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Savannah's Ethnic Irish Neighborhoods in the Nineteenth Century: A Historical Multimethod Examination

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SAVANNAH'S ETHNIC IRISH NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A
HISTORICAL MULTIMETHOD EXAMINATION

by

SARAH RYNIKER

(Under the Direction of Steven Engel)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to identify residency patterns and neighborhoods for Savannah-Irish immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century. Using a multimethod approach, this thesis explores historical, social, and economic factors that influenced settlement patterns and cultivated the conditions for an Irish-American identity, particularly in two neighborhoods, Old Fort and Yamacraw. Guided by Yancey et al.'s (1976) emergent ethnicity theory, this study uses archival materials, as well as chi-square tests for association, and the 1860 Federal Census of Chatham County, Georgia, to geolocate Irish immigrants. With an emphasis on County Wexford, Ireland, the results suggest residency was associated with Irish county of origin and occupation; patterns of residency based on ethnicity did exist in mid-nineteenth century Savannah.

INDEX WORDS: Immigration, Ireland, Ethnicity, Savannah, Census, GIS

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B.S., Georgia Southern University, 2015

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Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

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DEDICATION

This thesis project would not be possible without my parents, Hilda and Allen Ryniker. Thank you for everything you do for me.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Dr. Steven Engel; without his encouragement, guidance, and support from the very beginning, this thesis would not exist.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to Dr. Ashley Coles and Dr. Howard Keeley, who helped shape my thesis and me into the best versions we could be. Thanks for being a great committee!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1850, Daniel and Johanna Kehoe, along with their eight children, boarded the barque *Brothers* at the port of Wexford town to set sail for Savannah, Georgia¹. They had not traveled far to arrive at this busy Irish port, venturing about twenty-five miles south of their home where they lived as tenant farmers in Mounthoward, Monamolin, County Wexford. Three years later, Richard Joseph Nunn, from Wexford town, made a similar twenty-five-mile journey to board the *Glenylon* at the County Wexford port of New Ross to Savannah.

These individuals were part of a significant migration pathway that developed between County Wexford and Savannah in the 1840s and 1850s. While they differed in occupation, class, and status, immigrants arrived in Savannah with similar overarching ideologies of Irish—particularly County Wexford—culture. Both families blended a southern Irish heritage with a southern American heritage. Both families met their fair share of struggles, and both overcame hardship with a determination and perseverance born in Wexford and cultivated in the South. These case studies demonstrate how Irish American identity and ethnicity was reinforced at an individual level of analysis. Yancey, Eriksen, and Juliani's (1976) emergent ethnicity theory provides a guideline for examining these case studies, as well as the statistical analysis of individual and neighborhood data. This thesis is relevant to historical and contemporary scholarship of immigration as it demonstrates the phenomenon of identity construction and maintenance in one location. Where the Irish settled in Savannah answers key research questions

¹ This information comes from Patrick Kehoe's alien declaration, which assumes that the Kehoe family immigrated to Savannah, Georgia, together (5600CC-040, Alien Declarations. Vol. 1 C, 1825-1858. City of Savannah, Research Library & Municipal Archives, Savannah, Georgia).

about ethnicity and identity formation. An examination of the geographic and structural conditions in mid-nineteenth century Savannah provides a glimpse into how Irish Americans cultivated and negotiated a Savannah-Irish identity.

In order to explore Irish immigration to Savannah, it is pertinent we explore historical immigration to the United States. Between 1850 and 1913, over 25 million people immigrated to the United States (Hatton and Williamson, 1992). Many of these immigrants were of Irish decent, and left Ireland for political, economic, or social reasons. At the height of the famine in 1847, hundreds of thousands of Irish sailed to the United States. Some accounts estimate more than a million Irish immigrated to America between 1845 and 1855 (Gribben, 1999). In 1860, there were 1.2 million Irish emigrants in the United States (Gleeson, 2001). In her work on female immigrants in the nineteenth century, Diner (1983) describes the passage from Ireland to America and the metaphorical baggage immigrants carried with them in vivid detail:

A passionate commitment to Roman Catholicism, despite the savage repressions of Protestant rules, and a collective memory of zealous but failed uprisings against an ancient foe seared themselves into the consciousness of the Irish, both those who remained at home and those who chose to live and toil abroad. (p. 2)

The aspects of identity the Irish carried with them across the Atlantic impacted their ethnicity in their newfound homes; however, the places they migrated to further evolved their ethnic identities. Understanding where the Irish settled in the United States is essential to understanding the cultivation and reinforcement of ethnic identity.

Of the large portion of Irish immigrants in the United States, only 84,000 lived in the eleven southern states that eventually made up the Confederacy (Gleeson, 2001). Miller's (1985) work explores the ethos of emigrants as exiles during the famine period, but the inclusion of Irish

in American society was extremely dependent on region (Clark, 1986). Accounts of harsh work conditions in the north do not match conditions seen in the south because the southern Irish worked in a variety of different fields and were more accepted by the general population (Clark, 1982; Gleeson, 2001). Irish immigration and ethnic assimilation should be examined from a local perspective to offer the most reliable and valid illustration of the culture.

Southern regional and community-specific cultural variances can be examined in the city of Savannah. The city was founded in 1733 and held the position of political and cultural capital of Georgia until 1778 (Reps, 1965). The city of Savannah's well-known grid pattern design is attributed to two people, James Edward Oglethorpe, the founder of Savannah, and Robert Castell, known for his similar city design in his book, *Villas of the Ancients*; Oglethorpe is listed as a patron in Castell's book (Reps, 1965). It was not until the end of the War of 1812 that Savannah began to grow its economy and population (Haunton, 1968). During this century, Savannah's port became critical to the city's economy; steamboats were first used in 1816 and in 1819, the steamship *Savannah* made its first transatlantic journey (Haunton, 1968).

Savannah still has a high concentration of Irish and is known for its month-long Irish celebrations in February and March (Galemore, 2016). Gleeson (2001), Byron (1999), and Smith (2009) argue that more research is needed on the Irish in the South and particularly in Savannah. The Irish presence in Savannah is as great as in other major ethnic hubs; because of the significant population and contributions by the Irish culture, Savannah deserves the same recognition as an Irish city.

According to data compiled from the 1860 Federal Census of Chatham County, Georgia, Irish immigrants represented 21.37% of the free inhabitants inside the city limits of Savannah. These numbers were similar to the numbers of immigrants in Boston and New York, whose Irish

population in 1860 was 23% in both places, or Philadelphia, whose Irish-born population was only 17% (Shoemaker, 1990). As the census marshals went through the city, they numbered each dwelling. The proportion of dwellings where at least one Irish immigrant resides accounts for 38.58% of the population of Savannah as enumerated in the 1860 federal census. This statistic is important for examining family and marriage patterns after migration to Savannah. There is a common phrase heard around Savannah in the spring: everyone is Irish on St. Patrick's Day (Connor, 1999), but in the mid-nineteenth century, more than a third of the households in Savannah were Irish.

Identity is reinforced at a deeper level than nationality; the Savannah Irish place a distinct priority on county of origin as well, which is evident in a variety of ways, but most visible on Irish tombstones in the Catholic Cemetery. More than any of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, County Wexford is significant to the story of the Savannah Irish neighborhoods because it makes up the largest county of origin for Irish immigrants in Savannah. In total, 14.45% of the Irish population in Savannah were from Wexford in 1860. In comparison, the population of County Wexford as a percentage of the total population of Ireland in 1851 was only 3.5%. In other words, Savannah was more than four times as Wexfordian than Ireland itself.

In order to demonstrate how two factors, county of origin—specifically of Wexford immigrants—and occupation, created the potential for identity formation and negotiation by Irish immigrants in Savannah, this thesis examines ethnicity through the neighborhood lens. Data at the individual and district level from the 1860 Savannah City Directory, historical archive materials, and the 1860 Federal Census of Chatham County, Georgia, provide a dual level of analysis. The goal of this research is to explore the Savannah-Irish community at the individual and neighborhood level in order to examine the structural and geographic conditions that

impacted the development of identity.

Just like immigrants today, historical immigrants were drawn to settlements for a variety of reasons, such as family, occupation, or ethnicity. Most mid-nineteenth century European immigrants came from a low socioeconomic class and resided near their main source of livelihood (Chaskin, 1997; Choldin, 1973).

Vaughan's (2002) research on Jewish immigrants in Manchester, England, demonstrates how middle-class immigrants lived in districts which provided a higher potential for economic integration than their lower-class peers (Vaughan, 2002). In a review of migration studies in several large U.S. cities, Choldin (1973) finds that the influence of friends and relatives was a strong push or pull factor in migration and played a strong role in the creation of neighborhoods (Choldin, 1973). Furthermore, age and marital status directly affect one's ability to move into a higher socioeconomic class (Crowder, Hall, and Tolnay, 2011). Borruso's (2008) research finds several factors, such as class, status, location, and networks, rather than one prominent element, influenced settlement patterns and integration into broader society.

This thesis explores how ethnicity was created and reformulated for the Savannah Irish through neighborhoods. The theory section casts the Savannah Irish in terms of broader immigration studies, examining immigration and migration from the lens of emergent ethnicity theory (Yancey et al., 1976), as well as exploring the impact of neighborhoods on ethnicity. The methodology section describes the quantitative and qualitative methods used to analyze the conditions that supported the development and maintenance of ethnic identities through the neighborhoods. The results section explores quantitative and qualitative data through statistical tests and historical archive material. Findings suggest that county of origin does impact residency patterns and that some occupations, such as laborer or clergy, have an association with certain

neighborhoods The implications of this thesis not only provide vital insights to Savannah's Irish population, but also to broader immigrant populations in contemporary settings.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY

Two leading theories inform scholars on a myriad of topics in immigration studies. This section situates the research topic in the debate between assimilation and multicultural theory. Since their formations, both assimilation and multicultural theories have been critiqued by countless social scientists. Yancey et al.'s (1976) emergent ethnicity theory offers a critique and reformulation of both models to incorporate geography and structural influence into the theories of ethnicity and immigration. Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory, the guiding principle of this study, frames the Savannah-Irish community as a case for immigration research. Research on neighborhood and network theory cast Savannah's ethnic Irish in light of geography and social science frameworks.

Assimilation

In Edward Alsworth Ross's book, *The Old World in the New: Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People*, he calls on the United States to restrict immigration because many immigrants were unintelligent, unskilled, and un-American (1914). Ross proposes the origins for the theory of assimilation, or the process in which immigrants lose cultural characteristics of their native land and begin to take on a new culture's way of life. A year later, Horace Kallen writes a piece for *The Nation* critiquing Ross's assimilationist stance. Kallen (1915) encourages cultural pluralism, exploring different immigrant groups since American colonization and citing the Declaration of Independence in a call to establish equality

for all, regardless of ethnic differences. Kallen's (1915) call for multiculturalism fell to the background of immigration research; for almost a century, immigration research only furthered assimilation theory.

Scholars of immigration began theorizing assimilation at the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s, but Milton Gordon's (1964) theory of assimilation in American life was the first to fully formulate the theory. His research divides assimilation into three segments: the introduction and Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. These divisions are relevant to immigration research because they represent three different results of assimilation. Anglo-conformity explores the tendency of immigrants to lose their cultural heritage as they assimilate to mainstream culture. Melting pot theory places a greater emphasis on immigrants' ability to affect the dominant culture. Cultural pluralism explores the phenomenon where immigrants preserve their ethnicity and were still accepted into broader society. These typologies of assimilation are the foundations of many contemporary immigration theories.

Gordon defines the term *ethnic group* to encompass more than just nationality: "any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin" (1964, p. 27). This definition creates a broader, more theoretical network of ethnicity, useful for encompassing multiple facets of culture. One important distinction Gordon makes is the difference between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation, where cultural assimilation occurs when groups recognize shared core values and structural assimilation occurs when groups interact without attention to their origins. Gordon believes that structural assimilation was not as prevalent as cultural assimilation into American society.

While Gordon's (1964) theory is paramount to understanding immigration, the theory has undergone a substantial transformation in the last fifty years. Critiques of the theory's simplicity

and ahistorical nature urged assimilation theory to evolve (Morawska, 1994). Multigenerational research has shown that second and third generation immigrants maintain social ties to their homeland, which has implications for assimilation theory and perhaps provides evidence that assimilation is never quite complete (Gans, 1997). Additionally, second-generation immigrants, especially non-white immigrants, face more adversity as they acclimate into American society. Perlmann and Waldinger (1998) find that class and mobility impact an individuals' ability to integrate into mainstream culture; for example, specific ethnic groups, such as Mexican immigrants in the United States, are more apt for success and acceptance into a society because of preexisting social constructions and constraints.

Alba and Nee (1997) rework assimilation theory into 'new assimilation theory' to incorporate these critiques. Arguing that previous accounts of assimilation by European immigrants were specific to history and may not be applicable to contemporary non-European immigrant groups (p. 842), they explore the differences between past and present eras of immigration. They note that assimilation and structural institutions led immigrants away from the ethnic neighborhood to intermixed suburbs. Alba and Nee (1997) also find higher levels of socioeconomic attainment and access to economic resources among post-1965 Asian immigrant groups, as well as closed ethnic economies stemming from discrimination.

The majority of Alba and Nee's (1993) evidence is based on modern immigration patterns, but the authors make similar claims to Gordon's (1964) theory. When they account for spatial patterns, Alba and Nee write, "the high degree of geographic concentration of the new immigrant groups is consistent with the notion that institutional complete ethnic communities will support ethnicity for the second and subsequent generations and retard assimilation" (p. 858). In other words, close-knit immigrant concentrations with access to community resources

will slow assimilation processes. Alba and Nee (1993) attribute this pattern to a spatial-assimilation hypothesis: the greater the socioeconomic and educational status, the larger percentage of non-white Latinos in the neighborhood (p. 859).

In their concluding remarks, Alba and Nee (1993) explain why assimilation theory should be reworked rather than left behind: “only by contrasting differences and similarities between the old and new immigration will scholars gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of ethnicity in this new era of immigration” (p. 865). Alba and Nee understood the necessity of research on historical immigration and ethnicity, but they fail to apply their revised theory of assimilation to historical cases. Instead, they examine historical immigration from an outdated perspective while revising the theory for modern immigrant groups.

Around the same time, Portes and Zhou (1993) revise the assimilation model into what they call ‘segmented assimilation.’ Similar to new assimilation theory, segmented assimilation examines contemporary immigrants and the complicated outcomes of adaptation for multiple generations. The theory explores new factors, such as vulnerability and dependency on resources. According to their findings, non-white immigrant children had a harder time accessing resources no matter how acculturated they were (p. 96). Portes and Zhou (1993) argue ethnic communities were the best way to cope with the lack of opportunities for immigrants because the communities provided resources unattainable in the wider society. This theory explains how contemporary immigrants adapt, but it ignored the children of European immigrants (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Facets of segmented assimilation theory, such as access to resources and opportunities, should be applied to historical cases as well.

Multiculturalism

Glazer’s (1993) research on multiculturalism advances assimilation theory with his paper,

“Is Assimilation Dead?” Although he finds that the term itself was outdated, Glazer argues that assimilation was a prevalent force on immigrants. In his research, he applies the term *ethnic identity* to participants’ descriptions of society and religion. In contrast to how *ethnicity* is used by Gordon (1964)—a defined group set off by different unique characteristics—Glazer’s (1993) *ethnic identity* is self-constructed and encompasses how one perceives and defines oneself at the individual level. While similar, these terms explained ethnicity from different levels of analysis. These rhetorical distinctions are relevant to this thesis; both ethnic identity and ethnicity are used in this work.

Multiculturalism denoted the importance of the minority group’s representation in social institutions, not just the assimilation into mainstream society. Scholars write for a political audience from a variety of geographical contexts, in settings such as Canada and Australia (Joppke, 1996; Kymlicka, 2003). Multicultural research at the microlevel has been positively favored in the public sphere; as a direct result of multicultural theory, recent government policies at the institution level direct attention to minority groups (Burnet, 1975; Dandy and Pe-Pua, 2010). In response, right-wing politics have spurred a resurgence of assimilation theory since the 1990s; several countries have developed strong anti-immigrant policies over the last two decades, including the United States (Kymlicka, 2012).

Assimilation and multicultural theories failed to address two aspects critical to immigration and ethnic development: globalization and the importance of place in the context of geography. First, globalization and the significance of social, political, and economic networks are critical topics to immigration. These theories adapted for different phases of immigration (several explored the differences between “new immigration” and “old immigration”), but they failed to address that many social forces affected contemporary ethnic groups in the exact same

way as early immigrant groups.

Portes et al. (1999) and Mulligan (2002) explore the impact of transnationalism on ethnicity; while both articles explore different aspects of immigration, they note the importance of geography on ethnicity. Mulligan (2002) noted the importance of transnationalism and that “its emphasis on global networks, linkages and flows of people, capital and information across borders, could prove particularly valuable—especially if it is not assumed to be an exclusively contemporary phenomenon” (p. 219). Globalization created complex consequences for the boundaries of the nation-state and citizenship; in recent years, the number of dual citizenships increased at an exponential rate (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Consequences for immigrants are best seen in migration patterns. Network patterns, usually created through kinship ties, impact where immigrants tend to live in new settlements (Gordon, 1964; Jenkins, 2005). MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) find Italian immigrants in the United States use chain migration to find occupations and to develop social organizational structures in new communities.

Understanding the processes related to how immigrants settle, through networks, kinship ties, chain migration, or a variety of other methods, may be useful for understanding the complex implications of immigration. Kearney (1995) contrasts diasporic communities (ethnic and culturally similar populations) with global communities. Diasporic communities have ethnic ties to their homeland, but global communities share information, capital, and goods in transnational spaces. Both types of communities faced transnational social and cultural implications. A third type of community, a political community (Anderson, 1983), explores how a culture can have a shared set of political and economic values, but not a shared border; this type of community illustrates the effect of globalization on ethnicity. This distinction between the types of immigrant communities is important for understanding the implications of immigration.

Anderson's (1983) notion of nationality as an imagined political community illustrated the effect of globalization on identity and ethnicity. Theories which accounted for globalization and transnationalism through social and cultural institutions have explained the processes inside of global ethnic networks.

Second, assimilation and pluralist theories fail to address the importance of place and spatial boundaries on ethnicity. Mulligan's (2002) research maps the transnational history of the Irish as a process of nation-building. His emphasis on the importance of charting geographies from different perspectives is applied to this research through the multimethod examination of the Savannah Irish. Mulligan's (2002) research examining global ties from the perspective of different ethnic groups is extraordinarily relevant for geography, specifically for ethnic and feminist geographies. One way to account for geography in ethnic studies is to use emergent ethnicity theory as a guideline for research. Emergent ethnicity theory, discussed in the next section, accounts for spatial and structural conditions of a society on ethnicity.

Emergent Ethnicity Theory

Emergent ethnicity theory blends both assimilation and pluralist theories and accounts for the structural and geographic conditions of the society. In 1854, Ralph Waldo Emerson writes what could be interpreted as the first formulation of emergent ethnicity theory:

...so in this continent, —asylum of all nations, —the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, and all the European tribes, —of all the Africans, and of the Polynesians, —will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature, which will be as vigorous as the new Europe which came out of the smelting-pot of the Dark Ages, or that which earlier emerged from the Pelasgic and Etruscan barbarism. (p. 347)

Emergent Ethnicity Theory (Yancey et al., 1976) explores the development and evolution of ethnicity with emphasis on structural conditions and the position of the group in the social structure. Immigrant experience varies vastly based on an ethnic community's social and spatial conditions. This theory took into account the critiques of both assimilation and pluralist theories, recognizing the significance of geography and globalization as well as the creation and development of ethnicity over time. Specifically, emergent ethnicity theory placed an emphasis on the occupation of immigrants. Moreover, the authors “suggest that ethnic groups have been produced by structural conditions which are intimately linked to the changing technology of industrial production and transportation” (Yancey et al., 1976, p. 392).

In his book on nineteenth century immigration to American cities, Ward (1971) finds that several immigrant groups settled in cities where typical work opportunities also existed. On the contrary, Hatton and Williamson (1992) find that nineteenth century emigrants from Europe were more peculiar in their settlement patterns, settling in cities where immigrants could obtain higher wages. Before 1880, immigrant groups such as the Irish, Canadian, or British did not tend to live in ghettos but were fairly spread out among cities in the United States for two reasons: affordable housing was dispersed and urban economic activity was often mixed throughout residential areas (Yancey et al. 1976). Yancey et al. (1976) find that economics was a factor in residency, giving the example of expensive railroad equipment, which led to the concentration of immigrant neighborhoods near industries (p. 394).

Yancey et al. (1976) also explore how social patterns influenced residency, which led to the creation of a new identity with characteristics from the new location rather than a fixed, unchanging notion of identity before the development of a community. As cities grew, so did the need for social institutions. Emergent ethnicity theory states that the position in the social

structure impacted the necessity for cultural and ethnic ties (Yancey et al., 1976). For example, those that have strong network ties had a stronger sense of ethnicity; those more dependent on social institutions (newer immigrants), such as the Catholic Church, had stronger sense of identity and connection to a larger ethnic group.

Thus, emergent ethnicity theory explains ethnicity as an evolving process which included the local community, the economic opportunities, ethnic origin of the group, and the religion: together this mix accounted for the differences in ethnicity among immigrants throughout the nation and the world.

Ethnicity as a Product of the Neighborhood

Yancey et al. (1976) describe the influence of residential patterns in the development and maintenance of ethnic communities, but they do not explore neighborhoods further than describing ethnic residential patterns. This section serves to add neighborhood context through previous literature by examining the historical construction of neighborhoods and community. Further research on the neighborhood as a social force highlights the significance of ethnic identity in the neighborhood (Dahya, 1974, Rex and Moore, 1967; Choldin, 1973).

Social clustering was first discussed using the human ecological model, which highlights humanity as part of nature, rather than a separate force on nature (Park, 1926), but later research demonstrated that ethnic-based clustering was also explained by choice and by social constraint (Dahya, 1974; Rex and Moore, 1967). Complex reasons for immigrant settlement in a particular area include industrialization, racial discrimination, and economic and social factors, which lead to the formation of ethnic enclaves (Yancey et al., 1976; Hatton and Williamson, 1992; Jenkins, 2005; Rex and Moore, 1967). Choldin's (1973) research on kinship networks and migration demonstrated that networks support migrants both materially and socially. Jenkin's (2005) study

on the Irish in Buffalo, New York, and Toronto, Canada, analyzed networks which connected immigrants in economic, cultural, religious, or political spheres, significant for the development of ethnic and group identity formation.

One method to study neighborhoods includes using GIS to make models of neighborhood patterns. Borruso's (2008) study on individuals in Trieste, Italy, and Swindon, United Kingdom, used geographic information systems, or GIS, to explore spatial networks and created segregation indices. These indices may be used to map central human activities in an urban environment (Borruso, 2008). Logan et al. (2011) use 1880 census data and GIS to create scales that measured information about individuals and neighborhoods in 39 cities throughout the United States. In a longitudinal study of 16,516 individuals, higher socioeconomic status was a factor in the movement of native-born individuals out of neighborhoods where new international immigrants settled (Crowder, Hall and Tolnay, 2011).

Studies conducted in inner city neighborhoods demonstrated that immigrants tend to settle in the inner wards of larger cities. American immigrant "ghettos" developed during pre-industrialization; cities followed concentric circle settlement patterns where the rich lived in the center, the tradespeople lived in the middle, and the poor lived on the outskirts of cities (Yancey et al., 1976). Rex and Moore's (1967) study finds racial discrimination to be a factor in Pakistani immigrant settlement patterns. In a study of 39 Pakistani males, overcrowding in inner cities was a consequence of policies that impeded lower-income immigrants from qualifying for government housing. Some immigrants obtained cheap inner city housing in a circular manner; they leased rooms to new immigrants who were not eligible for home ownership. Rex and Moore (1967) wrote: "What we did observe was a process of discriminative and de facto segregation which compelled coloured people to live in certain typical conditions." (p. 20). In another

example of discrimination linked to immigrant neighborhoods, Durlauf's (2004) study finds poor immigrant neighborhoods receive less funding and children have higher rates of suffering.

Massey (1985) and Logan, Zhang, and Alba (2002) use the term *immigrant enclave* to refer to neighborhoods which comprise solely of immigrants with limited market resources and cultural and social capital. Logan et al. (2002) use the term *ethnic community* to refer to communities created by choice rather than need. The Savannah-Irish settlements developed as both immigrant enclaves and ethnic communities; some migrants settled out of necessity, but many settled and cultivated vibrant ethnic communities.

Ethnic enclaves are useful in creating ethnic communities, and in turn, ethnic neighborhoods, because each level uses similar aspects of the social structure, such as class, networks, or social mobility (Borruso, 2008; Crowder et al., 2011; Gordon, 1964). Understanding networks and neighborhoods is beneficial for the study of ethnic identity because they can shed light on social and cultural factors. For example, in literature on community and ethnicity, ethnicity and identity were often intertwined with neighborhoods and community.

Neighborhoods are a unit of analysis often equated as the geographic boundary of community (Akerlof, 1997; Chaskin, 1997; Galster, 2001). However, there was much debate in the social science community over the definition of neighborhood; some (Chaskin, 1997; Galster, 2001) argue that it was tied to the spatial environment, while others (Akerlof, 1997) equate it with social factors, such as community. In his research on class and social interaction theory, Akerlof (1997) argues that empirical neighborhood effects are statistically significant and important, such as social distance between neighborhoods, but that there was a problem of identifying "the neighborhood," and its actual, geographic space (p. 1007). The use of the term

neighborhood highlighted a “spatial construction denoting a geographical unit in which residents share proximity and the circumstances that come with it” (Chaskin, 1997, p. 523). Galster (2001) defines neighborhood as “the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses” (p. 2112).

Suttles (1972) and Birch et al. (1979) examine a multi-level spatial view of the neighborhood, where the smallest level represented a city block, while the highest level represented the city. In an alternative viewpoint, Galster (2001) argues that neighborhoods were not specifically tied to the physical geography, but to the social. This perspective shifts the idea of the neighborhood from a definable spatial boundary to a social instrument based on perception (Galster, 2001). From a theoretical framework of social rather than spatial characteristics of the neighborhood, Galster (2001) finds durability, social interaction, and property ownership created neighborhoods. This shift emphasizes the term “community,” because there were many communities not tied to a specific locale, such as ethnic or religious communities (Chaskin, 1997).

Communities represented more than spatial networks; they are linked to socioeconomic status, social distance (the model to measure social interaction in space), and class for an ethnic group. Akerlof (1997) provides a model for social distance finding individuals who reside near each other initially interact much more than those at farther distances; this study suggests immigrant settlements with higher densities will have higher levels of educational attainment and fertility; this is important for the study of assimilation and integration.

Neighborhoods provide immigrants with the potential for socialization, a central aspect in the development of ethnic and group identities. Newman and Paasi (1998) find defining personal

and group boundaries clarifies how cultural groups delineate in and out group characteristics, both from the neighborhood perspective and the political perspective at the theoretical level. Chaskin's (1997) literature review on neighborhoods and communities explored neighborhoods as open systems: geographical boundaries are socially negotiated and are ultimately more fluid than fixed.

In conclusion, assimilation and pluralist theories failed to address important aspects of identity and ethnicity. Features of both theories, such as availability of resources or structural institutions, affect the creation and reinforcement of ethnic identity. From the lens of the neighborhood and community, as well as the individual, this thesis on the nineteenth-century Savannah-Irish community informs immigration research, specifically Yancey et al.'s (1976) emergent ethnicity theory. Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory provides a roadmap to understanding the development of ethnicity without ignoring the structural and geographic conditions of a society; this research applies the same structure for case study of the Savannah Irish. The next section describes the methods used in this thesis to better understand the structural and geographic conditions that impacted the development of identity through the Savannah-Irish neighborhoods.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Setting

Savannah, Georgia, was chosen as a case study for several reasons. First, Savannah's geography and spatial layout make it a useful site for the study for historical data because it provides natural geographic boundaries. James Oglethorpe designed Savannah around squares where each ward comprised of four residential blocks and four civic blocks. In 1787, Savannah was divided into seven wards, each with a local government (Haunton, 1968).

Second, Savannah provided a profitable and stable economic hub for immigrants during the mid-nineteenth century. Savannah's industries became successful around 1844 because of the city's location near the Savannah River and the Central of Georgia Railroad (Haunton, 1968). In the 1850s, the city experienced exponential growth in both population and financial resources (Haunton, 1968). In August 1851, the *Savannah Daily Republican* compared Savannah with New Orleans writing: "Savannah is growing in wealth and population, probably much more rapidly than New Orleans." It continued, "Her people are enlightened, energetic and anxious..." (*Savannah Daily Republican*, 1851). This economic and social growth make Savannah in the mid-nineteenth century a classic example for neighborhood analysis because it explores a city with a new immigrant population at the precipice of change.

Third, the mid-nineteenth century was the height of immigration to the city of Savannah and the apex of change in this immigrant city has been understudied. Haunton (1968) calculates that 1,320 immigrants, the largest group coming from Ireland, entered Savannah directly between 1849 and 1853 (p. 14). These immigrants formed their own neighborhoods with jobs, social activities, and community events (Gleeson, 2001). Irish immigrants in Savannah became

active in the Catholic Church, in politics—through avenues such as the police or fire department, and in social organizations such as the Hibernian Society or the Irish Union Society.

Sample

In Chatham County, the 1860 federal census divides the city of Savannah and nearby islands into seven districts. There were 4,860 individuals in Irish dwellings at the time of the 1860 Federal Census of Chatham County, Georgia. Inside the four districts within the Savannah city limits, there were 3,117 Irish-born individuals (1,011 dwellings). Demographic information for this population is provided in Table 1. The age of individuals in this study range from 0 to 88. Individuals with Irish, other European, Canadian, and American nationality resided in the dwellings examined in this study. All thirty-two counties of Ireland were present in the 1860 census. For this study, occupations categorized into 11 groups are found in Table 2. Occupations vary, but the largest category given in the census was unskilled workers.

Table 1. Demographics for Irish Individuals in the city of Savannah, 1860

	District	District	District	District
	One	Two	Three	Four
Gender				
Male	704	222	170	660
Female	528	145	221	467
Age				
0-15	65	23	13	64
Over 15-25	331	106	166	332
Over 25-45	737	214	177	634
Over 45	99	24	35	97
Head of	359	72	46	306
Households				
Total	1,232	367	391	1,127

Table 2. Typical Occupations by Category, 1860

Categories	Typical Occupations						
Unskilled	Laborer	Maritime Worker	Porter	Servant	Domestic	Baggagemaster	Housekeeper
Semiskilled	Drayman						
Skilled	Carpenter	Engineer	Tailor	Blacksmith	Shoemaker	Butcher	Ship Carpenter
	Pilot	Cabinet Maker	Dressmaker	Painter	Baker	Engineer	Boiler maker
White Collar	Clerk	Bookkeeper					
Petty Proprietor	Grocer	Boarding House Keeper					
Proprietor/Manager	Merchant	Speculator	Steam Boat Captain	Dealer	Warf Owner	Proprietor	Storekeeper
Professional	Druggist	Lawyer	Physician	Teacher	Clergy	Newspaper Owner	
Government	Constable	Customs House Officer	Justice of the Peace	Police	Lieutenant	Sergeant	Soldier
Agriculture	Farmer	Farm Hand	Planter				
Unemployed	Unemployed						
Other	Lady of Leisure	Gentlemen of Leisure	Prostitute				

Variables

Dependent

The dependent variables in this study were the census districts. Because of the methods used to conduct the 1860 census, census districts were the smallest level of spatial information available to scholars at the neighborhood level, so this thesis uses the district as a representation of neighborhood. Yancey et al. (1976) argued ethnic communities develop in neighborhoods based on structural conditions of the society: the development and maintenance of ethnic community are measured at the district level in this study.

Independent

Emergent ethnicity theory (Yancey et al., 1976) serves to explore the conditions where ethnic solidarity and formulation occur. There were two key independent variables in this study: county of origin and occupation. For the Irish, formulation of identity occurs at the county of origin level and is perpetuated throughout their lives, even after emigration to Savannah (Cronin, 1999; Kneasfsey, 1998). Thus county of origin, derived from the 1860 census, is a valuable resource for immigration research. The eighth federal census is the only one in which nationality is recorded at the county level in Savannah; census instructions did not ask for the inclusion of nativity at this level so it is unclear why it exists. All 32 Irish counties (see Figure 1) were represented in the census, but County Wexford has the highest population with 459 individuals. County of origin as an independent variable is expected to predict the dependent variable of neighborhood because of theory on network and ethnicity concentrations (Borruso, 2008; Choldin, 1973; Yancey 1976).

Emergent ethnicity theory specifically highlights occupation as a factor for the emergence of ethnicity. As an independent variable, occupation may also predict where immigrants settle in cities; Choldin (1973), Vaughan (2002) and Yancey et al. (1976) explore how occupation determines residency patterns in immigrants. Occupation is categorized into 11

groups by type of skill needed. This categorization is adapted from Shoemaker's (1990) index, with the addition of a separate category for the unemployed.

Figure 1. Map of Ireland's Counties with Names, Northern Ireland Counties Colored Tan
(Population_density_of_Ireland_map2002.svg, 2009).



Data

The 1860 Federal Census of Chatham County, Georgia contains data on the Irish at the individual level. The way the data was collected in 1860 is different than any other year.

According to the memorandum published by the United States Department of Commerce, there is no copy of the census instructions for 1860 at the Bureau of the Census; their records suggest “1860 generally followed 1850” (Bureau of the Census, 1993). The only copy in existence was located at the Library of Congress, titled, “Eighth Census, United States. –1860.... Act of Congress of Twenty-Third May, 1850” (Bureau of the Census, 1993). There were several protocols on how to report the results of the census, but many instructions were unclear or absent.

One protocol that contemporary censuses use that historical censuses did not was the idea of a small, official delineated geographic space for longitudinal research—or a census tract—was envisioned in 1906 by Walter Laidlaw, and the 1910 Census was the first census where districts were delineated based on geography. Census tract data on the individual level was published as part of the standard information for residents beginning with the 1940 Census (Krieger, 2006).

Historically, there were guidelines for the measurement of individuals within households. Protocol required each household to be given a number starting with one. The 1860 federal census was conducted on June 1, 1860. This includes hotels and businesses (if someone spent the previous night there). Next, each dwelling was numbered, but because several families may have lived in one home, it was also necessary to number by family. A family was defined as any number of people under one head of household. The instructions give the example of a widow or two hundred people in a boarding house with one manager. This definition is how this thesis uses “family.” The full name of every person was recorded, with their age, sex, color (white, black,

mulatto, Indian), and profession. The value of the head of households' real estate and personal property was noted, along with place of birth (state, territory, or country). The 1860 census of Chatham County was advantageous as it documented county of origin as well. In addition, the category "district" was included, and census takers were supposed to document the name of the district, town, or ward. In Chatham County, the census divides the city of Savannah and nearby islands into seven districts. Districts 1 through 4 were inside of the Savannah city limits. The census does not name the districts other than these numbers. The lack of census tract information is problematic because there was no standardized census tract information; census users cannot find specific locations using the census data alone. In the 1860 Chatham County census, there are even instances where census takers skipped whole streets and residences and then returned later.

The discrepancies in the census made it necessary to correlate the information with other historical data, such as the 1860 City Directory of Savannah, in order to locate Irish neighborhoods for spatial analysis. Similar to a telephone book, the city directory contained names, locations, occupations, and residence type, for the majority of residents and was published every year. There were two ways addresses were recorded in the directory: the first gave specific addresses, and the second gave approximations. For example, the 1860 directory listed John Finney as a laborer with a house on 12 State Street, while it listed Michael Finney as an inspector for the Customs House with a house on East Broad Street, between Bay Street and Bryan Street. (1860 City Directory, p. 75). Addresses have changed multiple times in Savannah's history, so approximation was more useful in the context of this neighborhood analysis.

The author produced a database that contained all free inhabitants with a noted Irish-origin background and the members in the household. Next, the researcher geolocated these data onto maps in order to interpret spatial and residence patterns. While there is no known 1860

Chatham County census map to compare with this data, archives and oral histories confirm the depicted patterns (Memories Project, 2008).

To supplement and triangulate the census data, the researcher collected historical content from the Georgia Historical Society, the City of Savannah Research Library and Municipal Archives, Georgia Archives, Wexford Library, Waterford Library, Wexford County Archives, Waterford County Archives, and the National Archives of Ireland. Archival material included newspapers, civic records, maps, pamphlets, Irish associations, and other historical sources. Data from these sources informed specific case studies used in this study, specifically nativity records such as alien declarations and Board of Health Records. Oral histories from the 2008 Memories Project conducted by the Archives & Records Department of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Savannah on members of the Savannah Irish community provided evidence for the historical cultural analysis (Memories Project, 2008).

Analysis

Ethnic identity is dependent on cultural and structural conditions of a society, however, cultural and structural conditions were dependent on the environment (Yancey et al., 1976). In order to extract any information about the structural conditions of an ethnic group, it is necessary to identify where the group exists. In the context of this study, it is essential that we know where the Irish lived in Savannah; specifically, this research examines if the Irish were dispersed randomly or settled in patterns or neighborhoods.

In order to determine how structural and geographic conditions impacted the development of identity, quantitative analysis of residential patterns was combined with qualitative analysis of specific case studies. There are two hypotheses for this data: the first, that there will be an association between Irish county of origin and residency district in Savannah,

and the second, that there will be an association between occupation and district in Savannah.

The best method to analysis neighborhood and ethnicity at this level is to do a quantitative chi-square test for association. Using SPSS, a chi-square analysis was conducted to discover if there was a relationship between categorical variables. The data used in this study was nominal, independent, and mutually exclusive, which makes chi-square test for association the best test for this data. If statistically significant settlement patterns were present, this finding establishes the existence of settlement patterns based on county origin. Because the top six counties comprised of over half the population of Irish in Savannah, a chi-square analysis was conducted on each of the six counties. In addition, the non-Wexford population versus the Wexford population was calculated.

This study applies a multimethod approach to triangulate different types of available data to understand the Savannah Irish in light of emergent ethnicity theory. The multiple methods are deliberately used to synthesize different research questions and provide tools for creating social science knowledge (Brewer and Hunter, 1989). In a study on the validity of qualitative and quantitative GIS mapping methods, the researchers find that there was moderate to high validity when using both methods (Brown, 2016). Thus, the use of a multimethod approach to historical research aids in the goal to make social science research more reliable and valid.

There are two predominant ways of identifying ethnic neighborhoods; the first requires qualitative methods such as oral histories and surveys for community institutions to designate important ethnic areas, the latter method is based on census data (Logan et al., 2002). This study used both to identify ethnic neighborhoods, however, census data provided a city-wide analysis of the population.

The families and setting used in this research larger social science trends to show

purposively chosen events and sites (Sofaer, 1999). Yin (1984) explores case studies as, “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (p. 23). Further, case studies augment the limitations of quantitative methods by discovering holistic and in-depth explanations of social issues (Zainal, 2007). The selected case studies in this thesis add the human element to a larger narrative of transnational migration and ethnic neighborhood development.

This topic was historical in nature, so aspects of analysis was open for analysis by the scholar. Limited resources and human error may affect the results of this study, however, this data is analyzed and presented as accurate as possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

On December 6, 1850, the *Daily Morning News* announced the arrival of the barque *Brothers* with 125 Wexford emigrants to the shores of Savannah. Unlike the general narratives that exude alienation and oppression (Miller, 1985), the *Daily Morning News* article carried a different tone: “It is rarely that we see a more respectable body of newcomers from any portion of Europe, than those brought by the Brothers, and who we learn design settling in Savannah. May they realize their brightest anticipations, of prosperity and happiness in their new home” (1850).

Wexfordians used one of three shipping companies, the Graves & Sons Shipping Company, the Allen Shipping Company, or the Howlett Shipping Company, to migrate from one of two ports in County Wexford during the mid-nineteenth century. As the newly arrived emigrants were welcomed to the shores of Georgia, Irish emigrants were most likely shocked by what greeted them in Savannah. Advertisements for the port of Savannah in the *Wexford Independent* falsely described Savannah as “mild and healthy,” even during the height of the Yellow Fever Epidemic (Board of Health Minutes, 1854; *Wexford Independent*, 1854). The humid and hot environment was unfairly advertised, but the economic and social benefits Savannah provided were not.

Wexford immigrants arrived at the height of immigration to Savannah. During the peak period of Irish immigration to Savannah between 1848 and 1852, Savannah’s population boomed, growing from 13,573 to 18,304 individuals in just four years (Bancroft, 1848; Simo, 2008). Savannah’s population grew exponentially between 1830 and 1860. During these years, the population rose from 7,303 to 22,292 individuals. A large portion of the population growth

can be explained by newly arrived Irish immigrants who chose to make Savannah their home.

Irish immigrants did not settle evenly in Savannah, as shown by the concentration of Wexfordians in particular areas (see Figure 2). The majority of new immigrants lived in two predominantly Irish communities at the city's limits, suggesting a link between ethnicity and settlement location.

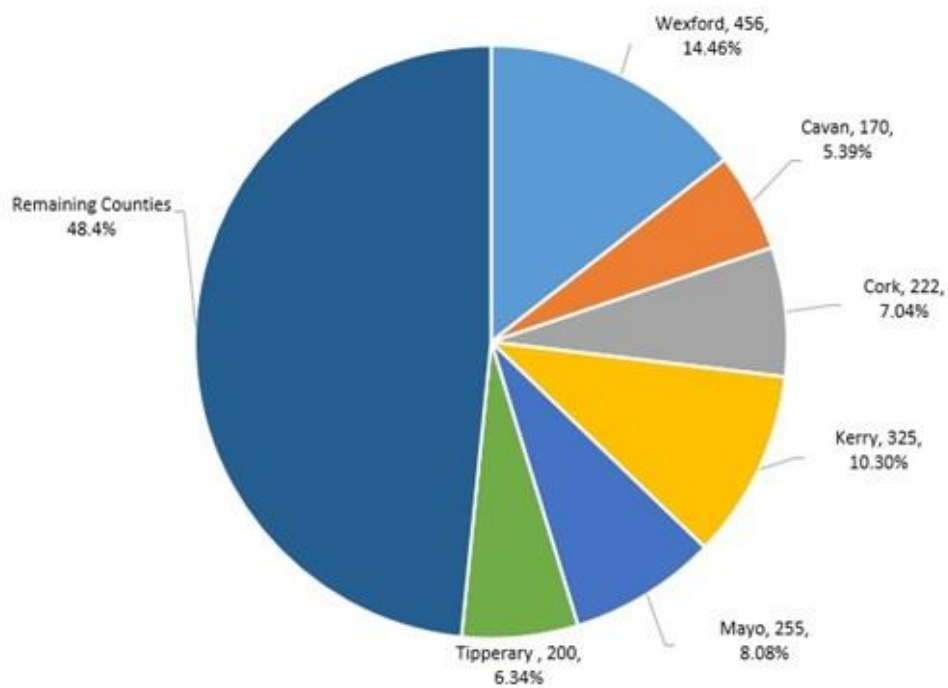
Figure 2. Concentrated Wexfordians in Savannah, 1860



The 1860 federal census indicated Irish immigrants represented 21.37% of the free inhabitants inside the city limits of Savannah. At a household level, the Irish households comprised more than 38.58% of the population of Savannah. From any angle, Savannah was an Irish city. This inclusivity is apparent in the welcome of Irish immigrants, as seen in the aforementioned *Daily Morning News* article noting newly arrived Irish immigrants.

Remarkably, the Irish in Savannah do not seem to be thought of as immigrants or exiles as they do in many other cities (Miller, 1985); their ethnic identity is constantly reshaped by their involvement in local activities and actions. For example, the Irish formed a distinct military unit called the Irish Jasper Greens. *The Daily Georgian* writes about the unit after Fourth of July celebrations: “we extend, as we have before, a cordial, heart felt welcome” (1847). The cheerful acceptance of the Irish paired with the overwhelming number of immigrants created a distinct ethnic identity for the newcomers in Savannah.

Figure 3. Irish County of Origin in Savannah, 1860



Districts

The following sections describe the districts, or neighborhoods, which comprise of the city of Savannah. Each section highlights important aspects of the district, including geographic constraints in order to better understand the context of this study.

District One

Yamacraw and Oglethorpe Ward were located in District One. Oral histories and archival materials, along with census data, corroborate that Yamacraw and Oglethorpe were considered Irish neighborhoods (Memories Project, 2008; Mulligan, 2002). The Central of Georgia Railroad terminal was located near the southern corner of this district. The canal ran along the western border of district one, which provided access to work in the timber industry, as well along Savannah River docks. There was a total of 1,232 Irish-born individuals present in district one in 1860, according to the federal census.

Districts Two and Three

The boundaries of district two were West Broad Street (now Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard), Barnard Street, the Savannah River, and W. Charlton Street. District two includes 367 individuals. The boundaries of district three were Barnard Street, Floyd Street, the Savannah River, and Hall Street. There were 391 Irish immigrants in district three. Middle and upper-class members of Savannah settled in districts two and three (Haunton, 1968).

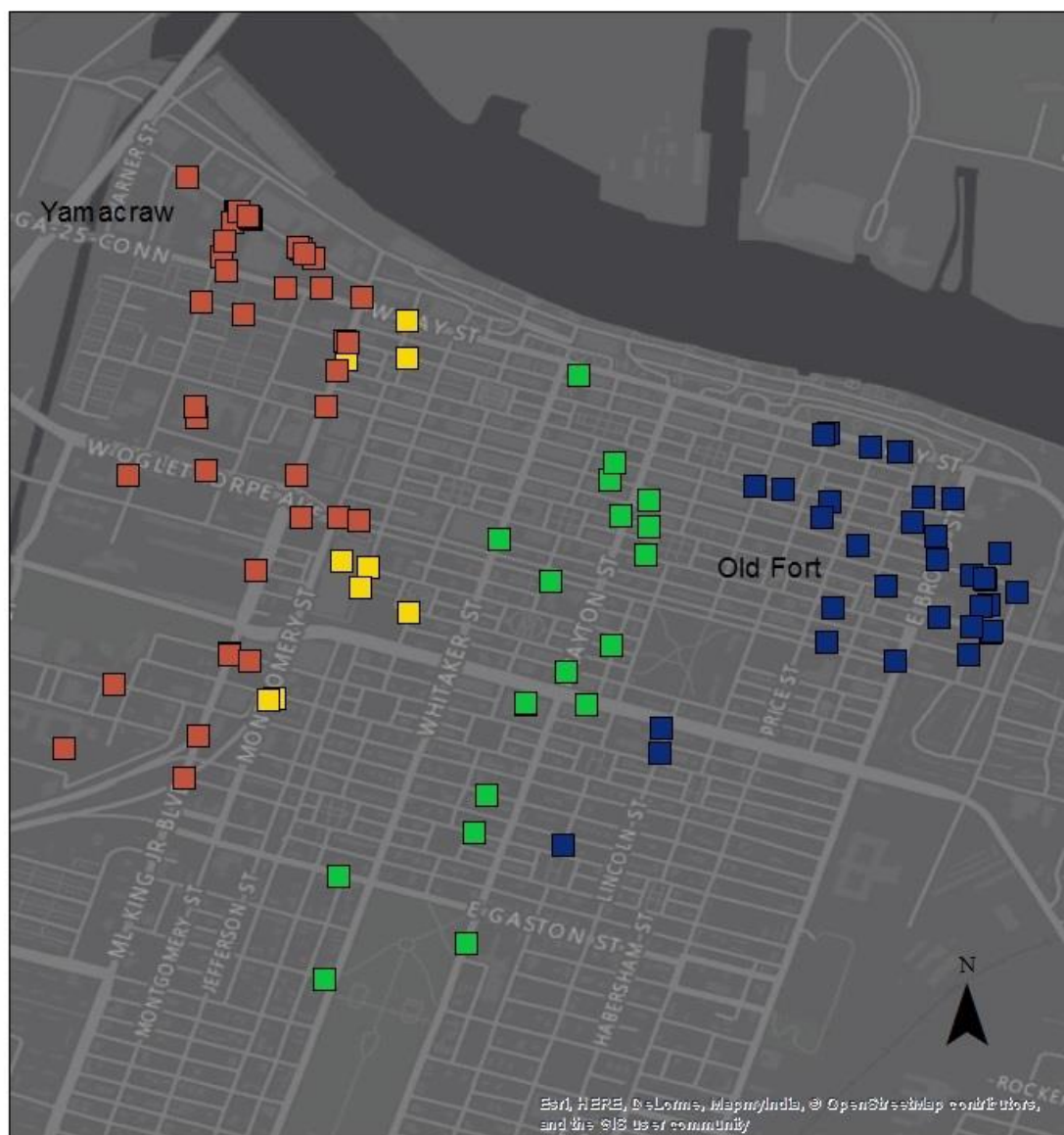
District Four

The boundaries of district four were Abercorn Street, Arnold Street, the Savannah River, and Taylor Street. District four includes 1,127 individuals. However, the majority of immigrants

in district four² reside in the northwest corner of the district, in an Irish neighborhood known as “Old Fort” in and around Washington Ward. Over time, this neighborhood would take on stereotypes of the “rich” Irish—oral histories use the term “lace curtain Irish” (Memories Project, 2008). In present-day, this district of Savannah is known for its beautiful nineteenth and twentieth-century homes and historical tourism.

² Because of the focus of this study, only Wexford immigrants are plotted in Savannah.

Figure 4. Wexfordians in Savannah by District, 1860



Legend
 Individuals with Wexford Origin,
 By District:

- Red One
- Yellow Two
- Green Three
- Blue Four

0 0.1 0.2 0.4 Miles

County

The following sections focus on county identity in Savannah, specifically highlighting the results of the top six Irish counties of origin in Savannah, which represent over half the Irish population. In addition, there is a subsection on County Wexford, because Wexford immigrants are the largest immigrant group in Savannah during the mid-nineteenth century.

County was an important way for immigrants to distinguish themselves in their newly arrived homeland; evidence of county importance is evident in a variety of ways throughout the lives of Irish immigrants. One way county identity is evident is on tombstones in the Catholic Cemetery. In addition to the name and year of death, the Irish county of origin is inscribed on many Irish tombstones.

Wexford Identity in Savannah

Wexford is widely represented throughout the city of Savannah, through politics, economics, and social factors. The implications of a Wexford identity were visible throughout the city (for example, there are streets named after important Wexfordian individuals), and their presence can tell researchers much about life as an Irish immigrant in Savannah. Shoemaker (1990) argues that there was a link between Savannah and Wexford, but that the link was not representative of the city's Irish population (p. 46). However, Wexford is the largest county of origin. Wexford's prominence is seen throughout the city, visibly shaping Irish identity. In 1860, 14.45% of the Irish population in Savannah were from Wexford. Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of Wexfordians in Savannah by census district.

In addition to the use of statistical data to interpret concentrations of Irish in Savannah, maps can illustrate the spatial distribution of the Irish. In figure 2, the concentration of Wexfordians in Savannah is shown. This visual, along with census and city directory data,

demonstrates an evident pattern of migration to districts one and four, and more specifically, to the Irish areas in Savannah known as Yamacraw and Old Fort.

Table 3. Results of Chi-squared test for District by County of Origin

District	County Origin					
	Wexford	Cork	Kerry	Mayo	Tipperary	Cavan
Number						
District One	202* (44.30%)	48** (21.92%)	27** (8.54%)	148 (58.73%)	70 (53.03%)	113** (66.47%)
District Two	43 (9.43%)	15 (6.85%)	26 (8.23%)	19* (7.54%)	20 (15.15%)	23 (13.53%)
District Three	60 (13.56%)	22 (10.05%)	17** (5.38%)	16** (6.35%)	24 (18.18%)	14 (8.24%)
District Four	151 (33.11%)	134** (61.19%)	246 (77.85%)	69** (27.38%)	81 (13.64%)	20** (11.76%)

Note. Numbers in parentheses indicate percentage of column.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Results for County of Origin

Results from the chi-square analysis in district one demonstrate a relationship between county of origin and district one. In total, there were 3,117 Irish individuals in the four districts inside Savannah, 31.6% of the total population of Chatham County. Wexford, Mayo, and Cavan counties are overrepresented in District 1, while Kerry is underrepresented. Table 3 includes the statistics for District 1.

In this district, there were more Wexford-born individuals than expected, accounting for 44.30% percent of Wexfordians in Savannah. The results were significant at the $p = .05$ level: $\chi^2 (1, N = 3,119) = 5.01$ $p = .03$. Furthermore, almost half of the Wexford population was concentrated in district one. Statistically, district one is a Wexford-saturated district.

The statistical significance of Mayo and Cavan's overrepresentation in district one support the hypothesis that county of origin affected Irish distribution in Savannah. In addition, more than half of the total Mayo-born immigrants settled in district one, which suggests a strong correlation between county of origin and residence in Savannah. With almost 70% of Cavan immigrants found in district one, this finding suggests a prominent trend of residency based on county of origin. Conzen (1979) argued census data supported evidence that ethnic residential segregation was lower in the middle of the nineteenth century than later. However, this data suggests concentration based on ethnic identity was notably strong in Savannah.

Yancey et al. (1976) note that a similar occupational concentration offers four explanations for group solidarity: similar occupations can explain similar economic status, comparable class consciousness, high interpersonal relationships, and finally, similar residential concentrations (p. 393). These four explanations were found in Yamacraw.

Results from district two, like district one, provide evidence for county of origin as a

factor for Irish distribution. Wexford was less prominent than expected: a total of 9.43% of the county resided in district two, but not at a level low enough for statistical significance. Mayo was the only county of origin in district two with a statistical significance level for overrepresentation. County Mayo's presence in district two supports the hypothesis that county of origin is a factor in immigrant settlement patterns. However, Cork and Kerry are significantly under represented (see table 3). In accordance with emergent ethnicity theory (Yancey et al., 1976), this result may be explained by chain migration networks to neighborhoods.

In district three, Kerry and Mayo's populations were so under-bounded they were statistically significant (see table 3). The absence of a significant Irish population in districts two and three support the hypothesis that the Irish settled in patterns based on county of origin.

Counties Cork and Kerry were significantly overrepresented in district four, which suggests patterns of chain migration.

These statistics are critical to the exploration of identity creation in Savannah, as they demonstrate a statistical absence of Wexford individuals found in the area historically known as the Irish part of town. However, just because Wexford is statistically absent does not mean that individuals from Wexford were absent: they are still the second most represented group in this district and well represented in numbers. Wexford was only statistically significant in district one, but there is a noteworthy Wexford presence in all districts. Perhaps the sheer number of Wexfordians distributed throughout Savannah and the structural conditions of the city led the Irish to settle elsewhere; instead of migrating to preexisting Irish neighborhoods, they had a greater freedom to settle elsewhere.

While there were more Irish immigrants in districts one and four, the distribution of Irish among Savannah varies by county of origin. The finding that there were not counties of origin

with similar residency patterns throughout the city is evidence that the Irish may have settled for other reasons. Yancey et al. (1976) suggested that “ethnic residential patterns can also be seen as strong evidence for the impact of residential concentrations for the maintenance of ethnic solidarity” (p. 396). The concentration of Irish in particular districts according to county of origin supports Yancey et al.’s (1976) theory because residence patterns by county of origin is strong evidence for concentration based on ethnicity.

Occupation

Occupation in Savannah

Yancey et al. (1976) argued groups segregated residentially, even within ethnic group, were distinguished by occupation, citizenship, and even language. Ethnicity was commonly impacted by economic factors such as class or occupation and vice versa. In many places where the Irish immigrated like Boston or New York, they held low-paying, gruesome jobs. Quite often this competition turned hostile, as Noel Ignatiev (2009) illustrated with a short excerpt from *How the Irish Became White*, “My master is a great tyrant...He treats me as badly as if I was a common Irishman.” Ignatiev argued that the skin color skin of the Irish made them eligible for membership in to the white race, but was not the sole criteria (p. 59). For most Irish, the low social standing compared to other whites during the pre-Civil War era defined the Irish as exiles in their new homes, rather than accepted members of the broader society (Miller, 1985). The Savannah-Irish were typically welcomed, but many held lower-class jobs. Irish immigrants directly competed with African Americans, both as slaves and as freemen (McDonogh, 1993).

In Savannah, the distribution of occupations held by Irish varied widely, from nurse to engineer. In this study, occupation was divided into eleven categories, using an index adapted from Shoemaker (1990). Table 2 displays the categorization of occupations. Shoemaker leaves a

section for “other,” combining the remaining miscellaneous occupations with the unemployed population. Unemployment is a necessary category to measure assimilation and integration into society if we use occupation as a factor in the development of ethnicity; because of this, unemployment was given its own category in this analysis.

Following Yancey et al.’s (1976) argument, the hypothesis for this study is that certain occupations will be statistically significant in different areas of Savannah, due to geographic and structural conditions of the city; for example, laborers will be located near industry.

Table 4. Results of Chi-squared test for District by Occupation

District	Unskilled	Semiskilled	Skilled	White Collar	Petty Proprietor	Proprietor/ Manager	Professional	Government	Agricultural	Unemployed	Other
District One	635** (43.79%)	65** (74.71%)	218** (45.42%)	34 (31.78%)	72 (41.62%)	16* (27.12%)	3** (9.38%)	17 (27.87%)	1 (50%)	173** (26.29%)	0** (0%)
District Two	169 (11.66%)	3* (3.45%)	70* (14.58%)	17 (15.89%)	25 (14.45%)	12* (20.34%)	2 (6.25%)	6 (9.84%)	0 (0%)	62* (9.42%)	1 (10%)
District Three	207** (14.28%)	2** (2.3%)	68 (14.17%)	25** (23.36%)	11** (6.36%)	18** (30.51%)	8* (25.00%)	0** (0%)	1 (50%)	45** (6.84%)	6** (60%)
District Four	439** (30.28%)	17** (19.54%)	124** (25.83%)	31 (28.97%)	65 (37.57%)	13* (22.03%)	19* (59.38%)	38** (62.30%)	0 (0%)	378** (57.45%)	3 (30%)

*p < .05, **p < .01. Percentage total of column.

Results for Occupation

Savannah's socioeconomic distribution was that of a city with more upper-class occupations, such as professionals or political occupations, in the center of the city and more immigrant accessible occupations near the perimeter of the city. This is evident in the three occupation categories statistically over-represented among the Irish in district one, unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled workers. The semi-skilled category comprised mainly of draymen who were primarily located in district one: almost 75% of this category can be found here. Pessen (1976) explained that drayman was not an occupation for the wealthy in the antebellum south; this result fits the narrative that district one is primarily composed of lower class neighborhoods. This finding supports Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory that immigrants were forced to live in residential concentrations because of economic pressures.

The proprietor/manager, the professional, the unemployed, and the miscellaneous category were statistically significant for under-representation in district one (see table 4). This evidence suggests the Irish resided in settlement patterns near their occupations, for some occupations which are traceable to the same district, such as clergymen or boarding house managers.

There were fewer semiskilled workers and unemployed individuals than expected in this district. District two is home to upper-class members of Savannah society (Bancroft, 1848): these results are consistent with the hypothesis that occupation is tied to the structural conditions of the city, in this case, affordable housing was located at the outskirts of Savannah.

There were more proprietor/managers in district two than expected because this area is known to be a higher class neighborhood. Proprietors and managers were members of a higher class, thus they were more likely to be found in district two.

District three is a curious case for occupation in Savannah. Similar to district two, it comprises of upper-class members of Savannah society. However, there were a variety of occupations statistically significant for both under and overrepresentation in this district. Four categories of occupation were statistically significant for an unusually low prevalence in district three (see table 4 for statistics): semiskilled, petty proprietors, government, and unemployed. There were five occupation categories statistically significant for a higher population than expected; unskilled, white-collar, proprietor/managers, professionals, and other.

District four, where the Irish neighborhood of Old Fort is located, provided an interesting case for occupation in Savannah because several unusual occupations are statistically represented in this district. In the fourth district, four categories of occupations were statistically underrepresented: Unskilled, semiskilled, skilled laborers, and proprietor/managers (see table 4). As this district became more industrial over the next century, perhaps occupations changed.

There were three categories of occupations in district four that were statistically overrepresented: unemployed, professionals, and government occupations (see table 4). These categories may tell a story of development in Savannah over time. In contrast to district one, district four developed into an affluent district preserved by historical tourism efforts while much of district one was demolished. Perhaps the presence of upper-class occupations in district four was evidence of a structural change in Savannah, which becomes more evident over the twentieth century. These findings have implications for assimilation theory as well, as they demonstrate how different neighborhoods can impact ethnicity even at the beginning stages of ethnicity (Alba and Nee, 1997; Alba and Nee, 2003).

The professional class, which includes the clergy was over-represented. Religiosity was a strong value for Irish immigrants. Father Peter Whelan of Clongeen, County Wexford, is an

excellent example of the humanitarian efforts in which the immigrants in Old Fort took part. Whelan's ministry work in Savannah and during the Civil War made him one of the most commemorated individuals in the South. When he passed away, the Hibernian Society and the Irish Union society ordered special announcements in the *Savannah Morning News* for memorials held in his honor (1871). The high level of need found in district four provided Whelan with a space to minister, his identity as one of the most benevolent men in Savannah was shaped by his location and the structural conditions of the society which allowed for religiosity.

District four also included more than 60% of the government occupations. Back home in Ireland, the Irish were known for the tenacity in the fight for independence. The substantial percentage of government occupations in the second most populated district demonstrates one way identity has been reinforced in Savannah; the Irish were extremely active in politics and social organizations which fought for political causes back home.

Yancey et al. (1976) suggested that residency may be tied to the structural and economic conditions of a society through occupations, and these patterns aided in the development of ethnicity. These findings reinforce the theory that occupations influence residency patterns: occupations with lower skill qualifications were found in higher numbers on the outskirts of town near rail and other industries, while professional and service occupations were found in the center of town (Bancroft, 1848). Choldin's (1973) study on kinship networks also finds that occupation is tied to ethnicity and residency, which supports this finding. These findings only reference the Irish, since no other ethnic group was analyzed in this study.

The following section explores life in Savannah at the micro-scale: an examination of one specific location, district one's Indian Street, offers insight into life as an Irish immigrant in Savannah.

Figure 5. Distribution of Wexford Occupations, 1860



0 0.1 0.2 0.4 Miles

Legend
Occupations

- Unskilled
- Skilled
- White Collar
- Petty Proprietor
- Professional
- Unemployed

Indian Street

In the heart of bustling Yamacraw, Indian Street divided North Oglethorpe Ward in half. Once known for the sheer number of make-shift dwellings on it, today it is home to a U-Haul dealer, a US Post Office, and a BP gas station (Google Maps, 2017). Historically, Indian street was comprised primarily of dwellings, with a few industries, such as an iron foundry and a steam grits mill mixed in. In 1859, the committee of freeholders, or those who held deeds for land in Savannah, petitioned the mayor of Savanah to extend Indian Street to Joachim Street until it intersected with West Broad Street because the sheer population and unstable construction near these streets made the threat of fire a reality (*Daily Morning News*, 1859). This successful display of public input provided evidence to the strength of the Irish community in Savannah.

Indian Street's location adjacent to the canal and near the Savannah River gave it the characteristics of a swamp-laden area with standing water and mosquitos that carried Yellow Fever (Buker, 2016). This marshland terrain made this neighborhood of Savannah undesirable for most upper-class individuals. The Board of Health notes at the height of the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1854, Oglethorpe Ward was in a "very filthy and miserable condition from various causes, particularly the decay of old wooden buildings, privies full, etc...." (1854). These conditions contributed to high death tolls for the Irish during both the 1854 and the 1876 Yellow Fever epidemics (Board of Health, 1854; Epidemic at Savannah, 1876). These tragedies were most likely reminiscent of the Irish famine during which they emigrated.

Through the 1860 city directory and 1860 federal census records, we can create a representation of life on Indian Street. There were seventy-eight dwellings on Indian Street with a total of ninety-six heads of households. Seventy-five individuals on Indian Street (81.25%) were natives of Ireland. Life on Indian Street would have had a substantial Irish element to it.

Even further, this street had a clear Wexford presence. Almost half of the people on Indian Street had a County Wexford origin. Figure 6 shows the distribution of Wexfordians on and around Indian Street.

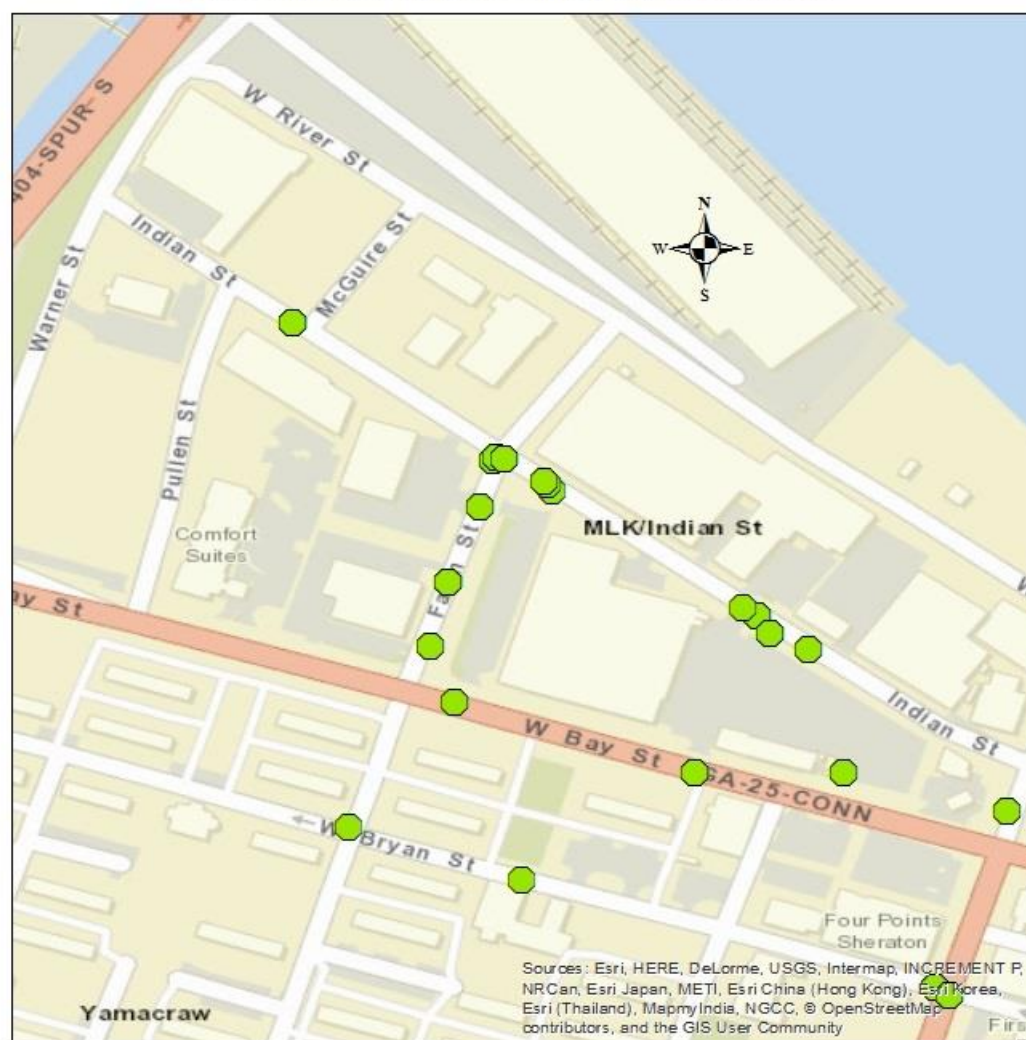
Several ethnic groups were also present on Indian Street. In figures 7 and 8, Indian Street is depicted in the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance maps. Dwellings are mixed in with industry as well as new construction, and ruins of old settlements. There were seven individuals (7.29%) from England. Two individuals (2.08%) were from Germany. Eleven individuals (11.46%) had a United States origin (but only three were native to Chatham County). While no African Americans lived on Indian Street, several lived on the streets nearby (The 1860 city directory does not record their location). Even though the Irish were a clear majority on Indian street, there was a distinct transnational flair to this area of Savannah.

At an individual level, gender shaped occupation on Indian Street. Over 75% of the individuals on the street were male. Because of this overwhelming male presence, many of the occupations found on Indian Street were labor intensive; in fact, the leading profession by far was laborer, with thirty-eight individuals (39.58%). However, there was a wide variety of jobs, from carpenter to school teacher. In general, women were represented on Indian Street as housekeepers or boarding housekeepers. There were five boarding house keepers on Indian Street, all from County Wexford.

Over the next century, all of the dwellings on Indian Street would be replaced with commercial land. The memories of those who lived in this area; even archival material fails to inform about life on Indian Street. An examination of the intricacies of life, labor, and identity for those on Indian street adds complexity to Yancey et al.'s (1976) emergent ethnicity theory by exploring ethnicity and neighborhood creation at an individual level. On Indian Street, group

solidarity as well as a similar economic status for most individuals can be explained by Yancey et al.'s (1976) emergent ethnicity theory. In addition, the abundance of unskilled occupations found on Indian Street contributed to the establishment of a high immigrant residential concentration.

Figure 6. Indian Street with Wexfordian Individuals Plotted, 1860



Legend

● Individuals from District 1

0 0.1 0.2 0.4 Miles

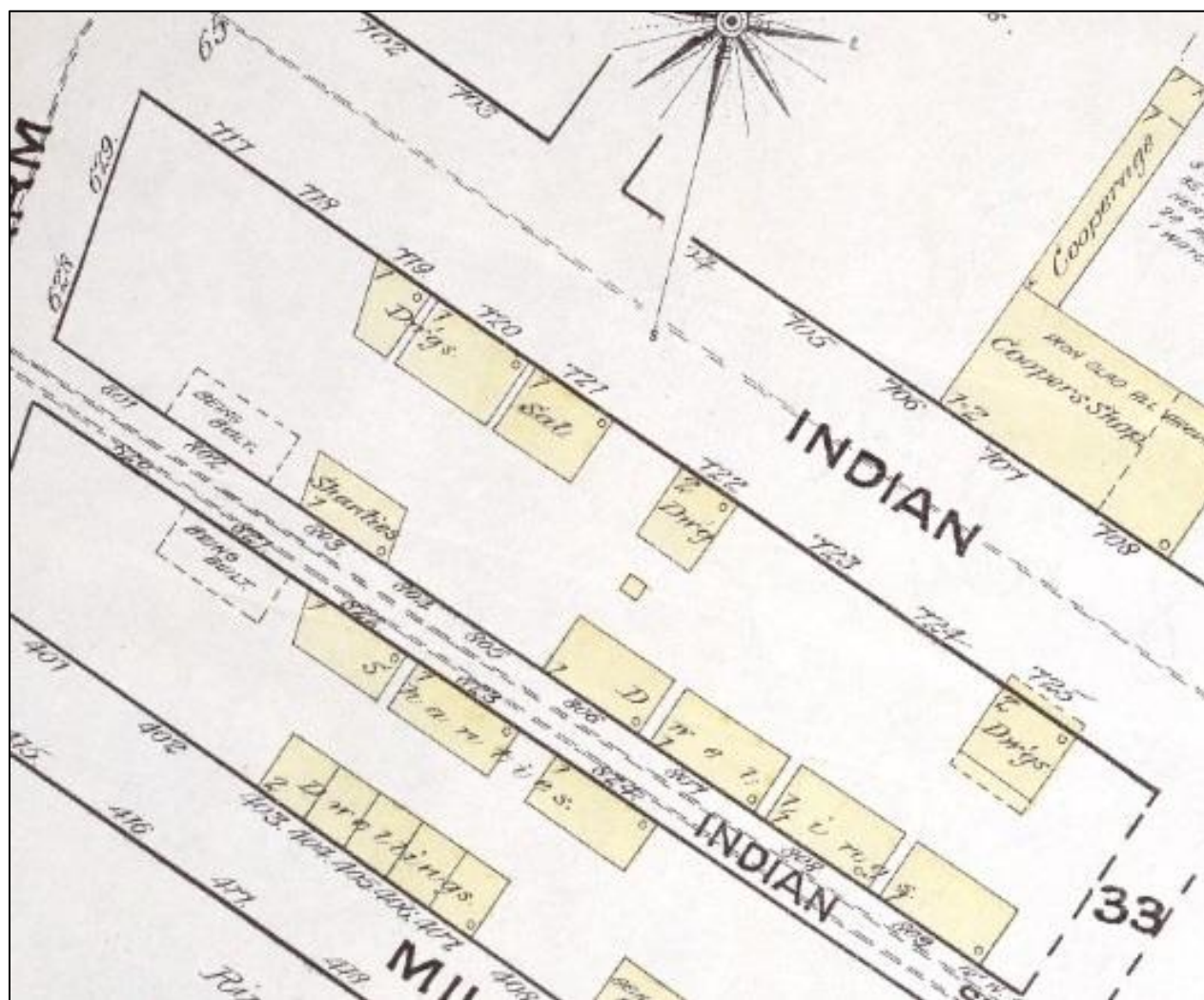
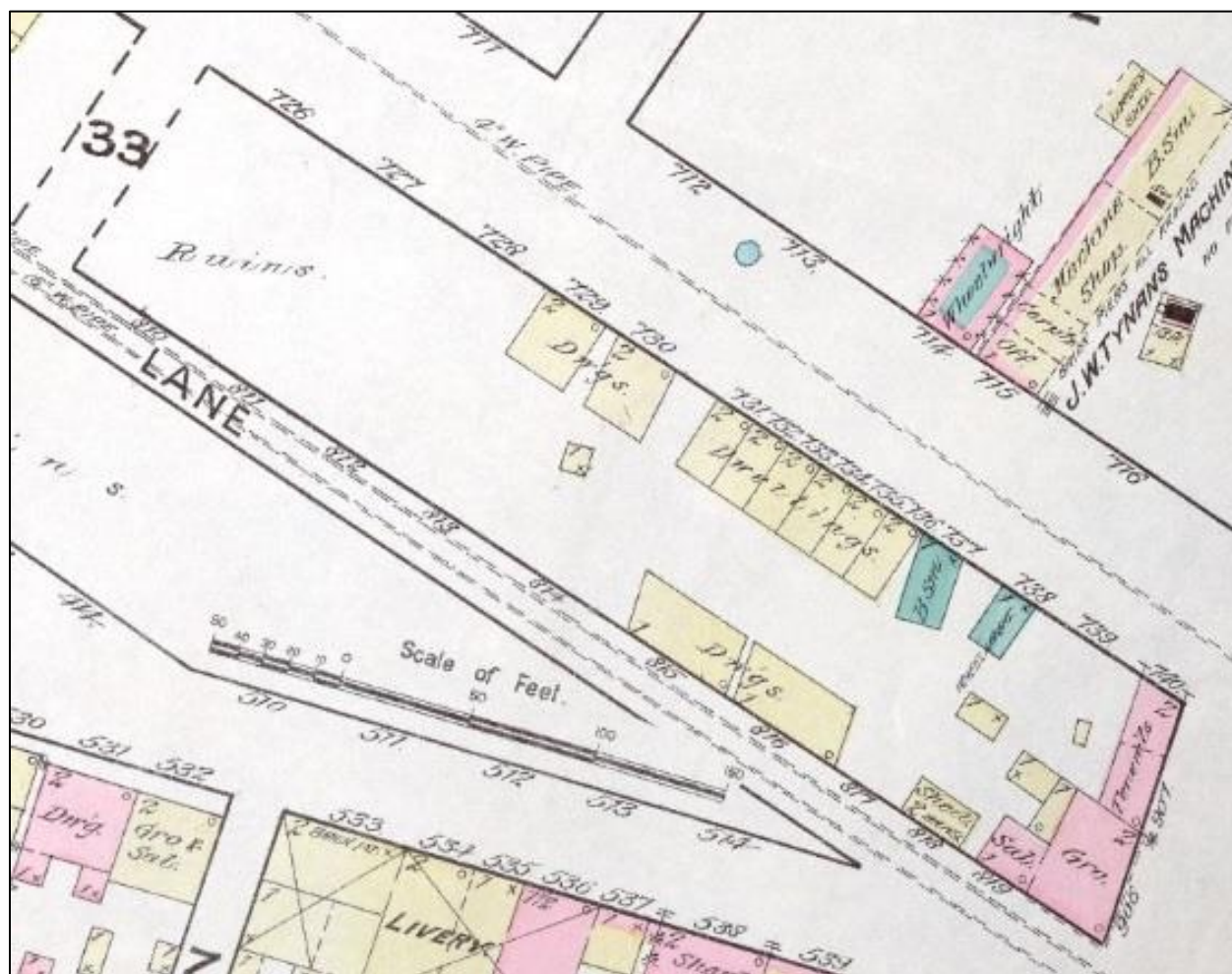


Figure 8. Indian Street, Sanborn Map 2, 1884, Part 2



Case Studies

The following sections note several important individuals and families for this thesis. Each family or individual is significant to the story of Irish immigration to Savannah in different ways. These three are selected to highlight particular aspects of migration and life in Savannah; they are representative, but they are not all-encompassing. Many stories of immigration and life in Savannah as an Irish immigrant are left to be told.

Yamacraw Kehoes

Owen Kehoe is a perfect example of life on Indian street in Yamacraw Ward. As a Catholic immigrant from Oughmore (sic Aughmore), County Wexford, Owen Kehoe sailed to Savannah with his wife Johanna Monahan and their children on February 19, 1851, aboard the British barque *Menapia*, with approximately sixty other steerage passengers (*Daily Morning News*, 1851).

Like the typical Irish immigrant, much of Owen Kehoe's life is unknown in Savannah. What history does provide of Owen Kehoe's life shows that this family was a good example of typical Irish piety in Savannah. Straight off the boat, they rushed their youngest daughter, who was born during the transatlantic voyage, to Reverend J. P. O'Neil. The Kehoes' personal estate was valued at only 20 dollars, and nothing is listed for the value of real estate, implying this Kehoe family was very poor. The Kehoes represent a typical immigration story for many, wrought with hardship and suffering.

The 1860 federal census reported Owen Kehoe as a laborer, but he was not in Savannah long; he passed away at only 37 years of age (Catholic Cemetery). He was survived by his wife and children, Mary Staughton, who died at age 33, Dennis, who lived to the age of four, and Katie, who only made it to the age of two (Catholic Cemetery).

Owen Kehoe's brief time in Savannah models Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory of residency patterns based on occupation and ethnicity. Owen Kehoe and his family settled in a Wexford settlement located near an excess of industrial occupations, and Wexford stayed significant to him throughout his life: his county of origin, as well as his Irish townland, is inscribed on his tombstone. Kehoe's life demonstrates how the structure and geographic conditions of the Savannah neighborhoods enabled him to develop a Wexford-Savannah identity.

Old Fort Kehoes

Across town, another Kehoe family from County Wexford was new to Savannah. Daniel, Johanna, and their eight children arrived in the city during February of 1851³. Daniel Kehoe's great-granddaughter, Anne C. Ritzert, asserted the family settled in Savannah "because their meager passage fare took them only so far" (Causey, 1991).

Shortly after the family's arrival, Daniel Kehoe died of Yellow Fever (Board of Health Minutes, 1854). He was buried in the Catholic Cemetery's free ground section, and with no headstone, he was almost lost to history (*Savannah Daily Georgian*, 1854). His pauper's death signifies how poor the Kehoe family was at their time of immigration, as well as how vulnerable new immigrant populations were to disease and hardship in Savannah.

For many Irish migrants to Savannah, success was not a guarantee, but for a select few, hardship evolved into success. One of Daniel Kehoe's sons, William Kehoe, became an extremely successful businessman. He had great economic success as the owner of "the largest and best equipped [iron] plant south of [Virginia]" (Iron Tradesman, 1916). Kehoe's iron

³This information comes from Patrick Kehoe's alien declaration, which assumes that the Kehoe family immigrated to Savannah, Georgia, together (5600CC-040, Alien Declarations. Vol. 1 C, 1825-1858. City of Savannah, Research Library & Municipal Archives, Savannah, Georgia).

foundry was visible from his family home in Old Fort. Even as William Kehoe's economic status grew, he never moved away from Old Fort. When asked why he never moved after he became wealthy, he argued with pride, "This was the neighborhood where his family lived and it was good enough to remain there" (Ritzert, 1969), which is indicative of a strong sense of identity. Kehoe's rise to prominence is valuable because it contradicts an immigrant narrative that once successful, the "lace-curtain" Irish would migrate out of original settlements (Jenkins, 2002). Kehoe's resistance to leave Old Fort is reminiscent of a Wexfordian ethos of solidarity through both successful and difficult times.

The significance of Kehoe's Irish past during his success as a wealthy Savannah businessman is evidence of the nuances in the development and maintenance of ethnicity (Yancey et al., 1976). William Kehoe was active in many social organizations, most notably the Catholic Layman's Association and the Hibernian Society of Savannah. The Catholic Laymen's Association was created with the goal to unify Georgia "irrespective of creed," an ecumenical theme reminiscent of the ethos of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, one of the bloodiest events in Wexford's history (Causey, 1991).

Kehoe's good fortune would not last forever. The Kehoe Iron Works began its downward spiral during the Great Depression and faced a complete collapse when William Kehoe died of pneumonia on December 29, 1929. The headline of the article in the *Savannah Morning News* reads, "William Kehoe of Savannah Dies: One of City's Most Widely Known Citizens Passes Away at Age of 87" (1929). This headline provides further evidence of Kehoe's complex identity as an American and a Savannahian; it is not until the second paragraph that a reference to Ireland is made (*Savannah Morning News*, 1929). On William Kehoe's headstone, the place of his birth, Wexford, Ireland, is proudly displayed.

Simon Kehoe, William Kehoe's younger brother, was set to have an illustrious career as an engineer on the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad, but was met with an untimely death when a train derailed and a bar impaled him; his death was gruesomely described in the *Savannah Morning News* (1877). Along with a description of his death, Wexford, Ireland, is inscribed on his gravestone (Catholic Cemetery). This inclusion is evidence of how much Irish heritage meant to the Kehoe family and further supports Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory that ethnicity develops given the structural conditions of the society.

Richard Joseph Nunn

Richard Joseph (R.J.) Nunn is an atypical Savannah-Irish immigrant, but he never forgot his Wexfordian identity. Protestant R.J. Nunn immigrated to Savannah just months after his mother passed away in 1851. Nunn was from an upper-class background (his father was a physician from Wexford town), which provided him with the chance to migrate for opportunity rather than need. In letters from the Graves & Son Shipping Company, R.J. Nunn propositioned the company for passage on the barque *Glenlyon*, touting his notable—and unofficial—medical background (The Graves Collection, 1847).

Nunn arrived in Savannah and settled in the city's center, a more characteristic of upper and middle-class citizens in the area. He earned his medical degree from the Savannah Medical College, but unlike the Kehoes, Nunn traveled throughout the United States and Europe before returning to Savannah. While away, Nunn stopped in Richmond, Virginia, and shared his medical expertise during a Yellow Fever outbreak. When the worst outbreak of Yellow Fever hit Savannah's Irish neighborhoods in 1876, Nunn was recognized for his medical contributions.

Richard Joseph Nunn, like William Kehoe, was active in Irish organizations including the Hibernian Society. William Kehoe and Richard Joseph Nunn served on a standing committee at

the same time in 1894. The motto of the Hibernian Society, which translates to, “not for ourselves, but for others,” a sign of how essential volunteer efforts were for the Savannah-Irish community. In the later years of his life, Richard Joseph Nunn became an advocate for health conditions in Savannah, giving a keynote address to the National American Public Health Association at its annual meeting in Savannah. He argued, “No caste, no creed...no color” should be denied the right to sanitary living conditions (Public Health, 1881). At a local level, Nunn was a member of the Citizen’s Sanitation Association in Savannah, an organization with many public work projects based in the first ward (*Savannah Morning News*, 1891).

Later, he joined a volunteer branch of the Savannah Fire. Co., serving the Yamacraw neighborhood, where Owen Kehoe’s family, among other Wexford immigrants, settled. When Richard Joseph Nunn died, his obituary described his funeral as “one of the most largely attended ever held in this city” (*Savannah Morning News*, 1910). There is no better illustration of the construction of ethnic identity in Savannah than Nunn’s three-sided headstone, which reads “Richard Joseph Nunn: Scholar, Physician, Freemason, Born Wexford Ireland” (Savannah City Cemetery). Engraved in stone, Nunn’s origin as a Wexford man is listed among his occupation and a list of the social organizations in which he was active. Even after death, the importance of county of origin, occupation, and ethnicity were still visible for this individual, supporting Yancey et al.’s (1976) theory.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This thesis establishes the existence of the nineteenth-century Savannah-Irish community in terms of the cultivation ethnicity through neighborhoods. Jenkins (2002) provided evidence of an economic and social migration network in Buffalo, New York, in the same way that this research has provided evidence of a similar immigrant network in Savannah, Georgia. Using a mixed method approach, the researcher illustrated life as a new immigrant in Savannah through the lens of Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory.

However, there were limitations to this study. First and foremost, this topic was historical in nature, which left much to the interpretation of the scholar. There were limited sources to provide an overview of the culture. Both of these may contain errors, on the part of the reporter and because these documents are self-reported. There may be instances of human error in the researcher's database, however, this the most honest representation of the data, given the existing constraints.

In the findings on Indian Street, only the heads of households were analyzed given the time constraints. A better illustration would have been possible with more of the population. In the occupation section, children under 15 and adults over the age of retirement were included; this, of course, skewed the unemployment category.

Finally, more research on the topic of the Savannah Irish is needed. This study is just one frame out of many available in an understudied community. Longitudinal, as well as transatlantic

research, is needed. We must also investigate gender's influence on the community; much of the available data are only accessible from the male perspective. Furthermore, race is a major factor in the development of an ethnic community in Savannah; more research is needed on this topic. This research is part of a larger platform for the study of Irish immigrants in Savannah, Georgia. It is a goal of this research to help inform future studies, specifically research which is oriented to social and cultural factors. Hopefully, this research will inspire future endeavors for the study of female immigrants. In addition, this research will hopefully aid in the development of scholarship on the Savannah Irish as a whole; this culture is still very alive and vibrant and their contributions to Savannah deserve recognition.

Previous scholars have explored the phenomenon of transnationalism its impact on ethnicity (Portes et al., 1999; Mulligan, 2002). Portes et al. (1999) classified the level of institutionalization by economic, political, and socio-cultural factors, such as the creation of civic communities by immigrants, or by international visits to parishes (p. 222). The development and definition of ethnicity in Savannah were possible because of the economic, political, and social factors of the society. In a similar vein, Mulligan (2002) argued for the development of transnational geographies in the context of globalization using Irish nationalism as a case study. The presence of the Savannah-Irish ethnicity is evidence for his thesis.

To summarize this research, where Irish immigrants settled in Savannah because of two motivations: Irish county of origin and occupation. County of origin was an aspect of their identity carried from Ireland. Occupation, on the other hand, was new: immigrants switched from farm jobs to unskilled labor and service industry jobs. These two motivations support Yancey et al.'s (1976) theory which argues ethnicity is constructed and maintained because of the structural and geographic conditions of the society. Neighborhoods supported the maintenance of Irish

ethnicity at the county level. The Savannah-Irish community had a distinct ethnicity, emergent during the mid-nineteenth century in Savannah, Georgia.

These findings suggest ethnicity is dependent on the previous conditions of an ethnic group and the structural and geographic conditions of the highlighted ethnic community.

Ultimately, this provides evidence that history does impact culture and that the conditions of the society and geography are relevant to immigration and integration studies. The methods used in this study are not exclusively historical; they can be applied to contemporary immigration studies as well. By understanding how ethnicity is cultivated and maintained through neighborhoods, we can apply these concepts to contemporary immigrants. As tensions increase between local and immigrant groups throughout the world, this study becomes extremely pertinent.

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