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特別講演　記録

演題　**アイルランド系移民と**
多エスニック・シカゴの形成
── そのギャング集団の活動から見えてくるもの ──

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日時　6 月 29 日（金曜日）　午後 4 時－ 5 時 50 分
場所　7 号館 2 階　D 20 番教室

主催　北海学園大学人文学部，同大学院文学研究科
共催　北海学園大学人文学会，北海道アメリカ研究会

Lecture by Dr. James R. Barrett, “The Irish and the Making of Multi-Ethnic Chicago.” アイルランド系移民と多エスニック・シカゴの形成
── そのギャング集団の活動から見えてくるもの ──

その主な内容（解説的要訳，文責　上　杉　　忍）

導　　入

①　アイルランド系移民は，あとから大都市に入って来た新移民たちが「アメリカ人」になるためのお手本だった

19 世紀末のシカゴのウェストサイドの貧民街に住んでいたあるユダヤ人移民は，「アイルランド系移民は，自分たちよりも暮らしが良かったわけ

ではなかったが，連中は，昔からここにいてアメリカについてよく知っていたので私たちのお手本だった」と語っている。

②　20世紀への転換期のアイルランド系移民は大都市の最大集団だった

1900年当時，第1世代および第2世代のアイルランド系移民はおおよそ500万人で，最大移民集団ドイツ系800万人に次いで第2の大集団だった。ドイツ系は，全国の都市や農村に拡散していたのに対し，アイルランド系は，早くからアメリカに移住してきていただけでなく，およそ90%がニューヨーク，ボストン，シカゴなどの大都市で暮らしていた。大都市ではアイルランド系を見ないで街を歩くことはできなかった[1]。

今日の講演では，19世紀末から世界大恐慌期までにアメリカの大都市社会で暮らした第2，第3世代のアイルランド系および，ジャガイモ飢饉のずっと後にアメリカに入って来たアイルランド系移民がアメリカの大都市社会の形成にどのような役割を果たしたかについてお話ししたい。

③　エスニック集団の日常生活の経験を通じてのアメリカ化

アイルランド系の次に大量に入ってきたのは東欧・南欧移民[2]で，1890－1920年の間に1800万人が入国した。彼らはアメリカの大都市に定着し，アメリカ人になる過程で，すでにそこに居住していたアイルランド系移民と日常的に接し，彼らから多くを学んだ。

彼らは，白人プロテスタント[3]の中産階級的価値観を教え込むセツルメントや学校で感化されることもあったが，それよりもアイルランド系やそ

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[1] 補足：同じ時期に黒人人口は約880万人だったが，その9割は南部に居住し，大都市に居住する黒人は極めて少数だった。

[2] 訳注：「新移民」と呼ばれている。

[3] 解説：アイルランド人は，プロテスタントではなく，カソリックだったために，非アメリカ的だとして軽蔑されて来た。また新移民の多くは，東方正教会やカソリック，ユダヤ教徒だった。

の他の労働者階級のアメリカ人との酒場や職場，教会などでの日常的な接触からから都市社会で生き抜く知恵を身につけつつ「アメリカ人」になっていった。

④　今日の講演の主なテーマ：アイルランド系移民「アスレティック・クラブ」あるいはギャング集団

今日のこの講演では，特に，アメリカの大都市の街角での異なったエスニック集団相互の接触を仕切ったアイルランド系移民の「ソシアル・アスレティック・クラブ」あるいは，ギャング集団についてお話ししたい。

１．過密都市空間におけるアイルランド系移民と新移民の関係

①　1919 年シカゴ人種暴動でのアイルランド系ギャングの活躍

1919 年夏，ビーチでの黒人と白人とのいざこざが原因で始まったシカゴの大人種暴動を調査したシカゴ人種関係委員会は，この人種暴動の原因として，人口の過密やリクレーション設備の不足，雇用をめぐる競争などを挙げたうえで，アイルランド系の「ソシアル・アスレティック・クラブ」のメンバー（町のチンピラ集団と言ってよい）がいなければ，人種暴動は最初の喧嘩で終わっていただろう」と報告している。

②　シカゴのアイルランド系地区の形成と差別された経験

20 世紀の初頭，シカゴの縄張り区画は厳重で，後にやってきた移民たちにその縄張りについて教えたのはアイルランド系移民集団だった。

1830 年代から 40 年代にシカゴのブリッジポートの狭い地区に押し込められたアイルランド系移民は，運河建設の土木工事にかかわり，そのあと河川の土手建設，鉄道関連工事，さらに精肉産業，鉄鋼業，建設産業に従事するためにシカゴ全域に拡散した。1870 年代には，シカゴの全人口の 4 分の 1 を占めた彼らは，シカゴの東西南北に広く広がってその居住区を形成した。

彼らが政治的影響力を持てた原因は，彼らがシカゴ全域に拡散していたこと，英語が使えたこと，アイルランドにいたころから政治的経験があったこと，そして何よりも強力で大きなコネの網の目を使ったことだった。

人口の半分以上が犠牲になったアイルランドでの1840年代のジャガイモ飢饉の悲惨な経験は，彼らの文化的傷跡として後々まで残り，彼らは，新世界の都市社会で断固として自分たちの場を確保しようと決意していた。彼らがこのシカゴに入ってきたときには，都市の公的場面や仕事でひどく差別され，プロテスタントの暴徒に居住区や教会が襲われもした。アイルランド系移民は，怠惰で堕落し飲んだくれだと非難され続けた。1855年には，カソリック・アイルランド系移民排斥を主張するノーナッシング党がシカゴの政治を牛耳った。

その結果,アイルランド系は,自分たちだけで結束して自分たちのコミュニティーを一世代のうちに生み出した。

③　後から入ってきた者に縄張りを実力で教え込んだのはアイルランド系ギャング

19世紀末にコミュニティーを形成した彼らは，自分たちの街角を軽蔑される場から，力を誇示する場に変えた。後から入ってきた移民たちは，彼らの言うことに従って，町の表通りを避け，裏道を使う方が賢いことを学んだ。こうして彼ら新移民は現場での経験を通してシカゴの本当の地図を学んだのである。

縄張りの区画は極めて厳格で，アイルランド系移民の若者の自警団的犯罪組織が町を牛耳っており，アイルランド系以外の人々は，自分たちの区画以外を出歩くのは危険だった。エスニック集団のブロックごとのチンピラ同士の暴力的衝突は，自然発生的に遊び場から始まったが，最終的には縄張りを支配する「アスレティック・クラブ」を名乗るかなり大きな暴力集団につながっていた。

彼らが住んでいたシカゴのウェストサイド地区は，全国でも最も犯罪発生率が高い地区の一つで，子供たちは小さな時から犯罪と暴力の中で育っ

た。多くの暴力は，エスニック集団の地域の間で起こった。ギャングは新しく入って来た移民たちを次第に取り込んでいったが，アイルランド系移民は，20 世紀に入って居住区の少数派になったずっと後までドイツ系，イタリア系，ユダヤ系移民に襲いかかった。

④　ユダヤ人や他のエスニック集団との関係

アイルランド本国では，ユダヤ人は少数しかいなかったので反ユダヤ主義はほとんど見られなかったが，彼らはアメリカの大都市で反ユダヤ主義を身につけた。ユダヤ系移民の方もアイルランド系移民に対して，「酔っ払いの浪費家」といった軽蔑感を抱いていた。

アイルランド系は，街角での喧嘩が得意で，他のエスニック集団の若者たちは仕事に行くにも遊びに行くにも彼らを避けて裏道を選んだ。1920 年代以後，アイルランド系ギャングは，他の移民集団を吸収して行くが，エスニック間の縄張りはなおはっきり残った。

⑤　過密な都市空間における若者たちの縄張り争い

少なくとも 20 年代までは，白人エスニック集団や黒人が過密な労働者階級居住区の公園や水泳プール，ビーチでお互いに接することがしばしばあり，喧嘩の多くは，ここで起こった。世紀転換期に移民の大量到来で人口は膨れ上がり，当時の若者たちにとっては，公園やプール，ビーチは口うるさい親や過密居住区を逃れ，ともに交流して楽しむ唯一の場所だった。子供たちは，危険で汚い道路や空き地，工場の庭などに場所を見つけては遊んだ。アイルランド系，ドイツ系，イタリア系，黒人などの移住第 2 世代にとっては，街角が遊び場だった。

シカゴでは，厳寒の冬にはギャングはあまり動かないが，夏に活発に動き出し，若者たちは，街角やビーチに繰り出した。1919 年夏のシカゴ暴動は，サウスサイドのビーチでの人種間境界線での衝突が発火点だった。この人種暴動の後もミシガン湖畔のビーチは，人種間衝突の場であり続けた。

⑥　アイルランド系移民の特異な性格

アイルランド系移民は他のエスニック集団と混住していたが，20世紀に入ってかなりたった後も，しっかりと結束したカソリック教区共同体を維持し続け，政治活動や雇用確保，労働組合活動，時には犯罪のために共同して行動した。日常的には他の集団と交わっていても，彼らは，「アスレティック・クラブ」とか，民主党地区支部組織，教区教会などの組織に結集し，他の集団とははっきり区別される独自の社会的文化的集団を形成していた。彼らは自分たちだけの小さな独自の世界を持っていた。ある歴史家は，「シカゴでは，アイルランド系移民は，領域的には統合されていても社会的には隔離されていた」と表現している。

⑦　シカゴの反黒人・人種統合反対勢力の形成

アイルランド系アメリカ人の自己防衛的で強固な結束とシカゴの都市空間の人種的分断は，新移民の大量流入，さらに黒人の流入という新しい事態によって一層はっきりしてきた。

世界で最もコスモポリタンなこの都市で，アイルランド系は，最も偏狭な世界観を守っていた。このような偏狭な世界観は，後から入って来た集団にも引き継がれ，シカゴの居住区の黒人との人種統合に対する白人エスニック集団の抵抗となって現れた。

20世紀初頭には，多くのアイルランド系が混雑した都市中心部を出て，外延部に新しいカソリック居住区を作り始めた。あとからやって来たエスニック集団も第2次大戦後に同じ経過をたどった。郊外に移住した移民労働者階級はますますエスニックの枠を越えて宗教や人種による集団意識を持つようになっていた。こうして，第2次大戦後，日常的に英語を話す「白人エスニック」集団が形成され，集団間の分断線は，主に黒人を自分たち白人から隔離するラインになった。

2．アイルランド系移民「アスレティック・クラブ」あるいはギャング集団

①　チンピラ集団を基礎にした組織犯罪集団

シカゴの町が，多様な組織犯罪集団の地盤に分区されていたことはよく知られている。そのようなギャング集団は，よくイタリア系移民集団と結び付けて考えられてきたが，その起源はアイルランド系移民ギャング集団であり，20 世紀に入り次第にエスニックの壁を超えて組織されるようになった。その中核になっていたのは町のあちこちに散らばっていたアイルランド系移民第 2，第 3 世代の「アスレティック・クラブ」だった。

このクラブは，アイルランド系のスポーツ・クラブとして始まったが，実力による攻撃と地域の団結を重視する若者男性文化を基礎に盛んになった。こういう環境の下で，中核に犯罪者組織を据えた「アスレティック・クラブ」が街の隅々にまで影響力を伸ばし，自分たちの縄張りによそ者を近づけないようにしていた。

②　組織犯罪集団 Ragen's Colts

「アスレティック・クラブ」は，旧アイルランド系居住区全体でおよそ 7,000 人のメンバーを擁していたが，その中の最強集団だった「Ragen's Colts」は，町のチンピラ集団を基礎とした組織犯罪集団の典型例であり，同時に犯罪と政治の結びつきを象徴していた。この集団は，彼らの支持で市政府の重役に出世した Frank Ragen の庇護のもとに勢力を拡大し，1908 年から解散した 1927 年までシカゴのサウスサイドで政治，暴力，犯罪に深くかかわり続けた。この集団は 19 世紀にある小さな地区から出発したが，規模においても，組織力においても活動の多様性においても全く異質なものにまで成長していた。

アイルランド系精肉労働者をメンバーとして始まった Colts は，シカゴの最も暴力的な居住区を支配していた。第 1 次大戦時代にピークに達した彼らの勢力は 3,000 人弱だった。1920 年代には，彼らは休憩室，賭博場，

スポーツ用具を揃えた立派なクラブハウスを持ち，中ではよく銃撃事件が起こった。その下部組織は，民主党支部の準軍事組織であり，選挙の日はよく暴力沙汰にかかわった。その中核部分は，とくに1920年代の「ビール戦争時代」[4]には，サウスサイドやウェストサイドの犯罪組織として活躍した。

アル・カポネのギャングが，Coltsの本部を機関銃で襲撃し，メンバーを殺傷したが，のちにColtsのメンバーの幾人かはカポネ側に寝返った。しかし，Coltsのメンバーは，1919年暴動の後も，人種間境界線を守らせるためにそのメンバーを歩哨に立たせ続けた。

③　地域社会に「貢献する」活動にも取り組んだギャング集団

アイルランド系ギャングは，犯罪や暴力ばかりではなく，同時に町の世話役活動にも取り組んでいた。連中は，精肉地域の秩序維持にも貢献していたが，Coltsは不正選挙もやった。また，地域の貧しい子供たちのためにクリスマス・パーティーをやったり，貧しい人たちを助けたりして，住民から評判が良かった。このギャング集団は，能力のあるスポーツ選手（ランナー，フットボール選手，レスラー，ボクサー，腕相撲選手）や，密造酒販売人，政治的裏方などを擁していた。1917年10月には，Coltsは，ニグロ・リーグのアメリカン・ジャイアンツとの公開ゲームを主催した。クラブにはトロフィーがたくさん並んでいた。7月4日[5]のダンス・パーティーにはたくさんの住民が参加した。そして第1次大戦の際には，1,100人もの志願者を出したと，愛国者ぶりをこれ見よがしに宣伝した。

当時の犯罪学者たちは，彼らが地域の人たちの間でとても人気があり地元の誇りだと思われていたことを指摘している。大切なことは，Coltsや他の類似の集団は，アメリカの大都市の街角のギャングたちのモデルになったことである。しばしば地元の名望家の後援を受けたアスレティック・ク

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[4] 訳注：禁酒法時代のこと。

[5] 訳注：独立記念日。

ラブ方式は，後から入って来た移民集団とくにイタリア系移民の組織犯罪集団の組織方法として採用された。

④　警察官とギャング集団構成員は同じ地域の出身者で共謀関係にあった

Colts の発祥地区 Canaryville は，警察官や政治家を多く輩出していた地域だった。ある大物犯罪者が逮捕された際に，これを担当した警察当局者は彼の兄弟であり，これに介入した州議会議員も彼の別の兄弟だった。アイルランド系警察官とアイルランド系ギャングが共謀することはよくあることだった。1918 年アイルランド系警察官は，黒人居住区とアイルランド系居住区の間で，白人たちが黒人を襲った際には，見て見ぬふりをした。

⑤　禁酒法時代のギャングの多様化とアイルランド系の指導権維持

まもなく，ユダヤ人やイタリア人がこの地域に溢れだすと，彼らのギャング集団がアイルランド系の縄張りに入り込み，アイルランド系をその居住区や赤線地域から追い出し始めた。そこで再び凄惨なギャング同士の抗争が始まり，30 年代に入るとギャング集団のエスニックは多様になるが，なお禁酒法時代の不法ビール取引を仕切っていたのはアイルランド系だった。

⑥　アイルランド系移民と他のカソリック系移民との結束の試み

アイルランド系移民は，東欧系移民を軽蔑していたが，人種暴動の際には東欧系移民を巻き込もうと画策した。概して東欧系移民は白人と黒人の間の争いに加わろうとはしなかったが，ポーランド系移民とリトワニア系移民の居住区が放火され，これは黒人がやったのだとのうわさが流された。しかし，これはアイルランド系の指導下にカソリック系移民の結束を図ることを狙ってアイルランド系ギャングがやったものだった。連中は，ポーランド系，リトワニア系を暴動に巻き込もうとしたのだ。

1919 年人種暴動に対してポーランド人指導者は積極的に関与しなかった。放火に対して「復讐するな，扇動者に乗せられるな，黒人大迫害の責

めを負わせられるな」と神父は説教したが，まもなくポーランド人もアイルランド系ギャングから人種差別の観念を伝染させられた。第2次大戦以後，ポーランド人やスラブ系の第2，第3世代が人種暴動の先頭に立つようになった。

3．シカゴの人種隔離社会形成の担い手

①　白人ギャングの登場，黒人，ラティノ系ギャングの登場

1920年代に入るとギャング集団は，特定のエスニックに集中せず，多くのエスニック出身者を含むようになっていった。30年代には，イタリア系，ポーランド系が有力になっていく。黒人ギャングとラティノ系ギャングが登場するのは，第2次大戦後である。

②　黒人を排除することによって「白人」になり「アメリカ人」になった移民たち

後々までアイルランド型縄張り争いの慣行は引き継がれた。その担い手は，スポーツ，政治，ダンス，暴力，犯罪活動の拠点としての「アスレティック・クラブ」型ギャング集団だった。

1920年代までは東欧系移民の黒人に対する暴力はまれにしかなかったが，その後アイルランド型暴力の先頭に立ったのは彼らだった。アイルランド系の人種主義を身につけて彼らは「アメリカ化」されたのである。精肉産業におけるメキシコ系移民に対するポーランド系移民による襲撃は1920年代に始まった。ポーランド系移民は，都市の街角で有色人種を攻撃することによって「白人」になり「アメリカ人」になったのである。

1920年代に黒人が大量に入ってくるようになると，白人エスニック集団は一体化し，黒人対白人の境界線が前面に出てくるようになった。白人エスニック集団は，お互いに争うのではなく，白人として結束して黒人と対決するようになった。アイルランド系移民が指導するカソリックの白人移民集団の結束が求められ，黒人との空間的隔離が図られた。

街角のアイルランド系ギャング集団の行動は，強制的アメリカ化の一つの象徴である。

4．結　　び

「何がアメリカ人なのか」についての固定的な答えはない。何世代にもわたり移民たちがその答えを変容させてきた。アイルランド系移民は，後から入ってくる移民たちを排除しつつ自分たちの社会に統合し，何百万もの人々は，アイルランド系住民と接触することを通じてアメリカ人となった。アイルランド系アメリカ人は，多エスニックなアメリカの大都市社会を形成する上で枢要な役割を果たした。

〈参考資料〉

"The Irish and the Making of Multi-Ethnic Chicago"

The Jewish garment worker Abraham Bisno remembered that in the area around Chicago's West Side ghetto at the end of the nineteenth century his Irish neighbors were not much better off than his own Jewish immigrants. "[T]he only point to their **advantage**," Bisno recalled, "was that they were older immigrants and knew more about America." "Though surrounded by Poles and Italians," the Jewish writer Harry Golden recalled of his Lower East Side neighborhood, "it was the Irish and the Irish alone we Jews admired... we identified the Irishman not only with the English language but also with the image of what an American looked like. The Irish were the cops and the firemen and the ballplayers. Although the immigrant Jew and the Irish poor did not get along well, these Irish were still the figures Jewish immigrants wanted to emulate."[i]

However much they might have liked to, new immigrants arriving in the United States around the turn of the century found it difficult to avoid the Irish. More than three million immigrants entered the United States from Ireland between 1840 and 1890. By the time an estimated **five million first and second-generation Irish** had settled in the country at the turn of the century, the sources of immigration had shifted with eighteen million **"new immigrants"** arriving, largely from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, between 1890 and 1920.[ii] Migrant peoples certainly encountered a **range** of ethnic groups and the greatest influences for their acculturation likely derived from their **own** communities. But whether they wanted to save their souls, get a drink, or find a job, the newcomers made their way in an urban world that seemed to

be run by the Irish who played a significant role in the newcomers' "Americanization". As a result the new multi-ethnic American city of the early twentieth century assumed a peculiarly Hibernian cast.

Above all, the American Irish were city people. In many regions of the East and Midwest, the German American population was actually larger, but the Irish were more concentrated in the cities — about 90 per cent by 1920 —— and certainly more visible. "In a single generation," the Irish American writer Peter Quinn observes, "the Irish went from the most rural people in Western Europe to the most urbanized in North America."[iii] As a **result**, came into close contact with later immigrants and migrant peoples of color.[iv]

The book I've just finished, *The Irish Way*, is a study of Irish Catholics, particularly the second and third generations — those who were shaped not in the Irish countryside but in the streets of America's largest cities between the late nineteenth century and the Great Depression — and of later Irish immigrants, those who arrived long after the Great Famine of the 1840s. But it is **not** a story of the Irish alone. It is an **"inter-ethnic" history** that tracks relations with other ethnic and racial groups with whom they shared neighborhoods, workplaces, churches, and other urban institutions.

What we call ***ethnic identity*** in the United States emerged from the dynamic relationships *between* ethnic groups, rather than from a particular group's own distinct history and traditions. It can only be understood in the context of such interaction.[v]

Various ethnic cultures remained vital, offering immigrants their most important resources in their efforts to settle in. But a gradual ***acculturation*** of newer immigrants —— a process by which they acquired knowledge and skills that allowed them to deal with their new city worlds —— was central to their experience. Sometimes this

"Americanization" occurred in settlement houses, night school classes, and corporate programs where middle class elites pressed WASP values on working-class immigrants. But most immigrants came to understand their new city worlds less through such **formal** programs than through **informal** contacts with the Irish and other experienced working-class Americans from diverse ethnic backgrounds in a variety of settings. Understanding this process is a key to understanding the rise of the multi-ethnic city in the United States.[vi]

The Irish Way considers this dynamic everyday process of "Americanization from the bottom, up" in a wide variety of urban spaces ── the parish church, the giant factory, the urban political machine, the vaudeville theatre. This evening I would like to share with you some observations on one strangely neglected venue for this grittier form of "Americanization" ― the city street and one ubiquitous vehicle for this everyday socialization in Chicago, the Irish social athletic club or street gang.

The Street

In the summer of 1918 on his first Sunday in Chicago, a teen-aged Langston Hughes, future playwright, poet, and writer, took a walk. The city's south side "Black Belt" was already taking on the character of what African American sociologists came to call "Black Metropolis" ― a city in itself separated from white Chicago by a series of invisible lines. Over-crowded, the Black Belt was filling up with thousands of migrants from the Deep South, and State Street was buzzing with theatres, restaurants, dance halls, and cabarets. "Midnight," Hughes recalled, "was like day." Accustomed to the more subtle racism of Lawrence, Kansas, the young man unwittingly crossed what the Chicago cops called a **"deadline"** along Wentworth Avenue which

separated the Black Belt from the old Irish American neighborhood of Bridgeport. A gang of white boys quickly set upon Hughes and beat him, explaining simply "they didn't allow niggers in that neighborhood."[vii] Langston Hughes survived to become a major figure in American literature and an astute observer of race and race relations in the American city. Other Black youth in these years were not so fortunate.

Cities throughout the country exploded in racial violence over the summer of 1919. Assessing the causes for the riot, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations emphasized severe over-crowding, a lack of recreational facilities, and competition for jobs and political influence, but investigators also observed the peculiarly important role played by Irish American social athletic clubs, what we would recognize today as street gangs. "But for them," the Commission concluded, "it is doubtful if the riot would have gone beyond the first clash."[viii]

Scholars think about urban space and its uses in abstract theoretical terms, but it was experienced in visceral ways every day by city youth and others navigating its complexities. In the early twentieth century, it was often the Irish with their strong sense of turf who taught later migrants the social significance of these dividing lines. In the process, they shaped the ethnic realities of city life.

The ubiquity of the Irish in this process stems in part from the timing and conditions of their own arrival and socialization in the city. In Chicago, thousands of Irish immigrants crowded into the little settlement of Bridgeport in the 1830s and 1840s, taking up construction jobs on a giant public works project, the Illinois and Michigan Canal. When they had finished digging the canal, they fanned out through the city along the banks of the river and Chicago's burgeoning railroad system, laying and maintaining track or working in the city's meat

packing plants, steel mills, and building construction sites.[ix]

The Irish tended to spread out. More than other immigrants, they remained scattered throughout the inner city, often living in close proximity to a welter of other ethnic groups. In turn-of-the-century Chicago, the Irish were the most widely dispersed of the city's ten major ethnic groups. A generation later, Irish parishes remained sprinkled through the length and breadth of the city — from the Chicago steel mills on the far South Side to the boundary with Evanston on the North.[x] By 1870 they represented about a fourth of the city's population. Irish **political influence** rested in part on this dispersion through wards around the city, as well as on their facility in English, their political experience in Ireland, and above all on an extensive networking that yielded cultural and political capital.

The searing experience of the Great Famine on the 1840s haunted Irish American communities. The human dimensions of this catastrophe, which cost Ireland more than half of its population, help to explain the grim determination with which Irish people went about carving out a place for themselves in urban society. The Famine's "shadow" which remained alive for millions of Irish Americans as in the community's vibrant oral traditions resulted in a culture that mixed aggressiveness and defensiveness, a strong sense of grievance and a sensitivity to any slight, with a strong ambition to make a place for the Irish in the new world.[xi]

Their **reception** in the nineteenth century American city **also** helps to explain the **defensive** quality of Irish American culture. They were excluded from much of the cities' public life and many jobs, their neighborhoods and churches attacked by Protestant mobs. Mid nineteenth century commentators referred to a "Celtic mind" and something they termed "Irishism" — "an alleged condition of degradation

and depravity habitual to immigrants and maybe even their children."[xii] In Chicago, an anti-immigrant Know Nothing party briefly won control of the city government in 1855 with an appeal to xenophobia, temperance sentiment, and anti-Catholicism. "Who does not know," mayoral candidate Levi Boone thundered in the election that year, "that the most depraved, debased, worthless and irredeemable drunkards and sots which curse the community are Irish Catholics?"[xiii] Excluded from much of the city's public life, the immigrants fell back upon their own communities and institutions and built a dense network of associations that yielded great power and influence in little more than a generation.

Black and immigrant youth learned from the Irish gangs that their city worlds were carved into distinct ethnic enclaves, and it was generally advisable to keep to one's own. The Irish had themselves been relegated to city slums for a generation or more and by the end of the nineteenth century they had "turned their association with city streets from a slight into a strength." "In the city," writes Peter Quinn, "whoever the streets belong to gets to define what it takes to belong."[xiv] In big cities like New York and Chicago, many of these streets belonged to the Irish by the time other European immigrants and Mexican and Black migrants arrived. As they went about the city, the newcomers acquired imaginary city maps based on very real neighborhood boundaries.

Deadlines could be quite precise. "Remember it's the Ragen's Colts you're dealing with," a gang of Irish youth warned a trespasser. "We have two thousand members between Halsted and Cottage Grove, and Forty-third and Sixty-third streets. We intend to run this district."[xv] Recalling his South Side neighborhood, Chicago's future postal commissioner Henry McGee Jr. remembered its exact dimen-

sions decades later. "There was a sense of great danger in walking beyond the tracks [at the end of our block]. I grew up with a consciousness that Chicago was not safe outside of the black areas."[xvi]

The term "deadline" was itself an Irish American invention. Most attribute the term to Thomas J. Byrnes. A New York detective who is often identified as the pioneer of modern urban detective work, Byrnes was an Irish American success story. Arriving in New York as an infant, Byrnes grew up in Lower Manhattan. After serving in a volunteer fire department and in the Civil War, he rose quickly through the ranks of the New York Police Department, largely through astute self-promotion. He was named chief of detectives in 1880 and superintendent in 1892. When messengers and business people were repeatedly victimized by pickpockets and robbers in the city's financial district, Byrnes drew a "deadline" at Fulton and Liberty Streets and declared the entire area below that line off bounds to criminals. Officers arrested on sight not only criminals but also the many homeless people and itinerant workers who slept in the Battery.[xvii] The term likely spread from Irish American policemen into general use in cities across the country.

Byrnes is also given credit for coming up with the "third degree," a particularly intense form of criminal interrogation, and the "rogue's gallery," a large collection of photographs maintained in police headquarters for the purposes of identifying known criminals.

Most inter-ethnic violence was spontaneous and defensive. In their origins, Gangs often involved little more than the adolescent and teen age boys of a particular block rising to defend their territory against a comparable group from another block. Chicago gangs tended to develop locally and spontaneously from play groups and then eventually link up as social athletic clubs to control their "turf."

Indeed, it was only in opposition to "invading" groups that such gangs developed firm identities and some level of organization.[xviii]

The limits of inter-ethnic mixing were apparent in what the *Chicago Tribune* in 1910 called "the Wickedest District in the World." The Maxwell Street area on Chicago's old West Side did boast the second highest crime rate of any police court in the nation at the turn of the century, most of it due to juvenile delinquency. "Murderers, robbers and thieves of the worst kind are here born, reared and grow to maturity in numbers that far exceed the record of any similar district anywhere on the face of the globe," the *Tribune* claimed. As in other parts of Chicago and New York, much of the violence was territorial and gangs gradually incorporated newer ethnic groups as they settled in. But Irish gangs terrorized Germans, Italians, Jews, and other groups until the turn of the century —— long after they had become a minority in the neighborhood.[xix]

When the Abraham Bisno's family arrived in the Maxwell Street ghetto, "the entire neighborhood seldom went three or four blocks out of their familiar ways... In our immediate neighborhood, the population was Irish... Parents would not allow their children out of sight.... Jews with whiskers were continually assaulted as they went along..." Families who moved a bit west or south beyond the ghetto were attacked, and confrontations between Jewish and Irish youth were common. "When the Irish won, it wasn't safe to show your face on the street for almost a week..."[xx]

Some of the conflict in Bisno's Maxwell Street neighborhood, on the Lower East Side of New York, and in other city neighborhoods found its roots in anti-Semitism. [Interestingly, the Irish had experienced little anti-Semitic conflict in the old world, in part because Ireland's Jewish population never exceeded a few thousand, most of

them concentrated in Dublin. Hostility was rare and seldom involved violence. To be sure, as in many societies, the degree of acceptance often depended upon the degree of assimilation, but the weakness of anti-semitism in Irish society strongly suggests that it was more a product of the American city than of Irish society.]

Not surprisingly, many Jews developed negative impressions of the Irish. An intensive study of one predominantly Irish block in turn-of-the-century Harlem found that Jews considered their Irish neighbors "drunken", "thriftless", and "careless".[xxi] Such attitudes were common enough that "Irish jokes" circulated among Jews and a derogatory Yiddish word, ***betzemer***, emerged to describe Irish Americans.[xxii]

As others moved into their neighborhoods, the Irish displayed a special interest in and talent for street fighting. "Among the Irish," wrote University of Chicago sociologist Frederic Thrasher, "fighting has been described as a sort of national habit." They defined their enemies in both territorial and ethnic terms. Thrasher observed that most other gangs were defensive, but Irish gangs "seem[ed] to look for trouble."[xxiii] In many cities Italian, Jewish, and other youth made it a point to avoid Irish enclaves employing back streets on their way to work or play.[xxiv]

Irish gangs gradually absorbed other ethnic groups from the 1920s on, but some ethnic boundaries remained rather starkly drawn. "There seems to be a 'deadline' near 69th and Robey for the pure Italians...," a University of Chicago student wrote concerning a portion of Englewood on the city's South Side. "It is never safe for an individual Italian to wander near this district." The "Gimlets," the largely Irish gang who enforced this deadline, also included young men who were the products of marriages between Germans and Irish ── but no Italians. The Gimlets seemed to live to fight: "If they appear in the

playground," the student warned, "get your gang as there will be trouble."[xxv]

Playing in the Street

If many of these battles erupted in parks, it was because such space was so rare until at least the twenties. The few parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and beaches often brought a Black and variety of white ethnic groups together in crowded working-class neighborhoods.[xxvi] The population of New York's Lower East Side, already densely-packed in the late nineteenth century, exploded around the turn of the century, climbing from 339,430 in 1890 to 531,615 in 1910. The rare park, swimming pool, or beach represented not only refuges from over-crowded tenement apartments and nagging immigrant parents, but also common ground for recreational activities, sites for relations between the sexes and, in some cases, the only place to take a bath.[xxvii]

Before the expansion of public facilities, children organized their games in city streets and alleys, abandoned lots and industrial sites — wherever they found space. With the exception of a few irregular spots below Fourteenth Street, social worker Pauline Goldmark reported in 1914, "the entire West Side of Manhattan from Seventy-second Street to the Battery is arid, desolate...smoke stained." In "Hell's Kitchen" on Manhattan's West Side, a densely populated stretch of city residential blocks hemmed in by docks, slaughterhouses, soap and glue factories, warehouses, and stables, "the blocks swarm[ed] with children who have no other playground." Neighborhood youth, heavily drawn from second generation Irish and Germans but also including smaller numbers of Italians and African Americans, saw the streets as their "natural playground". Most of this street play was technically illegal, which brought the boys into conflict with shopkeepers and

police.　Hatred of the police became a sort of tradition among the Irish and other groups in the neighborhood.[xxviii]

With recreational venues at a premium, these places could become contested terrain with the divisions recognized all along the color line. In stifling summers youth from the various ethnic communities fled to city beaches.　But often the Irish and later other gangs had already staked out their turf.　When Jewish, Italian, and Lithuanian immigrants sought relief at South Boston beaches, for example, they encountered hostile Irish boys who considered these "their" beaches.

While trouble might break out at any moment, Chicago's rather brutal winters meant that gangs were more active and violence more common during the summer months when city youth poured into the streets and along the lakefront.　It was hardly a coincidence that the great Chicago Race Riot of 1919 had its roots in a confrontation over the informal but very real racial boundaries at a South Side beach.[xxix] What is less often recognized is the fact that the lakefront beaches continued to be racial battleground for generations **after** the riot.

For these same reasons, Chicago's Washington Park became a great symbol of racial division in the interwar years.　In James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan*, a fictional but realistic saga of early twentieth century Irish working-class life, Washington Park provided the venue for frequent clashes - as the area surrounding the park changed from largely Irish to more ethnically-mixed and then, increasingly, African American.　When he bought their building, Studs's father Patrick recalls, "Wabash Avenue had been a nice, decent, respectable street... But now, well, niggers and kikes were getting in..."[xxx]　In fact, the neighborhood's Black population grew from 15 to 92 per cent in the decade following the Great Migration and World War One.[xxxi]　By the World War II years, the South Side "deadlines" had shifted further

south but they remained remarkably precise and well recognized.

Irish Parochialism

In New York, Chicago, Boston, and other cities, the Irish lived among other ethnic groups, yet observers noted a distinctive communal quality to Irish neighborhoods. Such bonds were strongly reinforced well into the twentieth century by a tightly knit parish life, but also intertwined with politics, work, unionism, and, sometimes, crime. Even where they mingled daily with other ethnic groups, the Irish achieved a distinct and highly organized social and cultural life around their central institutions, notably the social athletic club, the Democratic ward organization, and the parish church. James T. Farrell recalled that his Chicago neighborhoods "possessed something of the character of a small town. They were little worlds of their own."[xxxii] While Irish and other ethnic enclaves might resemble self-contained villages, Chicago historian Dominic Pacyga aptly describes such communities as "**spatially** integrated, but *socially* segregated."[xxxiii] It was almost as if the very presence of diverse peoples accentuated Irish Americans' attachment to their particular piece of earth — and the institutions around which it was organized. Such communal relationships provided the basis for a variety voluntary organizations, labor unions, and political parties in the early twentieth century and beyond. They also explain how Irish Americans who grew up amidst great ethnic diversity could recall much later that "everybody was Irish".[xxxiv]

It was the combination of this dense network of communal relationships and the new context of massive immigration and Black migration, that explains the decidedly defensive quality of Irish American communities and the broader racialization of urban space in Chicago. Outsiders were perceived as threats and gangs protected the

communal turf. Residing in some of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, Irish Americans could exhibit remarkably parochial worldviews. This parochial conception of urban space was passed on to later immigrant groups and shaped opposition to neighborhood racial integration by Chicago Catholics from a variety of ethnic backgrounds.[xxxv]

By the early twentieth century, many Irish were leaving congested inner city neighborhoods to construct new parish communities in outlying areas. Newer immigrants did the same in the post WWII year, and once again they found the Irish. As ethnic working-class neighborhoods gradually became more diverse and parishes increasingly served ethnically-mixed clienteles, this outward migration provided the basis for broader identities based on religion and race, a process sociologists have termed "spatial assimilation."[xxxvi] Ethnic concentrations and culture continued to thrive in such neighborhoods and a "white ethnic" identity began to emerge by postwar era, but these communities remained **racially** segregated.

From Street Gang to Organized Crime in the "Old Neighborhood"

Organized crime syndicates became famous for carving the city up into various fiefdoms. Although such gangs are commonly associated with Italian immigrants, their origins often lay in older Irish communities and they were increasingly inter-ethnic over the course of the early twentieth century.[xxxvii] Street gangs sometimes overlapped with these more serious criminal elements. Chicago's Canaryville provides an example of this blurring of casual violence and organized crime. A characteristic that made the neighborhood a "pretty tough hole," according to one Irish cop, was the proliferation of "athletic clubs" among second and third generation Irish youth. The social athletic

club, which likely grew from early Gaelic sports groups among the immigrant Irish, thrived on a masculine youth culture with a premium on physical aggression and territorial solidarity. In this environment, a hard-core criminal element, the "Canaryville School of Gunmen," blended in with the more ubiquitous athletic clubs to make the neighborhood a forbidding place for outsiders.[xxxviii]

No group exemplified this transformation from neighborhood gang to organized crime or the connections between crime and politics better than Ragen's Colts, one of many social athletic clubs in the older Irish neighborhoods with a combined membership of about 7,000. The group **thrived** under the patronage of Frank Ragen who rose to be a county commissioner with its support. From 1908 until their disbanding in August 1927, the Colts remained deeply involved in politics, violence, and crime on Chicago's South Side. Growing from roots in Canaryville, they differed from nineteenth century Irish gangs in their size, organization, and the diversity of their operations.[xxxix]

Recruiting sons of Irish stockyards workers, the Colts dominated one of the city's toughest neighborhoods. Their motto was, "Hit me and you hit two thousand." At their height in the World War One era, their membership closer to **3,000**. In the 1920s they ran a substantial clubhouse equipped with parlors, a pool room, and athletic equipment where shootings occurred frequently. A sub-group acted as the military arm of the local Democratic Party and was frequently implicated in election-day violence. A smaller, hard core element provided muscle for organized crime on the South and West Sides, especially during the "Beer Wars" of the twenties. After one shoot-out inside the clubhouse, police found shotguns, pistols, ammunition, and dynamite in an open safe. Al Capone's gang raked the Colts' headquarters with machine guns, killing one member and wounding another, but later

some members were signed on with Capone against other Irish gangsters.[xl] The Colts also operated as what one urban historian has termed "racial sentinels", helping to enforce the racial boundaries on the South Side long before and after the 1919 race riot.

But the significance of the Irish street gang lies in the fact that it embraced some ***legitimate*** aims and functions, not just violence and crime, though in large American cities of the era, the lines between the two were often blurred. Commissioner Ragen himself conceded that "there was a rough element among them, but they were also a force for good in the stockyards district."[xli] The Colts helped to rig elections, but they also held Christmas parties for the neighborhood children and had a good reputation for helping the poor. They fielded talented runners, football players, wrestlers, and boxers as well as strong arm men, bootleggers, and political fixers. As late as October 1917 the Colts played a series of exhibition games against the American Giants of the Negro League. The trophies lining their clubhouse shelves testified to their athletic prowess. Thousands attended their dances and July Fourth picnics, and they were ostentatiously patriotic, claiming that 1,100 members volunteered for service in World War One.[xlii]

A contemporary criminologist stressed the genuine popularity of the gangster, "homegrown in the neighborhood gang, idealized in the morality of the neighborhood."[xliii] The Colts' strong sense of turf and loyalty to community ties, their masculinist bravado, and their mixture of sports, politics, and a variety of rackets all thrived in the heart of the Irish American community. Most importantly, the Colts and groups like them provided a model for other gangs on the streets of American cities. The concept of the social athletic club, often under the sponsorship of neighborhood notables, spread to later immigrant groups, especially the Italians, as a site for socializing and groups sports — and a

basis for gangs and, later, for organized crime.[xliv]

The overlap based on neighborhood ties between organized crime and civic authority is conveyed by the fact that Canaryville contributed a disproportionate number of *both* gangsters *and* Chicago policemen and politicians. In a case where strong-arm robber Patrick O'Grady was arrested for shooting a taxi driver, his brother was the detective lieutenant in charge of the case and another brother intervened as a member of the state legislature. Allegations of collusion between Irish cops and Irish gangs were common. In 1918, Irish policemen simply failed to respond when white taxi drivers and a group of "sluggers" attacked Blacks in the vicinity of White Sox Park, near the boundary between Bridgeport and the Black Belt. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations concluded that this sort of collusion explained the ability of the Colts and other Bridgeport and Canaryville gangs to attack African Americans with such impunity during the Chicago Race Riot of 1919. "They are allowed to operate free from police interference," the *Chicago Defender*, Chicago's Black daily, observed of the Colts.[xlv]

As neighborhoods changed and new ethnic groups poured into the cities, Jewish and Italian gangsters first entered the old Irish gangs as enforcers and assassins and then began to muscle the Irish out of the immigrant neighborhoods and the red light districts. Some older Irish criminals retired, leaving the trade to the newcomers, but many of the younger ones, now often members of ethnically diverse gangs, decided to fight it out, leading to bloody wars in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and other cities. As late as the thirties, a Chicago sociologist's long list of "Who's Who in Gangland" included a diverse collection of nationalities, but most of the names were Irish. Similar Irish American underworlds thrived in Boston and New York where an inter-ethnic "Com-

bine" under Irish leadership controlled much of the illicit beer trade during Prohibition there.[xlvi]

Race Riot

Chicago's bloody 1919 race riot reveals what was at stake in the informal process by which an earlier generation of gang members integrated newcomers. While OFTEN Ragen's Colts demonstrated a racist attitude toward Eastern European immigrants, they also pursued a strategy to draw them into the conflict. The Colts and other Irish social athletic clubs were responsible for much of the riot violence. Seeing the conflict as between white and Black Americans, most recent immigrants had decided to sit it out. "It was evident during the riot," settlement house reformer Mary McDowell observed, "that our Polish neighbors were not the element that committed the violence; it was committed by the second and third generation young men from the 'athletic clubs'..."[xlvii]

A few days into the riot a huge fire broke out destroying forty-nine homes in the heavily Polish and Lithuanian neighborhood "Back of the Yards" and rumors spread that Blacks were responsible. Instead, a grand jury, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, and McDowell all agreed that the fire, like most of the violence against African Americans, originated with the Colts and other Irish gangs. They had blackened their faces in order to purposely mislead the fire victims, hoping they would join in the racial violence.[xlviii]

On one level the Colts were exercising a kind of inclusion, hoping to draw Poles and Lithuanians into a white alliance that crossed ethnic lines. But the strategy also suggested where the newcomers were likely to fit in the implied racial hierarchy. The fire betrayed a cynical contempt on the part of some Irish American youth for the impoveri-

shed Polish and Lithuanian immigrants whose homes they burned.[xlix]

But the Colts also posed as protectors of the broader Catholic immigrant community. When an anti-Catholic speaker was advertised on the far north side, they showed up in force and pelted the stage with bricks, rotten vegetables, and folding chairs even before the program had begun.[l] In September 1921, they led a demonstration of three thousand against the Ku Klux Klan, hanging a hooded figure in effigy. Like their burning of Slavic families' homes "Back of the Yards," their street theatre aimed to unite Catholic immigrants behind Irish American leaders.

New immigrant communities reacted ambivalently to all this. During Chicago's 1919 race riot, Polish community leaders sent mixed messages, but some warned against the contagion of race hatred. Father Louis Grudzinski, one of Chicago *Polonia's* most influential clerics, urged his flock to hold back from any racial violence. Even after Polish homes were burned in the conflict, Grudzinksi reminded his parishioners of their long standing conflicts with the neighboring Irish. He insisted, in words they would be sure to understand, that his parishioners refrain from revenge: "We must not be moved by agitators and then be condemned for having caused the black ***pogrom***."[li]

In the longer term, however, the racial knowledge purveyed by Irish American gangs struck roots in the newer immigrant communities. While Chicago's huge Polish community showed remarkably little tension or conflict with Blacks in the early twentieth century, race riots in the city after World War Two showed many more Poles and other second and third generation Slavic groups involved in these communal riots.[lii]

White Ethnic Gangs

Over half of the gangs in Frederic Thrasher's 1920s sample were predominantly of one nationality, but forty per cent of them were white gangs of mixed nationality, and this was clearly a growing trend. Street gangs and social athletic clubs continued to proliferate during the interwar years, but now it was a burgeoning generation of immigrant youth that made up most of them, not the Irish. By the early thirties, crowds of young men thronged the street corners and store fronts of Polish, Italian, and other neighborhoods. In 1935 a Chicago sociology student counted twenty gangs representing nearly one thousand boys in a six-by-nine block neighborhood "Little Sicily." Another Italian neighborhood on the Northwest Side hosted seventy-five distinct gangs around the same time. So many gangs emerged in Polish neighborhoods that the ethnic group became closely associated in the minds of reformers and the public with juvenile delinquency.[liii] Largely missing from this sketch of diverse gangs are African Americans who remained far less likely to organize gangs than many second and third generation European immigrants. Only after World War Two, in the wake of massive new African American and Latino migrations, did large street gangs spread widely to communities of color.[liv]

While later immigrant groups certainly brought all of their own their own criminal traditions with them, the Irish social athletic club became the model for the modern urban street gang. Gang names and deadlines often were passed on and then retained long after the Irish had lost their majority status in a neighborhood. "Fuller Park is an old Irish community which lies south and east of the Stockyards," University of Chicago researchers wrote in the 1930s. "While Italians, Mexicans and Poles have invaded the area, the patterns of the old Irish gangs are still prevalent, and the boys still meet in basement and

storefront clubrooms." Italian, Polish, and other "Social Athletic Clubs" mixed sports, politics, music and dance with neighborhood violence and, often, criminal activity.[lv]

Later immigrants, who came with little awareness of American racial conventions, also modeled Irish American conflict with African Americans. Violence against Blacks was rare in Eastern European communities the years before the 1920s, but the "Murderers," a gang of second generation Poles Back of the Yards, were responsible for numerous attacks on Black packinghouse workers in the early twenties. Such actions reflected a racist conventional wisdom among the Irish and other more "Americanized" youth.[lvi] When Mexican immigrants entered the Stockyards and the South Chicago steel mill district in large numbers in the 1920s, they met with violent resistance from Polish street gangs who chased them out of playgrounds and off neighborhood streets. "For the Poles and other new immigrant groups around the Back of the Yards and elsewhere in the city," historian Andrew Diamond writes, "the Irish athletic clubs of the 1910s and 1920s were standard bearers of Americanization, and their actions against both Blacks and new ethnic groups provided vivid demonstrations of the meaning and power of whiteness and Americanism on the city streets."[lvii]

In the context of heavy Black migration from the 1920s, territorial gangs could and did coalesce on the basis of broader racial identities and old deadlines became racialized along Black and whites lines. Once they perceived a racial threat, warring "white" gangs embraced notions of racial solidarity. As newer ethnic groups settled into Bridgeport, the old Irish gangs became increasingly mixed with Italians, Poles, and other ethnic groups and African Americans referred to them all as "Mickies." These pan-ethnic white gangs, often led by

Irish-Americans, enforced segregation in housing, parks and recreational facilities, and public spaces outside the Black Belt — just as the homogeneous Irish gangs had before them.[lviii]

The fitful development of white ethnic gangs, then, was one more way that recent immigrants absorbed from the Irish a racialized map of the city, a range of attitudes about people of color, and a language of racial exclusion.

The Irish American street gang represented a kind of coercive Americanization. By carving the city up into distinct ethnic "turfs" and defending their own assiduously, Irish gangs reinforced a strong sense of territoriality among later migrants. Even as they fought newer immigrant youth and, later, as they gradually integrated them into broader white ethnic gangs, the Irish conveyed a racialized vision of the city. In concrete ways, they taught more recent immigrants about racial distinctions embedded in the geography of city neighborhoods.[lix]

Recent immigrants learned this lesson in urban geography only too well. In Chicago, New York, and elsewhere, violence from existing Irish street gangs encouraged the formation of comparable gangs by Italians and Jews and, eventually, ethnically mixed gangs. In turn, the large Black and Latino gangs of more recent vintage find their roots in opposition to these earlier white ethnic gangs.

But the modern street gang was only one legacy of the Irish. *The Irish Way* also argues for the central importance of Irish Americans in the creation of other, more encouraging features of a new inter-ethnic culture in cities like Chicago —— an urban lexicon and slang; an ethnically and racially diverse labor movement; that quintessential urban ethnic institution, the political machine; and even an inter-ethnic forms of a new urban popular through musical comedy, vaudeville and

Tin Pan Alley lyrics, and urban realist writing.

The answer to the old question of what it means to be an American has never been static. Generations of immigrants have helped to transform the ideal. But if the second generation in the more recent immigrant communities was becoming American by the mid-twentieth city, it was also expanding what it meant to be 'American.'" The incorporation of immigrants' children created a more inclusive society that was panethnic rather than mainstream Anglo-Saxon in its character.[lx] The effects of Irish strategies —— those which restricted and excluded later migrants as well as those which sought to integrate them —— were etched in millions of individual contacts between Irish Americans and others. In building and employing these social bridges, Irish Americans played a vital role in the creation of the multiethnic American city.

Notes

[i] Harry Golden, "Preface," Hutchins Hapgood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarter of New York* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1902; reprinted, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), ix. See also, Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1962), 263; Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1890), 22.

[ii] Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (Harlow, UK, 2000), 131–141; Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990), 121–145; John Paul Bocock, "The Irish Conquest," *Forum* April 1894, 187.

[iii] Patrick Blessing, "Irish," in Stephan Thernstrom ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980), 530. On the Irish Americans as urban people, see David Doyle, "The Irish as Urban Pioneers in the

United States, 1850–1870," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10 (Fall 1990–Winter 1991): 36–53; and for their tendency to thrive in the early twentieth century city, Peter Quinn, *Looking for Jimmy: A Search for Irish America* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2007), 19–42, quotation, 51. See also Edward O'Donnell, "How the Irish Became Urban," *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 25, No. 2 (1999): 271–286; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Diaspora Comparisons and Irish-American Uniqueness, in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, Ed. Charles Fanning (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 18.

[iv] I recognize the significance of Protestant Irish emigration from Ulster, elsewhere in Ireland, and from Canada. (Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Streetsville, Ontario: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 1993), 219.) I am confining my discussion to immigrants and their children in large American cities since the late nineteenth century, a moment when and a place where Catholics predominated. An estimated eighty per cent of post-Famine immigrants were Catholic and this figure was undoubtedly higher in cities. (Kenny, *The American Irish*, 137) See Donald Akenson's remarks on a Catholic bias in Irish American immigration historiography: Donald Harman Akenson, "The Historiography of the Irish in the United States of America," in Patrick O'Sullivan ed., *The Irish in the New Communities: History, Heritage, Identity*, Irish world wide v. 2 (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1992), 99–127; Donald Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America* (Toronto: Meany, 1985).

[v] Rudolph J. Vecoli, "An Inter-Ethnic Perspective on American Immigration History," *Mid-America* 75 (April-July 1993), quote, 234; Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), xiv. See also, Kathleen Neils Conzen and David A. Gerber, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U. S. A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12: 1, Fall 1992, 3–41.

[vi] James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom, Up: Immigra-

tion and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880–1930," *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 996–1020. On the role of the Irish in the acculturation of the "New Immigrants" of the early twentieth century, see James R. Barrett and David R. Roediger, "The Irish and the 'Americanization" of the 'New Immigrants' in the Streets and in the Churches of the Urban United States, 1900–1930," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24 (Summer 2005): 3–33; David R. Roediger and James R. Barrett, "Making New Immigrants Inbetween': Irish Hosts and White Pan Pan-Ethnicity, 1890–1930," in Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson eds., *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 167–196.

vii Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), 33; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, with an introduction by Richard Wright, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

viii Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), quote, 15.

ix Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago, vol I: The Beginning of a City, 1673–1848* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), 49, 179–180; Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*, *(New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996)*, 441–442.

x Stanley Lieberson, *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Edward R. Kantowicz, "Polish Chicago: Survival through Solidarity," in Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, eds., *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Erdmann's, 1995), 176; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Ellen Skerrett, Michael F. Funchion, and Charles Fanning, *The Irish in Chicago* (Urbana, IL, 1987), map and table, 160–161; *Tenement Conditions in Chicago; Report by the Investigating Committee*. Text by Robert Hunter (Chicago: City Homes Association, 1901); Deirdre Mageean,

"Making Sense and Providing Structure," in Christiana Harzig, Deirdre Mageean Margareta Matovic, Maria Anna Knothe, and Monika Blaschke, *Peasant Maids — City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1887), 239; Eileen M. McMahon, *What Parish Are You From?: A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1995), parish map, vii.

xi Kerby Miller, "'Revenge for Sibbereen': Irish Emigration and the Meaning of the Great Famine;" Mick Mulcrone, "The Famine and Collective Memory: The Role of the Irish-American Press in the Early Twentieth Century," both in Arthur Gibben, ed. *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 180–195, 219–238.

xii Dale Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic*, quote,; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: See European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 48–49. See also, David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991), 133–134.

xiii *Chicago Tribune*, February 26, 1855, quoted in Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Ellen Skerrett, Michael F. Funchion, and Charles Fanning, *The Irish in Chicago* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 26; See also, Miller, *City of the Century*, 136, 442; Benjamin Alexander, "Temperance, Slavery, and Nativism: Chicago and the Origins of the Know-Nothing Party, 1850–1856" (BA Honors Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001).

xiv Quinn, *Looking for Jimmy*, 33, quotes, 31, 41. See also, David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and Play* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 33–34.

xv *Chicago Daily News*, August 2, 1919, quoted, John Landesco, *Illinois Crime Survey: Part III: Organized Crime in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929), 171. See also, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago, 1922), 11–17; Myron Davis, "Canaryville,"

research paper, University of Chicago, 1927, 20–21, Chicago Historical Society, "Documents: History of Bridgeport," Document 1a; and for other instances of "dead lines" between a variety of ethnic and racial groups in Chicago, Thrasher, *The Gang*, 175, 194, 197–198, 212.

xvi Neal Samors and Michael Williams, *The Old Chicago Neighborhood: Remembering Life in the 1940s* (Chicago: Chicago's Neighborhoods, Inc., 2003), 49. See also Ibid, 52 and 110. On the role of Irish American youth in the violence against African Americans before and during the riot, see below and William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 32–33, 54–55, 102–103, 199–200; James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packing House Workers, 1894–1922* (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 219–222.

xvii On Byrnes, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *A Pickpocket's Tale: The Underworld of Nineteenth Century New York* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2006), 249–254; on the New York origins of the term, David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*; *The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 167, fn 22, 298; Luc Sante, *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991), 247.

xviii Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House* (New York, 1938), 143; Thrasher, *The Gang*, 29–32; Nasaw, *Children of the City*, 33, 36; Pauline Goldmark, *Boyhood and Lawlessness: West Side Studies* (New York: Survey Associates, 1914), 39–48. (Thanks to David Montgomery for suggesting this last source.) On the informal, territorial quality of Irish American gangs in Chicago's Canaryville, see "The Neighborhood," especially 9, 18, 19–20. Although the word "turf" has deep roots stretching back to Old English and German, its early meanings related rather narrowly to a piece of earth. The notion of turf as territory first appeared in the United States in the wake of the Great Famine diaspora in relation to criminal activity, a usage likely descended from Irish immigrants. The first use of the term in relation to street gangs does

not come until the postwar period in relation to gangs in Brooklyn and the Bronx, areas with large Irish American populations. See *Oxford English Dictionary* on-line edition, (http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy2.library.uiuc.edu/cgi/entry/50259952?query_type=word&queryword=turf&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=qX03-116hPc-8787&hilite=50259952).

[xix] "The Wickedest District in the World," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 6, 1910, H7; Thrasher, *The Gang*, 137; Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of Chicago: An Informal History of the Chicago Underworld* (1940; DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 211–222; Frank De Liberto Interview, April 17, 1980, 2, 22, Italians in Chicago Project, photocopied interview transcripts, Special Collections, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. On comparable "sport" among Irish American youth in late nineteenth century New York, see James F. Richardson, *The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 166–168.

[xx] Abraham Bisno, *Abraham Bisno, Union Pioneer* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 54–55.

[xxi] Jones, *Sociology of a New York Block*, 12, 15.

[xxii] John J. Appel, "*Betzemer*: A Nineteenth-Century Cognomen for the Irish," *American Speech* 38 (1963): 307–308. See also See also, Glanz, *Jew and Irish*, 97–98.

[xxiii] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 212.

[xxiv] Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 52, 131; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880–1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 112–113; William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 195; Stave and Sutherland, with Salerno eds., *From the Old Country*, 89, 106 and 187; Michael La Sorte, *La Merica: Images of Italian Greenhorn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 139, 148–152; Ronald H. Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians of New York City, 1929–1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 30–86; Rudolf Glanz, *Jew and Irish:*

Historic Group relations and Immigration (New York: Waldon Press, 1966), 98.

xxv A. J. Paulsen, "A Sociological Study of the Gimlet Gang" (1931?), Burgess Papers, Box 181, Folder 7, 48–53, quotes, 48, 50, 51.

xxvi On the racialized character of urban parks and their function as centers for neighborhood identity and ethnic culture, see Robin F. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 160–165 and on New York, Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), 373–411.

xxvii Jablonsky, *Pride in the Jungle*, 109–114; population figures cited in Sabine Haenni, *The Immigrant Scene: Ethnic Amusements in New York, 1880–1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 50.

xxviii Goldmark, *Boyhood and Lawlessness*, 3–13, quotes, 8, 10, 11. See also, Otho Cartwright, *The Middle West Side: A Historical Sketch: West Side Studies* (New York: Survey Associates, 1914).

xxix Paul Cressey, "Report on Summer's Work with Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago" (1925), quote, 3, Burgess Papers, Box 129, Folder 5; "Certain Relationships between Recreation and Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago" Folder 9 and other materials on recreation in Burgess Papers, Box 38; "Crime Board Tells How Boy Gangs Rise in New York Slums," *New York Times*, March 20, 1927, 1, 9; Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box*, 137; Wiltse, *Contested Waters*, 123–124; Tuttle, *Race Riot*; Samors and Williams, *The Old Chicago Neighborhood*, 110.

xxx Farrell, *Studs Lonigan*, 18. See also, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*,.

xxxi Charles Fanning and Ellen Skerrett, "James T. Farrell and Washington Park," *Chicago History* 7 (1979), 87. Washington Park became a Mecca for white and especially for African American radicals in the era of the Great Depression. See Richard Wright, *Black Boy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1946) and St. Clair Drake and Horace

Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1945).

xxxii James T. Farrell, *Reflections at Fifty and Other Essays* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1954), 166, 164, quoted in Charles Fanning, "Introduction," *Studs Lonigan*, xi. See also Ellen Skerrett, "Catholic Dimension," in Lawrence J. McCaffrey et als. *The Irish in Chicago* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 23.

xxxiii Dominic Pacyga, "To Live Amongst Others: Poles and Their Neighbors in Industrial Chicago, 1865-1930," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16 (Fall 1996), 56. See also, Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York: Penguin, 1971), 30-32.

xxxiv Pacyga, "To Live Amongst Others", 56; Philpott, *Slum and Ghetto*, 136-144, quote, 375, fn. 16; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, 165; Richard White, *Remembering Ahanagran: StoryTelling in a Family's Past* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 183. See also Gerald W. McFarland, *Inside Greenwich Village: A New York City Neighborhood, 1898-1918* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 217.

xxxv Glen E. Holt and Dominic Pacyga, *Chicago: A Historical Guide to the Neighborhoods* (Chicago, 1979), 116; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Overview: Forging Forward and Looking Back," in Bayor and Meagher, eds., *New York Irish*, 229. On the theme of racial transformation in Catholic parishes, see John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). When social historian Thomas Philpott asked an elderly respondent about her life in a particularly diverse Chicago neighborhood, she did not remember "anything but Irish." Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 141-142.

xxxvi Richard Alba and Nancy Denton, "Old and New Landscapes of Diversity: The Residential Patterns of Immigrant Minorities," in Nancy Foner and George Fredrickson Eds., *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 245-247; Douglas Massey, "Ethnic Residential

Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review," *Sociology and Social Research* 69 (April 1985): 315–350.

xxxvii Asbury, *Gangs of New York*, 182–202, 226–246, 252–258; McFarland, *Inside Greenwich Village*, 166–169; Thrasher, *The Gang*, 130.

xxxviii Thrasher, *The Gang*, first quote, 406; Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, 8. On Canaryville, see also, Sandburg, *Chicago Race Riot*, 2–4; Thrasher, *The Gang*, 409–451; "The Neighborhood," (1922), Ernest Watson Burgess Papers, Addenda, Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Box 38, Folder 1; and on the Irish roots of social athletic clubs in Boston, New York, and Chicago, Hardy, *How Boston Played*, 137–138; Reiss, *City Games*, 16, 94–96.

xxxix John Landesco, untitled mss, Burgess Papers, Box 133, Folder 7; "Ragen Declares Ragen Colts' Record Good," *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1927, 14.

xl John Landesco, untitled mss, Burgess Papers, Box 133, Folder 7; "Two Wounded in Gun Duel of Ragen's Colts," *Chicago Tribune* July 16, 1917, 9; "Stock Yards Club Members Who Sought to Lift Riot Lid," *Chicago Defender* August 23, 1919, 3; "Sheldon Gang Member Shot at Ragen Colts," *Chicago Tribune* February 1, 1927, 3; "Danny Stantion Gangsters Due in Court Today," *Chicago Tribune* October 31. 1928, 16.

xli "Ragen Declares Colts Good Record," *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1927, 14.

xlii "Giants vs. Ragens," *Chicago Defender*, October 6, 1917, 10; John Landesco, untitled mss, Burgess Papers, Box 133, Folder 7; Landesco, *Illinois Crime Survey*, 169.

xliii Landesco, *Illinois Crime Survey*, 169.

xliv Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 145–146.

xlv Chicago Commission, *Negro in Chicago*, 12; "Chicago Police Gives Colored Man Up to Lynchers," *Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1910, 2; January 19, 1918, 1; "Riot Calls, Slugging Crew and Gun Play the Features," June 8, 1918, 1; "White Officers Beat Innocent Man,"

Chicago Defender, July 1, 1916, 3; "Irish Police Officer Becomes Too Officious," June 23, 1917, 7; "Woman Affronted at 35th Street Police Station," September 8, 1917, 1; "Capt. Fielden Beaten by Irish Officers," February 16, 1918, 5; "A Disgrace to the Police," *New York Times*, August 17, 1900, 6; "Prisoners Beg Recorder Goff for Mercy," July 13, 1901, 14; "Faces Murder Charge Now," December 29, 1904, 1; Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916–39* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 64–67. On common neighborhood connections between police and gangsters in Chicago, see J. H. Cohen, "Who's Who in Gangland," Burgess Papers, Box 129, Folder 9 and Philip Hauser, "Report on Funerals for three of the seven members of the Moran gang killed in Valentine's Day Massacre," Ibid, Box 132, Folder 2 and for the same phenomenon in early twentieth century New York, William G. McAdoo, *Guarding a Great City* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), 260–261; Osofsky, *Harlem*, 48–49.

xlvi J. H. Cohen, "Who's Who in Gangland," Burgess Papers, Box 129, Folder 9; O'Kane, *Crooked Ladder*, 57–60; Asbury, *Gangs of New York*; Asbury, *Gangs of Chicago*; English, *Paddy Whacked*, 125–126, 170–175, 325–356.

xlvii Mary McDowell, "Prejudice," in *Mary McDowell and Municipal Housekeeping*, ed. Caroline Hill (Chicago, 1938), 32–33. See also, Thrasher, *The Gang*, 50–51.

xlviii Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle*, 219–223; Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 19–26; Rick Halpern, "Race, Ethnicity and Union in the Chicago Stockyards, 1917–1922," *International Review of Social History,* 37 (1992), 52–57; Dominic A. Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880–1922* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 219–227; Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago*, 54–55. The Colts knew about blacking up, as they put on minstrel shows for the community.

xlix Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants in Industrial Chicago*, 219–220. See also Roediger and Barrett, "Making New Immigrants 'Inbetween,'" in Foner and Fredrickson, eds. *Not Just Black and White*. I am grateful

to David Roediger for his insight on this point. For the case of an Irish American burglar going about his work in black face masquerade, see "Black-Faced White Man Held by Police," *Amsterdam News*, December 28, 1927, 3.

[1] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 199; "Ragen Declares Colts Good Record," *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1927, 14.

[1i] *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* August 5, 1919, quoted in Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants in Industrial Chicago,* 220–224, quote, 220; Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle*, 220–224; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, 128. See also, Thaddeus Radzialowski, "The Competition for Jobs and Racial Stereotypes: Poles and Blacks in Chicago," *Polish American Studies* 33 (Autumn 1976): 5–18 and Joseph Parot, "Ethnic Versus Black Metropolis: the Origins of Polish-Black Housing Tensions in Chicago," *Polish American Studies* 29 (Spring-Autumn 1972): 5–33. For the racialized discourse focusing on Poles and other "New Immigrant" people, see James R. Barrett and David R. Roediger, "In Between Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," *Journal of American Ethnic History,* 16 (1997): 3–44.

[1ii] Arnold R. Hirsch, "Race and Housing: Violence and Communal Protest in Chicago, 1940–1960," in Peter D'A. Jones and Melvin Holli, eds. *The Ethnic Frontier: Essays in the History of Group Survival in Chicago and Midwest* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 350–355; Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in the United States, 1940–1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 68–99.

[1iii] "A Study of Behavior Problems of Boys in the Lower North Community," Box 35, Folder 4, Burgess Papers; Diamond, *Main Streets*, 71–73; Dominic A. Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880–1922* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 150.

[1iv] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 130–132; Jablonsky, *Pride in the Jungle*, 109. On the postwar Pan-ethnic White, Black, and Latino gangs in Chicago and New York, see Diamond, *Main Streets*, 152–192 and Schneider,

Vampires, Dragons, and Egyptian Kings.

[lv] "Certain Relationships between Recreation and Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago," Burgess Papers, Box 38, Folder 9; Donald Tricarico, *The Italians of Greenwich Village: The Social Structure and Transformation of an Ethnic Community* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1984).

[lvi] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 18, 62-65. See also, Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 61-62; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, 126-128.

[lvii] "The Melting Pot," n. d., Box 154, Folder 5; Florence Lyon Gaddis, "Conflict between Mexicans and Poles," (1928), Box 142, Folder 3, Burgess Papers; Andrew Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 63-64, 92-93. See also, Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-39* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 54-58, 73-75.

[lviii] Thrasher, *The Gang*, 138-139, 194-195, 200-201, 215; Diamond, *Mean Streets*, 28; James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 178. Such gangs continued to enforce the segregated quality of "white ethnic" neighborhoods on Chicago's South Side until at least the 1990s.

[lix] Landesco, *Illinois Crime Survey*, 171.

[lx] Philip Kasinitz, "Race, Assimilation, and the 'Second Generations,' Past and Present," in Nancy Foner and George Fredrickson, ed., *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 281.