹⁶ Cecil Woodham-Smith’s exhaustive coverage and report of the Great Hunger included chapters specifically detailing the emigration wave from Ireland during this period.¹⁷ The reports of disease, starvation and dire circumstances of these Famine emigrants are devastating.

Jay P. Nolan reports that nearly half of the population of Ireland relied on the potato for their main source of food.¹⁸ While the blight began in 1845, it was the crop of 1846 that experienced a near 90% failure.¹⁹ The winter of 1846-47 was horrific for the poor of Ireland. Cholera and starvation were firm realities by 1848. Nolan argues that during the Famine, “emigration became a flood” and “from 1845-1855, more people left Ireland than in the prior 250 years.”²⁰

While Margaret Lynch-Brennan acknowledges that this mass migration that occurred during the Famine period would affect both Ireland and the countries the Irish flocked to, it would be Ireland that would forever be changed by this exodus.²¹ When referring to excerpts from an autobiography of Peig Sayers (1936) concerning the Famine, Patricia Lysaght states, “It is a stark and startling reminder of the enormity, complexity and implications of the calamity on

¹⁶ Woodham-Smith, 206.

¹⁷ There are many scholars who have researched and written on the Great Hunger. Two such contemporary and prominent experts are David McNally and Christine Kinealy. The reason for the use of Woodham-Smith is because she spent considerable time in her work on both emigration and the conditions of the emigrants both during passage and once in country. Kinealy’s work focuses a great deal on the Famine within Ireland, and the condition of the poor classes both during and after the Famine.

¹⁸ Jay P. Nolan, 69.

¹⁹ Ibid, 67.

²⁰ Ibid, 74.

²¹ Lynch-Brennan, 23.

a number of levels, which befell many parts of that time and which has, to a greater or lesser degree, affected the Irish psyche ever since.”²²

Trends in Emigration from Ireland to the United States

The research from scholars who have studied Irish emigration trends to the United States are condensed into specific time frames. These frames are further divided into the following eras: Colonial or pre-American Revolutionary; Post-American Revolution; Nineteenth century in general, pre-Famine nineteenth century, and Famine-era nineteenth century.²³ Their research produces demographic composite data.

Colonial/pre-American Revolutionary

The Colonial or pre-Revolutionary migration includes the years beginning in the early 1690s and continuing roughly until the early 1770s. The Battle of the Boyne in Ireland in 1690 and the resulting year of uprisings thereafter left the Irish countryside bruised. Many Irish died, and their lands were scarred as a result of fighting. The result was the stream of migration out of Ireland, as war is one of the reasons for migration. But war was not the only cause for emigration during this era. Political changes brought about by England also influenced the flight. England wanted to break the Gaelic Irish stronghold in the Ulster region of Ireland.²⁴

²² Lysaght, 22. The Famine of 1845 not only influenced the decline in the population in Ireland, it affected the land inheritance patterns previously established, re-arranged family units and changed the cohesive rural communities that existed prior to the blight.

²³ I define pre-Famine as 25 years prior to the onset of the Great Hunger, or roughly 1820-1845. The Great Famine is defined as 1845-1852.

²⁴ The Gaelic Irish represented the former political, social and cultural systems that had existed in Ireland for many centuries. The Stuart monarchy in England sought to colonize Ireland.

The Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neil, had vacated Ulster during the Flight of the Earls in 1607. However, a strong Catholic presence had remained in the Ulster region where he had once ruled even after he left. The English imported Scottish farmers to settle the land in an effort to usurp this Catholic dominance. These Scots were the backbone of the Ulster Plantation.²⁵ They were mainly Presbyterian. However, the official church of Ireland was the Anglican Church. The Penal Laws, while intended to disenfranchise the Catholic majority, also worked against the Presbyterian peoples who had settled in Ulster.²⁶ One such condition of the Penal Laws was the required tithe of all Irish peoples to the Anglican Church. The Penal Laws, through the Sacramental Test Act of 1704, disenfranchised both the Catholic and the non-Anglican Protestants from public and military offices.²⁷ It is not surprising that the majority of the people who chose to emigrate during this time were from Ulster.

These Ulster Irish were mainly Presbyterian. A good number of these emigrants were single. However, for a brief period around 1720, many married couples and families emigrated. Many single peoples who emigrated were indentured servants. Initially, these peoples settled in the major port cities of

This included an attempt to eradicate these traditional systems. The northern province of Ulster was still ruled by a Gaelic Earl known as the Earl of Tyrone. Ironically, the English crown had helped to establish Hugh O'Neil in this role.

²⁵ The Ulster Plantation was a colony created by England on Irish land. England confiscated the lands vacated by those who had left Ireland during the Flight of the Earls and settled Scottish people in this territory.

²⁶ The Penal Laws were a series of laws instituted by England that attempted to force conversion to the Anglican Church - the state church of England.

²⁷ This law stated that to be eligible for public or military service, one must take communion in the Anglican Church.

Philadelphia and New York City. Eventually because of their farming trades, they would venture inland and settle in the Appalachian mountain region. These emigrants, with the exception of the indentured servants, had money and generally paid for their own passage. This financial freedom provided the opportunity to move beyond their port of arrival and travel inland.²⁸

Post-American Revolution

The post-Revolutionary period began around the early 1780s.²⁹ The Irish emigrant in this cycle began to show some differences from the earlier emigrants. The American Revolution began in 1775. The majority of emigrants during the pre-Revolutionary era came from Ulster. Most of the Irish during the post – Revolutionary era were departing from Dublin, with approximately one-third coming from Ulster. Philadelphia, the largest city in the United States at that time, was the major port of entry. New York City was the second most popular port of entry.

A transition in both skill sets and financial prosperity of the emigrants began in this era. Many males claimed professions in skilled trades such as physicians, printers, tailors, artisans and merchants. However, there was an increase in the poor and laboring classes. This begins the trend in labor migration as labor emigration is characterized by unskilled labor³⁰

²⁸ Jay P. Nolan, 4-25. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 27.

²⁹ The era would continue into the early nineteenth century. The demographics of this time period blend slightly into the nineteenth century era.

³⁰ Bade, 5.

By 1800, Philadelphia claimed that 12% of their total population was Irish. Their prosperity level ranged from professional and skilled to desperately poor. Ben Franklin remarked about those migrating without skills. They were “extremely poor, living in the most sordid wretchedness, in dirty hovels of mud and tar, and clothed only in rags.”³¹

Nineteenth Century in General

The nineteenth century migration patterns continued to transition demographically. Fitzpatrick highlights a few of these major transitions. First, he notes that the skill level continues the shift from professional, skilled or farmer to relatively unskilled. This increase in unskilled laborers will explode during the Famine-era migration, but Fitzpatrick argues that the trend began early in the nineteenth century. He also points out that there are aspects of Irish emigration that are drastically different from other migrating ethnicities. One such difference is that the Irish did not commonly travel in family groups. As mentioned previously, an unusually large number of Irish migrated as singles.

The practice of chain migration began in this period.³² Chain migration worked in tandem with the migration of singles. One member of a family would emigrate and established him/herself with housing and a job. He/she would work, save, and send money back home. The money was used in a variety of ways. It would pay bills, make rent payments, or secure the passage of another family

³¹ Cited by Jay P. Nolan, 25-28.

³² Fitzpatrick, 7-30, Lynch-Brennan, 48.

member across the Atlantic to join the family member already in the United States.

The sister who went to Boston brought over as soon as possible younger sisters or brothers who had not yet made the break with the Irish countryside. The young man in New York saved his money often deferring marriage so that his brothers could join him and together they could finance the migration of yet some other sibling. These patterns were so common and so widespread as to constitute a chain of sibling migration that linked Ireland to the Irish settlements in the United States, England and elsewhere.³³

The pattern repeated itself until all the eligible family members had migrated. Often, only the very old or young remained behind. The money was sent to Ireland with the American letter.³⁴ These letters usually continued to the aging family members back in country until their death. American money would continue to flow back to Ireland as a means of financial support.³⁵

The practice of chain migration is inherent to labor emigration. It also provides the opportunity for cultural traditions established in the former region to be transferred to the new. Labor migrations “were stabilized by family or group-related migratory traditions, sometimes over generations.”³⁶ Bade argues that chain migration established patterns between the points of origin and destination.

³³ Diner, 15-16.

³⁴ The letters from America to Ireland were called the American letter by the family and community members in Ireland who received them. The American letter was an event for a community. The letter was often read publically to the entire household or village.

³⁵ “Questionnaire: Emigration to America,” Irish Folklore Commission, UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, Accessed March 20, 2017, <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:32418>, J. O’Keeffe, 306-331 & Joseph Wade, 58-59.

³⁶ Bade, 4.

The importance of this was to re-establish the cultural traditions of the migrating people.³⁷

Pre-Famine Nineteenth Century

The pre-Famine era began approximately 25 years prior to the onset of the Great Famine.³⁸ This era of migration witnessed the continuation of previous trends along with the transitioning to others. The number of migrants began to rise significantly in comparison to previous years. Hasia R. Diner supplies an estimation of the number of Irish migrants during this period.

At least seven hundred thousand people abandoned the thirty-two counties of Ireland between 1825 and 1844. As early as 1841 a half million Irish-born men and women had decided to settle permanently in England and Scotland, while in the same year, over ten thousand new arrivals to the port of Boston listed Ireland as their birthplace. In the 1831-41 decade a half million Irish emigrated.³⁹

Most of these emigrants were from Ulster, although there was an increase from Leinster.⁴⁰ Jay P. Nolan indicated that the post-Revolutionary phase included a large number of emigrants from Dublin. By contrast, the pre-Famine period emigrant was predominantly from a rural area.⁴¹

There was a mix of Protestant (Presbyterian) and Catholic immigrants.⁴² The Ulster Irish (Protestants) settled in similar areas as their predecessors had in the Colonial era such as rural Western Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas.

³⁷ Bade, 4-6.

³⁸ Roughly 1820.

³⁹ Diner, 4.

⁴⁰ Recall that Ulster is the province in the north, and Leinster the province in the southeast of Ireland.

⁴¹ Woodham-Smith, 207, Jay P. Nolan, 37.

⁴² Woodham-Smith, 207, Jay P. Nolan, 37, Lynch-Brennan, 40.

They also settled in Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans. However, the Irish Catholics settled most often in the port cities along the Eastern Atlantic. New York City exceeded Philadelphia both in population and in the destination location for the Irish during the pre-Famine period.⁴³

Fitzpatrick noted particular demographic changes taking place during the nineteenth century. These included the skill level of the migrants, their marital status and their gender. The pre-Famine era saw an increase in the number of people who exhibited these changes. There were a small number of farmers of Scottish descent and some skilled migrants.⁴⁴ By 1840, approximately 60% of the emigrants were unskilled. Most of these unskilled were Irish Catholic laborers.⁴⁵

This era witnessed a jump in the single category, and specifically the single female group. While Lynch-Brennan claims that single women in this era were showing an increase, Jay P. Nolan suggests that almost half of the emigrants in this time period were either single men or women, with almost 40% female.⁴⁶ Many of these female emigrants were domestic workers.⁴⁷ Domestic service was a means of labor migration for rural women into urban environments.⁴⁸

⁴³ Jay P. Nolan, 37.

⁴⁴ Woodham-Smith, 207.

⁴⁵ Jay P. Nolan, 37.

⁴⁶ Lynch-Brennan, 40, Jay P. Nolan 37.

⁴⁷ Lynch-Brennan, 40.

⁴⁸ Bade, 5.

Some of the emigration trends in the nineteenth century continued to follow the trends emerging from previous periods. The major reason for migration was financial. People wanted to better their lot.⁴⁹ There were economic changes taking place in both Ulster and Leinster. These economic changes, along with crop failures, were compelling reasons for migration.⁵⁰ Crop failures (including the potato) took place in Ireland in 1800, 1807, 1816, 1822 and 1839. These blights influenced emigration among the rural Irish.⁵¹ In addition, people either had the money to pay for their own passage, or family members in country were funding the emigration. This would change dramatically during the Famine.

Famine-era of the Nineteenth Century

The Famine-era migration out of Ireland took place between 1845 and 1855. The demographics established in previous migrations were completely altered. Most people migrated prior to the Famine-era with the intent to improve their economic situation. They were starting over. They had the financial resources to do so. Opportunity was not the reason people migrated during the Famine-era. They left Ireland during this period because of necessity. Hasia R. Diner describes the demographic portrait of the Famine-era emigrant.

Those who migrated during and just after the Famine, more than those before or those afterward, represented the landless and the poor, who just could not remain at home. During the Famine married couples with children immigrated more readily than they had before and certainly than they would later, emphasizing the aberrant nature of the immigration of the

⁴⁹ Woodham-Smith, 207.

⁵⁰ Jay P. Nolan, 40.

⁵¹ Diner, 4.

Famine years. Thus, during the Famine, one sees less clearly the true trends of the Irish movement to the United States.⁵²

Most scholars agree that the Irish immigrants of the Famine-era were of the landless, poor and peasant classes.⁵³ The reason they migrated was simple. They wanted to survive and avoid starvation or death.⁵⁴ They needed employment to avoid starvation, and there was none to be had in Ireland. These migrants were generally unskilled.⁵⁵ They obtained employment in labor positions such as factory or mill work.⁵⁶ Irish females filled positions as domestics, cotton and textile factory workers, as clerks, shop workers and seamstresses.⁵⁷ This wave settled predominantly in urban areas. Their major port destinations were New York City, Boston and Philadelphia. They did not venture too far inland because of their lack of resources.⁵⁸ Bade argues that the “hungry forties in Ireland” encouraged migration due to starvation and poverty based upon pre-existing conditions such as the loss of cottage industries and overpopulation among the landless masses.⁵⁹

This massive influx of poor Irish immigrants produced a negative reaction among the native populace in the United States. Previous waves of Irish had some financial resources and were skilled. They were able to weave themselves into the fabric of American society without attracting much attention to

⁵² Ibid, 31.

⁵³ Woodham-Smith, 215, Diner, 31, Miller, 183; Jay P. Nolan, 74-75.

⁵⁴ Woodham-Smith, 206 & 215, Miller, 183.

⁵⁵ Woodham-Smith, 215, Jay P. Nolan 74-75.

⁵⁶ Diner, 40.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 50.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 39.

⁵⁹ Bade, 37.

themselves. But nativism was high during this era, especially among the Protestant, native-born, middle and upper classes. Nativists favored an anti-immigrant policy. What was unique in this migration, according to Woodham-Smith, was that “unskilled paupers were migrating to areas where the people had higher skill sets and not such a tolerance for abject poverty and sub-standard living conditions.”⁶⁰

The Irish arrived poor, poorer than other immigrants who came at the same time. Their overwhelming peasant background equipped them for only the most menial of work that commanded the most paltry of wages. The clearly articulated anti-Catholic, anti-Irish hysteria that swept America over and over again in the nineteenth century compounded their misery and constricted their chances for job mobility.⁶¹

Men and women migrated during the Famine-era. There were married couples, families and singles. Nevertheless, the Famine did influence the first large scale migration of single women.⁶² Even though single Irish females had been migrating during previous eras, the Famine increased their numbers. Diner notes that the Famine “stimulated a massive female exodus.”⁶³

There was another trend that deviated from former Irish migration waves. This trend relates to funding. Travel was previously financed either by the migrants themselves or by family members. By contrast there were many organizations that helped poor, Irish peoples emigrate during the Famine.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Woodham-Smith, 206-207.

⁶¹ Diner, 107.

⁶² Jay P. Nolan, 74-75.

⁶³ Diner, 4.

⁶⁴ Government assisted emigration occurred in Ireland during the course of the nineteenth century. However, this government assistance was not widely used until the second year of the Famine. After the crop failure of 1846, the winter of 1846-47 was devastating. Organizational

Some of these such organizations included the Poor Law Guardians, the prison board and the Irish Pioneer Immigration Society.⁶⁵

Gerard Moran estimates that nearly a half million people were helped by official bodies during the 1800s, with 67,000 being helped by the Poor Law.⁶⁶

The revision of the Poor Law in Ireland essentially shifted responsibility of care for the starving Irish poor from the English government to the property owners in Ireland. It was cheaper, in many cases, for these property owners to ship these poor overseas, essentially ridding themselves from the burden of care.

Therefore, landlords in Ireland also provided emigrants with financial assistance for migration. It was lucrative for these landlords to pay for passage of these poor. This action would free the land for productive financial return. These vacant plots could be used for either agriculture or pastoral purposes.⁶⁷

Emigration Questionnaire

Many Irish immigrants who arrived in the United States during the Famine period were illiterate. Some of these immigrants did not speak English.⁶⁸ Since these migrants did not read or write, they could not leave written records behind.⁶⁹ However, it is possible for historians to be aware of particular aspects

support increased during the Famine years. This support included both governmental assisted programs and private organizations.

⁶⁵ Diner, 71.

⁶⁶ Moran, 22-23.

⁶⁷ It is well documented that exports of agriculture and meats continued steadily during the Famine.

⁶⁸ Jay P. Nolan, 75.

⁶⁹ Some did read and write, and some did leave records behind in the guise of letters home, also known as the American letter. These letters were not always kept as historical records.

of the Irish immigrant experience such as chain migration, the American letter and the American wake. Oral history projects provide valuable information. These oral history projects aid historical research when primary sources are unavailable. The “Questionnaire: Emigration to America” published in 1955 by the Irish National Folklore Commission is an example.

American historian Arnold Schrier decided to inquire into some of the folklore that surrounded Irish emigration to America.⁷⁰ There were many tales surrounding emigration that could not be fully verified by historical records. He recognized that many of the stories had faded from memory. However, he believed that some of these memories were still accessible via oral tradition in the various parishes in Ireland. He wanted to capture these oral histories before they became obsolete.

He partnered with Seán Ó Súilleabháin of the National Folklore Commission of Ireland in 1955. Together, they compiled a list of questions and distributed this list throughout the Republic and Northern Ireland.⁷¹ Schrier and Ó Súilleabháin were very specific in their inquiries. They wanted to know the reasons why people emigrated. They requested demographic information on the emigrants. They inquired about letters sent back to Ireland, their content and if any letters still existed. They asked if the letters contained money. They wanted to know how the money was used.⁷² The collected responses from this

⁷⁰ Chain migration, the American letter and the American wake are examples of this folklore.

⁷¹ See Appendix 3 for the complete list of questions for “Questionnaire: Emigration to America.”

⁷² This is just a sampling of some of the questions asked.

“Questionnaire” contributed to Schrier’s book, *Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900*. The full collection from the “Questionnaire” is available on the University of College Dublin’s Digital Library website.⁷³

There are a few concerns about this collection that need to be recognized. The date of the publication of this “Questionnaire” is 1955. There is more than a 100 year gap between the onset of the Great Hunger of 1845 and this “Questionnaire.” Schrier understood that most of the available information received was based on oral tradition. The histories of the peoples had been told and retold in the districts. Stories can change and be embellished with time or the storyteller.

Another concern is the available information specific to Famine-era emigrants. This thesis deals specifically with pre-Famine and Famine-era Irish immigrants in Cleveland. Most of the questionnaire’s responses describe post-Famine emigration. However, there are some responses that specifically discuss the Great Famine. Some of these responses speak about the blight, the starvation, the devastation, and subsequent emigration. These stories are too rich to be excluded. This oral tradition needs to be included because there is a void of written records from the Irish immigrants in Cleveland in 1850. There are challenges in using an oral history piece, and any researcher needs to be mindful of those challenges. But the inclusion of this “Questionnaire” gives the Famine-era Irish immigrant a voice.

⁷³ <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:32418>.

One such example is the response of J. O’Keeffe. His response is representative of the data that is available concerning both the Famine and Irish emigration to America during the Famine-era, and it supports historical research concerning the Famine and emigration. His recollection gives a voice to the Famine-era emigrant. J. O’Keeffe was from Munster. He emigrated to America in the early part of the twentieth century. He returned to Ireland many years later. O’Keeffe acknowledged that to tell his story, he had to rely on “memory and hearsay.” He recalled that many emigrated during the 1850s. He confirmed that this wave of emigrants were either poorly educated or uneducated. Many of these emigrants could not read or speak English.

O’Keeffe confirmed that chain migration existed. He affirmed that chain migration helped family members back in Ireland afford the passage to America. He attended many American wakes. He remembered public readings of the American letter. The letters from America were very frequent. It was evident that the migrants had to work hard in the United States, but they did prosper there. If the letter contained money, it was used for a variety of purposes. These purposes included rent payments, loan payments and tickets for passage. (Schrier indicated that “...prepaid passage tickets....paid for more than 75 percent of all Irish Emigration in the fifty years following the Famine.”)⁷⁴ O’Keeffe stated that the American letters were not kept. Generally, these were only held

⁷⁴ Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and American Emigration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 106-107, 111.

dear by the emigrant's parents. The letters were destroyed after the parent's death.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The waves of migration from Ireland to the United States changed the landscape of rural Ireland. These waves also altered the landscape of the United States. This immigration force helped build the infrastructure of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Transportation systems were expanding across the United States in mid-century. David Fitzpatrick argues that the Irish served as a necessary labor force for these systems.

Immigrant workers became an economic necessity in Britain and the New World during the nineteenth century. Less fastidious than the native-born, they were cheap, industrious, mobile and adaptable. Since most immigrants were young adults, the receiving economies benefitted from acquisitions of a labour force of "Instant Adults" reared elsewhere. Immigration was essential to the rapid expansion of cities and industrial undertakings.⁷⁶

The Irish immigrant helped to build roads, canals and railroads.⁷⁷ Building contractors readily used Irish labor. These building projects encouraged emigration. It was not unusual for contractors to recruit workers in the Irish newspapers in cities such as Dublin prior to a large building project in the United States.⁷⁸ As Fitzpatrick argued, Irish immigrant labor was cheap and reliable.

War and crop failures did influence Irish emigration. But the primary reason for migration of the Irish to the United States was economic need. In the

⁷⁵ "Questionnaire: Emigration," J. O'Keeffe, 306-322.

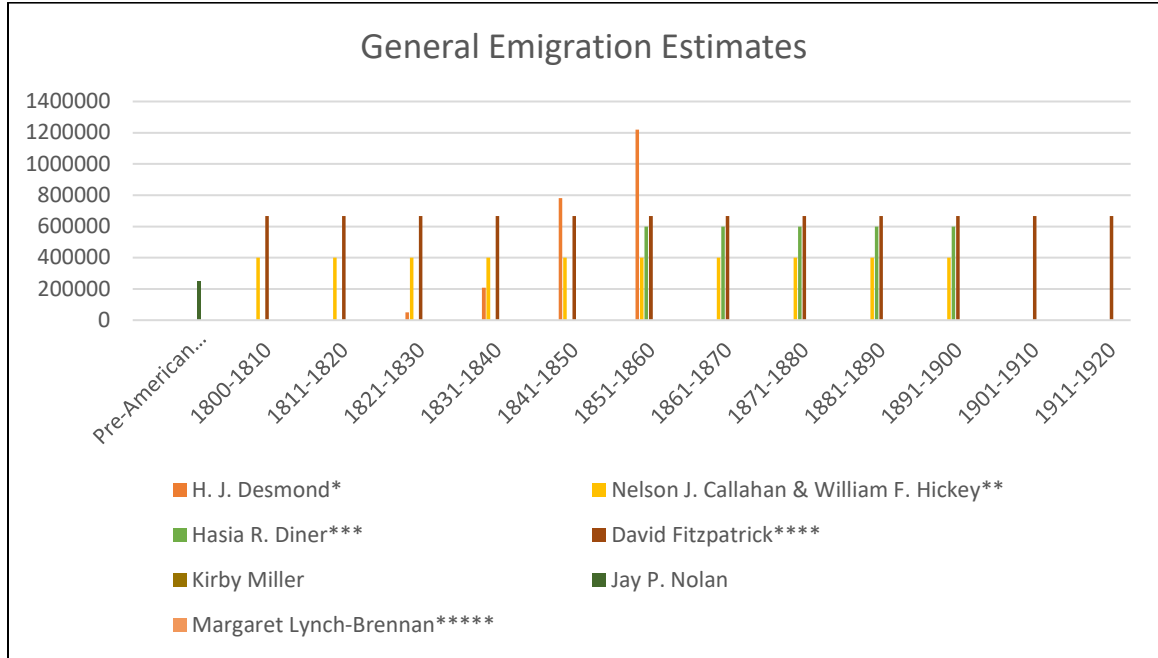
⁷⁶ Fitzpatrick, 31.

⁷⁷ Irish labor helped in the construction of the Ohio and Erie canals.

⁷⁸ Woodham-Smith, 246.

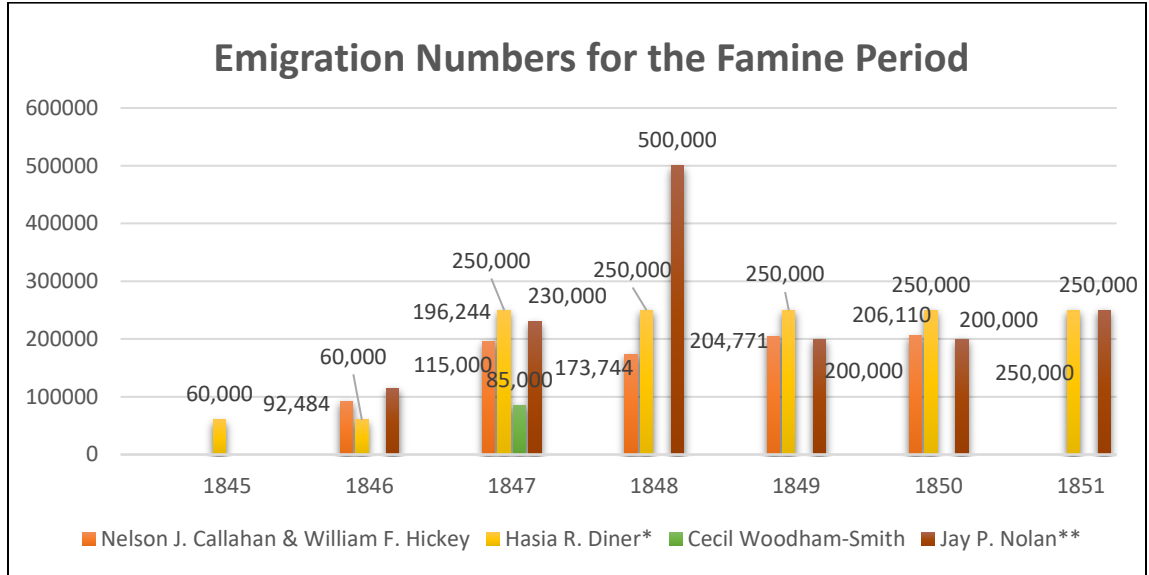
beginning, it was to better their lot. However, as the waves of migration progressed, labor migration became the reason for resettlement. This fact is supported by such demographic traits as the rise in unskilled laborers, women seeking employment as domestic servants, and the practice of chain migration.

Figure 1: General Emigration Estimates



* H.J. Desmond gave the figure of 780,719 for the decade of 1841-1850; but he also reported a total of 2 million between 1840 and 1860.
 ** Nelson J. Callahan & William F. Hickey gave a total of 4 million for the entire nineteenth century. The 4 million has been dispersed evenly over the graph.
 *** Hasia R. Diner approximated 1 million emigrants between 1821-1850 and 3 million the last half of the decade. The numbers have been divided evenly according to time period.
 **** David Fitzpatrick gave an estimate of 8 million from 1800-1921.
 ***** Margaret Lynch-Brennan gave the following stats: from 1835-1839: 30,000 per year and almost 40,000 in 1840. This estimate was combined. Between 1816 and 1917 she estimated between 6,000 and 9,000 per year. I took the medium of these and multiplied by 10 for the decades listing 75,000.

Figure 2: Emigration Numbers for the Famine Period



* Hasia R. Diner's stats were not evenly distributed: she gave stats of 120,000 for both 1845 and 1846 combined; and the remaining Famine states were a combined 1 and 1/4 million. These are broken out here for charting purposes. This author has evenly distributed them.

**Jay P. Nolan gives a rough estimate of approximately 1.5 million for the entire Famine period. He then breaks down approximate estimates per year starting with 1846 and ending with 1851. The data inserted for 1848 is my estimate; all Jay P. Nolan stated was the number in 1848 was huge

Chapter 3: Cleveland – A Demographic Analysis

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is Cleveland, Ohio in 1850. In this segment I shall provide an overview of the establishment and growth of Cleveland, Ohio from 1796 through 1850. This synopsis offers a perspective on Cleveland and its economic and social development.

Cleveland transitioned from the western frontier to a flourishing city with a developing economic base between 1796 and 1850. Cleveland was home to just over 17,000 residents in 1850. This total represents both native and foreign-born inhabitants. The margin between native and foreign-born in Cleveland is very close. Nearly 46% of Cleveland's population in 1850 was foreign-born.¹

This percentage seems disproportionately high since Cleveland was not a port of entry for immigrants because of its inland location. While 1850 was near the end of the Great Hunger in Ireland, mass migration from Ireland to the United States was escalating. Many Irish were pouring into major ports like New York City and Boston. Most Irish emigrating during this time did not have the financial means to travel further inland and remained in their ports of entry. Yet the 1850 Federal Census for Cleveland records that there were nearly 2,200 Irish included in the population of just over 17,000. Nearly 2,200 men, women and children claimed Ireland as their place of birth.² The Irish were the second largest

¹ I extrapolated this data, and the data that follows, from the 1850 census schedules.

² "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland, Ward 1," Ancestry.com, Accessed June 15, 2016, <http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054>. "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland, Ward 2," Ancestry.com, Accessed June 18, 2016,

immigrant population in Cleveland in 1850. This is a significant statistic for a small, mid-west city.³

Cleveland in 1850 was not an industrial town.⁴ One could argue that it was not a 'destination location' by any means. And yet a chapter on the city of Cleveland, Ohio is essential to this thesis. First, it will answer the research question: What opportunities did Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 present to the Irish immigrants who were living here? Furthermore, this segment will provide evidence for the central argument: The 1,900 Irish adults chose Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 because Cleveland had ample employment opportunities and was a small, multi-cultural city.

Cleveland in 1850 provided opportunity for Irish immigrants. I demonstrate this statement using two disciplines. The first is an abbreviated but conclusive history of Cleveland from 1796 through 1850.⁵ The second is a demographic analysis of the 1850 United States Federal Census data. I extrapolate the data from the census record and convert this information into readable models or charts. These charts include occupational listings for both genders, age group analysis, gender analysis, and examinations of both the native and foreign-born segments of the overall population. The native and foreign-born models also

<http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054>. "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland, Ward 3," Ancestry.com, Accessed June 21, 2016, <http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054>.

³ See Appendix 4 for a map of the United States in 1850.

⁴ See Appendix 5 for Schedule 5: The Products of Industry in the 1st Ward in Cleveland, Ohio in 1850. There are 19 industry related businesses listed in this schedule.

⁵ The city of Cleveland in 1850 was originally part of the Western Reserve. Therefore, this history will include the initial period of the Western Reserve.

explain Clevelanders' point of origin.⁶ Finally, these models and charts detail the top ten places of birth for Cleveland residents, with special consideration given to gender and age differentiation for this category.

It is irresponsible to proceed without discussing the challenges of using census data research. Janet A. Nolan in her book *Ourselves Alone: Women's Emigration from Ireland: 1850-1920* presents an argument about the complications of finding reliable research on female Irish emigration. She argues that accurate and reliable materials are not readily available. These women did not often leave behind records such as journals, letters, etc.⁷ Nolan maintains that in the absence of primary source documentation, researchers must rely on emigration and census data. "Since it is concerning with the lives of those least likely to record their experiences, social history must depend on quantitative evidence when qualitative documentation is not available."⁸ Therefore, according to Nolan, our main sources must be emigration and census data. Nolan is right. Reliable, primary sources for the (female) Irish immigrant in Cleveland in 1850 are absent. One must indeed rely on a quantitative analysis of the United States Federal Census to uncover details about their emigration practices.

The recorded details in the 1850 Federal Census of Cleveland, Ohio is incomplete. One example is the occupational field. Not all the adult males listed

⁶ The census question can trace this: "Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory or Country." It doesn't trace an individual's travels throughout the United States or elsewhere, but it is conclusive for their point of origin.

⁷ This was true for the female Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850. They did not leave behind letters or diaries.

⁸ Nolan, 4-6.

have a recorded occupation.⁹ There is a lack of uniformity and sometimes a generalization for this entry. Also, the occupational statistic is inconsistent. For example, both attorney and lawyer are listed as occupations.¹⁰ Furthermore, the generalized job category of merchant is ambiguous. Other fields such as the place of birth, date of birth, or part of the name are sometimes blank. However, the census did provide me with a vast amount of data, incomplete as it is. This material provides information about the residents of the city of Cleveland in 1850, as well as the various immigrant sub-groups.

A Brief History of the Western Reserve

Cleveland in 1850 consisted of three wards east of the Cuyahoga River. Cleveland in 1796 boasted a much different landscape. Fifty years brought about the transformation of a wilderness into a bustling market center, with a developing waterfront and an ethnically varied populace.

Cleveland's location was part of the western frontier of the United States in 1796. The Connecticut Land Company had purchased a large tract of land in the Northwest Territory known as the Western Reserve. This expanse included what is currently Northeast Ohio within the borders of Pennsylvania on the east

⁹ Census instructions dictated that only free male occupations needed to be included. Female occupations were recorded sporadically. Of the 17,025 persons recorded in the census, there are 5,333 adult males. Of these adult males, 4,408 had a reported occupation. 925 of the adult males either did not have a listing, or the listed stated unknown or none. There were 5027 adult females in the 1850 Census. Of these, only 33 were reported to have an occupation, and 4,994 were either left blank for this field, or were listed as unknown or none.

¹⁰ This inconsistency was a recognized issue: "The occupations are not distinguished in a manner calculated to result in any correct conclusions." J. D. B. DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), iv. See Appendix 6 for a complete listing of the recorded male occupations within the state of Ohio in the 1850 Federal Census.

to the Cuyahoga River on the west, Lake Erie on the north, and the forty-first parallel line in the south. This company sent a prospecting team in July 1796 to survey the land and map out a town center. When they arrived at the northern mouth of the Cuyahoga River, they discovered almost a half mile of swampland.¹¹ Moses Cleaveland was the man in charge of this expedition. Once he returned to the east and reported on his survey, he never set foot again in the Reserve.

Early settlement of the Western Reserve was meager. It was not a hospitable place to live. Due to the swampy inland area, malaria was rampant and stunted its early growth. The Western Reserve was incorporated as part of the United States in 1800. There were approximately 1,500 residents in the Reserve at that time. That same year, Trumbull County was created and contained all the territory of the Western Reserve. The county seat was in Warren.

Cleveland, a part of the former Western Reserve, was included in Trumbull County as a township. Trumbull County was included in Ohio when it attained its statehood in 1803. Cuyahoga County was created by the state of Ohio in 1807, and Cleveland became its county seat in 1809.¹² Cleveland's population in 1811 included only 18 families.¹³ Cleveland became a village in

¹¹ Callahan and Hickey, 57, 135.

¹² Carol Poh Miller and Robert A. Wheeler, *Cleveland: A Concise History 1796-1996*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 15-17.

¹³ *Ibid*, 17.

1815, and its population by 1820 boasted 605.¹⁴ Two major events transformed Cleveland from a struggling village outpost to a developing city. These events were the War of 1812 and the building and completion of the Ohio & Erie Canals.

The economic environment of Cleveland improved considerably from 1812 through 1824. Cleveland emerged as a trade center during the War of 1812. The soldiers camped in the hamlet and supplies for the war effort were stored in Cleveland. Commercial opportunity in Cuyahoga County also increased. This was due in large part to the increase in lake traffic during the war, and wholesale and retail trade that was taking place.¹⁵ There were only 34 houses and businesses in Cleveland in 1814. But beginning in 1815, development began to expand and in 1824 “separate residential districts began to emerge.”¹⁶

Rapid and radical change took place in Cleveland between 1825 and 1845. These changes included the economy and population growth. The digging and completion of the Ohio and Erie Canals was in the center of all this change. Cleveland in 1825 was the edge of the western frontier. Most of the population of this time were native-born Americans. Political service was considered a “self-perceived duty” and neighbors knew each other. Cleveland was a different place by 1845. The western frontier was then 1,000 miles west of Cleveland. Nearly 50% of the population were immigrants. Political parties ran most of the elections, and the neighborhoods had expanded. People were strangers to one

¹⁴ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 21-23.

¹⁵ Ibid, 26.

¹⁶ Ibid, 27.

another.¹⁷ The census of 1830 for Cleveland was 1,075. By 1840, it had multiplied nearly six times to a population of 6,701.¹⁸

The northern terminus of the Ohio & Erie Canals was built at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River in Cleveland.¹⁹ Cleveland's citizens including Alfred Kelly, a native-born American of Irish descent, advocated for the north terminal to be in Cleveland.²⁰ This development severely improved the economic outcome of the city. With the completion of the Erie Canal in October of 1825, Cleveland essentially became a trading center between Detroit and Sandusky in the west, and New York City and Buffalo in the east.

The Ohio portion of the canal was not yet built in 1825, but workers were already streaming to Cleveland. A \$5,000 grant was given to Cleveland to further develop the harbor.²¹ These improvements to the harbor served to increase lake traffic and contribute to the economic development.²² City leaders, in 1827, decided to fill in the "last bend of the meandering Cuyahoga River – which at the time emptied into the lake near present-day 54th street." To fill this in, they hired laborers to dig a new route that would provide a more direct access to Lake Erie.²³ Cleveland's expansion was imminent.

¹⁷ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 31.

¹⁸ "Cleveland and the Ohio and Erie Canal," Irish American Archives Society, Accessed July 5, 2016, <https://www.irisharchives.org/>.

¹⁹ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 31.

²⁰ "Cleveland and the Ohio and Erie Canal."

²¹ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 31-33.

²² Ibid, 34.

²³ "The Irish and the Angle," Irish American Archives Society, Accessed July 5, 2016, <https://www.irisharchives.org/>.

Who were these workers who streamed in to fill these laboring positions? Many were temporary employees who moved on after the job was finished.²⁴ A good number of these transients were Irish. “The canal workers, who included a considerable number of Irish, did not settle in Cleveland.”²⁵ While the Irish had been in the Western Reserve prior to the building of the canal, the expansion of the canal brought many Irish laborers into the area. Immigrants in general in this era filled positions that native-born Americans would not. David Fitzpatrick further argues that the Irish immigrant “.... clustered in regions of expanding employment.”²⁶ Cecil Woodham-Smith agrees that the Irish immigrant helped to build roads, canals and railroads.²⁷

All manner of commercial opportunity opened after the establishment of the canal. “Cleveland became the headquarters for wholesale – merchants who bought, transported, warehoused, and resold groceries, textiles, and other supplies, intended for a web of destinations, fanning both inland and outward toward the entire Great Lakes region.”²⁸ “From 1827 to 1840, the Ohio Canal was the exclusive avenue to the lake and to canal connection in the east.”²⁹ “By 1830, Cleveland had 138 dwellings, 13 stores, and 15 warehouses as the banks along the river became a wholesale district.”³⁰ Cleveland in the 1830s began to look

²⁴ “The Irish and the Angle.”

²⁵ Poh Miller & Wheeler, 39.

²⁶ Ibid, 34.

²⁷ Woodham-Smith, 246.

²⁸ “Cleveland and the Ohio and Erie Canal.”

²⁹ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 34.

³⁰ Ibid, 35.

less like a frontier stop or village. It was incorporated as a city in 1836.³¹ The free population schedule of 1840 Federal Census recorded over 6,000 residents. The free population recorded in 1850 almost tripled to just over 17,000.

Cleveland in 1850 was a commercial center with a booming population. Investments from the east helped the city to prosper. Improvements to the harbor had significantly increased the commercial value of the area. People were moving to Ohio. People were having children in Ohio. Cleveland in 1850 was on the verge of greatness. The Civil War would bring increased prosperity to the region in much the same manner as the War of 1812 had. The building of the railroad would elevate the economy of Cleveland. Cleveland would soon boast millionaires' row and host such families as the Carnegies and the Rockefellers.

Cleveland's industrial base would expand, and its borders would incorporate Ohio City, Newburgh Heights, and areas west of the Cuyahoga River. The population in 1850 would more than double to just shy of 44,000 in 1860. While Cleveland might not have been a port of entry for immigrants, there were compelling reasons for many, both native-born and immigrant, to travel to Cleveland because of these economic opportunities.

Cleveland and the 1850 Census Data

The United States Federal Census of 1850 was the seventh census conducted. This federal census differed from prior enumerations in two major respects. It was the first census that listed the name and statistical data of every

³¹ Poh Miller and Wheeler, 36-38.

member of the household. Prior census data recorded only the statistical data for the head of household. Secondly, it was the first census that asked the state of birth for every member of the dwelling. These additions are pivotal in constructing a demographic portrait of Cleveland. The data provides several differentials. These include foreign and native-born calculations, origin points for migrations, age, gender and occupation.

The populace of Cleveland in 1850 was varied. Poh Miller and Wheeler estimated that nearly 50% of Cleveland's population in 1845 was composed of immigrants.³² The reported data on the 1850 schedule supports this estimate. (Figure 1) Migration patterns are determined based upon the state of birth listed.³³ This information gives a perspective on the origination point of the population in 1850. (Figure 2) The majority of the population originated in either Europe, the Midwest, or the east coast. There are 68 places of birth listed for the residents of Cleveland in 1850. Almost half of these only have ten people or less claiming birth for those states. (Figure 3) The top three - Ohio, Germany and Ireland - account for just over 61%.

Gender and age data reveal that there was almost an equal number of males and females, but that the population was young. Nearly 86% of the population was 40 years of age and younger. Of this total, just over 39% were

³² The phrase used throughout this portion of the analysis for those persons not born in the United States is foreign-born.

³³ It is not possible to trace point of entry to the United States, nor places where the current population may have lived outside of Ohio based upon the census data. However, we can gain perspective on the point of origin.

children.³⁴ (Figures 4-7) A more detailed analysis is available when the gender and age models are combined with the top ten places of birth. These models show that an equal ratio of males to females exists across the spectrum, except for those claiming Ireland as their place of birth. The Irish female immigrant outnumbers her male counterpart. Also, 24.46% of the total 29.26% of residents claiming Ohio as their place of birth are children. This demonstrates that as people were migrating to Ohio, their families were expanding here. (Figures 8-10)

The instructions for the 1850 Federal Census only required that occupations for the adult male population be recorded. However, there were a small number of women's occupations also reported. The census listed 5,333 adult males, with 4,408 reporting an occupation.³⁵ There were approximately 400 different occupations listed. Many of these had 1-40 males associated with that given occupation. The top occupation is laborer. The top reported occupations include professionals, unskilled and semi-skilled, merchants and sailors. These occupational listings agree with the economic outlook of Cleveland in 1850. (Figure 11) There were 5,027 adult females recorded in the 1850 census, 33 of whom had an occupational listing. This accounts for less than one percent. The occupations reported were common to the type of work for a woman in 1850. (Figure 12)

Conclusion

³⁴ The age categories were defined as follows: 1-15, 16-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59 and 60 years and older. The 1790 census categorized free white males as either 15 years and younger, or 16 years and older. I used this to define the age of children (0-15) for this thesis.

³⁵ 925 adult males either did not report or were listed at unknown or none.

The census data and resulting charts give a demographic overview of the population of Cleveland in 1850. It tells the following story. Cleveland was an almost evenly mixed community of native and foreign-born peoples. The gender differentiation across both ethnicity and age was relatively even. The population was overwhelmingly young with 86% of the individuals being aged 40 or younger. The socio-economic status was generally middle class, skilled or semi-skilled peoples, with a generous mix of laborers and professionals. The secondary sources painted a picture of Cleveland as an emerging city. The census data of 1850 agrees with this assessment. Cleveland was a young, vibrant, multi-cultural city with relative economic opportunities in 1850. The demographic overview answers the research specific to this chapter. What opportunities did Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 present to the Irish immigrants who were living there? Furthermore, this overview satisfies the statement posed in the central argument. The 1.900 Irish adults chose Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 because Cleveland had ample employment opportunities and was a small, multi-cultural city.

Figure 1: Foreign-born vs. Native-born³⁶

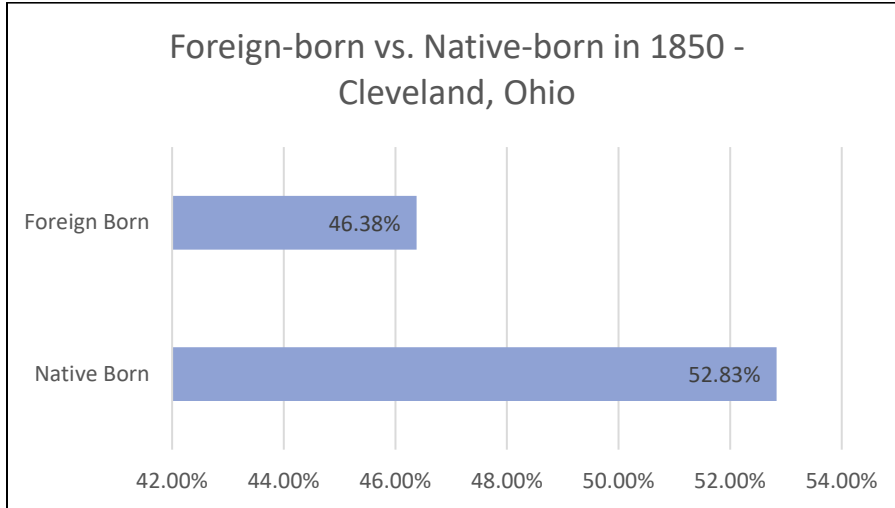
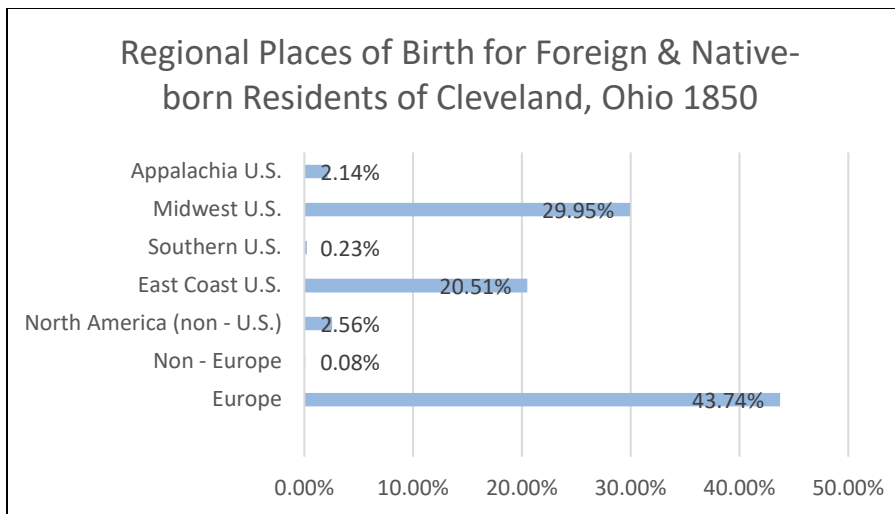


Figure 2: Regional Places of Birth³⁷



³⁶ The combined percentage is 99.21%. Less than one percent of the population did not have a response listed for place of birth.

³⁷ Appalachia is defined as Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Virginia. The Midwest is defined as Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin. The southern U.S. as Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas. East coast is defined as Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and Vermont. North America (non – U.S.) is defined as Canada, Halifax, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland. Non – Europe is defined as Africa, Ceylon, Madagascar, Russia, West Indies and New Zealand. Europe is defined as Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, England, Europe, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Italy, North Wales, Poland, Scotland, South Wales, Sweden, Switzerland, Wales and Prussia.

Figure 3: Top 10 Places of Birth

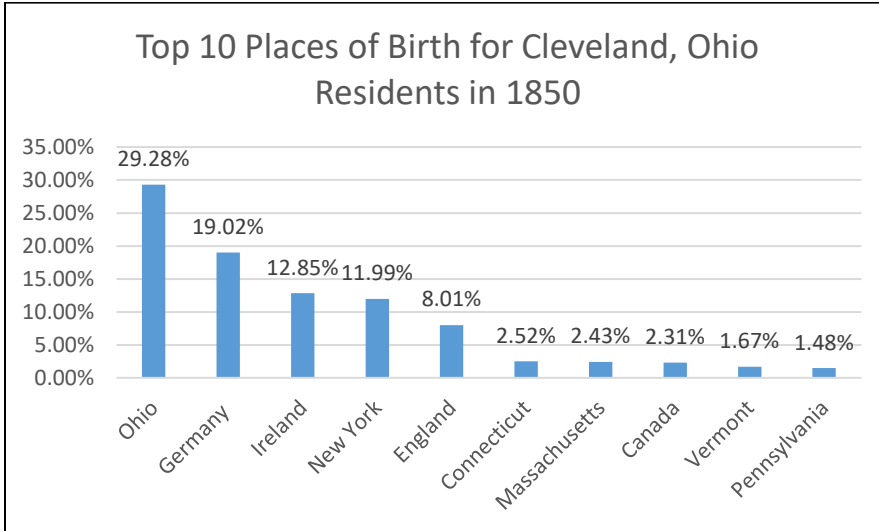


Figure 4: Overall Gender Differentiation

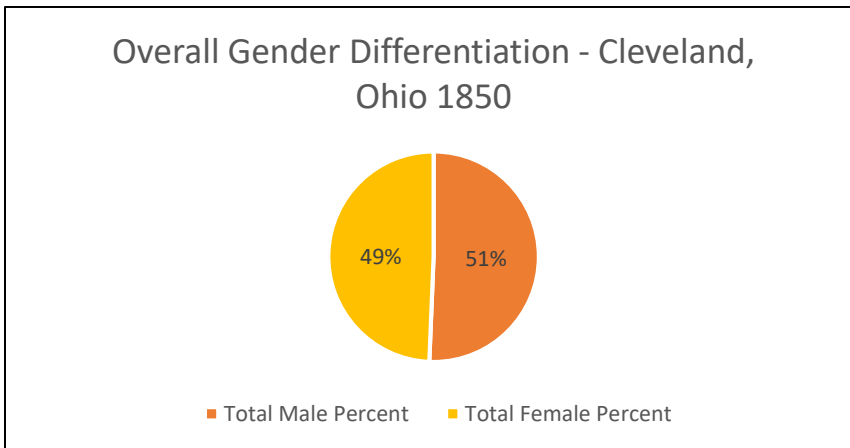


Figure 5: Overall Adult/Child Differentiation

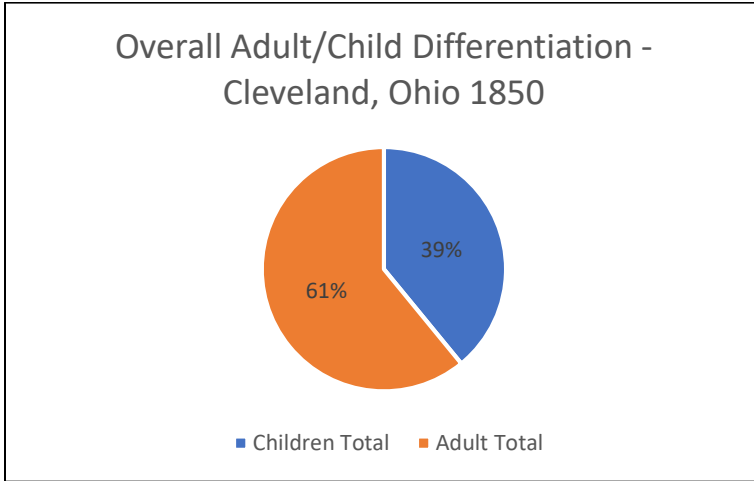


Figure 6: Gender & Age Differentiation

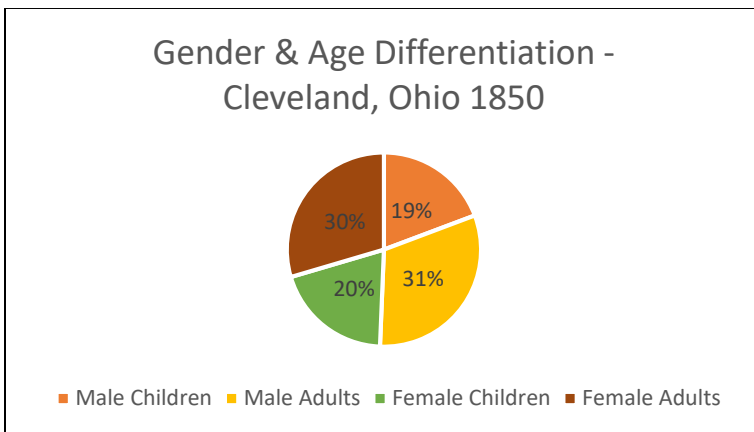


Figure 7: Age Groupings by Gender

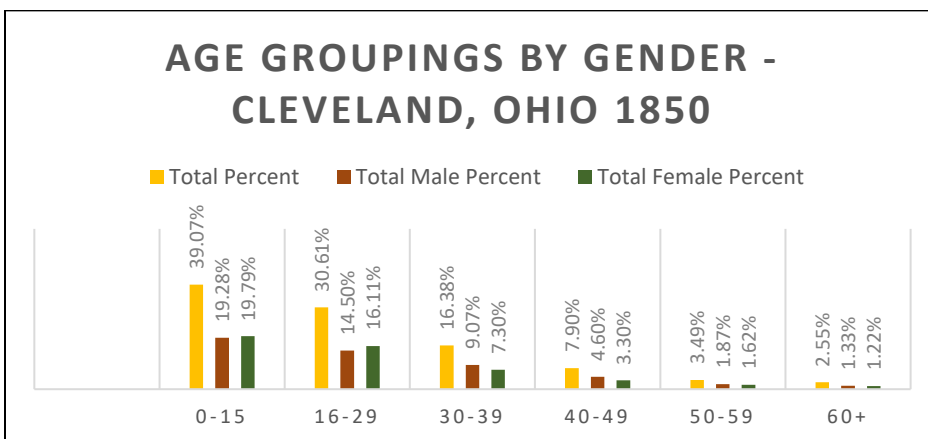


Figure 8: Gender Differentiation for Places of Birth

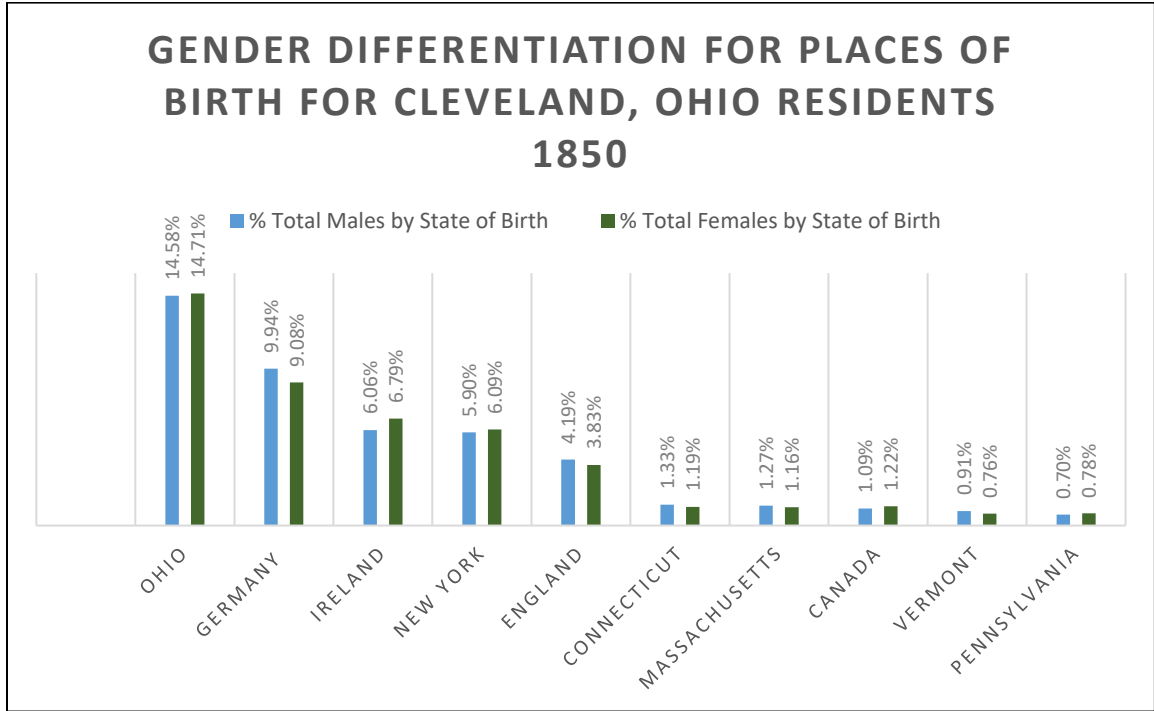


Figure 9: Adult/Child Differentiation for State of Birth

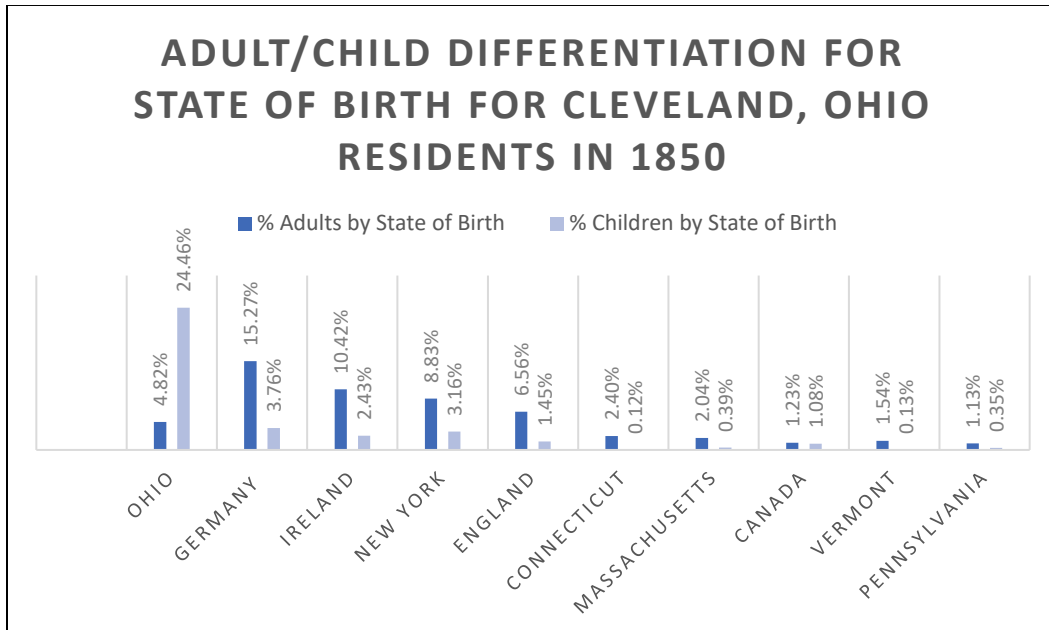


Figure 10: Gender & Adult/Child Differentiation for Places of Birth

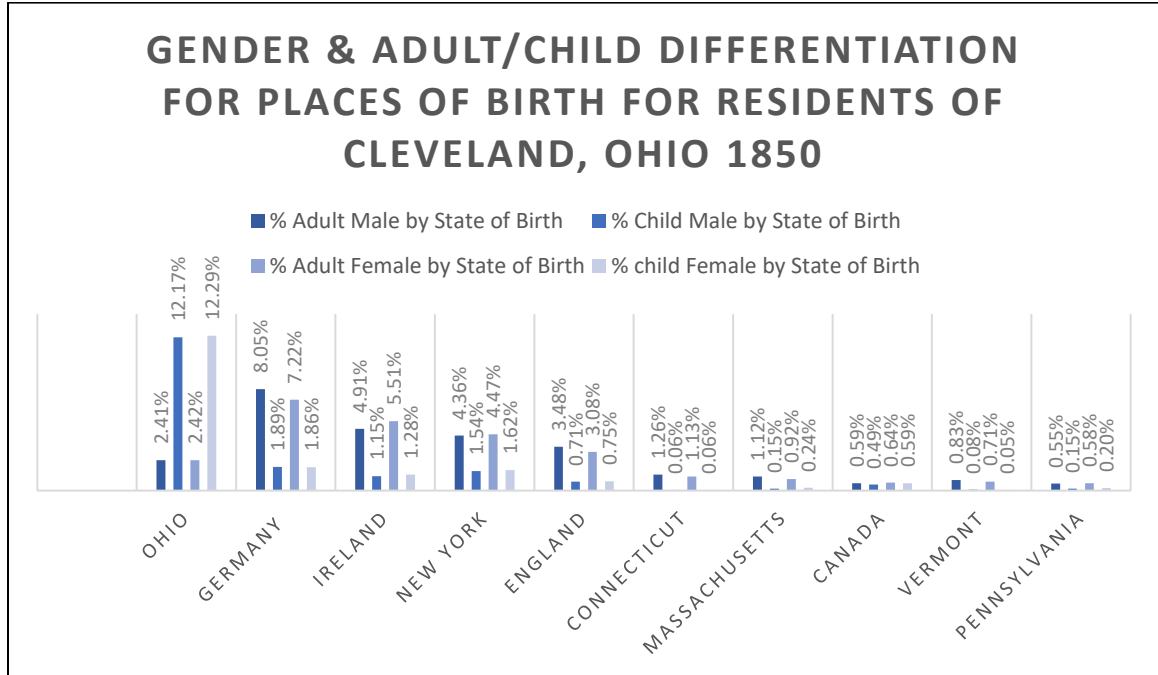


Figure 11: Top Reported Male Occupations

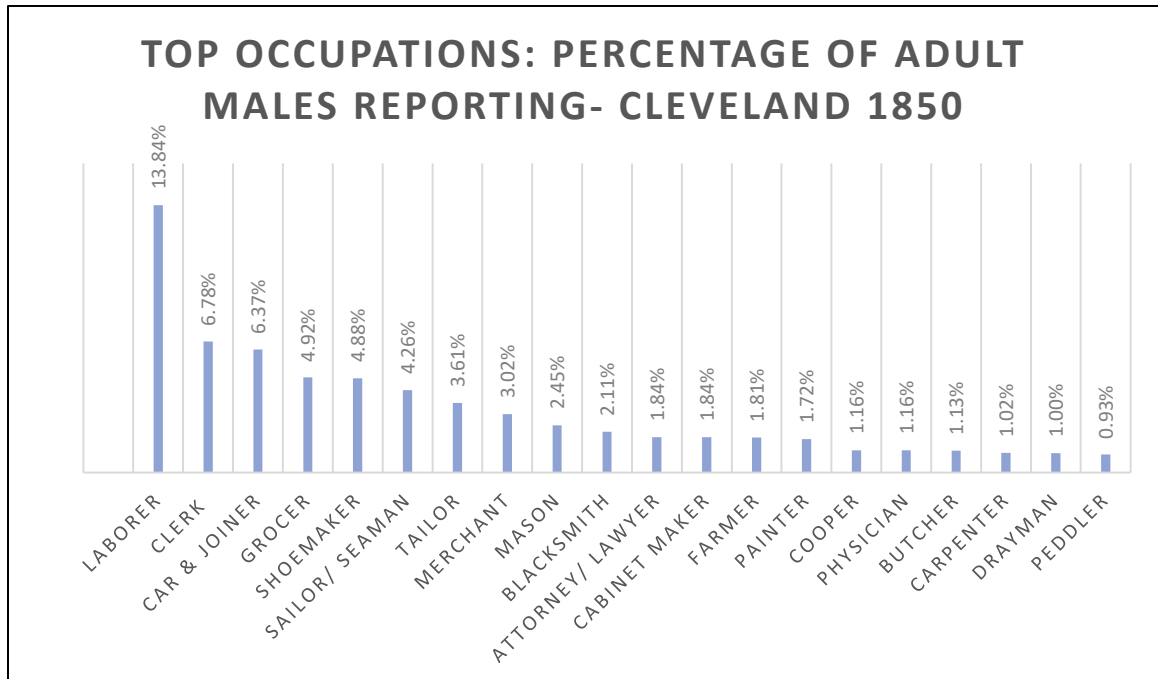
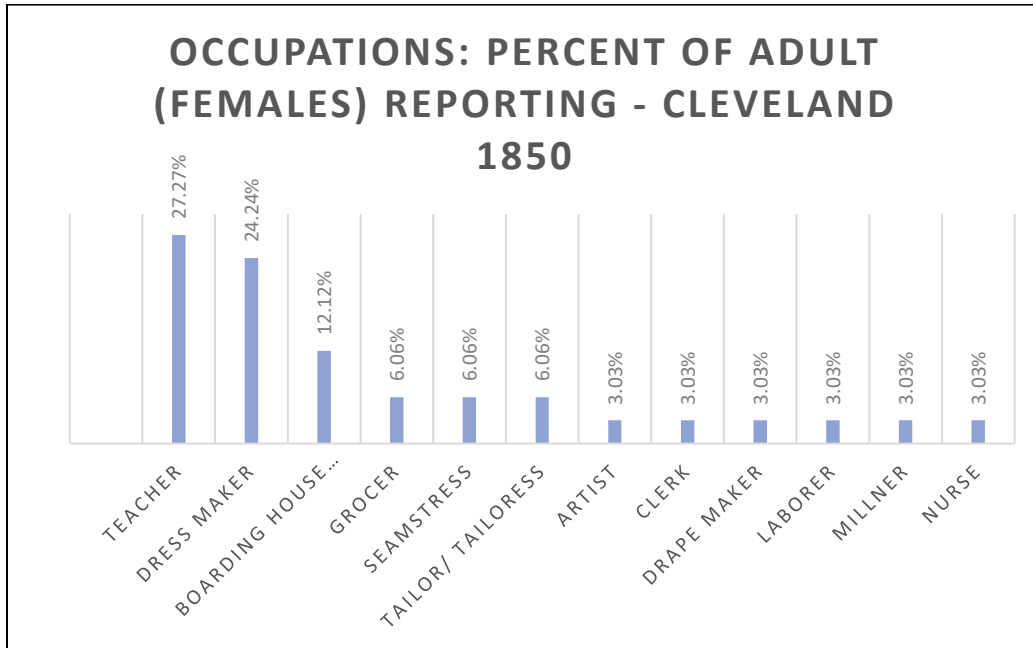


Figure 12: Top Reported Female Occupations



Chapter 4: The Irish Community of Cleveland in 1850

Introduction

Previous chapters provided the following. Ireland in the early nineteenth century; emigration from Ireland to the United States and the resulting demographics; a concise history of the city of Cleveland prior to 1850; a demographic overview using data collected from the 1850 Federal Census. Each of the previous chapters are valuable for this segment. They provide historical perspective. Likewise, it will provide additional evidence for both my claim that the Irish migration to Cleveland was primarily to find employment (i.e. labor migration) and that the Irish transplanted parts of their cultural lifestyle into their immigrant community as they settled in Cleveland.

I utilize the 1850 United States census data for this chapter in a similar method as I did for the previous chapter on Cleveland. I extrapolate the data from the census record and convert this information into readable models or charts. The charts in this segment are specific to the Irish population of Cleveland in 1850. These models provide a statistical analysis of the Irish immigrant community.

The use of federal census data to analyze ethnic subgroups has precedent. Scholars Gerard Moran and Regina Donlon both used census data in their research on Irish communities.¹ Donlon focused on gender and age sub-categories in her article. She used United States federal census data to specifically identify Irish immigrant residents in Toledo, Ohio during the latter part of the nineteenth century. My analysis focuses solely on the 1850 United States

¹ Moran, 22-40, Donlon, 131-145.

federal census. There is a reason for this. This study of the Irish immigrant populace in 1850 Cleveland is original. Therefore, this thesis will provide a baseline that can be used for further analysis of the Irish in Cleveland beyond 1850. The 1850 census is an ideal place to begin because of the size of the population. The population of Cleveland in 1850 was 17,000; extrapolating demographic information from a city that size is both reasonable and manageable.

The analysis in this chapter begins with a detailed exploration of the Irish immigrant populace in Cleveland in 1850. This query into their community at large along with inquiries concerning female Irish immigrants. The specific elements of the Irish immigrant community incorporate the statistics concerning single and married individuals, gender breakdown, age categories, age differentiation between married couples, and the number of offspring in families. The occupational status of Irish males is covered, along with an examination of probable domestics among single, female Irish immigrants.

My definition of the Irish immigrant throughout this thesis is “only immigrants whose stated place of birth was Ireland.”² My analysis follows Donlon’s criterion when defining an individual immigrant. The immigrant in this examination must have reported their place of birth as Ireland to be considered an individual member of the Irish immigrant community. This is absolute for single persons or widows.

² Donlon, 132.

Family units are different. Immigrant family units in this study sometimes include a mate who was either a native-born person or a non-Irish immigrant. The offspring in family units were often a mix of native and foreign-born children. Therefore, when considering family units either with or without offspring, one of the married persons must have declared their state of birth as Ireland to be considered a member of the Irish immigrant community. The offspring of these family units are considered part of the immigrant family unit regardless of their birthplace.

The Irish immigrant community of Cleveland in 1850

Synopsis

The census information provides us with a composite sketch of the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850. I categorized the data for this composite by gender, age, and occupation. I then isolated these to extrapolate additional information such as marital status and family units. Furthermore, the data affords significant demographics concerning Irish immigrant women. This section will begin with a synopsis and then proceed through a detailed analysis of the relevant demographics.

The total population of the Irish community was 3,221. This number includes men, women and children whose declared state of birth in the census record was Ireland. It also includes the sum of children born to Irish immigrant persons.³

³ Those who declared Ireland as their state of birth in the 1850 census in Cleveland was 2,191.

The number of Irish adults was 1,930 or 59.92%.⁴ There were 919 males and 1,011 females. The total number of adults included 1,018 married, 592 single, 110 widows, and 210 adult children who lived with family units.⁵ The sum of Irish children was 1,291 or 40.08%.⁶ There were 632 males and 659 female children. The age of this population was relatively young. Children accounted for nearly half of the group. The percentage of adults between the ages of 16 through 39 was 48.80%. Almost 90% of this community was under 40 years old.

The occupational status of the reporting males was overwhelmingly unskilled.⁷ The top reported occupation was laborer at 40.92%. Mary Canning was the only female who had a listed occupation.⁸ Approximately 36.76% of the 321 single females were possible domestics.⁹

⁴ Adults are defined as those persons aged 16 years or older. Likewise, children are defined as those aged 15 years or younger. These percentages are based upon the Irish community, with the total being 3,221 persons.

⁵ Married is recognized in this study as two adults of the opposite gender living in the same dwelling with an identical surname. While it was a common practice for siblings to migrate together, it is not possible to determine sibling groups by the data provided in the census. Also, some of the married adults were not born in Ireland. They were included in this number if their spouse declared their state of birth as Ireland. A single is recognized as an individual living in a dwelling without another person with an identical surname living in the same dwelling. All single persons must have declared their state of birth to be Ireland. A single is recognized as an individual living in a dwelling without another person with an identical surname living in the same dwelling. All single persons must have declared their state of birth to be Ireland. A widow is recognized as an adult who does not have another adult of the opposite gender but does have younger persons with the identical surname living in the same dwelling. Adult children are recognized as those who are aged 16 years or older and living in the same dwelling with a married couple or widow with an identical surname.

⁶ Children born inside and outside of Ireland.

⁷ There were 919 adult males in the Irish immigrant community. Of these, 721 reported an occupation in the census data.

⁸ Mary reported her occupation as dress maker.

⁹ Determining the probability of domestic service for single females will be examined in the next section.

There were 1,011 Irish women. This number includes 321 single and 511 married persons in addition to 93 adult children and 86 widows. Of these married women, 394 had at least one child. The median number of children was between zero and three. Age difference between spouses was greatest between zero and three years.

The demographic synopsis for the Irish immigrant community of Cleveland in 1850 is as follows. They were the second largest immigrant group in Cleveland. They were young. Most of them were under 40 years old and females outnumbered males. While there was a significant single adult representation, there were more married people in this community than singles. Married women had relatively small families and were not much younger than their spouses. Their socio-economic status was unskilled.

Gender

A significant fact reported throughout the eras of Irish emigration was the number of Irish women who left Ireland up to and during the Famine period. They migrated in larger quantities when compared to other immigrant groups in the United States. They also often migrated as singles. When I examined the adult, single, widow and children subgroups, I discovered that females did outnumber the males. However, the percentage difference is slight.

As I previously reported, the total quantity of adults was 1,930. The percentage comparison of women to men favors the women slightly: 52.38% to 47.62%. (Figure 1) Singles accounted for 592 persons. The percentage differential for this sub-category is just slightly higher at 54.22% to 45.78%.

(Figure 2) Widows numbered 110 persons. The females dramatically overwhelm the males at 77.27% to 22.73%. Lastly, the children's sub-group total was 1,291. Here again, the span between the genders is slight: 51.05% female to 48.95% male.

David Fitzpatrick stated that Irish females were either on par with or surpassed males in emigration numbers.¹⁰ The Irish immigration population in Cleveland in 1850 reflects Fitzpatrick's conclusion. While the percentages are not dramatic, they do favor the female Irish immigrant. These numbers also coincide with the gender demographic for the overall population of Cleveland in 1850. Cleveland women slightly outnumbered men with a difference of 51% to 49%. The gender demographic of the Irish immigrant community agrees with both emigration trends and the population of Cleveland in 1850.

Age

Age was not a focal demographic in either the studies of rural Ireland or the various emigration periods. The exception was the marriage age among the poorer classes.¹¹ However, age is a notable demographic factor for both Cleveland and the Irish immigrant community in 1850. I noted in the Cleveland chapter that nearly 86% of the population was under the age of 40. Children under 15 years old accounted for 39.07% of the overall population. Adults between the ages of 16 through 29 reported at 30.61% and those aged 30

¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, 7.

¹¹ Age for Irish married couples will be covered in more depth later in this chapter.

through 39 at 16.38%. Cleveland's adult population aged 40 years or older only represent 13.94%.

The synopsis in this chapter recorded that almost 90% of the Irish immigrant population was also under 40 years old. (Figure 3) Children reported at 40.08%. Adults aged 16 through 29 reported at 33.31% and those aged 30 through 39 at 15.49%. Irish immigrants aged 40 years or older only represent 11.09%.

Age variance shifts when the adult population is isolated according to singles, married, widowed and adult children.¹² Single persons had the greatest totals among the 16 through 29 age group. This percentage was significant at 78.72%.¹³ The married sub-group was greatest between the 16 through 29 age range at 39.01%, and the 30 through 39 age group at 38.11%.¹⁴ If these are combined, then the total is 77.12%. Widows reported in a higher age category.¹⁵ They were the highest between 30 and 59. This percentage was 69.91%. Adult children all reported under the age of 40, with nearly 97% between the ages of 16 through 29.¹⁶

What does this age data tell us? This information demonstrates that the Irish immigrant community mirrored the overall population of Cleveland when considering age. The Irish were the second largest immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850 after the German immigrant population. However, they only

¹² The total amount of adult Irish was 1,930.

¹³ The total number of singles was 592.

¹⁴ The total number of married was 1018.

¹⁵ The total number of widowed was 110.

¹⁶ The total number of adult children was 210.

represented 12.85% of the total residents.¹⁷ The age demographic is notable because it tells us that the Irish immigrant community coincided with the Cleveland community when considering age. This demographic could have contributed to a smoother transition for the Irish as they settled themselves in a new environment.

Occupation

The census in 1850 only recorded occupations for males. While this may initially appear limiting, there is possibility for analysis. The reported male occupations in Cleveland supply an indication of the economic opportunities available for the Irish immigrant community. Furthermore, when I examine the reported occupations for the native males, I can predict the probability for single Irish females who possibly served as domestic servants.

Cleveland in 1850 was a growing city with a blossoming merchant economy. The completion of the Ohio and Erie canals had improved transportation for both people and products into the city. The development of the waterfront along Lake Erie and the Cuyahoga River provided opportunity for both skilled and unskilled laborers. The overall socio-economic status of the city was middle class. There were many skilled or semi-skilled peoples, with a generous mix of laborers and professionals. However, the number one listed occupation for the city of Cleveland in 1850 was laborer. There were 4,408 reported occupations in the census data for 1850. Laborer accounted for 610.

¹⁷ This percentage only includes those who declared their state of birth as Ireland.

There was a transition in the occupational status of Irish emigrants from the early periods to the Famine-era. Skilled and semi-skilled persons migrated in greater numbers in the earlier eras. By 1840, nearly 60% of the Irish entering the United States were unskilled.¹⁸ The “Poverty Before the Famine” report, which was conducted in the 1830s, had concluded that nearly the entire population was composed of the lower classes.¹⁹ Margaret Lynch-Brennan had argued that landless laborers made up nearly 75% of the population of Ireland prior to the Famine.²⁰ As the periods of emigration progressed, labor migration became the prominent reason for immigration.

There were 919 adult Irish males in Cleveland in 1850.²¹ Of this number, 721 had a reported occupation. (Figure 4) Laborer was the top reported occupation, with a percentage of 40.92%. The occupations that follow laborer drop sharply in percentages. However, what this data suggests is that the male Irish community in Cleveland in 1850 was following the national emigration trend for unskilled occupations. This number also corresponds with the top occupation listed for Cleveland overall.

The reported occupation of laborer demonstrates that there was opportunity for the Irish male to find employment in Cleveland in 1850. This also suggests that labor migration was the motivation for emigration and settlement in Cleveland. Finally, this statistic speaks directly to part of the central argument of

¹⁸ Lynch-Brennan, 40.

¹⁹ “Poverty Before the Famine,” First Report.

²⁰ Lynch-Brennan, 23.

²¹ Those declaring Ireland as their state of birth.

this thesis. The Irish male was transplanting an aspect of their cultural lifestyle as laborer into their immigrant community.

Females did not have representation in the occupation demographic of the 1850 United States census. However, I can project a probability when considering domestic servants among the single Irish immigrant. "Domestic service was the most usual waged occupation for females in Ireland."²² In Ireland, domestics were employed in both rural and urban settings.²³

Cleveland's economy in 1850 was primarily middle-class with a mix of professional and laboring peoples. These middle-class and professional segments could provide an opportunity for single, Irish female immigrants. As in the case of the Irish males, this also suggests that Irish females were emigrating as a form of labor migration. It also indicates they were transplanting this specific cultural transition into their immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

There were 321 single, female Irish immigrants in Cleveland in 1850. Determining their occupation is speculative. However, I can also project the probability for their occupation as domestics based upon their declared residence. Domestics served in a home in a variety of roles. They served as nanny, as cook, and as maid. The probability for an Irish domestic servant in this study was based upon whether a single Irish female was living with a family of a different surname, had a socio-economic status of semi-skilled to professional status, and may have had children. (Figure 5).

²² Lynch-Brennan, 29.

²³ Ibid, 29.

There are probable examples of domestics within the census records. One such example is Margaret Dorsha, aged 19. She lived with the Whittlesey couple. The head of household was a lawyer from Connecticut.²⁴ Another example is Bridget Delaney, aged 20. She lived with the Pomeroy family. The head of household was a stone dealer from New York. They had four children under the age of 10.²⁵ Both of these Irish women lived with a native family, there were no other Irish listed in the home, and the heads of household were professionals. It is therefore likely that these two single Irish women were employed as domestics.

Singles

The single demographic is pertinent to this chapter because it reflects a trend that was unique to Irish emigration. Single men and women migrated from Ireland to the United States throughout all the eras of emigration.²⁶ Many of the Irish emigrating in 1840 were single. Almost 40% of these were women.²⁷

The Irish community in Cleveland in 1850 did have a significant single population. There were 592 single Irish men and women. Their sub-group represents 18.38% of the Irish immigrant community. The gender ratio favors the females, who represent 321 of the stated 592 total, or 54.22%. Of the 271 single Irish males, 193 reported an occupation in the census data. (Figure 7) The males were primarily employed in unskilled positions such as laborer, waiter or sailor.

²⁴ See Appendix 7 for the 1850 census schedule for Margaret Dorsha.

²⁵ See Appendix 8 for the 1850 census schedule for Bridget Delaney.

²⁶ Diner, 31.

²⁷ Jay P. Nolan, 37 and Lynch-Brennan, 40.

These are occupations that could have carried over from Ireland. These were also occupations that would have allowed them opportunity to obtain employment in Cleveland.

Married

Family demographics in rural Ireland had several key points. Ireland was rural with nearly 75% of the population composed of landless laborers. The poor classes married younger than the middle class, particularly during the time when potato cultivation was high. Early marriage was associated with the poor classes that included cottiers and poor laborers. Fertility rates among the poorer classes was higher than the middle classes. These Irish had larger families because children contributed to the economic stability of the family in rural Ireland.²⁸ Fertility rates corresponded to economic establishment in an agrarian culture.²⁹ There tended to be a significant age difference between spouses.

There were 1,018 married Irish in Cleveland in 1850. They represented 31.61% of their community. There were more married persons with children (788) than without (230). The number one reported occupation for married males was laborer followed by semi-skilled occupations. (Figures 7 & 8) This trend coincides with the occupations of the Irish immigrant community at large and the single male segment. These positions mirror male employment statistics from Ireland. This demonstrates, as it did with the single category, that the Irish were

²⁸ Diner, 6.

²⁹ Nolan, 29.

transplanting their cultural traditions. It also suggests that labor migration was a motivation for emigration and settlement in Cleveland.

The family demographics of the Irish immigrant community echo the majority of those reported in rural Ireland. The age of married persons does favor a younger statistic.³⁰ (Figure 9) Married Irish between the ages of 16 through 29 reported at 39.01%, and those from age 30 through 39 at 38.11%. The combined percentage is 77.22%. The age of married Irish was younger, and it reflected the overage age statistic for Cleveland. This also coincides with the marriage demographic of Ireland.

The age differential between married spouses is minimal on an average. (Figure 10) This statistic in one of the two demographics that differed from the traditional lifestyle of the rural Irish culture. The highest percentages occur between one to three years (24.75%) and four to six years (23.58%). Nearly 50% of married Irish had only an age differential of one to six years. Family size was modest. (Figure 11) The second figure that differed from the familial demographic was the number of children recorded for Irish immigrant families in Cleveland in 1850. Zero children ranked the highest at 22.59%. The median family size was between zero and three children at 76.81%. These two statistics are examples of the cultural traditions not reflecting the customs established in Ireland.

Family size is a determinate that is speculative when researching census data. The reported information cannot tell us where an immigrant entered the

³⁰ The census data does not record the date of marriage. We can only examine the declared age at the time the enumeration took place.

United States, who they traveled with, or whether the family unit remained together after arrival. Such an example is the Whigham family. The Whigham family entered the port of New York City on June 11, 1847. Their unit consisted of both parents and eight siblings.³¹ However, the United States census record for 1850 Cleveland only recorded three of the siblings: Mary, Sarah and Isabella.³² The census data does not explain the separation or where the remaining family members were.

Conclusion

Klaus J. Babe commented on the establishment of cultural traditions between the points of origin and destination. He stated that the importance of this was to establish patterns that could lay the foundation for the traditions of the culture of the migrating peoples to be transplanted from their home country to the destination location. His summation speaks to the research question and resulting statement in the central argument concerning the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

The Irish immigrant community transplanted the majority of their cultural lifestyle from Ireland to Cleveland in 1850. Their socio-economic status was primarily labor with a small representation of semi-skilled and probable domestics among the single females. There was a notable single population. The majority were married, and many had families. The married population was young. These

³¹ See Appendix 9 for the passenger list for the Tennessee listing the complete Whigham family.

³² See Appendix 10 for the 1850 Cleveland census record for Mary, Sarah and Isabella Whigam. (Note the slight difference in the spelling of their last name).

are the traits that were transplanted. The traits that were uncommon to their heritage include the minimal age gap between married persons and their small family size.

Figure 1: Gender Breakdown: Adult Irish Immigrant

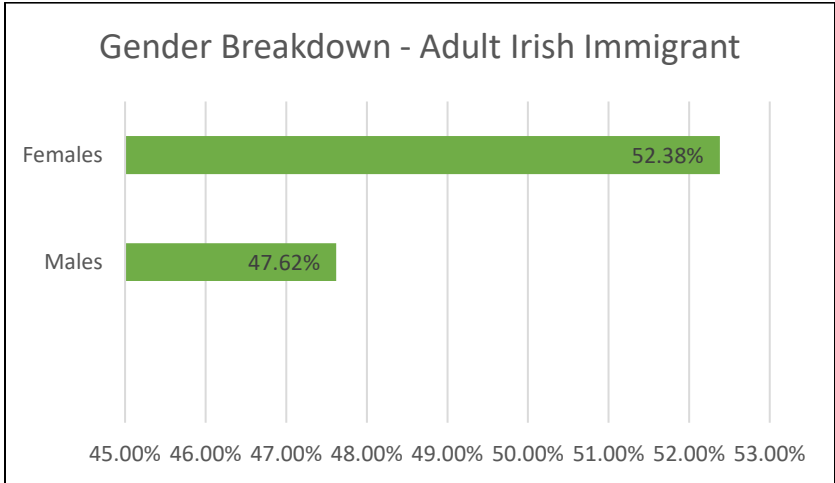


Figure 2: Gender Breakdown: Single Irish Immigrant

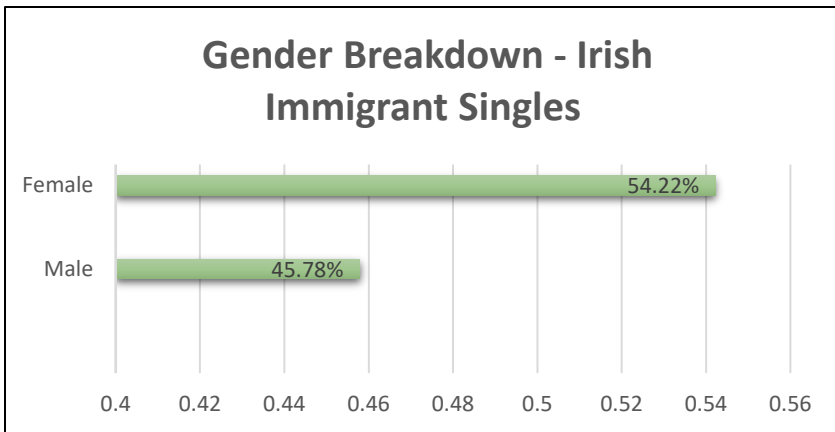


Figure 3: Age Group Breakdown: Irish Immigrant Community

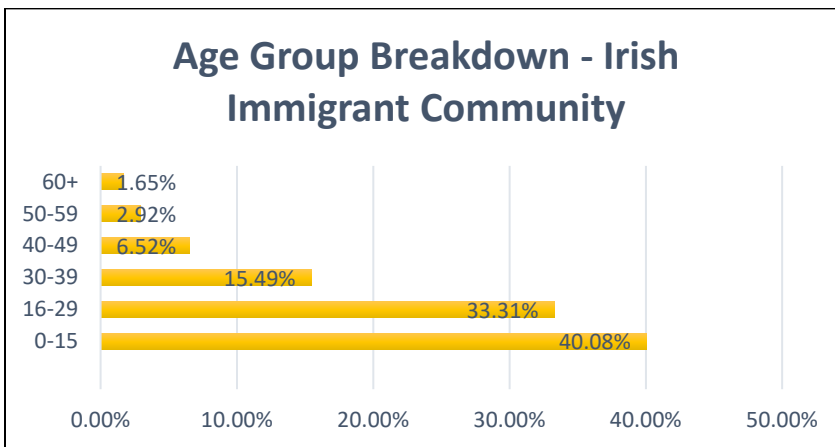


Figure 4: Top 15 Occupations: Male Irish Immigrant Population

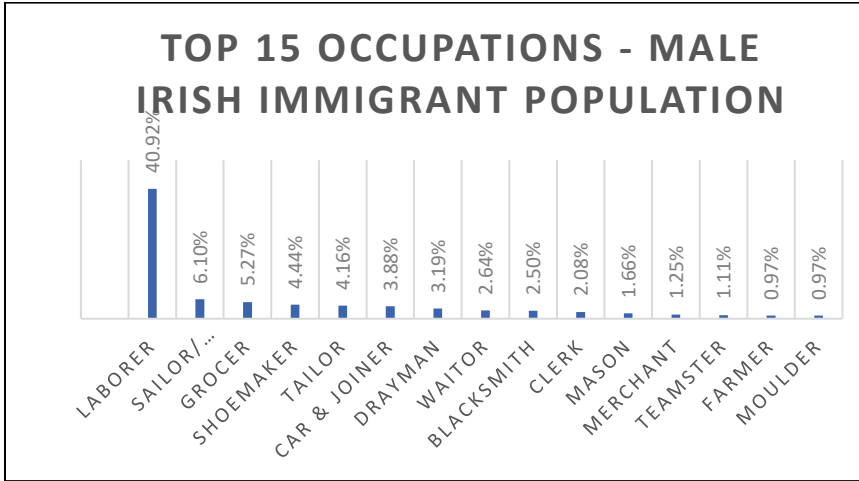


Figure 5: Possible Domestics – Single Female Irish Immigrant

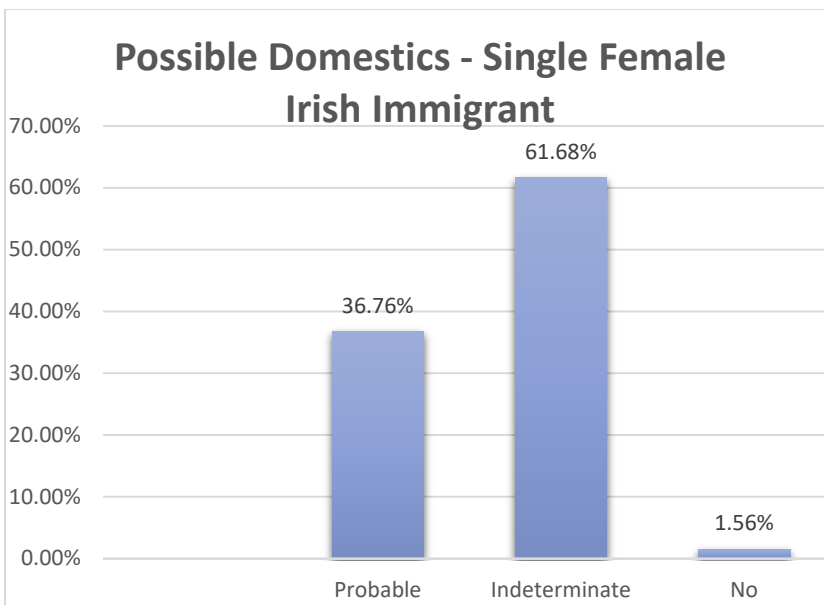


Figure 6: Top 7 Occupations – Single Male Irish Immigrant (Reporting)

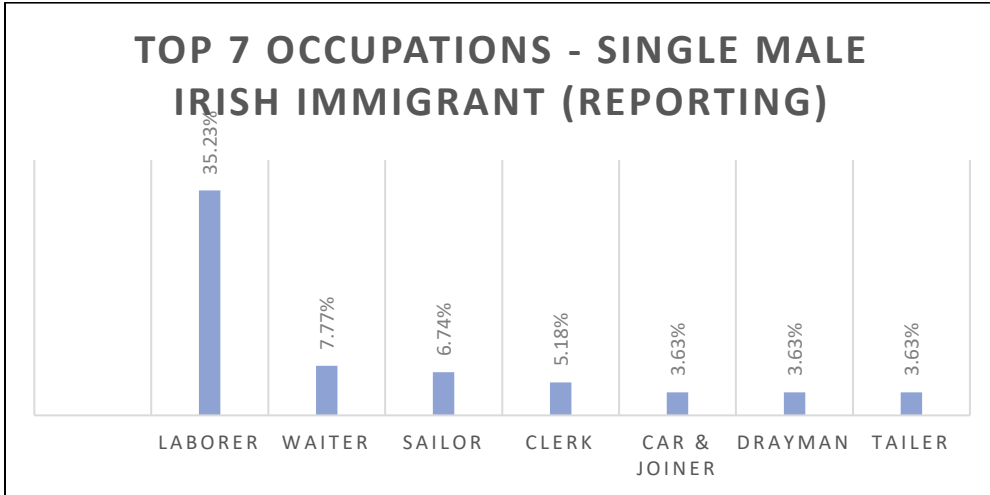
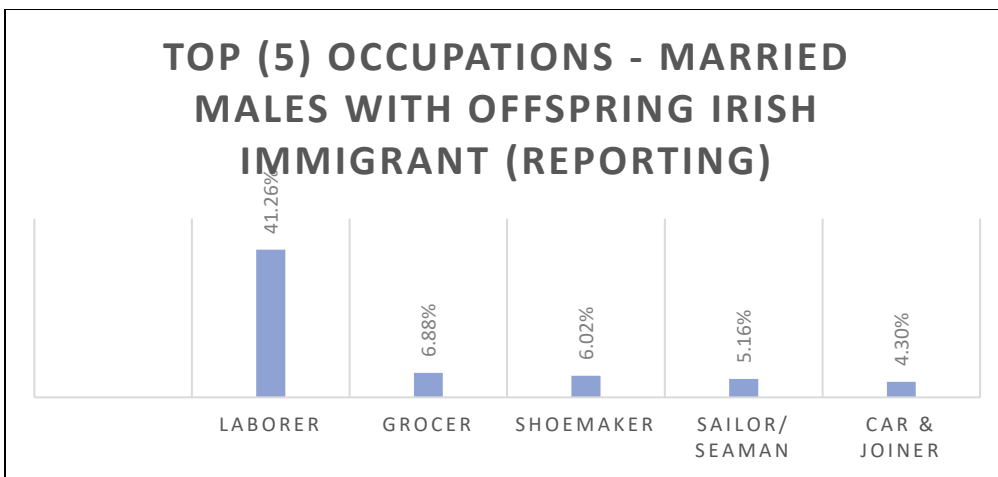


Figure 7: Top (5) Occupations – Married Males with Offspring³³



³³ There were 394 married Irish males with offspring. Those who reported an occupation in the census data were 349.

Figure 8: Top (5) Occupations – Married Males no Offspring³⁴

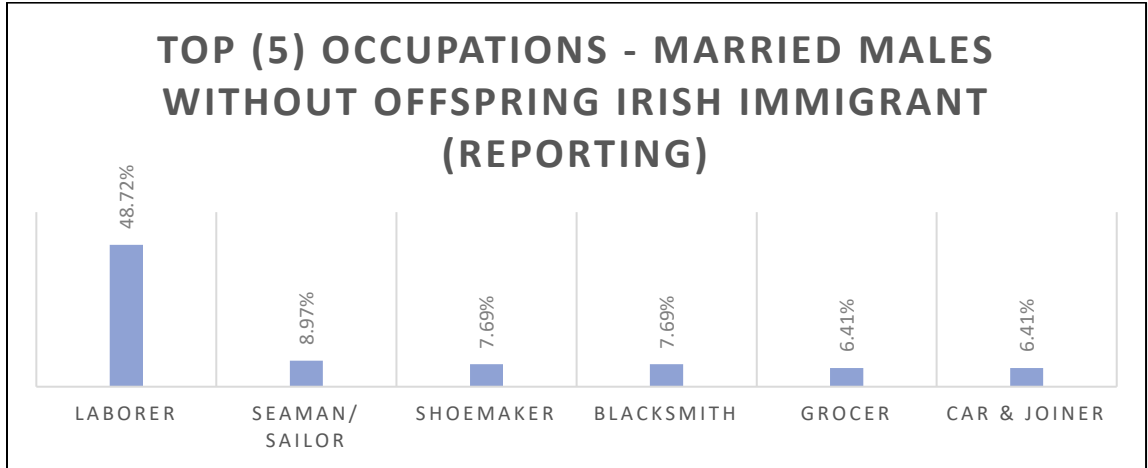
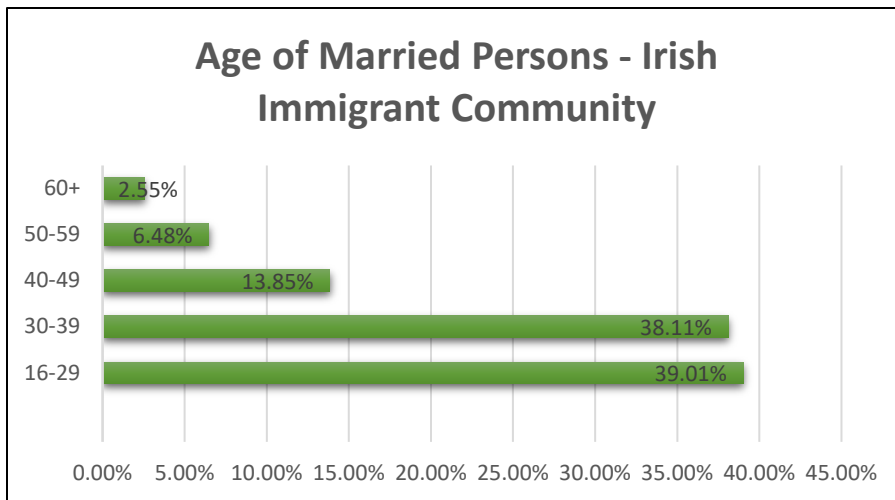


Figure 9: Age of Married Persons – Irish Immigrant Community



³⁴ There were 115 married Irish males without offspring. Those who reported an occupation in the census data were 78.

Figure 10: Age Difference Between Spouses

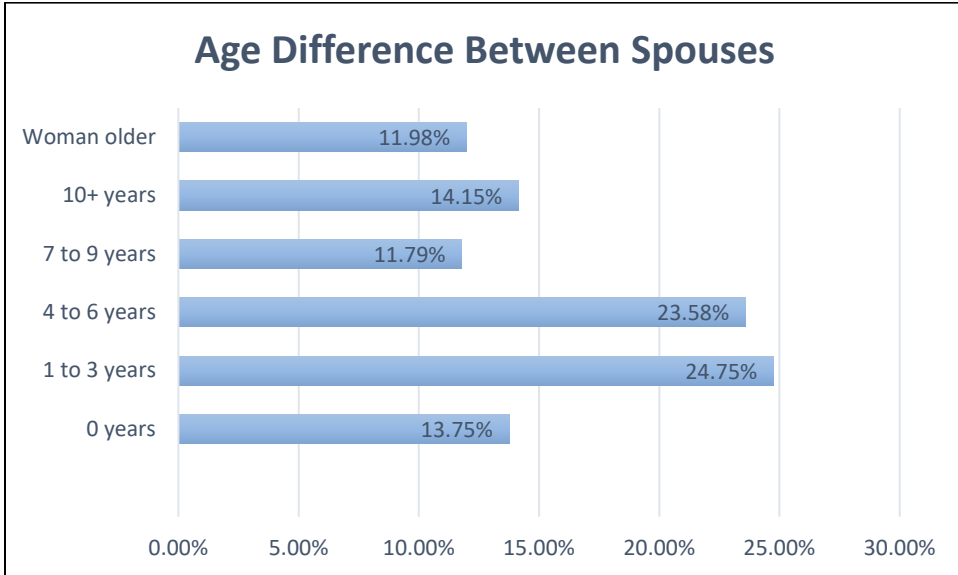
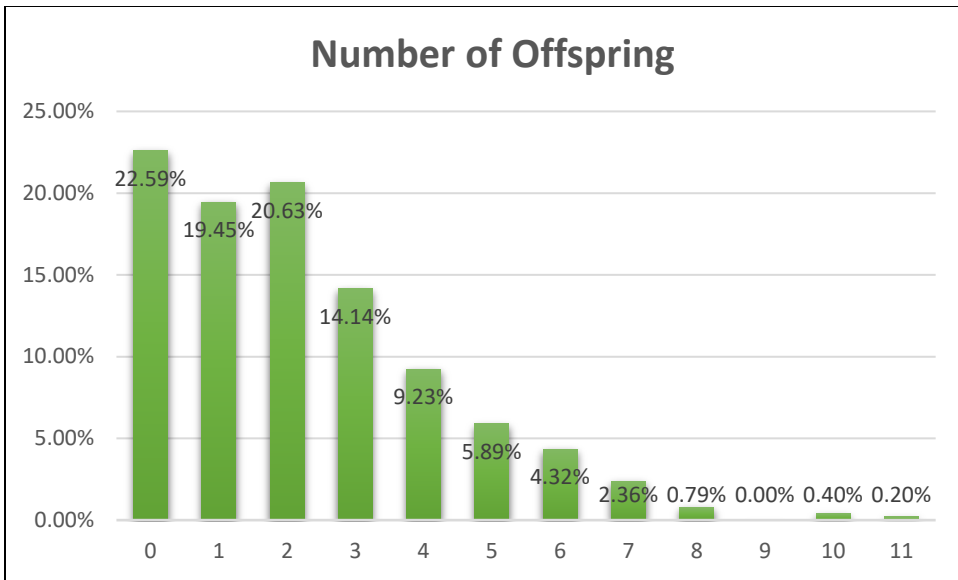


Figure 11: Number of Offspring



Conclusion

The following research questions have shaped the foregoing study. What is the historical portrait of the rural Irish person in the first half of the nineteenth century? Did economic need influence Irish emigration to the United States up to and including the Famine period? What are the demographics of the Irish immigrants? What opportunities did Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 present to the Irish immigrants? Did the Irish transplant their cultural traditions from Ireland into the Irish immigrant community in 1850 Cleveland?

The central argument is this: The Irish migration from their homeland to the United States was a form of labor migration. The 1,900 Irish adults chose Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 because Cleveland had ample employment opportunities and was a small, multi-cultural city. As the Irish settled in Cleveland, they transplanted parts of their cultural lifestyle into their immigrant community.

The Ireland chapter provided an historical portrait of the rural Irish in the first half of the nineteenth century. This chapter was pertinent because there was a lack of primary sources from the 1850 Irish immigrants in Cleveland. The historical perspective provided what Gerald Moran identified as the background of the Irish. Here is the summary of that portrait. The majority were part of the landless masses, mostly unskilled and/or laborers. Women did contribute significantly to the economic stability of their households. The predominant job category for women was that of domestic. The rural Irish married young. Their

fertility rate was high, and there was a significant age difference between the spouses. This portrait was used to gauge whether the Irish were transplanting their culture from Ireland into their immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850.

The Ireland chapter also provided a historical understanding of why the primary impetus for Irish immigration was employment. The lack of economic opportunity available in Ireland spurred employment emigration throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

The emigration chapter addressed the following research questions. Did economic need influence Irish emigration to the United States up to and including the Famine period? What are the demographics of those Irish who were migrating? It also demonstrated the following statement posed in the central argument. The Irish migration from their homeland to the United States was a form of labor migration.

War and crop failures did influence Irish emigration. But the primary reason for migration of the Irish to the United States was economic need. In the beginning, it was to better their lot. However, as the waves of migration progressed, labor migration became the reason for resettlement. This fact is supported by such demographic traits as the rise in unskilled laborers, women seeking employment as domestic servants, and the practice of chain migration.

Demography and history were combined in the Cleveland chapter to answer the research question: What opportunities did Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 present to the Irish immigrants who were living here? Furthermore, this segment supported the following statement posed in the central argument: The 1,900 Irish

adults chose Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 because Cleveland had ample employment opportunities and was a small, multi-cultural city.

A look at Cleveland provided several observations. It was an almost evenly mixed community of native and foreign-born peoples. The gender differentiation across both ethnicity and age was relatively even. The population was overwhelmingly young with 86% of the individuals being aged 40 or younger. The socio-economic status was generally middle class, skilled or semi-skilled peoples, with a generous mix of laborers and professionals. The secondary sources painted a picture of Cleveland as an emerging city. The census data of 1850 agrees with this assessment. Cleveland was a young, vibrant, multi-cultural city with relative economic opportunities in 1850.

The final chapter on Irish immigrants to Cleveland questioned whether the Irish transplanted their cultural traditions into their immigrant community in 1850 Cleveland. One can conclude that the Irish did indeed transplant much of their culture. Their socio-economic status was primarily labor with a small representation of semi-skilled and probable domestics among the single females. There was a notable single population. The majority were married, and many had families. The married population was young. These are the traits that were transplanted. The traits that were uncommon to their heritage include the minimal age gap between married persons and their small family size.

The description above of the Irish immigrant community in Cleveland in 1850 is the “regional variety” that Gerald Moran alluded to in the introduction of this thesis. Moran understood that the background of the rural Irish, and Irish

emigration out of Ireland up to and including the Great Hunger had been researched with great acuity. But he highlighted the lack of research on the communities the Irish settled in after they emigrated. This study answers that question for Irish immigrants in Cleveland in 1850. This concludes a piece of Irish immigrant history. *Tracing Their Journey: A New Beginning for Irish Immigrants in 1850 Cleveland.*

Appendices

1. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)"
2. Provincial map of Ireland
3. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Emigration to America"
4. Map of the United States in 1850
5. Schedule 5: the Products of Industry in the 1st Ward in Cleveland, Ohio in 1850
6. Recorded male occupations for the state of Ohio in the 1850 Federal Census
7. United States 1850 census schedule for Margaret Dorsha
8. United States 1850 census schedule for Bridget Delaney
9. The passenger list for the Tennessee listing the complete Whigham family
10. The 1850 Cleveland census record for Mary, Sarah and Isabella Whigam
11. United States 1850 census schedule for Mary Duncline
12. United States 1850 census schedule for Margaret Kelly
13. United States 1850 census schedule for the Atwell family
14. United States 1850 census schedule for the Cathcart family
15. United States 1850 census schedule for the Halloran family

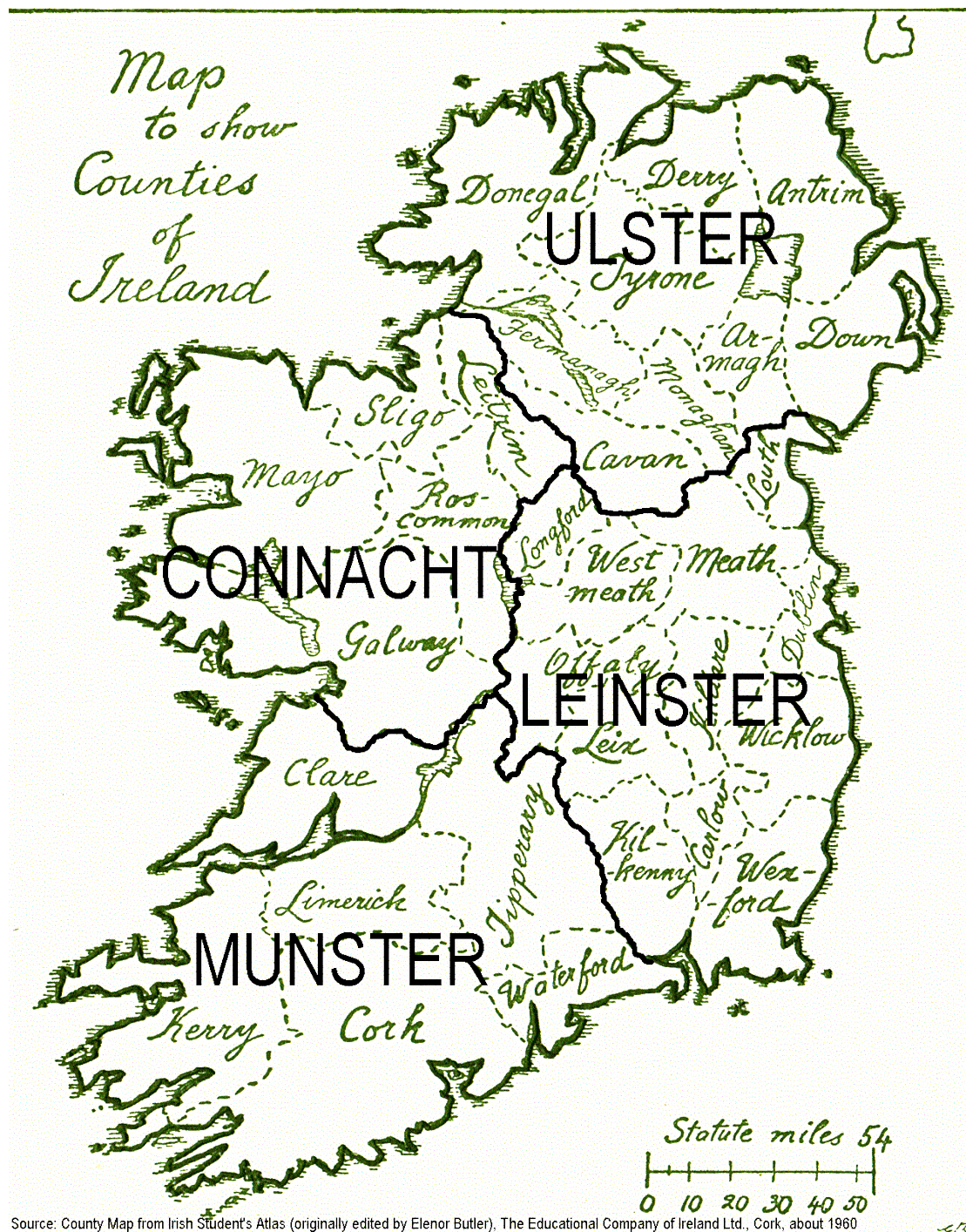
1. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)"¹

THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1845 - 1852

1. Are there any local traditions about the manner in which the blight first appeared? How was the crop affected (while growing, before being dug, or when stored)? Did the blight return on successive years at that time?
2. Please write down any stories or traditions you can find locally about the following: Famine deaths, burials, graves, graveyards. The Cholera in your district; local fever hospitals at that time.
3. Can you give any accounts of the dissolution of individual local families during the Famine (or soon afterwards) by death or migration (to other districts) or emigration (to other countries)? Where did those who left the district go to? Passage-money; emigrant ships.
4. Local evictions during or soon after the Famine. What was the attitude of the local landlords, merchants and shopkeepers, well-to-do families and priests to the people during the Famine; alms, credits, mortgages on land, seizures, evictions etc. Local "Poor-houses". Homeless individuals.
5. Food during the Famine: types of food available locally; uses made of special foods (herbs etc.). Food-centres set up by the Government and various societies; local soup-kitchens: how run, individuals associated with them; conditions (if any) attached to the receipt of food at some of these centres. Souperism and proselytism in your district during the Famine (it is necessary to distinguish between centres at which proselytism was carried on and those at which it was not). Any accounts of the forcible taking of food (crops, cattle etc.) and of means taken to counter it (man-traps etc.).
6. Accounts of local relief-schemes during the Famine (road-making, drainage etc.). Financing of these schemes, pay, stewards, choice of workers, value of the work done. Attitude of the people generally and of the well-to-do farmers to relief schemes.

¹ "Questionnaire: Irish Famine (1845-1852)", Questions.

2. Provincial map of Ireland²



Source: County Map from Irish Student's Atlas (originally edited by Elenor Butler), The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., Cork, about 1960

² "Map to Show Counties of Ireland," Meath County Library, accessed November 21, 2017. http://www.mcresearch.com/County_Louth/Divisions/mapprov.htm.

3. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Emigration to America"³

IRISH POLAROID COMMISSION
Questionnaire: Emigration to America
January 1955

The most important social phenomenon of modern Irish history has been the vast tide of emigration which began in earnest just over one hundred years ago, particularly to the United States. Out of such a movement there grew up a rich tradition of east, custom and legend which has persisted down to the present day. Yet surprisingly little is known of this or of the social and economic consequences which emigration left in its wake. While there are still among us persons whose memories of the exodus are strong and vivid, it is of urgency and importance that this information be recorded and the gap in our knowledge filled. Answers to the following questions, therefore, will contribute greatly to our current inadequate store of information.

In answers to each of the following questions, it would be greatly appreciated if the time period being referred to were also stated, i.e., 1860's, 1870's, etc.

Give name, age, and address of each of your informants.

1. Do you know of any friends or relatives who went to America before 1900? When did they go? How old were they? What was their occupation? Were they married or single? If married, did they take their family with them or send for them later?
2. Why did these people decide to emigrate? Was it lack of employment? eviction? letters from America? money from America? job offer in America? a returned emigrant from America? personal problems at home? political reasons? any others?
3. In some localities it was the custom to hold an "American wake" for intending emigrants on the eve of departure. Have you ever attended such a wake? Could you describe a wake and how it was conducted? Could you indicate who attended: just family, or friends also? where it was held? when it began? how long it lasted?
4. Were American wakes usually held for single individuals or only for groups of intending emigrants? Were wakes also held for emigrants to lands other than America, e.g., "Australian wakes"? How far back can you remember that "American wakes" were held in your locality? Are they still a practice? When did they stop?

³ "Questionnaire: Emigration to America," Questions.

3. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Emigration to America" (cont....)

- 2 -

5. What songs, stories or ballads grew up about emigration to America among those who remained? Were there any special ones which were peculiar to your area? Were they generally sad? Did any tell of eventual success in America? of the emigrant's return to Ireland?
6. It is well known that many emigrant letters were sent from America which did much to foster the impression of a land of opportunity across the Atlantic. Were there particular phrases or descriptions in these letters which specially fired the imagination of the people at home? Did any of these become traditional as descriptions or sayings about America?
7. In some areas the emigrant letter eventually became an object of sarcastic cant, as illustrated in such expressions as: "How are you doing? Oh, fine, just like the American letter!" Were there any such expressions peculiar to your area? Were they all sarcastic? About when did the note of sarcasm begin to appear? What factors led to this change?
8. Upon receipt of a letter it sometimes became a custom to assemble the local family and neighbours and have the letter read aloud. Was this often done in your area? Were they ever read aloud in church by the parish priest or at social gatherings such as fairs? Was a letter often passed around from person to person so that all who wanted to could see and read it for themselves?
9. Gifts of money or remittances were frequently sent back from America. When such remittances arrived did the fact become generally known in the neighbourhood or did the recipients try to keep the information to themselves? Was money ever asked for, or did it more often come without the asking? How was the money usually used: to pay the rent? buy more land? make improvements? to emigrate? Can you give specific examples of how this money was used?
10. A considerable number of emigrants often returned for a visit to their native land. Did they create a favourable impression? Were they sought after for information on America? Are there any stories about the experiences of emigrants in America? Did they try to persuade others to emigrate? Was their clothing admired and habits or styles of dress copied? Did they cause resentment because of bragging or "showing off" their wealth?
11. Some emigrants returned to stay. Why did they return? Had they been successful or unsuccessful in America? What did they do when they got back here: work? buy a farm? live on savings? Did they talk much about America? Did they try to introduce "American ways" of doing things? Did they try to influence others to emigrate to America? Did they take an active part in local or national politics?

3. List of questions for the "Questionnaire: Emigration to America"
(cont....)

- 3 -

12. Much of the story of the innermost workings of emigration and the traditions which grew up around it lie buried in the millions of emigrant letters which flooded back to Ireland from America. Are any of these letters still in the possession of local families or persons in your area? Would these people be willing to allow a qualified research scholar to read them for their historical content? The names and addresses of such persons would be greatly appreciated.
13. Have you any additional comments or materials that could be helpful.

This Questionnaire was issued to some thirty selected part-time & full-time collectors to assist Arnold Schrier, a research-scholar from the United States, who is to write a book about certain aspects of Emigration. Mr. Schrier drew up the Questionnaire in collaboration with me.
Sean Suilleabhain

4. Map of the United States in 1850⁴



⁴ "Map of the United States in 1850," Learn NC, Accessed December 3, 2017.
http://www.mc-research.com/County_Louth/Divisions/mapprov.htm.

5. Schedule 5: the Products of Industry in the 1st Ward in Cleveland, Ohio in 1850⁵

SCHEDULE 5.—Products of Industry in the 1st Ward, City of Cleveland in the County of Cuyahoga State of Ohio during the Year ending June 1, 1850, as enumerated by me, J. C. Keason Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4 Raw Material used, including Fuel.			7	8 Average number of hands employed.		9 Wages.		10 Annual Product.			
			Quantity.	Kind.	Value.		Male.	Female.	Quantity.	Kind.	Value.			
1	G. L. Bauder Cabinet M ^{ch}	1000	30.00	Timber	3500	Hand	4	72						
2	J. L. Bauder "	2000	20.00	Timber	200	Hand					Cabinet M ^{ch}	2100		
3	J. J. Wilson Upholstry	500	6.15	L. Oils	650	Hand	5	8	160			Cabinet M ^{ch}	4500	
4	E. C. Bostelman Marble Works	500	5.10	Marble	2500	Hand	10	3	36			Upholstry	2800	
5	Horace Jones & Adams	500	1400	Timber	570	Hand	2	52				Manuf ^y	9000	
6	Wm. Stephenson Baker	550	1300	Wood	5200	Hand	5	100				10000	Bread	4200
7	Wm. Lambson Cooper	1000	50.00	Staves	500	Hand	10	200				Miscellaneous	4300	
8	Handson & Keeney Cabinet M ^{ch}	500	25.00	Timber	375	Hand	4	104				Pastry	1050	
9	Young & Hoy Paper M ^{ch}	3000	300	Timber	1500	Hand	11	215				(Ethiopian)	200	
10	P. W. Hays Mill M ^{ch}	500	100	St. Wood	800	Hand	5	150				75 lbs	Mill stone	10000
11	Edward Ward Mill M ^{ch}	1500	1100	St. Wood	830	Hand	15	350				600 lbs	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
12	G. P. East "	1000	1100	St. Wood	560	Hand	12	300				600 lbs	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
13	M. G. Landon "	1500	150	St. Wood	350	Hand	9	230				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
14	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
15	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
16	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
17	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
18	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
19	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
20	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
21	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
22	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
23	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
24	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
25	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
26	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
27	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
28	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
29	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
30	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000
31	Garban & Aplin Baker	4000	2300	St. Wood	9300	Hand	8	205				20000	Wh. & Bl. Flour	10000

19 93950 72370 166-31-409 316 215121

⁵ "Schedule 5 – Products of Industry," Ancestry.com, Accessed October 31, 2017. <https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1276/32804>.

5. Schedule 5: the Products of Industry in the 1st Ward in Cleveland, Ohio in 1850 (cont...)

SCHEDULE 5. - Products of Industry in the 1st Ward City of Cleveland in the County of Cuyahoga State of Ohio during the Year ending June 1, 1850, as enumerated by me, A. D. Mason Ass't Marshal.

Name of Corporation, Company, or Individual, producing Articles to the Annual Value of \$500.	Name of Business, Manufacture, or Product.	Capital Invested in Real and Personal Estate in the Business.	Raw Material used, including Fuel.			Kind of motive power, machinery, structure, or reason.	Average number of hands employed.		Wages.	Annual Product.			
			Quantities.	Kind.	Values.		Males.	Females.		Quantities.	Kind.	Values.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Jac. Schneider - Plumber	600	Brass	160	500	Hand	1						
2	Lib. A. D. G.		Wholesale	215	475	Hand	6	150		12	House	3600	
3	East Cleveland Township, Cuyahoga Co & W. of Ohio Jun 1											1500	
3	Coast. P. Boston - Tanner	1200	1000 lb. Hides	1200	Hand	2	40		200	Shoes	2500		
4	Geo. C. Co - Shoemaker	300	50 lb. Hides	150	Hand	3	60		400	Shoes	700		
4	Geo. C. Co - Carpenter	1000	3500 ft. Staves	175	Hand	2	40		220	Shingles	1750		
5	J. H. Carter - Tanner	700	600 lb. Hides	675	Hand	2	40		100	Shoes	1000		
6	House Manufactory - Paper Factory	500	6500 lb. Paper	360	Hand	3	60		2700	Paper	3600		
7	M. H. Laine - Tanner	700	700 lb. Hides	700	Hand	2	50		200	Shoes	1500		
8	J. H. Little - Carpenter	500	1000 ft. Staves	120	Hand	2	40		500	Shingles	500		
8	J. H. Little - Tanner	500	500 lb. Hides	35	Hand	2	40		300	Shoes	400		
9	J. H. Little - Shoemaker	200	300 lb. Hides	270	Hand	6	120		900	Shoes	500		
9	House Manufactory - Carpenter	250	4000 ft. Staves	250	Hand	2	40		200	Shingles	200		
10	Baker & Miller - Shoemaker	400	2500 lb. Hides	2500	Hand	3	60		200	Shoes	1500		
11	Lib. A. D. G.		Wholesale	215	475	Hand	6	150				1500	
12	M. H. Laine - Brick Making	1000	250000 Bricks	500	Hand	1	300		100000	Bricks	3000		
13	J. H. Little - Sawmill	1400	1400 ft. Logs	1400	Water	4	80		40000	Lumber	3000		
14	Geo. C. Co - Sawmill	1100	1100 ft. Logs	1100	Water	2	50		20000	Lumber	2100		
15	Wiley H. Casey - Mill Making	1000	40000 ft. Lumber	400	Hand	3	60		2000	Lumber	1100		
16	J. H. Little - Shoemaker	500	500 lb. Hides	450	Hand	2	40		200	Shoes	1500		
17	J. H. Little - Paper Factory	500	6000 lb. Paper	360	Hand	3	60		2700	Paper	3600		
18	J. H. Little - Sawmill	1000	600 ft. Logs	600	Water	3	60		2000	Lumber	1400		
19	J. H. Little - Sawmill	1000	1300 ft. Logs	1300	Water	2	50		2000	Lumber	3500		
20	J. H. Little - Sawmill	200	3000 ft. Staves	375	Hand	2	40		1000	Shingles	600		
21	J. H. Little - Sawmill	200	2000 ft. Staves	200	Hand	2	40		2000	Shingles	1500		
21	J. H. Little - Sawmill	1500	1315 ft. Logs	1315	Water	2	50		4000	Lumber	2500		

23000
17760
51
13014

6. Recorded male occupations for the state of Ohio in the 1850 Federal Census⁶

STATISTICS OF OHIO.

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TABLE X.—PROFESSIONS, OCCUPATIONS, AND TRADES OF THE MALE POPULATION.*

Actors.....	56	Editors.....	129	Pavers.....	58
Agents.....	356	Engineers.....	1,030	Peelers.....	1,155
Agricultural implement makers.....	23	Enginers.....	45	Portuners.....	5
Apothecaries and druggists.....	425	Factory hands.....	59	Physicians.....	4,233
Architects.....	24	Farmers.....	269,690	Piano forte and musical instrument makers.....	41
Artificial-flower makers.....	4	Farriers.....	30	Pilots.....	138
Artists.....	102	File cutters.....	12	Pipe makers.....	14
Astronomical instrument makers.....	10	Finishers.....	173	Plane makers.....	92
Auctioneers.....	36	Fire-engine makers.....	3	Plaster figure makers.....	3
Authors.....	4	Fishcatchers.....	78	Platers.....	32
Bakers.....	903	Fishermen.....	535	Plough makers.....	84
Bankers.....	76	Fittings and lace manufacturers.....	0	Plumbers.....	42
Bank officers.....	88	Fruiters.....	34	Pocket-book manufacturers.....	3
Barbers.....	636	Furriers.....	8	Porters.....	50
Barkeepers.....	472	Gardeners and florists.....	615	Pot and pearl ash manufacturers.....	97
Basket makers.....	145	Gas fitters.....	14	Potters.....	1,793
Bell and brass-founders.....	29	Gas makers.....	6	Powder manufacturers.....	14
Bell-hungers and locksmiths.....	142	Gate keepers.....	114	Printers.....	1,263
Bellows makers.....	5	Glass manufacturers.....	78	Produce dealers.....	134
Bleaching manufacturers.....	3	Glovers.....	15	Professors.....	92
Black and white smiths.....	12,103	Glue makers.....	7	Publishers.....	23
Block and pump makers.....	229	Goldbeaters.....	2	Quarrymen.....	105
Boarding-house keepers.....	120	Gold-pen makers.....	4	Railroad men.....	40
Boat builders.....	111	Gold and silver smiths.....	251	Refectory keepers.....	254
Boatmen.....	2,858	Grindstone makers.....	14	Refiners.....	9
Boiler makers.....	101	Grocers.....	2,559	Riggers.....	6
Bookbinders.....	253	Gunsmiths.....	553	Rope makers.....	155
Bookellers and stationers.....	157	Hair workers.....	8	Saddle and harness makers.....	3,282
Box makers.....	41	Hardware manufacturers.....	11	Safe makers.....	5
Brassworkers.....	71	Hat and cap manufacturers.....	793	Sailmakers.....	17
Brewers.....	488	Hemp dressers.....	14	Saleratus makers.....	28
Brick makers.....	969	Horse dealers.....	19	Salt makers.....	61
Bridge makers.....	19	Ice dealers.....	5	Sash and blind makers.....	132
Brickers.....	81	Iron keepers.....	2,358	Sawyers.....	974
Broom makers.....	227	Ironmongers.....	56	Scale makers.....	26
Brush makers.....	102	Iron workers.....	149	Sculptors.....	27
Builders.....	32	Japanners.....	7	Sealing-wax manufacturers.....	2
Butchers.....	1,839	Jewellers.....	142	Servants.....	1,167
Button makers.....	19	Joiners.....	1,374	Sextons.....	23
Cabinet and chair makers.....	4,515	Laborers.....	86,869	Shingle makers.....	151
Carpenters.....	21,909	Last makers.....	18	Ship carpenters.....	362
Carpenter makers.....	10	Lathe makers.....	3	Shoe-peg makers.....	11
Carriers.....	21	Lawyers.....	2,028	Silk manufacturers.....	10
Carters.....	59	Lighting-rod makers.....	8	Slaters.....	8
Carvers and gilders.....	549	Lime burners.....	45	Spinners.....	112
Cattle dealers.....	55	Livery stable keepers.....	241	Starch manufacturers.....	13
Caulkers.....	58	Looking glass and picture frame makers.....	9	Stave makers.....	20
Chandlers.....	209	Lumbermen.....	281	Steam-engine manufacturers.....	4
Charcoal burners.....	5	Machinists.....	1,019	Stereotypists.....	6
Chemists.....	24	Manufacturers not specified.....	1,692	Stone and marble cutters.....	1,453
City, county, and town officers.....	818	Mariners.....	1,035	Storekeepers.....	71
Civil engineers.....	59	Marketmen.....	119	Straw workers.....	9
Clergymen.....	2,440	Masons and plasterers.....	6,036	Students.....	3,659
Clerks.....	6,810	Match makers.....	14	Sugar manufacturers.....	3
Clock makers.....	46	Mathematical instrument makers.....	13	Surgeons.....	11
Clothiers.....	436	Mechanics not specified.....	439	Surgical instrument makers.....	9
Cloth manufacturers.....	14	Merchants.....	8,012	Surveyors.....	105
Coach makers.....	1,140	Millers.....	3,443	Tailors.....	6,031
Collectors.....	86	Millwrights.....	972	Tanners and curriers.....	1,406
Colliers.....	858	Miners.....	900	Teachers.....	2,753
Comb makers.....	44	Morocco dressers.....	17	Teamsters.....	1,358
Composition workers.....	18	Moulders.....	1,263	Telegraph operators.....	93
Confecioners.....	431	Musicians.....	141	Tin smiths.....	1,204
Contractors.....	149	Music sellers.....	6	Tobaccoists and cigar makers.....	772
Coopers.....	7,867	Music teachers.....	47	Tool makers.....	107
Coppersmiths.....	113	Nail manufacturers.....	65	Traders.....	107
Cordwainers.....	12,182	Newsamen.....	11	Trimmers.....	577
Cotton manufacturers.....	25	Nurserymen.....	57	Trunk makers.....	137
Cutlers.....	29	Oilcloth manufacturers.....	14	Turners.....	89
Daguerotypists.....	31	Oil makers.....	89	Type cutters.....	25
Dairymen.....	92	Opicians.....	5	Type founders.....	72
Dealers.....	133	Organ builders.....	17	Umbrella manufacturers.....	25
Dentists.....	251	Ostlers.....	277	Undertakers.....	35
Distillers.....	320	Overseers.....	55	United States and State officers.....	323
Drapers.....	31	Painters and glaziers.....	2,047	Upholsters.....	112
Draughtsmen.....	9	Paper dealers.....	13	Varnish makers.....	12
Drivers.....	637	Paper manufacturers.....	151	Veterinarians.....	10
Drovers.....	346	Pattern makers.....	135		
Dyers and bleachers.....	99				

* The numbers here given are according to the statements of persons at their residences. By examining the statements given by proprietors of establishments producing over \$500, we have the following number of males employed for some of the leading interests: cotton factories, 268; woolen factories, 1,216; iron foundries, forges, furnaces, and rolling mills, 5,830; grist and flour mills, 2,282; sawmills, 3,657; tanning and currying, 1,851; distilling, 867; coal mining, 1,187.

6. Recorded male occupations for the state of Ohio in the 1850 Federal Census (cont...)

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CENSUS OF 1850.

TABLE X.—PROFESSIONS, OCCUPATIONS, AND TRADES OF THE MALE POPULATION—Continued.

Vinegar makers.....	7	White lead manufacturers.....	15	Wooden ware manufacturers.....	216
Wagon makers.....	834	Wine makers.....	5	Wool combers and carders.....	408
Watchmakers.....	152	Wine and liquor dealers.....	15	Wool dealers.....	39
Watchmen.....	78	Wire makers.....	5	Woolen manufacturers.....	191
Weavers.....	1,432	Wire workers.....	7	Other occupations.....	1,219
Wheelwrights.....	3,445	Wood corders.....	16		
Whip makers.....	12	Wood cutters.....	21		
Whitewashers.....	97	Wood dealers.....	29		
				Total.....	530,792

TABLE XI.—AGRICULTURE—FARMS AND IMPLEMENTS, STOCK, PRODUCTS, HOME MANUFACTURES, &c.

COUNTIES.	ACRES OF LAND IN FARMS.		VALUE OF FARMS AND IMPLEMENTS.		LIVE STOCK.				
	Improved.	Unimproved.	Cash value of farms.	Value of farming implements & machinery.	Horses.	Asses and mules.	Milch cows.	Working oxen.	Other cattle.
Adams.....	104,707	117,107	\$2,785,628	\$117,886	4,812	35	4,260	605	7,740
Allen.....	50,705	57,259	1,637,230	78,745	3,346	1	3,883	377	4,803
Ashland.....	144,783	95,692	5,167,950	175,432	7,093	---	7,845	551	5,056
Ashtabula.....	174,355	88,841	5,107,473	172,630	4,711	39	5,740	2,621	15,420
Athens.....	82,168	103,109	2,125,967	92,383	3,345	---	4,392	1,331	6,260
Auglaize.....	48,285	93,179	1,328,642	91,538	3,286	36	4,412	326	4,675
Belmont.....	179,697	130,296	7,218,850	240,731	9,723	21	8,345	784	11,624
Brown.....	120,006	110,021	5,173,420	180,713	6,316	60	5,616	472	7,476
Butler.....	172,345	102,004	10,604,930	301,320	9,136	20	8,222	54	6,796
Carroll.....	140,938	92,950	3,925,100	168,797	6,213	8	6,612	247	7,408
Champaign.....	147,207	108,324	5,238,637	178,622	8,950	178	7,157	502	11,524
Clark.....	142,708	80,098	5,885,379	143,673	5,660	211	5,492	291	12,832
Clermont.....	132,002	90,673	5,551,673	210,482	7,423	25	6,316	327	5,800
CClinton.....	112,589	96,517	4,610,822	153,952	5,345	215	5,870	165	10,094
Columbiana.....	173,181	115,161	6,245,746	175,752	7,909	21	9,061	893	10,385
Coshocton.....	184,460	152,386	5,032,653	209,017	8,743	9	8,205	907	13,324
Crawford.....	82,336	63,120	2,261,560	200,616	3,825	---	4,519	559	7,075
Cuyahoga.....	130,534	78,153	5,034,296	181,701	4,987	2	9,591	2,164	10,788
Dickie.....	102,377	140,154	3,500,908	183,796	7,184	14	6,505	394	10,438
DeSoto.....	15,524	37,165	485,101	26,387	723	3	1,017	276	1,767
Delaware.....	109,458	111,538	3,510,325	142,167	6,490	94	6,453	477	9,815
Eric.....	85,773	39,442	3,026,845	95,786	3,436	7	4,058	1,231	6,110
Fairfield.....	101,146	112,155	6,815,230	236,200	9,258	9	8,994	226	13,622
Fayette.....	123,255	84,905	3,581,649	89,725	4,690	138	4,603	432	16,702
Franklin.....	163,648	105,206	6,312,059	245,052	9,622	340	8,166	585	11,707
Fulton.....	38,077	57,762	1,084,945	58,375	1,409	1	2,485	1,056	3,861
Gallia.....	52,706	132,831	1,896,460	75,797	3,165	33	3,713	792	4,522
Geauga.....	132,387	69,696	3,345,358	163,651	4,076	205	13,003	2,257	13,035
Greene.....	131,316	105,589	6,055,031	192,962	6,947	124	7,034	133	10,217
Guernsey.....	170,632	143,121	4,529,930	191,618	8,114	37	7,944	472	10,733
Hamilton.....	137,517	72,823	17,449,235	245,093	7,473	19	8,462	210	3,058
Hancock.....	80,995	113,475	2,430,200	89,892	4,669	2	4,921	477	6,729
Hardin.....	33,353	64,588	1,050,330	82,920	2,199	---	2,256	251	3,839
Harrison.....	134,298	90,102	4,800,223	137,397	5,881	11	5,855	557	6,954
Henry.....	10,131	32,158	889,981	17,217	587	5	1,028	536	1,087
Highland.....	169,513	130,290	5,708,745	253,214	8,413	94	7,567	307	9,208
Hocking.....	59,709	82,626	1,326,210	72,619	3,054	1	3,234	346	4,093
Holmes.....	143,604	107,567	4,200,630	180,989	6,688	14	7,726	396	9,487
Huron.....	148,392	99,734	5,349,333	218,769	6,736	5	8,103	2,505	12,854
Jackson.....	72,073	93,903	1,411,685	58,761	2,241	32	2,872	819	5,993
Jefferson.....	140,926	91,448	7,164,387	227,543	6,161	2	6,925	312	8,000
Knox.....	106,931	131,094	5,608,161	182,581	8,193	12	7,877	503	10,194
Lake.....	88,334	45,969	3,084,569	194,868	3,435	4	6,251	1,544	8,799
Lawrence.....	17,279	31,636	507,755	17,068	717	1	769	246	972
Licking.....	233,761	167,954	7,031,256	336,536	10,306	27	11,461	670	17,117
Logan.....	97,522	119,036	3,453,100	135,995	6,737	29	6,211	269	8,824
Lorain.....	127,165	90,262	4,155,317	139,915	5,791	20	9,650	2,813	14,053
Lucas.....	30,115	42,646	993,141	45,297	1,379	---	2,247	883	2,519
Madison.....	157,813	96,005	3,050,613	70,204	4,847	246	5,107	536	21,690
Mahoning.....	143,098	86,746	5,548,999	223,162	6,587	14	8,911	1,244	12,123
Marion.....	109,444	67,635	2,206,424	83,702	4,162	108	3,300	330	13,174
Medina.....	144,661	76,617	4,732,650	210,575	5,943	---	9,283	2,368	13,468
Meigs.....	58,139	87,445	1,046,218	70,502	2,344	13	3,030	949	3,083
Mercer.....	36,176	48,258	685,556	51,483	1,833	2	2,054	237	2,303
Miami.....	115,063	94,902	5,320,430	197,589	6,924	24	6,283	105	6,250
Monroe.....	124,100	164,349	2,975,759	125,756	7,221	14	7,298	1,087	8,498
Montgomery.....	151,306	109,233	7,752,152	205,304	7,783	15	6,228	66	6,337
Morgan.....	133,657	137,183	4,242,519	174,817	6,646	14	6,574	603	8,650

7. United States 1850 census schedule for Margaret Dorsha⁷

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in the Ward of Cleveland in the County of Cuyahoga State of Ohio enumerated by me, on the 24th day of July 1850. James M. Brown Ass't Marshal.

Dwellings-house numbered in this schedule, and in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	Description.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place or Birth. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.			Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
		Age.	Sex.	Color, (black or mulatto.)				10	11	12		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
372	403	Thomas Carow	26	W		Mason		Ireland				
		John "	18	F				"				
		Mary "	"	"				Ohio				
373		Ellen Bouse	19	"				Ireland				
374	404	Morris Eshman	42	M		Grocer		Germany				
		Caroline "	43	F				"				
		Augusta "	18	"				"				
		Margaret Boshaw	19	F				"				
374	405	Joseph Ehrlich	35	M		Shoemaker		Germany				
		Barbara "	31	F				"				
		Maria "	3	"				Ohio				
		William "	1 1/2	"				"				
		Anthony Baisle	22	"				Germany				
		William's children	21	M				"				
		Julia Breunbach	22	F				"				
375	406	Augustus R. Harris	36	M		Gen. Smith		"				
		Leocadia "	31	F				"				
		Henrietta "	10	"				"				
377	407	James M. Brown	64	M		City Inspector	2000	Et.				
		Sarah R. "	47	F				Et.				
		J. W. Van Stunnes	15	M				N. Y.				
		Katharine "	21	F				Ireland				
378	408	David E. Field	33	M		Jeweler		N. Y.				
		Sarah E. "	28	F				Prussia				
		Philiana "	61	"				Et.				
		Helena "	7	"				Ohio				
		Marcell "	5	"				"				
		George C. "	1 1/2	M				"				
		Mary Ann Sturman	14	F				Germany				
378		Harley Gray	39	M		Jeweler		Ohio				
379	409	Fredrich Schullery	48	"		Lawyer	5000	Et.				
		Eliza "	42	F				Prussia				
		Mary R. "	18	"				Ohio				
		Julia "	15	"				"				
		Henry "	12	M				"				
		Eliza "	11	F				"				
		Frederick "	9	M				"				
		Albert "	7	"				"				
		Emily "	4	F				"				
		Margaret Dorsha	49	"				Ireland				
379		Rebecca Ehrlich	32	"				Ohio				
380	410	W. W. Sanford	81	M		Merchant		Prussia				

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⁷ "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland," Dorsha.

8. United States 1850 census schedule for Bridget Delaney⁸

Subject No. 49.

SCHEDULE I. — Free Inhabitants in *1st Ward of Cleveland* **in the County of** *Cuyahoga* **State** *Ohio* **enumerated by me, on the** *25th* **day of** *July* **1850.** *State No. 125* **Dist. No. 125**

12	1	2	3	Description.			7	8	9	10 11 12			13
				Age.	Sex.	Color, or race, or tribe.				Married within the year.	Attended School during the year.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade.	
	112484		Calvin W. Hill	47	M		Shoemaker		England				
			Prig " "	43	F				"				
			Mary Ann " "	16	F				"				
			Francis M. " "	11	M				"				
			Martha P. " "	9	F				"				
			Edwin C. " "	6	M				"				
			Mary Winslow	74	F				"				
			James Ferguson	19	M		Shoemaker		Delaware				
			Phillip Stebbins	14	M				"				
			Frederick Schmitt	21	M		Black		England				
			James Steph	17	M		Shoemaker		Wales				
			James Cook	23	M		"		Va.				
			Sam'l Foster	32	F		Shoemaker		N. H.				
	112488		Geo. B. Drexler	34	M		Merchant		N. Y.				
			Lucina " "	22	F				"				
			Isabella " "	6	F				"				
			Maria " "	4	F				"				
			Elizabeth " "	2	F				"				
			Julia Franklin	25	F	M			Ohio				
	112491		John Makoto	29	M		Capit. Manufacturer		Prussia				
			Martha B. " "	26	F				"				
			John C. " "	3	M				N. H.				
			Clara " "	2	F				"				
			James W. " "	31	M				"				
			Julia Smith	19	F				"				
	112492		Geo. S. Stearns	34	M		Sea Captain		Conn.				
			Mary T. " "	14	F				N. Y.				
			Mary " "	6	F				Ohio				
			George " "	8	M				"				
			Charles " "	6	M				"				
			James " "	1	M				"				
			Bridget Delaney	10	F				Delaware				
			Margaret Lewis	16	F				Delaware				
	112493		Allen Smith Jr.	37	M		Artist		Mass.				
			Annals " "	40	F				N. Y.				
			James " "	18	M				Delaware				
			Elizabeth " "	17	F				N. Y.				
			Henry W. " "	15	M				"				
			George " "	13	M				"				
			Eliza " "	8	F				"				
			John " "	5	M				Ohio				
			John " "	5	M				"				

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⁸ "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland," Delaney.

9. The passenger list for the Tennessee listing the complete Whigham family⁹

Name	Gender	Native Country	Embarkation	Ship	Arrival Date
T. Whigham	Male	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Mgt. Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Mgt. Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Sarah Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
My. Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Isabella Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
John Whigham	Male	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Thos. Whigham	Male	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
Elzbt. Whigham	Female	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847
James Whigham	Male	Great Britain	Belfast	Tennessee	11 Jun 1847

⁹ "All New York, Irish Immigrant Arrival Records, 1846-1851 Results," Ancestry.com, Accessed February 15, 2015, <http://search.ancestry.com/>. Note the slight spelling difference in the last name. This is not uncommon.

10. The 1850 Cleveland census record for Mary, Sarah and Isabella Whigam.¹⁰

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in 2nd Ward of Cleveland in the County of Cuyahoga State 41606
of Ohio enumerated by me, on the 16 day of Aug 1850. Isaac M. Adams Ass't Marshal.

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10	11	12	13
			Age	Sex	Color							
1626 1772		Harriet Gilet	16	F				England				
1627 1773		John Hollins	47	M		Iron Works	5000	Ohio				
		Laura "	35	F				Ohio				
		Butter, M. "	22	M				N. Y.				
		Laura "	15	F				Ohio				
		John "	13	M				"				
		Charles "	11	M				"				
		Laura "	9	F				"				
		Edward "	7	M				"				
		Mary "	4	F				"				
		John M. "	2	M				"				
		Elizabeth Ledy	72	F				"				
		John Johnson	15	M				Germany				
1629 1773		Isabella Whigam	16	F				Ireland				
1630 1774		Henry Leiby	40	M		Shoe Dealer	2000	N. Y.				
		Emily "	38	F				N. Y.				
		John H. "	10	M				Ohio				
		Henry A. "	6	M				"				
		Edward H. "	6	M				"				
		Harriet "	4	F				"				
		Beulah Higgins	60	F				"				
		Mary Whigam	18	F				N. Y.				
1631 1774		Sarah "	20	F				Ireland				
1632 1775		J. B. Hutchinson	38	M		Shoe Dealer		"				
		Mathias "	31	M				N. A.				
		Jane "	9	F				N. Y.				
		Mary Ann "	11	F				Ohio				
		Edward A. Hutchinson	5	M				N. Y.				
		Priscilla Manning	18	F				Ohio				
1633 1775		John Cole	18	M				England				
1634 1776		G. A. Boushiet	40	M		Lawyer	6000	Ohio				
		Sarah "	36	F				N. Y.				
		G. A. "	10	M				Ohio				
		Mary "	5	F				"				
		Harriet "	1	F				"				
		Harriet Stone	57	F				"				
		Robert Richards	25	M				Ohio				
1635 1776		James Smith	20	M				England				
1636 1777		Ann Butler	58	F		Shoe Dealer	6000	Ireland				
		Harriet "	52	F				Ohio				
		Julia Smith	26	F				"				
		A. L. Smith	31	M		Book Dealer		Ohio				

¹⁰ "1850 United States Federal Census: Cleveland," Ancestry.com, Accessed February 15, 2018, <http://interactive.ancestry.com/8054>.

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