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Irish And Irish-Americans In Helena, Montana, 1864-1916

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IRISH AND IRISH-AMERICANS IN HELENA, MONTANA, 1864-1916

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PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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BY

ANNA MARIE MOE

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CHAPTER I

THE IRISH ON THEIR WAY TO HELENA, MONTANA, 1864-1916

July 4, 1905, dawned as a bright sunny day in Helena, Montana. Some even said it was due to the “Luck of the Irish.” People, mostly Irish, from all over the state had come to see the unveiling of the Thomas Francis Meagher statue in front of the Montana state capitol building. Lieutenant Governor Edwin L. Norris in addressing the crowd of over 2,500 stated:

He [Thomas Francis Meagher] was not native born, but long before he had come to these shores the principles of self-government, freedom and the rights of man had been born in him. Long before that spirit had reached this land the fire of liberty had been burning in Ireland. The fires lighted there served as beacons of liberty: Wherever there has been a meeting in the name or cause of liberty, wherever a sword has been raised for freedom, an Irishman has been found there.

In erecting this monument to Gen. Meagher the thanks of the people of this state are due to the Meagher Memorial Association and to the Irishmen and citizens of this state who have assisted in the work. It is our duty to so shape our lives that we will do honor to the principles for which this man fought. It is not necessary for us to draw the sword to follow the example of Meagher but we can honor his memory by living up to the principles he fought for.1

Overlooking the valley, the statue of Thomas Francis Meagher astride a horse and brandishing a sword symbolized the proprietary air with which he was regarded in Helena. In Montana, the Irish have long cherished General Thomas Francis Meagher as their adopted son, not
Fig. 1. The dedication ceremony for the Thomas Francis Megher Statue, July 5, 1905. Reprinted from *Helena: An Illustrated History* (Norfolk, VA: Donning Co., 1983), 121.
because he was a good politician, but because he represented an Irish success story of the American dream. In spite of being forced to leave Ireland, Meagher became a successful Union general in the United States Army during the Civil War and then was appointed Secretary for the Territory of Montana. Yet he never forgot his homeland nor its struggle for independence from English "tyranny."

The Irish of Helena associated their own hardships with those that Meagher had successfully overcome. He personified the difficulties of immigration to the United States. In the political appointment of Meagher, they saw the triumph of an Irishman as a social and political equal to Americans, and yet one who was still willing to fight for Irish freedom. The Irish also identified with the problems of integrating themselves into the established economic structure. Thus, the story of Thomas Francis Meagher parallels the story of the Irish of Helena.

II

The Irish immigrated to the United States as a result of both pull and push factors. As explained by Roger Daniels in *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, pull factors lured a person to another area; they included the dream for a better life or following a family member who had already immigrated. Push factors, such as famine and poverty, compelled people to leave an area. According to E. G. Ravenstein, a British social scientist in the nineteenth century, "pull immigrants" were positively selected. These immigrants believed that their talents were well suited to the needs of their destination and that there
were opportunities open for them. "Push immigrants," however, tended to be negatively selected. Driven to leave their country, these immigrants would have never willingly left before conditions deteriorated. The Irish of the mid-nineteenth century belonged primarily in the push immigrant category.

Irish immigrants were forced out of their homeland by the hundreds of thousands beginning in 1845 when Ireland was about to embark upon its worst period in history--The Potato Famine. The majority of Irish were poor farmers who could only afford to rent small plots of land from English absentee landowners. Because the plots were too small to yield enough wheat or corn on which a family could live, the farmer grew potatoes to feed his family. As George Potter wrote in To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America, "The potato furnished the largest amount of food on the smallest surface of ground with the least sustained effort." Thus, the potato became the staple of the Irish diet. As a result of a potato blight that totally destroyed the potato harvest and the Corn Laws, the Irish starved for lack of any other food source.

This famine inflamed the latent Irish resentment against the English all the more. The Irish regarded the English as an occupying force who imposed their unwanted colonization on Ireland. Before the famine, the Irish viewed the English as the absentee landowners who did not take a personal interest in their land, had high rental rates, and had forcibly evicted their tenants if rents were not paid promptly. Subsequently, the English were perceived as not dealing
with the Irish Famine, and were even seen as actively delaying help. In fact, popular tradition, especially among those who immigrated to the United States, stated that the famine was "man-made." In their opinion, the English were happy to be rid of the "troublesome" Irish, and therefore, the English did nothing to check the magnitude of the disaster. Once the English decided to give aid, it was too little, too late, causing many of the Irish, who had formerly viewed leaving Ireland as the worst of all possible fates, to be pushed out of Ireland. For this, too, they blamed the English.

A propitious place to which to immigrate was the United States. There the Irish could have freedom of religion and a chance for earning a reasonable standard of living. Those Irish who did make their way to the United States sent letters back to Ireland describing their experiences and urged others to come to America. Many of the letters followed a theme similar to the one in this letter from a poor emigrant to her sister:

Dear sister ... it would give me greate pleasure to think that you Come here, for i [sic] think you would do verry well in this Country, for labouring men earns 10 shillings per day here in summer time; do what you can to Come to this country as quick as possible, for you would get plenty of washing to do here, And earn 4 shillings per day. Let me know how Pat Holliran and family is getting On, and if my sister Judy [Mrs. Holliran] know that if she was here that she would get trades for them, And in summer time he [Pat Holliran] would get from 10 shillings to 12 per day . . . And my sister bridget do what she can to come here. Let my sister Ellen know that she would get from 5 shillings to 6 for making one dress here; and if she could possibly come here. Let me know . . . Let me know how my Ant mary and her son Patt is; and if Anne came here she would do very well in this country, Let me know if ye Are to come. And sind [sic] me an Account if ye are to come or not. And dont be in doubt of money, and if ye
Along with a letter such as this, the emigrants sent any money they could spare. This money was not only used to help pay the rent, but also to buy tickets for other family members to emigrate.

Tom Power was evicted from the 30 acres that had been in his family for seven generations. He decided to emigrate to the United States and left his wife and ten or eleven children in the care of his wife's sister and her husband. Over the next eleven to twelve years, Power brought his entire family to the United States one by one. Power and others like him helped to remit $59,236,555 to Ireland from 1848 to 1861 inclusive. This sum, however, is only the acknowledged figure by the British Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. George Potter's book also reported:

John F. Maguire, an Irish journalist, after talking with bankers in America, estimated that the Famine emigrants had in twenty years sent $120,000,000 to pay emigrant passages and support parents and relatives in Ireland. This money aided chain immigration and helped reunite families. By 1855, about a quarter of the population of Ireland in 1845 had left; many of these had come to the United States.

The Irish sent their young to the United States because they were the strongest, and because the youth were thought to have the easiest time adapting. In the late nineteenth century, forty percent of Irish immigrants were between twenty and twenty-four years of age. The gender ratio of Irish immigrants was also changing.
During the early part of the nineteenth century, male immigrants had predominated, but between 1851 and 1890 the ratio was equally divided between men and women. After 1890 women immigrants predominated. This phenomenon was due in part to chain immigration; men had come first to prepare the way for the women. Due to the growing number of Irish women in the United States and the disastrous conditions in Ireland, the re-immigration rate of the Irish was one of the lowest of any group.

Irish immigration into the United States followed one of two major patterns--direct immigration to the United States, or going through Canada. Many Irish went to Canada before entering the United States to avoid immigration quotas and because tickets to Canada were cheaper than those to the United States. From Canada, the immigrants made their way across the border into the United States. When the Irish arrived in the United States, they generally settled on the Eastern seaboard where Irish communities were already established. Unfortunately, it was in the East that much discrimination toward the Irish occurred because of their religion and their accents, which set them apart as immigrants. Many of these Irish and their children eventually worked their way west. In so doing, the Irish and Irish-Americans were attracted to Montana.

One of the first reasons the Irish were drawn to Montana was General Thomas Francis Meagher. Because of his part in the 1848 Irish uprising and his subsequent deportation, Meagher had become an Irish national hero. During the Civil War, he had become a
famous Union general leading the Irish Brigade. He was then appointed Secretary of the Territory of Montana by President Andrew Johnson and later became Acting Governor. In 1866, Jeremiah O'Meara wrote a letter to Meagher from Jackson City, Michigan, inquiring as to the prospects for Irishmen and Irish Catholic teachers who migrated to Montana. He believed that Meagher's presence "would be one of the principal inducements" for settling in Montana, and if Meagher would continue to remain in Montana, there would "soon be a great many [Irish] who would go there."

Another major attraction for the Irish to Montana was the development and growth of the city of Butte. During the 1880s and the 1890s, Marcus Daly, an Irish-American and one of the "copper kings" of Butte, made a point of hiring Irish miners to work in his copper mines. Soon, the reputation of Butte as an Irish community spread and led many immigrants to come directly to Butte from the East Coast. As Butte grew, it both shared with and took its Irish population from Helena. Although the Irish in Montana were primarily thought of as living in Butte, Helena also had a sizable Irish population.

III

In 1864, four prospectors discovered gold at Last Chance Gulch, around which the city of Helena grew. As was the case for most mining towns, Helena developed quickly, but the majority of its population was transient and dependent upon the fortunes of the gold fields. Shortly after people started building log cabins to replace
their tents, a town school, library, and newspaper were also established.

By 1870, Helena's boom days as a mining town had ended, although 37 percent of the population was still in mining.²⁴ Yet the lure of the gold fields continued to bring would-be prospectors and mechanics to Helena. At that time nearly one-fourth of the town's population was foreign-born.²⁵ Between 1870 and 1880, the population of Helena increased by 17 percent, or by 518 people; this was partly due to the wrestling of the territorial capital from Virginia City on January 2, 1875.²⁶ The move of the territorial capital to Helena gave the city an extra measure of permanence as territorial offices and soon federal offices were relocated to Helena. Only 18 percent of the population in the 1870 census were enumerated in the 1880 census.²⁷

The population growth of Helena, like that of Montana in the nineteenth century, was often sporadic; but as more women arrived, it became more stable. The city was shifting from its dominance in the mining sector to a more semi-skilled and service sector. Women began to seek employment, providing service to the men who were still in the majority. Women comprised 77 percent of the domestic service sector by 1880.²⁸ In spite of being the territorial capital, Helena still did not become an incorporated city until February 22, 1881, after several previous attempts had failed.²⁹

The arrival of the railroad on June 12, 1883, heralded the beginning of a population boom for Helena because it provided easier access both to Helena and to markets in the East for the new silver
mines which were replacing the gold mines in the area. By 1890, the population of Helena had taken a significant jump from 3,624 in 1880 to 13,834 inhabitants. In Lewis and Clark County, where Helena is located, the number of people who had been born in Ireland also increased from 309 in 1880 to 716 in 1890. This population boom put Helena in an ideal position as a challenger for the seat of the state capital, which had been left undecided in Montana's 1889 state constitution. In 1892, the state failed to decide the capital struggle occurring between Helena and Anaconda. The Helena Herald reported in November 1894 that during the previous two months in Lewis and Clark County, 1,000 foreigners had been naturalized, including 190 Canadians and 122 Irish. Lewis and Clark County was attempting to get everyone within its jurisdiction eligible to vote in the upcoming election. This helped Helena to win permanent control of the state capital in the 1894 election. While the following graph shows that the number of Irish in Lewis and Clark County decreased after 1890 according to census figures, this occurred in part because only those born in Ireland were counted as Irish; the census failed to include second- or third-generation Irish-Americans as Irish.
During the early 1890s, Helena had expanded outside of its city limits and created its first suburbs and housing developments.\textsuperscript{31} As the decade continued, however, the economic situation in Helena became precarious when the bottom fell out of the silver market. With the opening of the Klondike gold fields, the Spanish-American War, and the expansion of copper production in Butte, the population of Irish had dwindled considerably by 1900.\textsuperscript{32}

The beginning of the twentieth century saw Helena regaining its economic foothold. It was also marked by several significant dedications, namely that of the state capitol in 1903, and the statue of Thomas Francis Meagher in 1905. As the century progressed, local events were soon overshadowed by the events of World War I.

World War I, and especially the 1916 Easter Uprising in Dublin, once again brought to the fore the latent American prejudice that
the Irish had come to Montana to escape. Irish settlers had been attracted to Montana where, like Thomas Francis Meagher, a native Irishman could raise himself to one of the most prominent positions of the territory. Yet the Irish brought with them from Ireland their emotional and psychological burdens. This included such factors as the hatred of the English and the need to be with other Irish. For this reason, and the fact that the Irish were suited for the jobs mining required, they were attracted to Butte and Helena. The story of Irish integration into Helena's society remains to be told.
ENDNOTES

1 "In Granite and Bronze Gen. Meagher is Honored," Helena Semi-Weekly Independent (Helena, MT), 7 July 1905.


5 As an occupying force, the English had implemented the Test Act and Corporation Act of 1673 which had denied Ireland, as a Catholic country, political rights by denying them to Catholics. These were only repealed by Catholic emancipation in 1828.


8 Additionally, the United States had fought two wars with Great Britain and won. This pleased the Irish sense of justice.
9Quoted in Potter, *To the Golden Door*, 129-130.

10Ibid., 117.

11Ibid., 120. The British Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners published annual Irish remittance figures. The figure of $59,236,555 was admittedly imperfect because of the secrecy of some banks and mercantile houses. Additionally, it did not count money that passed through private hands.

12Ibid.

13Chain immigration is the serial immigration of families and friends. Those that have already immigrated aid others to immigrate and to get settled in the new country, often by finding housing and employment for them.


15Daniels, *Coming to America*, 142.

16Ibid., 18.

17Ibid., 25, 127. Re-immigration is immigrating to a country and then returning to the country of origin. Only Jews had a lower re-immigration rate.

18Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger*, 211.

19U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Census, "Tenth Census 1880: Montana," vol. 1., (microfilm) Montana Historical Society. Helena, MT. This statement was derived from the location where parents and children were born.

20Irish-Americans were those of Irish descent who were born in the United States. While Irish is used to identify those who were natives of Ireland, it is also used as a general reference to Irish and Irish-Americans as well.

22 Jeremiah O'Meara to General Thomas Francis Meagher, 12 February 1866, Thomas Francis Meagher Collection, Collection No. SC 309, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.


25 Ibid.


28 Ibid., 11.


30 William C. Campbell, ed., *From the Quarries of Last Chance Gulch* (Helena, MT: Bell-Arm Corporation, 1964), 112.


32 Ibid., 20.
Once in the United States, the Irish wanted to preserve their ethnic and religious ties. They formed societies, usually secret societies, to maintain their Irish identity and to aid Ireland in its struggle to become an independent nation. Irish ethnic organizations advanced their class consciousness which led “to greater cohesion and political power” and also provided “goods and services which address[ed] the needs and concerns of the[ir] minority.” In addition to the secret societies, another organization which provided services to the Irish was the Roman Catholic Church. Since most Irishmen were Catholic, the church played a unique role in maintaining the Irish in the faith of their forefathers while preparing their children to become educated Americans. Many of these Irish Catholics were leaders of the various Irish ethnic organizations in Helena.

One such man was Andrew O’Connell who was born on March 24, 1831, in Newport, County Tipperary, Ireland. He emigrated to the United States in 1847 with his family and settled first in Morristown, New Jersey. From there the family moved to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he finished his education and learned the trade of a carpenter and housebuilder. O’Connell then began working his way west, staying for periods of time in St. Louis, Missouri;
Leavenworth, Kansas; and in Colorado. Before he finally settled in Helena in 1867, he also spent time in Virginia City, then in Butte and in Silverbow. In Helena, he continued to work as a carpenter, but also became a miner and a budding capitalist. He joined many of his fellow Irishmen in the numerous Irish and Catholic organizations that Helena offered. In October 1886, Andrew O'Connell, was chairman of the Irish-American committee that was responsible for Michael Davitt, the “Father of the Land League,” coming to Helena. Unwilling to wait for money to be collected by the Irish societies, Andrew O'Connell and other private citizens of the United States also helped the Irish causes on their own. Andrew O'Connell remitted money to the Irish National War Fund. His obituary stated that he had belonged to all of the Irish-American organizations in the city. During Andrew O'Connell's funeral in 1905, Rev. Victor Day stated, “In his death the Irish race loses a staunch friend--one whose pulse never ceased to beat in activity for the freedom of his native land, and in whose heart blended the love for his native country and the love for the land of his adoption.”

Many Irish societies were secret because of their agitation for an independent Ireland, a goal subversive to Great Britian. In Ireland, anyone who remained in contact with members of known subversive societies, whether in Ireland or the United States, was in jeopardy of being accused of treason.

One of the earliest Irish societies mentioned in Montana was the Fenians. The Fenians were a secret society dedicated to freeing Ireland from English domination, using violence if necessary.
Emmons, in *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925*, stated, "There had been Fenian activity in Montana as early as 1866, complete with a promise to territorial governor and former Irish Fenian Thomas Francis Meagher to 'fight for freedom with a squadron of Irish cavalry.'"7 The Fenians in Helena were one of the first Fenian chapters in Montana. On February 18, 1866, James Redmond put an announcement in the *Montana Radiator* stating that there would be a meeting for all members of the Fenian Brotherhood who were in the vicinity because important information had been received from headquarters.8 Due to the secret nature of the Fenians, very little specific information is known about them. However, by 1885, the Fenians no longer had any active nor extensive support in the United States, hence; it was also the year of their last convention in the United States.9

An offshoot of the Fenians, the Clan na-Gael, was founded in 1867 as a secret oath-bound society dedicated to promoting republicanism in Ireland, organizing Irish-Americans to help Ireland, and to oppose British influence in the United States.10 This society absorbed some of the members of the Fenian Brotherhood who had become dissatisfied with that group. In 1871 John Devoy, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and other Fenian leaders who had been banished from Ireland arrived in New York City.11 After much consideration, they gave their support to the Clan na-Gael because it was more united and vital than the faction-ridden Fenian Brotherhood.12 On November 3, 1896, the Helena Chapter Camp #203 was formed under the name "Sunburst." The secrecy of the club led it to assign
numbers to all members and to refer to them as such in all records.¹³

More pacifistic than the Clan na-Gael, the Irish National Land League was founded in Dublin during 1879. This organization worked toward agrarian land reform in Ireland using such methods as boycotting and tenant resistance to landlords.¹⁴ In the following year Charles Stewart Parnell went on a speaking tour of the United States to raise funds and to win the support of Irish-Americans.¹⁵ By May 1880, the Irish National Land League of the United States was founded.¹⁶ The Helena Branch was organized on November 13, 1881, in the probate courtroom with Patrick Quinn presiding.¹⁷ On March 17, 1882, a Land League Ball was held in honor of St. Patrick's Day. The proceeds of $728.70 were sent to Patrick Ford, editor of the Irish World. This sum was to be forwarded to aid the Land League's cause in Ireland. In May, the Helena Branch of the Irish Land League also denounced the assassins of Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland.¹⁸ The last meeting of the Helena Branch of the Irish Land League was held on January 14, 1883.¹⁹

The next Irish organization to be established in Helena was the Irish-American Club. The Irish-American Club of Helena first appeared in the Helena city directory in 1889 and last appeared in 1892. Although no information remains as to the purpose of this organization, the officers are known. In 1889, the officers of the Irish-American Club and their occupations were as follows: President, Ross Deegan, capitalist; Vice-President, Andrew O'Connell, miner; Secretary, John M. Daley, miner; and Financial
Secretary, John Mitchell, cornice and skylight manufacturer. By 1892, the only officer position that had changed was that of president, which was now occupied by James Dunn.20

The Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) was another secret society. Originally founded in Ireland in 1836 and restricted to native-born Irishmen, membership was expanded in 1884 to include Roman Catholics who were of Irish descent. After 1881 the AOH worked for Irish freedom, for support of the Catholic Church, and to increase interest in Irish culture, history and folklore.21 The AOH of Helena, Division #1, was founded in 1895.22 It had a large membership and in 1897 a division of the Daughter's of Erin was added.23

Although these organizations and individuals, such as Andrew O'Connell, were strong uniting forces for the Irish community in Montana, the Irish were also bound together by their common religion. One of the greatest uniting forces for the Irish was the Catholic Church.

Because it originally was a faith strange to many Americans, it set the Irish apart and thus made them cling closer together. Also, in discouraging marriage outside Catholicism, it discouraged wandering from the Irish clan. And, in establishing parochial schools, colleges, charitable organizations and clubs, it limited the contact of Irish with outsiders.24

The Catholic Church believed that part of its mission was education. In 1864 a mission school was founded in Helena, but it offered only the basics of Catholic education. Then in 1870, the Jesuits opened St. Aloysius Institute for boys.25 This school, however, was closed in 1903 due to the sparse attendance. Bishop
John Patrick Carroll re-opened the school in the fall of 1905, and by the fall of the following year, it had become a day and boarding school.²⁶ The education of the girls was not neglected, for the Sisters of Charity of the House of Leavenworth, Kansas, established St. Vincent’s Academy in 1869 to educate girls.²⁷

When John Patrick Carroll became the second Bishop of the Diocese of Helena in September 1904, he was seen as an American of Irish descent. As a second-generation Irishman, his appointment as bishop was a sign of Irish predominance in the diocese. It was because of him that in 1909 Mount St. Charles College was founded in Helena. As the capital city, Helena was the only place considered for the placement of the college in the diocese because it was also the episcopal see. Among the first professors at Mount St. Charles College, there was a disproportionate number of Irish in relation to their proportion of the population at the time of the 1910 census. There were eleven Irish surnames of professors out of a total of twelve.²⁸ Bishop Carroll wanted a strong Irish Catholic faculty.

The Mount St. Charles faculty reflected more the Irish ancestry of Bishop J. P. Carroll, his diocesan priests and those who contributed to the college. . . . The fact that many of the first students to attend Mount St. Charles would come from Butte, a strong Irish mining town, also gave Carroll the desire to have Irishmen on the faculty.²⁹

The Irish of Helena could now have their sons educated completely within a Catholic system that was also run mostly by the Irish.

In addition to education, Catholics were also building welfare services such as hospitals and orphanages. Following the national trend that began in the mid-nineteenth century, an ethnic and
religious hospital was built in Helena. At a public hospital Catholics feared not receiving last rites, as well as attempts at being converted when they were sick and, therefore, most vulnerable. Consequently, Catholics started building their own hospitals to prevent these occurrences.\textsuperscript{30} In Helena, an added impetus for building a hospital was the lack of any hospital whatsoever. St. John's Hospital was founded in 1870 by the order of the Sisters of Charity under the direction of Sister Julia.\textsuperscript{31}

As the Irish of Helena became more secure financially, they began to take measurable steps to ensure that the other Irish Catholics were taken care of. The care of orphans was important. Invariably the initial charity established by the expanding Catholic Church was an orphan's home, but the Church, like the emigrants, had slender resources in its early days to care for the needy. If possible orphans were distributed among relatives or cared for by neighbors, as in Ireland, under the ancient custom.\textsuperscript{32}

Toward this end, an orphans' home was established. St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, founded in April 1880, was also run by the Sisters of Charity. Both the hospital and the orphanage were dependant upon the donations of the congregation and also the liberal contributions of the general public.\textsuperscript{33}

The Catholic Church left behind more complete records than did the Irish societies, which were in most cases secret. While the societies left little information behind, they promoted the cause of Irish independence by raising both funds and the awareness of the plight of those who remained in Ireland. But these societies also isolated the Irish as an ethnic group. The Catholic Church played
both an isolating and an assimilating role. It isolated the Irish as a "foreign" religion, but at the same time provided educational and welfare services for the community. This education was formed within the structures of the Catholic educational system that was created in Helena and run for the most part by Irishmen. This education allowed second- and third-generation Irish to expand out into occupations that had previously been denied their parents. As the Irish became more prosperous, they were also in a better financial position to aid the general welfare of the city by creating and maintaining a hospital and an orphanage.
ENDNOTES


4 Bonds from the Irish National War Fund, Andrew O'Connell Collection, Collection No. SC 1752, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.

5 Newspaper clipping, undated, Andrew O'Connell Collection, Collection No. SC 1752, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.


Montana Radiator (Helena), 17 February 1866.


Ibid., 18.

John Devoy had in 1866 arranged for the escape of Fenian James Stephen from Richmond Prison in Ireland. For this he was sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude, but was paroled in 1871 on the condition that he live outside of the United Kingdom. He came to the United States determined to mobilize Irish-American resources to abolish British rule in Ireland. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was one of the originators of Fenianism. He was the leader of the Phoenix Society, a revolutionary republican organization in Cork that was later absorbed by the Fenians. Lawrence, J. McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press), 140, 141, 147.

Griffin, The Irish in America 550-1972, 18; McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America, 147.


Charles Stuart Parnell became President of both the Irish National Land League and the Home Rule Federation of Great Britain. By adopting a policy of filibuster and obstruction in the House of Commons, Parnell succeeded in making the Irish a significant third party that was unable to be ignored any longer. Moreover, this party had been successful in raising funds especially among Irish-Americans to support its cause. Arnstein, Britain Yesterday and Today, 153-154.


History of Montana, 747.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, the chief secretary for Ireland, was assassinated in Phoenix Park in Dublin on May 6, 1882. The
assassins were eventually identified as members of a secret club on the extreme of Irish nationalism. Charles Stuart Parnell denounced the assassination. Cavendish's death prompted the British to impose another coercion act upon Ireland. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today*, 156.

19 *History of Montana*, 747.


26 Ibid., 15.

27 Ibid., 11.

28 Ibid., 24.

29 Ibid., 25.


31 *History of Montana*, 730.

32 Potter, *To the Golden Door*, 244.
33History of Montana. 730.
CHAPTER 3
THE IRISH FIND THEIR NICHE: THEIR ROLE IN HELENA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Due to the problems involved with immigrating to America and leaving behind all that defined them as an ethnic class, the Irish clung to their past by joining Irish societies in which they attempted to recreate their lost identity. But they were also willing to look ahead and find a niche for themselves within the economic framework of Helena and the United States. In Helena, they were faced with much of the same prejudices that were prominent in the East, but these biases were by necessity curbed in the dynamic economy and fluid class structure of the West.¹

While Andrew O'Connell was active in the Irish societies of Helena, Thomas Cruse left his mark on Helena in the economic realm by becoming the wealthiest man in the community and by providing extensive philanthropic assistance to its citizens. Cruse was born in County Cavan, Ireland, in 1836. It was there that he received an education that was available to most rural Irish.² He emigrated to New York when he was twenty. By 1863, he set out for California by steamer. Like thousands of others who proceeded him, he prospected in California, Nevada, and Idaho without much success. Arriving in Montana at the peak of its gold mining industry in 1866, Cruse initially had a difficult time getting grubstaked.³ By 1876, however,
he had discovered the Drumlummon mine near Marysville. This mine, named after his native parish in Ireland, would prove to be one of the richest mines in Montana.

After selling his mine, Cruse moved to Helena, where in 1887, he opened the Thomas Cruse Savings Bank. It was the first savings bank in the Montana Territory. Cruse invested $65,000 of the $100,000 needed to capitalize the bank. His bank was very successful. In spite of the many banks that were forced to close during the Panic of 1893, Cruse’s bank, backed by the bullion of the Drumlummon mine, stayed open. As Frank Linderman recounted, “When, in 1893, the silver panic forced several banks to close their doors, Tommy piled his bank’s windows with golden bars and bushel[s] of coins.”

As a resident of Helena, he was to spend the remainder of his life expanding his investment interests. Thomas Cruse extended his business ventures into other areas of Montana. He started the N Bar Ranch in the Flatwillow Creek/Grassrange area. Likewise, he attempted an oil enterprise in Carbon County. Additionally, through financial contributions he supported the building of the courthouse in Yellowstone County. On April 20, 1898, Cruse bought the full $350,000 in bonds from the Helena Capitol Fund that others had spurned, thereby enabling the State Capitol to be built.

Cruse also donated large sums of money to the Roman Catholic Church, especially to aid in the establishment of Mount St. Charles College and the construction of the St. Helena Cathedral. He donated $25,000 to the New Cathedral Fund and another $27,000 for the
Fig. 2. Thomas Cruse. Reprinted from *Progressive Men of the State of Montana* (Chicago: A. W. Bowen and Co., 1902), 40.
completion of the spires on the cathedral. In exchange, a weekly mass was to be said for the repose of the souls of the Cruse family and a monthly mass to be said for all souls in purgatory. Cruse died on December 21, 1914, four days before the official dedication of the cathedral to which he had been a great benefactor.

The majority of Irish resembled Thomas Cruse in that they were often unskilled upon arriving in America. Their sole capital was "a brawny back and two strong hands." Because of this, they were often the object of prejudice that denied them all but the hardest and coarsest work. However, they were thankful to receive jobs that paid cash wages. This money would not only sustain the workers, but part of the money could also aid the chain immigration process of their family and friends. Yet the Irish began searching for places where they could also find equality:

[i]n the newly opened territories, where men started from scratch and a sense of equality minimized discriminations, the Catholic Irishman had a wider opportunity to stand on merit, and since his numbers were fewer, nativist antagonism lacked the virulence aroused by the crowded congregations of emigrants in the seaboard cities.

Thus, one of the reasons the Irish were initially attracted to Helena was the opportunity it offered to those whose only skill was that of manual labor.

The Irish flooded into the manual labor force, causing the general population of Helena to increase. Founded in 1864 after four miners discovered gold at Last Chance Gulch, Helena initially prospered as a mining town. Yet Helena's early population was transient and unstable; it was dependent upon the fortunes of the
gold fields. Over time, it drew the attention of people both in and outside of Montana. As miners came to the town, the Irish also arrived. Mining was a skill that some immigrants from Southern Ireland brought with them from the copper mines near Berehaven, West Cork.¹³ In 1880, out of the 252 miners in Helena, 34 percent were immigrants, and out of that number, 31.5 percent were Irish. This figure accounted for 19 percent of the Helena residents who had been born in Ireland.¹⁴ By contrast, only four miners were second-generation Irish.

Although mining was a trade that some Irish brought with them, others developed new trades. As was typical of immigrants, the Irish were generally less skilled than the general population of the United States. Because of these hindrances, the Irish provided a large manual labor force. While some Irish remained unskilled laborers, others developed new skills such as those employed by stone cutters, painters and carpenters, and moved into those trades.

While a few Irish became famous because of their success and the contributions they made to Helena, many more Irish would never become rich. They would either take manual jobs or leave Helena to search for gold or better jobs elsewhere. Their contributions to the prosperity and stability of Helena would remain all but forgotten by the succeeding generations.

As Helena became more settled and prosperous, so did the Irish. Education played a part in opening up new trades to the Irish. The children of immigrants were offered the possibility of expanding their job prospects by gaining an education, more
specifically a Catholic education, which to an Irish Catholic was very important. They were becoming better educated and spread out into different sectors of the economy. The Irish expanded the range and type of work they performed, for the "Irish have gone into every conceivable kind of work from ditch-digging to finance."\textsuperscript{15}

As the second and third generation of Irish-Americans became more educated, they started to move into other markets that had formerly been closed to them. Few of the original Irish immigrants achieved prosperity and success; however, their children and grandchildren moved up the economic ladder and become salesmen and bookkeepers.\textsuperscript{16} Their education allowed the Irish to fulfill their natural "[c]uriosity, writing skills, and a love of excitement [that] made natural journalists of the Irish."\textsuperscript{17} Hugh McQuaid and Martin Maginnis were two such journalists who were proprietors of their own newspapers. Additionally, there were even some Irish who became presidents of companies, such as Hugh J. Rogan, who was the president of the Willow Creek Stock Company in 1895.\textsuperscript{18}

By 1890, Irish women began to arrive in greater numbers. Irish women tended to marry, usually to men of Irish descent. They would often then keep house and perhaps take in a few boarders. Another prevalent occupation among Irish women was that of a domestic. As domestics, they could earn a good wage due to the shortage of such workers. They also banded together to protect their wages, as Elizabeth Fisk discovered in 1873 when she could not get any domestic help because the Irish girls were all "down on" her.\textsuperscript{19} The women who became domestics were usually single. In
addition, a relatively large number of Irish nuns were present in Helena. Although the order of these nuns was the Sisters of Charity of the House of Leavenworth, Kansas, the vast majority of them were either first- or second-generation Irish. These nuns ran the hospital, orphanage, and St. Vincent’s, the girls’ academy. Few Irish women became prostitutes due in part to the protective nature of the Irish men and the strong moral code of the Catholic Church. In Paula Petrik’s book, No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana 1865-1900, there were only two Irish prostitutes documented in Helena between 1865 and 1900.20

In Helena, although the Irish were shown some hostility, they were eventually able to gain greater economic equality. While a few, such as Thomas Cruse, made it rich in mining, the vast majority would simply remain unnamed pioneers in the history of Helena who would be forgotten by time. They made their contribution to Helena in helping to build a city that endured. They arrived unskilled, but their children and grandchildren were given the opportunity of a Catholic education that enabled them to move beyond simple laborers to more white collar positions. In Helena and the West, “the Irish grew up with the cities in which they lived.”21 They moved up the economic ladder from rough miners to more refined bookkeepers and lawyers.22 Over time, the Irish obtained an important position in the economic structure of Helena.
ENDNOTES

1McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America, 170.


6Ibid. Although Cruse sold control of the mine to outsiders, the settlement included both cash and stocks. Therefore, during the Panic of 1893, he could use his shares in the Drumlummon mine to back his bank.

7Ibid.

8Ibid., 7.

9Paladin and Baucus, Helena, 118.

10Contract between Bishop John P. Carroll and Thomas Cruse, Thomas Cruse Papers, Collection No. MC 36, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.

11Potter, To the Golden Door, 163.

12Ibid., 237.

copper mines near Berehaven, West Cork, Ireland, were established during the Napoleonic Wars and continued until competition from Michigan and Montana mines forced the mining company's operations to move to less profitable and less labor intensive tin mining in the 1880s. Soon after this change occurred, the Puxley family sold the mines to a London firm, which then plundered the mines before closing them and laying off all the workers, many of whom later emigrated.


15 Cosidine, It's the Irish, 115.

16 Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger, 207.

17 McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America, 29.

18 Helena City Directory 1895, 321.

19 Petrik, No Step Backward, 12.

20 Ibid., 29, 49.

21 McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America, 170.

CHAPTER 4
THE IRISH AND THEIR POLITICS

While Irish-Americans were finding their place in Helena’s economy, they were likewise finding a place in its political structure. Unlike many immigrant groups, the Irish arrived in the United States as a politically aware group. They had been attempting to use politics as the agency to redress the wrongs that centuries of English domination had heaped upon them and to further their cause of an independent Ireland. When they came to the United States, they used politics as a means of gaining power since they lacked the technological skills necessary to gain power through economic means. The person who was employed by the government was looked favorably upon by the Irish in both Ireland and the United States.

Father John Kelly of Mitchelstown, County Cork, observed that the generality of the Catholic Irish considered every person employed by the state, whether military or civil, as a kind of gentleman, and deferred to him as such with awe and reverence. An officeholder received respect withheld from a shopkeeper, an interesting background for the avidity with which the Catholic Irish sought the public payroll in the United States. With the peasant, noted [Daniel] O’Connell, “the situation of a police man is an extremely valuable one.”

In the political arena, Irish Catholics have traditionally been associated with the Democratic party. The Democratic party had consistently supported Ireland and the Irish cause, and it was also
seen as the party of the poor. "The Democratic party, carried . . . by
the Irish miners and immigrants from the border states of the
Confederacy, took quick and lasting root as Montana's majority
party." As time went on, however, the issues important to the Irish
began to change. Then the Democratic party could only maintain the
Irish base when it too changed its position to support Irish
interests. Because the Democrats made a special effort to court
the Irish vote, the Irish were represented at the local, state, and
federal levels by fellow Irish-Americans from Helena.

The affiliation of Irish-Americans with the Democrats was
"more functional than idealistic. Other parties were more nativist
and less hospitable to immigrants." In Montana, specifically in
Helena, this was especially true. The American Protective
Association (APA) was active in Helena. The APA was anti-Catholic.
In 1894, the APA newspaper stated that Helena was "hostile to both
Irish and Catholics." The idea that Helena was a "Protestant town"
seems to have aided its cause in the struggle with Anaconda to
become the state capital. This sentiment, however, did not
preclude Frank Cruse, an Irish-American and nephew of Thomas
Cruse, from being a delegate to the Democratic convention in 1894.

In spite of the claimed anti-Irish feeling in Helena, Irish-
Americans were still being elected to office. One of the first Irish-
American politicians in Helena was James Sullivan, who became one
of Helena's first mayors. A barber by trade, Sullivan arrived in
Helena in 1878. Soon after Helena's incorporation in 1885, he
became mayor. Sullivan also served at the state level and became Montana's last territorial auditor.

At the federal level, Martin Maginnis represented the Territory of Montana. Martin Maginnis was born on October 27, 1841. The son of Irish immigrants, he had come to Helena in September of 1866 in search of gold. He became the publisher of the Rocky Mountain Gazette, a decidedly Democratic newspaper. Maginnis was then sent as the Montana Territorial Delegate to Congress for twelve years in part because of the strong Irish vote. The Irish showed their support of fellow Irish-Americans and,

[a]s a result of the 1871 election, the Democrats recognized the power of the Irish element and moved toward party unity, which in part resulted in the election and re-election of Martin Maginnis as a territorial delegate from 1872 until 1884.

After his retirement from Congress, he remained active in politics and became a delegate to the 1889 Constitutional Convention. He was also one of the four Senators that Montana sent to Congress immediately following Montana's statehood; he, however, was not seated.

Perhaps the most famous Irish-American elected from Helena was Thomas J. Walsh. The son of Irish immigrants, Walsh arrived in Helena in 1890 to practice law. In 1912, he was elected as a Democratic Senator from Montana, a position he would maintain for the next twenty years. He represented the "overwhelming majority of Irish Americans [who] remained true to the Democratic party, and they were very visible in its leadership. . . . [Franklin] Roosevelt appointed Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana to his first cabinet as
Fig. 3. Martin Maginnis, the United States Representative from Montana, 1873-1885. Reprinted from Resources and Men of Montana (Butte, MT: n. p., 1913), 27.
Fig. 4. Thomas J. Walsh, United States Senator from Montana. Reprinted from Resources and Men of Montana (Butte, MT: n. p., 1913), 21.
attorney general, but Walsh died two days before the inauguration.\textsuperscript{16}

The participation of Irish-Americans was not just limited to elected office. People such as Thomas Cruse never ran for public office, but they were strong Democratic supporters.\textsuperscript{17} In fact, the Thomas Cruse Savings Bank was known to be the only Democratic bank in town.\textsuperscript{18}

Additionally, in many cities, jobs, such as that of policemen, went to those involved with political machines. There is no evidence to suggest that a political machine like that of New York's Tammany Hall existed in Helena. However, the Irish in Helena were represented in the police force. Politics "put young Irish men into city halls as clerks and on police forces and fire departments. . . ."\textsuperscript{19}

John J. Grogan was a policeman in Helena for several years.\textsuperscript{20} In 1900, he moved to Butte for two years before returning to Helena.\textsuperscript{21} He then became the police magistrate in 1904, a position he held until his death in April 1906.\textsuperscript{22} Others such as Policeman John W. Flynn would die in the line of duty.\textsuperscript{23}

Irish-Americans in Helena remained Democrats because it was seen as the party most willing to help them advance. The Democratic party maintained its support of Irish-Americans at a time when the American Protection Association was strong. Despite the efforts of the APA, however, Irish-Americans succeeded in winning elective offices at the local, state and national level. Irish-Americans were also successful in gaining employment at other political levels, such as policemen. These job opportunities
not only gave Irish-Americans positions of power, but they also provided a means for Irish-Americans to more fully involve themselves in the resolution of domestic problems facing American society. By concentrating upon these immediate problems, they were forced to relinquish claims to the problems facing far off Ireland.
ENDNOTES

1 Potter, *To the Golden Door*, 222.

2 Ibid., 70.


4 Potter, *To the Golden Door*, 86.


7 McCaffrey, *Textures in Irish America*, 94.


10 Frank Cruse to Thomas Cruse, April 1894, Thomas Cruse Papers, Collection No. MC 36, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.

11 Campbell, *From the Quarries of Last Chance Gulch*, 243.


13 “A Partial Sketch of the Civil and Military Service of Major Martin Maginnis,” *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*,
In the 1889 election, both the house of representatives and the senate were evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, with five seats being contested from irregularities that occurred in Silver Bow County Precinct 34. The house of representatives broke along party lines and met separately throughout the entire session. The Democrats in the senate, however, at first attempted to take their seats. Upon being forced to attend, they refused to vote for the organization of the senate. When the Republicans decided to count them as present, many fled. The main contention in the senate was the choosing of the U.S. Senators. In the end, both the Republicans and the Democrats decided to let the U.S. Senate settle the problem, and they chose two senators to send to Washington, D.C. The Republican candidates were Wilbur Fisk Sanders and T. C. Powers. The Democratic candidates were W. A. Clark and Martin Maginnis. Since the U. S. Senate was controlled by Republicans, they decided to seat the Republican candidates. Malone, Roeder, and Lang, *Montana*, 198-199.


Frank Cruse to Thomas Cruse, 1894, Thomas Cruse Papers, Collection No. MC 36, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.


*Helena City Directory, 1895*, 201; *Helena City Directory, 1897*.


23Frank Cruse to Thomas Cruse, 12 April 1894, Thomas Cruse Papers, Collection No. MC 36, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT.
CHAPTER 5
AND THEY BECAME AMERICANS

By 1916, Irish-Americans were realizing greater social and political equality in the United States, but in Ireland, the Irish did not appear to be any closer to national independence. In yet another attempt to throw off British rule, on April 27, 1916, the Easter Rebellion occurred in Ireland.¹ This uprising was encouraged by Germany and financed largely by contributions from Irish-Americans. Although the United States was still technically neutral in World War I prior to 1917, American sentiment was leaning increasingly toward the Allied side. Therefore, this apparent Irish-German connection led many Americans to view their Irish-American neighbors with distrust and even to denounce them as being traitors for donating money for the uprising. The Helena Independent defended the Irish-Americans, stating, “The day is rapidly approaching when the 99 per cent of Americans of Irish blood who are loyal Americans will put a quietus on the mad one per cent which would have us believe all Irish-Americans are traitors.”²

Meanwhile, many Irish-Americans were denouncing the English treatment of the insurrectionists.³ While nothing so drastic occurred in Helena, the lack of any major response is in itself telling. Where ethnic cohesion was strong, such as in New York or
Butte, Irish organizations were speaking out. On April 29, 1916, newspapers across the country reported that the United Irish League of America, meeting in New York, denounced the uprising. As public opinion started to shift in the rebels' favor due to the treatment they received at the hands of the English, Andrew Cummings, the former president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, justified the rebels actions. The Montana Record-Herald reported a meeting of 1,000 Irish and Irish-Americans who signed up as members of the Friends of Irish Freedom and paid their dues. In Helena where the newspapers gave the Easter Uprising and subsequent events extensive coverage, there was nonetheless no reported public response. The Irish-Americans of Helena had indeed become Americans first and foremost.

For many, the Irish organizations had lost their appeal to the second and third generations, so it seemed foolish to cause a disturbance for an Irish independence movement that seemed increasingly distant from Helena. With the aging and demise of many of the original immigrants who had organized the Irish societies came the dissolution of the organizations themselves. By 1917, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the largest Irish organization in Helena, had even ceased to exist.

The Catholic Church also began to change its role. Initially, it was a haven for Irish immigrants escaping the prejudices heaped upon them because they were both "foreigners" and Catholics. The Catholic hierarchy took a role in encouraging "Catholics to accept New World opportunities and to involve themselves in the totality of
American life." Additionally, the Diocese of Helena played an increasing role in education. "... Catholic schools taught American patriotism as well as religious doctrine. Parochial schools also gave their students the knowledge and skills necessary in the American economy."9

The education that the Irish received allowed them to diversify, and thus move into other vocations that were not so labor intensive. This vocational shift brought them into contact with people from all social classes. Irishmen moved from miners and stonecutters to publishers and lawyers. The economic and subsequent social integration of the Irish is shown by the fact that their residences were scattered throughout the city. The location of their domiciles was decided not by ethnicity so much as by occupation. The Irish in Helena were not living in an isolated section of the city, as happened in areas where they were more numerous, such as Butte.10

Another factor that may have helped Irish integration is commonly called the critical mass theory. This theory states that a population will accept a few nonheterogeneous people moving into an area before the local population reacts negatively against them. In Helena, the Irish were never more than 5 percent of the population, so they did not pose a threat to the rest of the population. Also, the early records indicate that Helena was a heterogeneous community, with immigrants from at least fifteen different countries.11 This made it easier for all of the various immigrant groups to integrate.
The dispersal of Irish throughout the city and their contact with people from other backgrounds enabled the Irish-Americans to become successful political leaders. Since they did not have a single "Irish" constituency to cater to, these politicians had to expand their interests to encompass those of other ethnic backgrounds. In addition, Irish-Americans were also in the police force, upholding American values and ideals. The Irish had come to the United States with a political consciousness which they integrated into the American system.

The Irish played a significant role in the early history of Helena. They initially came to "get rich quick," but they remained to help create a stable city. The Irish came to Helena for a variety of reasons, but their legacy lasted long after they had ceased to remain a cohesive ethnic group. They had survived immigration from Ireland, and aided by their own ethnic organizations, had risen to positions of social, economical, and political prominence. They increasingly associated with American values and ideas, which caused them to distance themselves from the problems in Ireland. While the Irish of Helena had lost their ethnic identity, the acculturation process had enabled them to identify themselves as Americans. The Irish of Helena were often overshadowed by other more numerous and visible ethnic groups in Helena and by the more numerous Irish in Butte. However, they still managed to play an important role not only in the history of Helena, but in that of Montana as well.
Sir Roger Casement was sent from Ireland to buy guns in Germany. While in Germany, Casement visited with Irish prisoners of war. They were offered the chance of being released in exchange for joining a brigade to help the Irish Volunteers in an uprising. These soldiers almost unanimously rejected this offer. Nonetheless, Casement returned to Ireland with guns and ammunition on the German ship Aud. Casement was captured shortly after landing on Ireland's shores. The Aud was intercepted by the British navy. Meanwhile, the Volunteers decided to proceed with the rebellion on Easter Monday. Their plan was to occupy the major buildings of Dublin. Fighting was slow at first while British troops awaited reinforcements, but the fighting intensified as the week progressed. Finally on Saturday, Patrick Pearse of the Irish Volunteers agreed to an unconditional surrender. Little fighting occurred outside of Dublin because this area was not only disorganized but it was also relying on arms from the Aud. A. Jennings, *Concise History Ireland and Europe 1800-1980* (Dublin, Ireland: Helicon Limited, 1982), 114-116.

"W'atdyyu Mean, Wacht am Rhien." *Helena Independent* (Helena, MT) 16 May 1916.

While much public opinion was initially hostile towards the uprising, English treatment of the rebels soon changed the public's opinion. Three thousand people were arrested. Of that number, 170 were court-martialled, and another 1,836 were sent to prison camps in England. Also ninety prisoners were initially condemned to death, but seventy-five of them had their sentences commuted to prison sentences. The remaining fifteen were executed. Jennings, *Concise History Ireland and Europe 1800-1980*, 114-116.

5Helena Independent, 15 May 1916.

6"Sons of Erin Meet in Butte," Montana Record-Herald, 1 May 1916. David M. Emmons states that there were only seventy-six known members from Butte, but that $2,638.30 was collected in May 1916. Emmons, The Butte Irish, 356.

7Helena City Directory, 1917 (Helena, MT: R. L. Polk and Co., 1917). A few decades later, the AOH would reappear in Helena as a social organization for third- and fourth-generation Irish.

8McCaffrey, Textures in Irish America, 65.

9Ibid., 3.

10U.S. Department of Commerce, “Tenth Census 1880: Montana,” vol 1; Kelly, “Sunburst and Patriots,” 6. In Butte, the Irish primarily settled in an area known as "Dublin Gulch." In that area, the Irish became virtually self-sufficient, and, therefore, they did not have to associate with those of other ethnic backgrounds.
APPENDIX

IRISH IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

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NOTE: Figures do not include Irishmen entering the U. S. from Great Britain, who formed a significant proportion of the "British" listings in U. S. immigration records, or those who entered (legally or illegally) through Canada. Compiled from The Irish in America, 550-1972: A Chronology and Fact Book (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1973), 138-139, 142.
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