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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MGS	<i>Maggie: A Girl of the Streets</i>
YL	<i>Young Lonigan</i>
YMSL	<i>The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan</i>
JD	<i>Judgement Day</i>

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1. INTRODUCTION

I want to tell you something about myself that will help to explain a lot of things about me. [...]

First of all, I am a Mick.

(John O'Hara in *Butterfield 67*)

One of the many consequences of current globalisation processes is the massive increase in migration patterns all across the world. With the beginning of the 21st century, more migrants than ever before have crossed national borders in order to escape poverty, war, and environmental catastrophes and to pursue a better, safer, and more prosperous life in a foreign country. According to a report of the UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, about *International Migration and Development (A/73/286)* from 2018, international migration flows have almost doubled since the turn of the century, “reaching 258 million in 2017” (UN Population Division 3). Therefore, it is no surprise that our current time period is referred to as “*The Age of Migration*” (Castles, Haas, and Miller 5; original emphasis).

However, this process of mass migration is not an entirely new phenomenon, but already occurred in the 19th century when vast numbers of Irish immigrants arrived in North America to establish a more stable and successful life in a new home. In this new and unfamiliar environment, both Irish immigrants and the hegemonic Protestant American society had to re-evaluate and re-invent their concept of Irish identity. Even though the North American colonies were founded on the ideals of personal liberty and freedom, the established Americans met the new arrivals with great scepticism and caution. The Irish's perceived cultural ‘otherness’ and difference soon resulted in the construction of Irish-American identity as based on stereotypes and prejudices, and ultimately transformed into fear and nativism, with which the minority group saw itself confronted. As a reaction, they themselves also reimagined their new Irish-American self and the role they inhabited within this new, often hostile environment.

These processes of mutual assessment and evaluation are most thoroughly illustrated in American popular culture and literature of that period. While American authors and artists frequently incorporated stereotypical and negative portrayals in their cartoons, articles, and novels, Irish immigrants and Irish-American authors tried to discover and determine how they could adapt to the challenging circumstances and, at the same time, maintain a stable understanding of their Irish heritage. As it is the writer's task “to give literary form to the life

he [or she] knows” and “[t]he critic’s role [...] to illuminate the creative work by exploring its internal relationships and then to relate these to social processes” (Branch, *Farrell* 32 - 33), this thesis will rely on the analysis of novels in order to reveal how Irish-American identities were constructed by Americans and Irish Americans between the late 19th and the mid-20th centuries.

In order to illustrate the similarities and differences of how American and Irish-American authors represented their Irish-American subjects, works of American Stephen Crane (1871-1900) and Irish-American James T. Farrell (1904-1979) will be examined. Considering the fact that many scholars, such as Charles Fanning (*Irish Voice*, 4), exclude American writers without any Irish background from their analyses of the Irish-American identity, a thorough investigation of an American writer seems necessary. Moreover, both their works are positioned outside the extensively researched theatrical and cartoonist genre that dominated the representation of Irish Americans in the 19th century, which allows for a more innovative and representative study of Irish-American identities as they were actually perceived in that period. The fact that Crane as well as Farrell were both characterised as belonging to the realistic tradition of writing, as they “attempt[ed] to see life realistically ... and to write about it that way” (Ebest 272), also contributes to this more authentic representation of Irish Americans. Therefore, their works directly portray how Crane and Farrell themselves understood the Irish Americans’ role in the United States.

Hence, this thesis will focus on Stephen Crane’s *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), later also referred to as *Maggie*, as it is often regarded as “the most famous example” of the representation “of the Bowery Irish” in New York City (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 177). The novel centres around a young Irish-American girl, named Maggie, who grows up in the New York Bowery, only to be later ruined by her brother’s friend, Pete, and is forced to become a prostitute and eventually commits suicide. Correspondingly, the Irish-American work chosen to be analysed in this thesis is also set in an urban neighbourhood. The *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* by James T. Farrell set in the South Side of Chicago and comprised of *The Young Lonigan* (1932), *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* (1934), and *Judgement Day* (1935), traces the life of an Irish-American boy, called William ‘Studs’ Lonigan, who grows up in an Irish-American community shaped by middle-class values enforced by the family and the Catholic Church, and who dies from pneumonia at the age of twenty-nine.

The analysis of these four novels about Irish-American life and identity in the United States aims at answering the following questions:

- How are Irish Americans and Irish immigrants represented in American and Irish-American literature between the late 19th and early 20th centuries as exemplified by American author Stephen Crane in *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* and by Irish-American author James T. Farrell in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*?
- How do the two authors utilise and render various auto-/hetero-stereotypes and literary themes commonly associated with literature about and by Irish Americans?
- Do both authors address the issue of the Irish-American hyphenated identity in their novels and, if so, how?

In order to successfully address these research question, section 2 will focus on the methodological framework and the fundamental key concepts, such as identity, ethnicity, stereotypes, and the hyphenated self, which are integral tools for the analysis of the representation of Irish-American identity in the *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* and the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*. Since historical, social, and cultural developments strongly influence the representations of ethnicities in literature and popular culture, a thorough examination of the socio-historic background of Irish-American immigration and their settlement in the United States will follow in section 3. Additionally, section 4 will focus on the development of Irish-American literature and the portrayal of Irishness by American authors from the 19th century to the mid-20th century, which will allow a determination of certain trends concerning literary themes and stereotypisation that strongly influenced Stephen Crane's and James T. Farrell's works.

Having established the theoretical background of this thesis' subject of Irish-American identity in literature, a through consideration of the authors' lives and the narrative techniques applied in their respective works will be provided in section 5 and 6. Section 7 and 8, will then individually examine the Irish-American auto- and heterostereotypes and themes, such as the Catholic Church, the Irish-American home, the neighbourhood community, and the hyphenated self, in great detail. Similarities and differences between the two novels also deriving from their authors' origins – Stephen Crane is a native-born American Protestant, while James T. Farrell is of Catholic Irish-American descent – will be conclusively presented in the comparative analysis in section 9.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This diploma thesis aspires to identify the representations of Irishness as used by the American author Stephen Crane in his *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) and by the Irish-American author James T. Farrell in his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* (1932-1935). Therefore, the chosen method in this thesis is a literary comparison, the “[s]earch of a relationship between two [...] literary works or parts of them with the aim of identifying similarities and differences” (Domínguez, Saussy, and Villanueva 144). This approach sufficiently lends itself to a thematic reading of the two works and a close reading of their central passages in order to analyse themes such as the Catholic religion, morality, the Irish matriarch, and alcohol, and how they illustrate the authors’ understanding of Irishness as presented in their texts.

However, a mere thematic reading will not serve the full purpose of this thesis. Therefore, socio-historic and cultural realities have to be taken into account as well so that a relation between the analysed works and the general developments concerning the Irish-American representation and identity in literature as well as history can be established. For that reason, interpretations by critics who focus on literary criticism of texts incorporating Irish-American characters and topics will be included as well, especially those critics who also concentrate on the analysis of *Maggie* and *Studs Lonigan*. Furthermore, additional considerations of stylistic aspects will be presented in this diploma thesis. These considerations will support the analysis of how Crane and Farrell attempt to achieve their claimed realistic depiction of Irish-American life stylistically and if they succeed in doing so.

Instead of immediately starting with the literary analysis of the representation and identity of Irishness in *Maggie* and *Studs Lonigan*, an explanation and definition of certain terms, which are highly relevant to the underlying thesis’ aim, is necessary. Hence, the concepts of ethnic identity, stereotypes, and the hyphenated self will be addressed in the following sub-sections.

2.2. (ETHNIC) IDENTITY

The term *identity* functions as an important concept in this thesis as it aims at analysing Crane’s and Farrell’s understanding of Irish identity and how they represent and construct it in their literary works. According to the authors themselves and their multiple critics, their

texts very much resemble reality and, consequently, it can be assumed that they also depicted their Irish-American characters as conforming to their sincere perception of Irish identity. Identity, however, is not a solely literary idea, but social and cultural sciences across disciplinary boundaries, such as anthropology and political sciences, draw on the concept. The perspective adopted by this thesis will most closely reflect the interpretation developed by social psychology. Despite the term's indispensability in various scientific and academic fields, multiple scholars do not attempt to, but even explicitly reject a definition because of the authors' divergent attitudes towards the nature of the word *identity*. In their opinion, the term is, on the one hand, too complex and vague for a definition and, on the other hand, it provides the reader with a universally understood, rough grasp of what might be meant by it even without a definition (Verkuyten 36). Regardless of these claims, the view supported in this thesis conforms to Maykel Verkuyten (36), who is rooted in the field of social psychology, and argues that a concise explanation of the term "identity" is necessary. Hence, the following section will examine Verkuyten's considerations of identity in connection with other authors who contribute to the understanding of the concept as it is applied in the analysis of *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* and of the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* in this thesis. Furthermore, the concept's implications for ethnic self-understanding and for representations ascribed to ethnic identities from outside should also be taken into account in order to allow for a thorough analysis of Farrell's and Crane's conception of an ethnic Irish-American identity.

The term identity is defined "in the literature on race, ethnicity, and nationalism" (Brubaker, and Cooper 7) as follows:

Understood as a specifically *collective* phenomenon, 'identity' denotes a fundamental and consequential *sameness* among members of a group or category. [...] This sameness is expected to manifest itself in solidarity, in shared dispositions or consciousness, or in collective action. (Brubaker, and Cooper 7; original emphasis)

and:

Understood as a core aspect of (individual or collective) 'selfhood' or as a fundamental condition of social being, 'identity' is invoked to point to something allegedly *deep, basic, abiding, or foundational*. This is distinguished from more superficial, accidental, fleeting, or contingent aspects or attributes of the self, and is understood as something to be valued, cultivated, supported, recognized, and preserved. (Brubaker, and Cooper 7; original emphasis)

Although this thesis generally agrees with the first part of the definition that identity implies "sameness" among members of a group, the second part should be in more detail. Even

though identity should be regarded as something elementary, relatively steady, and only slowly changing, the second definition evokes the notion of F. Scott Fitzgerald's character Amory Blane, who constantly searches for his Irish identity in the form of the "fundamental Amory" (Dowd 141), the underlying, unalterable element of his self, in *This Side of Paradise*. However, like Amory in the novel's ending (Dowd 152), this thesis also advocates the view that identity must be understood as something socially and culturally constructed, something that merges the "relation of [both] individuals [and] the world in which they live" (Verkuyten 42), and not as innate and unchanging fundamental definition of our self that only develops from within an individual.

However, not only a consideration of the broader understanding of an individual's identity is necessary but also one related to a specific, social identity as this thesis particularly aims at pinpointing the specificities of the identity assigned to the Irish-American ethnic group in literature. Identifying with or being aware of one's "membership" in this specific group significantly influences a person's "self-concept" (Verkuyten 62). Hence the question arises what the term "ethnicity" under which Irish Americans are usually listed, for instance, in *The Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Thernstrom 524), stands for.

Max Weber, for example, defines the term ethnic group as follows:

We shall use the expression 'ethnic' groups to describe human groups [...] which cherish a belief in their common origins of such a kind that it provides a basis for the creation of a community. This belief may be based on similarities of external custom or practice or both, or on memories of colonisation or migration. (Weber 364)

Envisioning ethnicity as expressed in the definition above very much resembles what Verkuyten states, namely that a connection between the ethnic group and its members is formed through an "identification" (64) of the individual with its group as a result of an imagined "common origin, descent, and history" (74), which constitutes the person's and the community's "self-definition and self-presentation" (116). These community formations are also influenced by a wish of inclusion and "belonging" (Verkuyten 68) in a heterogeneous cultural and socio-historic setting (Melville 76). Members share a sense of common identity manifested through shared moral values and cultural and social customs (Thernstrom in Loue 35-36) and feelings of connectedness and stability, which can counteract "feelings of dislocation and uprooting" (Verkuyten 118), but can also create "a sense of commitment and obligation towards" one's ancestors and descendants (Verkuyten 83).

When examining Weber's definition very critically, it becomes evident that one important aspect of ethnicity is left aside. What can be found in Margaret Melville's definition of ethnicity as "the self-identification and the identification by others of membership in a distinct socio-cultural group based on specific national and/or biological characteristics" (76) indicates that ethnic identity can be ascribed to individuals and groups not only from the outside but also through self-identification. Therefore, an ethnicised person might not be able to prevent being "looked upon, addressed, and treated as a member of that group both by in-group members or co-ethnics and by outsiders" (Verkuyten 64), although a different self-identification might prevail in the individual's self-concept. Criteria that lead co-ethnics and outsiders to determine someone as belonging to a certain ethnicity range from "[p]hysical similarities, cultural characteristics, language, religion [to] historical events and myths" (Verkuyten 75), and they can vary and change over time. People then further assign an underlying "essence," it might be "biological, cultural, or religious" (Verkuyten 48), to the ethnicised individuals when describing the ethnic group's very nature and to provide an explanation for its members' differences and similarities from the person assigning it. A biological explanation, however, is not immediately synonymous with arguments derived from a racial distinction of different social groups as various critics address the problematic distinction between race and ethnicity. Michael Banton, for instance, argues that race is ascribed solely by outsiders based on their interpretation of phenotypical attributes, whereas ethnicity is freely and willingly chosen and determined by its group members and is not necessarily dictated and enforced by a dominating, hierarchically superior group (Banton in Verkuyten 57). Having said that, Americans used to employ racial language to describe Irish-American identity as inferior throughout the 19th and up to the early 20th century, as will be demonstrated in section 4.

As indicated earlier in this section, identity as well as ethnicity are considered dynamic concepts. Thus, also "ethnic identity can be flexible, changing, and situational" (Verkuyten 183). Despite this, identity is still constituted by stable elements, such as an imagined collective history, or by widely shared moral and cultural customs, which do not change rapidly, but are retained over longer stretches of time (Verkuyten 183). These equivocal characteristics of the concept of ethnic identity will also be observable within this literary thesis as various critics, such as Verkuyten (174), support the view that "identities and self-understanding are [explicitly] given shape [...] through narrative". Hence, this thesis will analyse the ever-changing identity of Irish Americans in literature from the 18th century

onwards as well as the concept of identity as expressed in *Maggie* and *Studs Lonigan*. However, for a successful understanding of the Irish-American self-concept and the identity ascriptions made from outside by American authors, another concept is of great importance because it generally occurs when different social, cultural or national groups are confronted with each other.

2.3. STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes assigned to Irish immigrants in America and to their descendants played a crucial role in the evolution of American and Irish-American literature and drama, and shaped the personal traits of various literary characters throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. However, before a thematic analysis will be undertaken in sections 3 and 4, the thesis first aims at defining what stereotypes are and how they function.

The term stereotype was coined by Walter Lippmann in 1922, who referred to it as “the pictures in our head” (3), which allow us to make sense of the environment, of events and people around us by categorising, simplifying, and generalising them so the limited human cognitive processes can comprehend them (16). Therefore, stereotypes are never direct reflections of reality but simplified abstractions handed to us by our culture or created by the individual itself (Lippmann 16-25). Stereotypes generally refer to “groups of people, particularly [to] their underlying psychological characteristics or personality traits” (Lee, Jussim, and McCauley in Matsumoto, and Juang 351). They provide immensely generalised judgements “about an identity group” (ethnicity, gender, social class etc.) on the basis of the belief in “group homogeneity” by assuming that every individual member possesses the same characteristics or the essence that is associated with the entire group (Ting-Toomey 161). Thus, people’s individuality is neglected in favour of an overgeneralised picture. These generalised assumptions can either have positive or negative values attributed to them (Matsumoto, and Juang 351), for instance, it is said that Germans are always punctual, in contrast to the negative general image of Viennese people as always being unfriendly. These shared ideas about groups are socially and culturally constructed, and might either coincide with empirical or statistical facts (Ting-Toomey 161-162) or “have no factual connection to the target group” (Matsumoto, and Juang 351) whatsoever, for example, if no contact between the stereotyped and the people stereotyping is given. Hence, they should not be blindly adopted, but their validity should be carefully and critically reflected. Unfortunately, this is

not always the case. Therefore, stereotypes prove to be relatively stable and resistant to change because of frequent repetition in the media, literature, politics, and day-to-day life (Siapera 113) and, even more so, because they are actively reinforced by authors, political agents, and artists whose intention is to get across their own agenda. This will become evident in section 4 when the stereotypical depiction of the “stage Irishman,” which was prevalent during the 19th and early-20th centuries, will be discussed.

The process of attributing certain characteristics to a group can be further divided into the concepts of auto- and heterostereotype. While “*heterostereotypes*” are images one group has about another group, “*autostereotypes*” refer to what insiders think of themselves as a group” (Ting-Toomey 161; original emphasis). Regular confrontation with these auto- and heterostereotypes might lead to a fixation on one’s “self-image” and, in the case of negative stereotypes, might even cause someone to reject and detest his or her own identity group (Allport 1951 in Siapera 114-115). Additionally, negative stereotypes can also enhance a process mentioned by Robert Merton (195), namely the “self-fulfilling prophecy”, resulting in “a *false* definition of [a] situation evoking a new behaviour which makes the original false conception come *true*” (original emphasis). Furthermore, groups being defined by negative stereotypes also tend to create “counter-stereotypes” to dispose of a society’s negative associations and might even develop “negative stereotypes against other groups” (Siapera 115) to distract from themselves and strengthen their collective self-confidence and pride. While such processes might result in negative effects like “stress, violence, and [a] negative self-image,” positive stereotypes can create “values, pride and positive distinctiveness” (Siapera 114) and serve various other essential social and cultural functions¹.

In conclusion, it can be said that stereotypes generally function as an essential tool to imagine and comprehend ourselves and the people around us, and one can go as far as claiming that they partially constitute individuals’ and groups’ identities. Nevertheless, they also always have to be critically called into question as they are not necessarily based on factual realities and might be developed to push hostile and xenophobic agendas. Therefore, a thorough consideration of Irish-American identity and representation in the 19th and early 20th centuries America demands an analysis of stereotypes about Irish Americans and the social and cultural processes behind them, which will be included in sections 3 and 4.

¹ Henri Tajfel in *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (1981) thoroughly illustrates the functions of stereotypes on an individual and group level in chapter 7 “Social Stereotypes and Social Groups”.

2.4. THE HYPHENATED SELF²

In the 2000 U.S. Census, 35 million Americans claimed to be of Irish descent (Meagher 3). This suggests that Americans nowadays willingly identify as ethnic Americans, especially as Irish Americans. Accordingly, Verkuyten (154) also points out that “the idea that multiple identifications can be compatible [is] increasingly becoming common-place” and people gladly identify themselves as having “hyphenated identities.” This acceptance of ethnic identities by the wider public, however, was not always as favourably regarded as it is nowadays. President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), who held office between 1913 and 1921, for instance, questioned ethnic Americans’ and especially Irish Americans’ loyalty to the United States when he insisted in his address *Patriotism and the Sailor* (May 16, 1914) that “[s]ome Americans need hyphens in their names, because only part of them has come over” and argued that “Irish-American[s]” are required to become fully American by directing all their loyalty and attention towards the United States (Wilson 30). President Theodor Roosevelt (qtd. in Dorsey 118) addressed this issue in a similar fashion when he argued in his speech *Americanism* (October 12, 1915) that “there is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.” Furthermore, Roosevelt generally promoted a unified America, which left no room for an Irish-American nostalgic reminiscence of the former home country and its politics (Dorsey 118). Nowadays, however, the concepts of a general national identity and loyalty towards the country in which someone lives, and an identification with a specific ethnicity and former home country are not considered mutually exclusive anymore, but are believed to co-exist within individuals (Verkuyten 154).

Due to the problematic and controversial nature and history of the concept of hyphenated identities, the question arises how to appropriately refer to Irish immigrants who migrated to the United States and to their descendants. One variation, which is illustrated in Kevin Kenny’s *The American Irish: A History*, is the use of “American Irish.” This, however, may evoke the image that the adjective *American* describes the noun *Irish* more closely, meaning that those Irish living in America are just a variation of being Irish and share more similarities with the Irish living in Ireland than with their fellow American countrymen (Hallissy 17). In the following analysis of *Maggie* and *Studs Lonigan*, this usage and understanding of the term proves itself to be inappropriate as the first book was published and written in the context of

² This sub-heading is adopted from Margaret Hallissy’s book title *Reading Irish-American Fiction: The Hyphenated Self* (2006).

an emerging second generation of Irish Americans in the late 19th century, and the second literary work, published even later in the 1930s, was relevant when second- and third-generation Irish had already almost fully acculturated themselves. Thus, these generations were somewhat disconnected from their forefathers' home country and its customs and culture, which will be displayed in sections 3 and 4, as they did not grow up in rural Ireland and were instead confronted with the urban, industrial American environment and their family members' overly nostalgic and romanticised images of the Emerald Isle.

Another widely employed alternative to refer to Irish people in the U.S. is the use of a hyphen between the two words, resulting in *Irish-Americans*. As has been discussed before, this version carries a problematic connotation when one reflects on Woodrow Wilson's and Theodor Roosevelt's uses of the word. Consequently, also *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* notes below its entry of the adjective "hyphenated" that the "term has come under strong criticism as suggesting that those so designated are not as fully American as 'unhyphenated' citizens, and it is best avoided in all but historical contexts." Therefore, this thesis will refrain from this specific usage due to the tension centred around it.

These justifications lead to one solution, namely the use of the variant *Irish American* as a noun describing Americans of Irish descent. The adjective *Irish* determining the noun *American* brings across the impression that being of Irish descent is simply a version of being American, while a hyphen would separate the two identities. This application also corresponds to the historical and social realities at that time, which will be mentioned here only briefly as a more thorough account will be given in section 3. In the late 19th century when *Maggie* was published, a new flood of poorer and culturally differing immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe arrived at North American shores. This entailed a process in which the hegemonic American Protestant elite started to notice similarities between themselves and Irish Americans, due to the larger cultural contrast between themselves and the new immigrants, and thereupon began to regard the former Irish immigrants not only legally but also identity-wise as American citizens. When *Studs* was published in the 1930s, Irish Americans already shared American middle-class values and were considered naturalised and acculturated citizens, although their loyalty was questioned 20 years before, as illustrated by Wilson's and Roosevelt's speeches. Generally, however, they were regarded as Americans.

Concerning the adjectival use of *Irish Americans* in this thesis, the application of a hyphen will be chosen. Although various style guides advocate a general rejection of the hyphen, not only for nouns but also in the form of adjectives, this thesis will conform to the *Purdue OWL*'s [hyphen use] suggestions to "[u]se a hyphen to join two or more words serving as a single adjective before a noun." As the word *Irish* and the word *American* serve as two conjoined adjectives in this case, *Irish-American* will be used as in *Irish-American neighbourhood* or *Irish-American identity*.

3. SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IRISH IMMIGRATION

The Irish were one of the first groups of immigrants³ to strongly impact North America's development when the continent was still in its infancy. Due to their vast numbers, they left a deep imprint on the United States' social, economic, and cultural evolution. From the first noteworthy recordings of migration movements in the 17th century till the late 20th century, approximately seven million Irish people arrived on North American shores, and the majority decided to take roots in the United States of America (Meagher 3). This mass exodus of Irish migrants resulted in over 35 million Americans declaring to be of Irish or Scotch-Irish descent in the 2000 U.S. Census (Meagher 3), thereby suggesting that they still identified with an Irish-American ethnic identity.

3.1. PRE-FAMINE IMMIGRATION

As early as 1586, Edward Nugent, an Irish citizen who is believed to have killed an Indian chief while "serving with Captain Ralph Lane," was one of the first Irishmen to set foot on North American soil (Blessing 525). Only three decades later, however, the sporadic arrival of Irishmen on the new continent had turned into a steady flow and further increased during the following two centuries (Blessing 525). During the colonial period, Anglican Irish⁴, Irish Protestant dissenters who did not conform to the officially established Church of Ireland such as the Ulster Scots⁵ and Irish Catholics took on the journey to North America (Meagher 26-27).

During the colonial and pre-Famine era, Catholic Irish immigrants contributed to the immigration process from Ireland, however, they did not dominate it until the 1830s (Kenny 45). The earliest Catholic immigrants from Ireland arrived in the New World in the 17th century. They usually were young, mostly single males, who either decided to make the journey out of free will or were forced to become indentured servants (Blessing 525-526). Indentured servants were either convicted to work for a specific set of years in the American colonies, because they had committed a crime in Ireland, were considered political enemies of

³ German immigrants, next to the Irish and British, accounted for another significant immigrant group which settled down in colonial North America in the 17th century (Berkin 2).

⁴ The impact of Anglican Irish immigrants to the United States will not be addressed in this thesis, but for further information on reasons for their immigration consult Meagher (26-27).

⁵ For a more thorough consideration of the Ulster Scots or Scotch-Irish history in America consult Carlton Jackson's *A Social History of the Scotch-Irish* (1993).

the Anglican rule, or they voluntarily bound themselves to an indentured contract instead of paying the shipping fare to North America (Meagher 27-32).

Although evidence of these immigration processes exists, it is hardly possible to specify immigrant numbers and trace the cultural developments of these early immigrants. The migration of Catholics took place very irregularly and in an uncoordinated fashion (Meagher 27), and Catholicism was banned in Protestant North America in that period, apart from Maryland and Pennsylvania, and practicing members could be sentenced to penalties ranging from imprisonment to execution (Meagher 31). Therefore, Catholic Irish immigrants were forced to abandon their religious beliefs and cultural identity, and assimilate to the predominant Protestant customs (Meagher 31).

While the immigration process of Irish Catholics across the Atlantic continued and further advanced during the colonial and pre-Famine period (Meagher 32), social and economic changes in Ireland and North America resulted in various push and pull factors. Irish Catholics became subject to persecution and discrimination in Ireland due to the introduction of consecutive penal laws in 1695, 1697, and 1704, which were modified during the course of the 18th century, but still marked Catholics as an inferior class of people (Meagher 29). These laws “severely weakened Catholic property rights” (Meagher 29) and reserved the heritage system of primogeniture strictly for Anglican Church of Ireland members, leaving Irish Catholics only with the possibility to divide their tenantry into smaller patches of land between their children (Blessing 525).

These laws and the plantation of Scottish Presbyterians in the northern Irish province of Ulster, which was initiated by the English colonial rule, resulted in a landless Irish Catholic mass, and the Catholic Irish were forced to live as poor, dependent tenants, cottiers, and “rundale occupiers” (Blessing 525). Next to agriculture, also the control over the woollen and linen industry, the second mainstay of the Catholic Irish tenants and cottiers, was predominately in the hands of numerous influential Protestants (Blessing 525). Additionally, an immense population explosion, which skyrocketed from 2.3 million people in 1753 to 8.2 million by 1841 (K. Miller 29 & 218), left millions of people depending on a landholding system that failed to provide them with sufficient access to fertile soil (Kenny 46).

Those Irish who wanted to pursue a better life in the New World were at first attracted to the new continent by the expectation of more religious freedom but more importantly by the prospect of greater economic opportunities, which were both denied to them because of the

penal laws effective between the early 17th century and the mid-18th century and the negative consequences they entailed concerning the Catholics social and financial situation in Ireland. Living in North America was further promoted by letters from friends and relatives who had already settled down in America; shipping companies actively advertised the decision to emigrate; and “emigrant assistant societies” provided the newly arrived Catholic Irish immigrants with information and work to ease their transition to the new country (Kenny 54-55).

In the colonial period, the Catholic Irish immigrants of the 18th century generally settled down in rural areas in the south and mid-Atlantic parts of North America (Meagher 35), where they were often greeted with great hostility if they did not immediately assimilate, forsake their Catholic religion or even convert to Protestant religions in pre-revolutionary North America (K. Miller 147). Therefore, Irish Catholics in America were confronted with conditions similar to what they had experienced in Ireland as they again were confronted with social and also legal discrimination in the form of additional taxes forced on Catholics in some areas (Dolan, *Catholic Experience* 85) and were subject to limitation when it came to holding official positions (Kenny 72). After the American Revolution, in which Irish Americans fought on both sides - for the American cause and also on the loyalist, British side (Blessing 527) – settlement structures changed as Irish immigrants chose northern urban instead of southern rural areas. Only very few Irishmen decided to become indentured servants and convicts were now shipped to Australia instead of North America (Meagher 42-45). Furthermore, from the 1830s onwards, these immigrants mainly travelled on the by then most frequented trading route between Liverpool and New York City (Meagher 53).

3.2. AN GORTA MÓR AND THE POST-FAMINE GENERATION

By the 1830s, the majority of Ireland’s population depended on the plantation of potatoes (Kenny 54), when in 1845 Ireland was struck by “*an gorta mór*” (“the great hunger”) as the Irish themselves called the devastating human catastrophe (89; original emphasis). The potato blight made its first appearance in Ireland in 1845, striking the island multiple times in the following years till 1851, in the form of the fungal infestation “*Phytophthora Infestans*,” which let the potato plants and harvest rot away into a mushy, dark mass (Meagher 62; original emphasis). Eventually, the deprivation of the Irish’s most important food source resulted in a population drop of approximately 2 million people between 1845 and 1851 as one half died

due to starvation and the following illnesses, whereas the other half emigrated primarily to the United States (Blessing 529).

The Irish migrants who left for the United States during the Famine and post-Famine period were composed of an overall balanced ratio of men and women, mostly Catholic and literate, and the greater bulk of them were 35 years and younger and mostly unmarried (Blessing 529). The waves of immigrants often included “small or middling farmers” from rural areas as the most indigent peasants did not have the financial means, information and optimism to take on such a journey, but also “cottiers or laborers, and artisans” who saw no future in Ireland’s economy were among the flood of immigrants (Meagher 74).

3.2.1. Settling Down in America

In the 18th till the mid-19th century, many Irish immigrants had to make their journey on so called “coffin ships” (Watson, and Halus 4). On these ships they had to suffer under horrible conditions, which resulted in the spreading of diseases on board and multiple deaths due to illness and starvation (Kenny 102). In 1771, for instance, the journey from Belfast to Philadelphia of the *Seaflower* was delayed by wind and weather conditions; therefore, the passengers were forced to exercise cannibalism by eating the already deceased in order to survive (Meagher 33). Significant “[t]echnological improvements” of the steam ship in the 1840s and 1850s (R. Cohn 480-481), however, allowed for more convenient, hygienic, and, most importantly, faster transportation⁶, and reduced the travel duration from approximately “six or seven weeks” on a sailing boat to around 10 days on a steamer by the first decades of the 20th century (Meagher 99).

Once arrived on North American shores - the majority did so in New York City (Meagher 76) - Irish immigrants primarily settled down in the urban centres “on the East Coast, in New England or the Mid-Atlantic states,” but some also “in the Midwest or West” (Meagher 85). At first, they still arrived in an uncontrolled manner until the clearing center Castle Garden, which was coordinated by New York City officials, was established in 1855, and replaced in 1892 by the famous, governmental immigration station positioned on Ellis Island (Dolan, *Irish Americans* 81 qtd. in Kenny 104). Now the immigration process could be officially coordinated and regulated, and the newcomers were protected from tricksters and impostors

⁶ By the 1870s, Irish immigrants were able to depart from Irish ports like Queenstown and Moville instead of making the additional journey to Liverpool, thereby reducing the duration of the journey across the Atlantic even further (Meagher 99).

who sought to financially exploit the frightened and uninformed arrivals (104-105). Many did not venture far, but remained in New York City (Meagher 77) or joined fellow Irishmen and -women in cities like Boston, Chicago (Meagher 80), and Philadelphia, or sometimes even further south in New Orleans and Charleston (Watson, and Halus 4). Irish immigrants positioned higher on the social and economic scale often decided to move further west and towards the Pacific coast to cities like San Francisco, as there they had the advantage of meeting better economic chances and were hardly confronted with anti-Catholic discrimination (Blessing 530-533). Regardless of where they settled down, “Irish kinship networks” emerged, which also functioned as an aid to pave the way for chain migration (530). Irish immigrants sent money back to Ireland – annually up to approximately 8 million \$ in the 19th century - in order to provide for the shipping expenses for relatives to follow them to the United States (530).

In the United States, Irish immigrants held only a very limited variety of jobs. The usual newcomer was unskilled and therefore only found work in menial and manual labour in urban areas (Blessing 351). In rural areas, they were employed as “railroad workers, miners, or soldiers” and in canal construction (Blessing 531; Kenny 64). In the South, Irish immigrants often replaced African-American slaves when specific works were particularly risky and dangerous as immigrants were a cheaper and, most importantly, a replaceable alternative to slaves (Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness* 146). Furthermore, during the course of the century, Irish Americans also started to occupy a massive part of the positions in “fire and police departments,” resulting in approximately 83 percent of police officers in New York City being of Irish origin in the first decade of the 20th century (W. Miller 861).

Female Irish immigrants’ employments showed even less variation than those of male Irish Americans. Unskilled female newcomers worked in urban areas where they held positions as domestic servants in American families, but others also worked in the needle trades as seamstresses or dressmakers and in factories and mills producing clothing and textiles (Diner 76-80). Generally, only a very slow upward mobility was detectable among Irish Americans, especially of those of an Irish-born peasant background (Blessing 531). By the end of the 19th century, however, they already held a somewhat wider variety of jobs as many women, for instance, worked as teachers, “in trade, transportation, [...] and the professions” (Blessing 531-532).

The living situations that Irish immigrants encountered in American cities were usually very tough. Urban areas were characterised by overpopulation and unorganised, cramped tenement blocks, like in New York and Boston, as many newcomers did not have the means to leave the cities in which they had arrived (Meagher 79-80). These overcrowded settlements facilitated the spread of diseases like cholera, and hunger and malnourishment were a constant threat looming above the Irish immigrants (77-78). Furthermore, criminality and gangs emerged in urban neighbourhoods, one of the most famous being the notorious “Five Points” neighbourhood in New York City (78).

These unsafe and unhygienic living conditions, the dangerous occupations, and the far above-average alcohol consumption let mortality rates among Irish immigrants soar (Blessing 532). Especially “accidents and injuries,” often in a work setting, deprived many families of their fathers, resulting in a great number “of female-headed families” (532). Many Irish immigrants suffered from mental illnesses, especially women, and they made up a vast proportion of patients in American psychiatric wards⁷ (Meagher 78-79). Nevertheless, fertility among Irish families was remarkably high despite their tendency towards “late marriage[s]” and lifelong celibacy (Blessing 532). These trends were further enforced by the urge to keep to themselves by marrying within their own group, with some exceptions limited to wealthier Irish-American individuals from a “nonpeasant background” (532).

3.2.2. American Nativism

In addition to the terrible living conditions and the new, unfamiliar environment, Irish immigrants had to deal with marginalisation and often negative prejudices held by the American population. While the hostility towards Irish immigrants was comparably low in the era after the American Revolution, this severely changed after the 1830s when more and more Irish immigrants were pouring into the country (Blessing 533). The rising hostility developed into a general anti-Irish sentiment backed by nativism. The nativist movement held both religious and socio-economic arguments against the newly arriving Irish immigrants. At its heart were the Know-Nothings⁸ and their political party, which were in power in the 1850s, but lost momentum before the beginning of the Civil War (Meagher 82). One of the nativists’ arguments was that Irish newcomers were stealing their jobs due to their “willingness” to

⁷ Between 1849 and 1859, sixty percent of the patients in the New York Lunatic Asylum were of Irish background (Meagher 78).

⁸ The name Know-Nothing derived from the order instructing its members and voters to answer questions about their organisation with the phrase “I know nothing.” to ensure a state of secrecy (McPherson, *Battle Cry* 135).

work for extremely low wages, which in reality was often their only means to survive (Kenny 116); and soon the Irish-American Catholics were associated with vices like excessive alcohol consumption, criminality, pauperism, and violence (Blessing 66).

However, these prejudices also somewhat corresponded with the Irish immigrants' situation in American urban areas as pauperism, high criminality⁹ rates, and "disorderly behaviour" due to alcohol abuse were not uncommon among Irish immigrant groups (Kenny 108). Therefore, Irish immigrants often had to endure discriminatory treatment, illustrated by this anti-Irish job advertisement taken from the "*Evening Post*, 4 Sept. 1830": "Wanted. – A Cook or a Chambermaid. They must be American, Scotch, Swiss, or African – no Irish" (M. Casey 48). Occasionally they were even confronted with violent behaviour, like in the case of the 1844 riots in Philadelphia, when conflicts between Protestant nativists and Irish Catholic immigrants culminated in violent clashes and fights, resulting in 13 deaths and the burning of "two Catholic churches" (Meagher 322). The nativist movement was strongly supported by the Scotch Irish¹⁰ and peaked in the "Orange Riots" in 1870 and 1871 in New York City (91-92).

After 1860, an improvement of Irish Americans' reputation was perceptible, which was only interrupted by the American Protective Association's attempt to flare up the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment again in the 1890s (Blessing 533). The positive progress was mainly caused by the influential Irish-American participation in the Civil War, the increase in relations between native-born Americans and the Irish in public and work environments (Blessing 533), and the even greater social and economic contrast of the impoverished immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe pouring in the United States from the 1880s onwards (Kenny 181). Protestant Americans perceived greater similarities between themselves and the Catholic Irish Americans than between themselves and the new immigrants bringing with them fully unfamiliar customs (Kenny 181).

⁹ In 1859, for instance, Irish immigrants made up 55% of all arrests in New York City. Furthermore, Irish gangs such as the "Dead Rabbits, the Plug Uglies, [and] the Forty Thieves" strongly influenced life in New York's notorious Five Points neighbourhood (Kenny 108).

¹⁰ Before the Great Famine caused the migration of millions of Irish Catholics in the 19th century, being Irish in America usually meant to be Protestant and of Scotch-Irish descent. This perception of Irishness was a result of the first wave of Irish immigrants, which brought approximately 250,000 to 400,000 Protestants to North America between 1700 and 1776 of which about three-fifths were Scottish Presbyterians coming from the Irish province of Ulster (K. Miller 137). The Irish Presbyterians started to call themselves "Scotch-Irish" in order to differentiate themselves from the flood of impoverished Irish Catholics arriving in the United States (Meagher 21). They also significantly participated in the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic nativist movement in the 19th century as they, for instance, were strongly engaged in the American branch of the Orange Order, a "militant Protestant organization" targeting Irish Catholics, and entered other nativist associations, such as the "American Protestant Association," in vast numbers (Kenny 81).

3.2.3. Irish Americans' Perception of African Americans

Despite the marginalisation Irish Americans had to experience, they themselves developed radical tendencies towards other ethnicities. Especially African Americans were affected by Irish-American racism because they often inhabited the same densely populated neighbourhoods, vied for similar manual work (Topp 66-67), and African Americans were often employed as “strikebreakers” when Irish labourers protested for better working conditions and appropriate wages (Kenny 66). Additionally, the native-born American public associated the two groups with each other in racial terms, labelling both as inferior human beings (Topp 66). Nevertheless, Irish Americans additionally enjoyed “citizenship [...] and voting rights”¹¹, which were legally denied to African Americans and any other ethnicity considered racially non-white at that period (Kenny 108). Due to the linkage between the two social groups, the Irish immigrants actively tried to distance their identity group from African Americans and often channelled their anger and frustration against them, resulting in violent attacks against African Americans (Topp 67-68).

This hostility towards African Americans became also evident in the Irish immigrants' opinion on slavery. Despite their participation on both sides in the Civil War, they strongly disapproved of abolitionism, and the gap between the Irish-American opinion on slavery and their support of the anti-slavery Union Army was only bridged by their loyalty “to their region” as greater numbers of Irish Americans resided in the northern states (Kenny 119-123). When the Unionists' main goal shifted towards abolitionism, however, many Irish immigrants refused to join the military forces, peaking in the 1863 draft riots¹² (Meagher 84). Nonetheless, Irish immigrants gained considerable respect for their military abilities while serving in the Civil War (84).

3.2.4. Irish-American Politics

Irish Americans also strongly influenced the development of American politics. From a very early stage they sided with the Democratic Party as this political party recognised the importance and opportunities gained from the immigrant votes and granted them “political

¹¹ Irish immigrants, in contrast to African Americans and Chinese immigrants, were qualified as ‘white’. Therefore, they could become official citizens in any state according to the Naturalization Act in 1790. Yet, the degree of their ‘whiteness’ was regularly questioned. (Topp 67)

¹² “The New York City draft riot” in July 1863 was sparked by Irish immigrants who protested against being drafted for the Civil War (Kenny 126). They attacked “symbols of power and privilege [...], especially those connected with conscription,” but soon resumed their search for African Americans in order to fight, torture and kill them (Kenny 126).

power” (Kenny 82). The rivalling Whigs, on the one hand, and later the Republican Party, on the other hand, stood for “Protestant cultural conformity” among the larger society, which clashed with the Irish Catholic agenda (Meagher 89). The collaboration between the Democratic Party and Irish immigrants allowed Irish Americans to pioneer American urban politics in the form of “political machine[s]” (Blessing 535). The machine politicians aimed at creating a personal, friendly contact with the urban voters and promised them particular favours, such as food and economic advantages, in exchange for a vote for the right Democratic candidate on election day (535). What nowadays would be considered corruption and bribery, used to be a successful political system, in which the Irish immigrants at first only functioned as the voting bloc and “foot soldiers” (Meagher 88), but by the 1880s had fought their way up into the leading positions¹³ (Meagher 88 & 117).

Another important political constituent of the Irish-American identity was the Irish nationalist movement.¹⁴ Despite their decision to begin a new life in America, many Irish immigrants still showed a strong interest in the politics of their former home country as Ireland tried to gain political freedom from the British Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries (Blessing 536). A general distinction was drawn between two positions among Irish nationalists. On the one hand, there was a militant, radical republicanism, represented by the “Clan na Gael” established in 1867, which considered the use of violence a legitimate means to gain full independence (Blessing 536-537). On the other hand, there existed a more moderate group supporting a “constitutional nationalism”, whose goal was to establish Irish self-government under British rule, commonly referred to as “Home Rule,” through political negotiations (Kenny 173-174).

3.2.5. The Catholic Church

Another integral aspect of the Irish-American experience was the establishment of the American Catholic Church, which underwent a “first flowering” from the 1840s onwards (Blessing 534). The Irish Catholic immigrants arriving in the United States shortly before and

¹³ The first Irish-born boss of the most famous Democratic political machine, Tammany Hall in New York City, was “Honest John’ Kelly” in 1873 (Blessing 535).

¹⁴ A further political development in the United States that was closely linked to Irish immigrants was the establishment of labour unions. For further information on the Irish Americans’ influence on the organisation of the American labour movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries see Hoerder’s *American Labor and Immigrant History, 1877 – 1920s: Recent European Research* (1983).

during the Famine period did not resemble model Christians as church attendance was low (40% in New York City in the 1840s and 1850s), priests in America were usually badly trained or they took advantage of their influential position, and Irish Catholicism was heavily merged with Irish folklore beliefs and tales (Meagher 89-90). In order to transform the chaotic conditions in American Catholicism, new churches were established¹⁵, especially in northern cities, which were harbouring masses of Irish immigrants, and Catholic authorities tried to educate their members towards “regular mass attendance, frequent devotions, and respect for the clergy” (Meagher 90).

Furthermore, the Catholic Church provided “much of the infrastructure” for Irish newcomers and Irish Americans in the form of “schools, hospitals, and orphanages”; therefore, they gained a huge influence on Irish-American self-understanding (Meagher 89). The Irish Catholic institutions supported the newly arrived Irish by offering them information on employment and housing, by establishing economic and social contacts between Irish and the native-born Americans, and they also played an integral part in providing charity to the impoverished Irish in America and in Ireland (Blessing 534). Due to the establishment of Irish Catholic parish schools in northern cities, which many Protestants regarded as unwillingness to assimilate, their obstinacy concerning their religious practices and the rapid increase of Catholic members, nativists, and non-Catholics feared the Catholics’ rising power and regarded them with hostility (535). Despite these hostilities, the Irish soon held the highest positions in the American Catholic Church and successfully defended them against German and Italian Catholics in the late 19th century, when the Irish proportion of Catholic Church members declined as more and more Catholic Eastern and Southern European immigrants were pouring into the country (535).

3.3. EARLY 20TH CENTURY AND SECOND WORLD WAR PERIOD

In the early 20th century, Irish immigrants’ reputation among native-born Americans generally improved. They had gained respect due to their participation in the Civil War, the increase in successful Irish-American individuals, and the second and third generations’ gradual economic evolvement (Blessing 539). Although Irish Americans still had their own unique culture, they also started to shape general American society due to their domination of popular

¹⁵ Between 1839 and 1864 only in Manhattan 22 new churches were erected by Archbishop John Hughes. In New England, the number of churches rose from 48 in 1846 to 109 in the state of Massachusetts in 1866. (Meagher 90)

culture in the movies, on stage, and in sports, especially in boxing and baseball (Meagher 105, 122). Additionally, the decrease of Irish immigration to North America after the 1920s¹⁶ also contributed to a subsidence of the cross-cultural tension (Blessing 540).

From the 1880s onwards, the Irish-American experience started to be dominated by the second- and third- generation Irish, and consequently the term “lace curtain Irish” was coined a decade later (Meagher 103). It was used by the “shanty Irish,” who were Irish Americans from a lower social strata, to describe those Irish Americans who had improved their social and economic status and had advanced to form an “Irish middle class” (Meagher 103). While Irish-born newcomers still settled down in the centre of urban areas in old, established neighbourhoods, the lace curtain Irish started to move to the suburbs, which was facilitated by the improvement of public transportation systems allowing them to travel longer distances to their working place (104). Despite settling down in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods, Irish Americans still mostly mingled with other Irish-American community members (Meagher 128) in church gatherings or in illicit establishments illegally supplied with alcohol by so-called “beer barons,” which replaced the traditional Irish saloons during the Prohibition era in the 1920s (Blessing 542). After the 1970s, however, Irish-American omnipresence in the urban space completely vanished, except in “Chicago, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia” (542).

However, those Irish who decided to emigrate to the United States still resembled the demographics of previous Irish-born immigrants. At the beginning of the 20th century, these immigrants still originated from a rural peasant background (Blessing 540). The overall sex ratio was still symmetrical, the men and women were usually young and unwed, and their families followed them in the form of chain migration (Blessing 540; Meagher 126). Furthermore, Irish immigrants were still “one of the most highly urbanized of all immigrant groups” (Blessing 540), though more and more Irish-born and Irish Americans chose to settle down on the West Coast.

3.3.1. The Irish-American Occupational Structure and Living Conditions

¹⁶ While the economy in Ireland underwent a slight growth during the 1930s and population numbers stabilised, the United States had to suffer from the Great Depression in 1929, and thereby failed to provide any incentives for the Irish population to move to America (Blessing 540). Furthermore, the United States’ quota laws in 1921 and 1924, which was comparatively tolerant of Irish citizens, further increased the complexity of and the effort for the process of admission to the United States for immigrants (Meagher 124).

Whereas the typical immigration process resembled earlier patterns, the occupational structure had already changed by the early 20th century. Irish-born immigrants and Irish Americans were widely dispersed across the occupational range (Blessing 541). While a larger percentage of newly arrived immigrants still occupied blue-collar jobs, “including [that of] [...] craftsmen,” and were overrepresented in semi-skilled areas as “porters or cleaners, followed by firemen and policemen,” many second- and third-generation Irish Americans moved up to white-collar jobs (541). By the 1960s, they especially found employment in fields like “law, medicine, and the sciences” (541). Irish-born women, however, still largely found employment in private households and textile factories (K. Miller 499). American women of Irish parentage, on the other hand, occupied a variety of jobs, for example as “secretaries, stenographers, [and] nurses” (K. Miller 186), and even reached white-collar employment levels “in law, engineering, teaching, and clerical work” (Blessing 541). Despite the generally positive development of Irish Americans’ economic situation, they did not achieve the same improvement in the same time as other immigrant groups such as Germans and Jews (Meagher 131). Meagher (131) suggests that this was due to the Catholic scepticism of “ambition and individualism” and the Irish immigrants’ aversion to taking risks as they generally preferred to accept safer working opportunities which brought a secure and steady income (132).

Unfortunately, the death rate and disease numbers among Irish Americans still remained at an immensely high level, which was mainly caused by the Irish-American tradition of excessive alcohol consumption, and many individuals, therefore, suffered from mental disorders, such as alcoholic psychoses (Blessing 541). Family characteristics also remained relatively similar to those of the 19th century Irish immigrants. At the same time a new trend emerged during the 1920s as many Irish Americans started to select spouses outside their community, and after 1960 marriages between Irish Americans and partners picked from a different social group were more likely than with someone from within the Irish community (541).

3.3.2. The Catholic Church, Irish-American Politics, and American Nativism

The Catholic Church still remained an integral part of the Irish-American identity. After the turn of the century, membership numbers of the American Catholic Church were still growing (Meagher 135). Although proportionally the Irish did not account for the largest number of Catholics anymore due to immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, they still held a large amount of the American Catholic Church’s highest positions (Blessing 542). Irish-

American bishops positioned themselves on a spectrum from conservative to liberal and progressive and some of them even actively supported the civil rights movement (542). Moreover, education remained a strong interest of the Catholic Church and it established “multiethnic Catholic high schools” for its members in American suburbs (Blessing 542; Meagher 142).

The New Deal by Roosevelt, who implemented a social welfare system providing the American public with “job creations, unemployment benefits and social security,” significantly influenced the development of Irish politics in and after the 1930s (Kenny 217). As political machines used to provide many of these favours to their voters and were now somewhat replaced by the state-governed welfare, the political power structure in major cities was challenged (217). Additionally, the new ethnics which populated the cities in vast numbers, such as Jews and Italians, also started to demand power and representation (Meagher 133). Therefore, many political machines in cities, like New Jersey and Chicago, had to overcome their opposition to social reform and had to adapt to the new situation by utilising, controlling, and distributing the official welfare funds in their favour by providing them to other ethnic groups besides the Irish Americans (Kenny 214). Others, however, like the famous Tammany Hall in New York City, lost control over urban areas, (Kenny 217) as they did not modify their internal structure and their socially conservative beliefs (Kenny 217). However, also on a national level Irish Americans started to occupy higher political positions. In the year 1928, Smith, for instance, was the first Catholic Irish-American presidential candidate of the United States (Blessing 543). The most famous Irish-American success story, however, was lived by John F. Kennedy, who in 1960 became the first Catholic, Irish-American president of the United States (Blessing 543).

Despite the social and economic progress Irish Americans had made, they still remained an ethnic group separated from the Protestant majority in the first half of the 20th century. Especially in the urban areas in the United States’ east, Irish Americans usually did not belong to the hegemonic Protestant “economic and social elite” (Meagher 138). Although they were allowed to attend “Ivy League universities,” for instance, some of the most influential private clubs of these colleges did not permit Irish-American members (138). Furthermore, anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiments prevailed among the intellectual elite. Due to the American Catholic Church’s authoritative hierarchy, many intellectuals thought it “anti-democratic,” and its conservative position on topics such as sexuality and contraception struck them as preventing personal freedom and individuality and were considered “un-

American” (McGreevy qtd. in Kenny 209). Additionally, potential anti-Semitic tendencies were attributed to Irish Americans because some of the lower-middle class Irish Americans agreed with Father Charles Coughlin’s opinion when he expressed resentment towards Jews during his radio shows “on Radio Station WJR” and suspected Jewish conspiracies preventing Irish-American and Catholic social upward movement (Meagher 140-141). After World War II, however, the general fear of Catholicism was replaced by “the looming threat of communism,” which in combination with other factors, resulted in the total assimilation of Irish Americans into larger society (Kenny 228-235).

To conclude this section, it can be said that Irish immigration to North America has played a central role in the United States’ economic and social development since the 17th century. Irish Americans shaped the American Catholic Church, American politics and labour organisations. Irish Americans were also the first ethnic immigrant group which threatened to overthrow the hegemonic Protestant identity in the country to which the native-born American public reacted with various forms of discrimination. From a long-term perspective, however, both sides benefitted from the Irish-American migration as the United States gained a vast labour force that facilitated American industrialisation, making it the powerful nation it is today, and many Irish immigrants had the chance to provide their children with a brighter future than it would have been possible in impoverished, rural Ireland.

4. IRISH-AMERICAN IDENTITY IN LITERATURE

Since the beginning of the 18th century, millions of Irish immigrants have arrived at North American shores, always making up an essential fraction of the United States' population. As a displaced people in constant search for their position in the host country's society, their understanding of their Irish identity also changed according to the state of their socio-cultural environment. Dowd (15), for instance, argues that especially ethnic identities always respond to the social, cultural, and political shifts in a society. In the case of Irish migration, these shifts were caused by a dependence on both the Irish-American conscious self-definition and the native Americans' reaction to the Irish immigration processes. The constant transformation of the conception of ethnic identity becomes perfectly visible when analysing American and Irish-American literature and how Irishness is regarded within these literary works. Furthermore, Fanning (*Irish Voice* 1) states that the Irish-American literary canon is "the oldest and largest bod[y] of ethnic writing produced by members and descendants of a single American immigrant group." Therefore, this section will discuss some of the most influential auto- and heterostereotypes and themes contributing to the perception of the Irish-American identity by American and Irish-American authors that will later aid the analysis of Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* and Farrell's *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*.

According to Fanning (*Irish Voice* 8), by the late 18th century 400,000 immigrants of Irish descent inhabited the United States of America. Consequently, the demand for literature revolving around familiar themes and settings steadily grew among these Irish immigrants. Hence, a first generation of distinctively Irish-American writers emerged, whose works shared characteristics of humour, satire, and sarcasm (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 15). Despite these literary roots in the 18th century, only by the early 19th century did Irish-American literature experience a wider upswing and longer fictional works surfaced (18). Although a positive and witty attitude towards discrimination and hostility dominated the pre-Famine literary tradition, it abruptly vanished when more and more Catholic Irish immigrants were pouring into the United States. Due to the trauma and devastation they had encountered during Ireland's potato blights between 1845 and 1851, a new genre of literature inevitably emerged. The vast increase in immigrant numbers also triggered the development of Irish heterostereotypes and clichés attributed to them by American authors.

4.1. IRISH-AMERICAN HETEROSTEREOTYPES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Predecessors of these Irish-American heterostereotypes were already utilised in Hugh Henry Brackenridge's portrait of the Irish immigrant character Teague O'Regan in *Modern Chivalry* (4 volumes from 1792 to 1797), the first novel revolving around Irishness ever published by an American author, and they soon became commonly accepted images among the American Protestant public (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 13). The stereotypes metaphorically represented the native-born public's anxieties and were used "to ignite debate on the most immediate social, cultural, political, and religious issues" (Dowd 2). They were further fuelled by the nation's fear of the culturally and socially differing customs of the Irish newcomers. According to Andrew Murphy (6), despite or more appropriately because of the immigrants' religious and cultural differences from the Protestant American population, Irish Americans functioned as "'proximate' Others" during the following century. Instead of being depicted as complete otherness, Irishness was considered "a deviation or perversion of the Anglo-American" ideal, and symbolised a boundary between moral and immoral, appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and values for the United States' Protestant population (Dowd 2 – 3).

During the first half of the 19th century, the Irish had become stock characters in various American but also in Irish-American literary works (Dowd 14). Their stereotypical depiction was transformed from a generally humorous and sympathetic characterisation towards one presenting them as "shiftless parasites spawning large families that they were unable to support" (Conners 2). "Paddy," a name frequently assigned to male Irish and Irish-American characters, was oftentimes portrayed as a savage, violent, "hard-drinking wife-beater" (Conners 2). At the same time, many other authors tempered this harsh, monstrous image by presenting him as "cheerful when sober, [...] willing to offer hospitality" (Conners 2) and "honest, generous, and loyal" (M. Murphy 22). Paddy's female counterpart, "Bridget," was usually depicted as "unsociable, even quarrelsome" but also likeable due to "her concern for her children and her determined effort to hold the family together" (Conners 2). As already hinted to in section 2, the Irish cultural and behavioural traits, conveyed in these widely accepted stereotypes, were often ascribed to "inherent deficiencies and hereditary predispositions" in terms of race, and were regarded as genetically innate to the Irish people (Dowd 12 – 14). Due to this understanding of Irishness, the Irish immigrants in America were marked as inferior people and second-class citizens, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon host society, which either unconsciously or actively reinforced its believed racial superiority through the use of Irish-American heterostereotypes in American mainstream literature (12).

After an upswing of xenophobic and nationalistic sentiments in the 1880s and 1890s, a number of contributions disseminating a nativist agenda were published, which still employed exaggerated versions of the Irish brogue, heterostereotypes and derogatory pictures of the Irish people (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 177, 216). Various fears were expressed in these anti-Irish works, arguing that Irishness functions like a contagious disease resulting in a national or local degeneration of American societies (Dowd 81, 108). Furthermore, nativist authors implied that the Irish were able to mask as civilized people and pretend to be assimilated by living among the Protestant American middle-class, however, only for a limited amount of time as their inner Irish animalistic side would break through and wreak havoc on its surroundings (101). These stereotypical assumptions and the literary technique to highlight certain characters as animalistic and therefore inhuman are also reflected in contemporary cartoons. In a cartoon created by Thomas Nast and printed in *Harper's Weekly* on 6th April 1867 under the title *The Day We Celebrate*, for instance, the cartoonist portrays beastly, ape-like Irish Americans who are unable to peacefully celebrate St. Patrick's Day and uphold reasonable, respectable human qualities, but instead demonstrate an animal-like, beastly behaviour by engaging in chaotic and violent riots against Protestant American citizens and police forces, who are portrayed conforming to a regular human being's physiognomy (see fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Thomas Nast. *The Day We Celebrate*. 1867. *Harper's Weekly* 6 Apr. *Doomed by Cartoon: How Cartoonist Thomas Nast and The New York Times Brought Down Boss Tweed and His Ring of Thieves*. By John Adler with Draper Hill. New York: Morgan James, 2008: 67.

All these prejudices contributed to the image of the Irish as a threat to the United States' social stability due to health, criminal, and safety issues, and the intention arose among social reformers to successfully civilise people of Irish heritage so they would conform to the larger public (Dowd 60). In *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) Jacob A. Riis (22-23), for instance, argues that as a response to the hostile environment by native-born Americans the Irish immigrants had encountered upon their arrival, they adopted American discriminatory behaviour themselves and started to inflict violence on and attack other ethnic groups (cf. stereotypes in section 2). Therefore, Riis (265-266) blamed Irish-American issues such as crime, violence and the terrible situation in the tenements on the Protestant society, and the self-fulfilling prophecy (cf. stereotypes section 2) their behaviour entailed (265 – 266). By changing the Irish-Americans living situation towards more hygiene, financial fairness and comfort in the slums, however, a social reformation would be possible, according to Riis (282 – 283). Nevertheless, Riis (164, 249) considered the ethnic group of Irish Americans to be a more difficult case than other immigrants due to their willing acceptance of their situation. Many authors responded to this question on social reform in their fiction and through their character and story development, they showed whether they regarded reformation attainable or not (Dowd 63). One of these authors, according to various sources, was Stephen Crane in *Maggie* (cf. section 5.1).

4.2. THE STAGE IRISHMAN

Irish stereotypes most visibly manifested themselves in American drama in the form of the “stage Irishman,” and some critics even go as far as claiming that the public image of the Irish immigrant was essentially established through stage performances of Irish characters in the 19th century (Bischoff and Noçon 61). Already in use in England the stage Irishman was imported into North America by British immigrants in the 18th century and was quickly adapted by American playwrights, who interpreted the type, in contrast to their British forbearers, as naïve and humorously ignorant of his surroundings rather than as a vicious, evil creature (Bischoff and Noçon 61; Dowd 18-19). A new critical thematic element that was implemented with the American versions of the stage Irishman and which fuelled scepticism among the United States' native population during the 19th and early 20th centuries was that of the Irish immigrant's split loyalty directed towards two countries: Ireland and their new home, the United States (Bischoff and Noçon 63). Apart from the innovations introduced by dramatists in America, Irish stock characters were still known for their “belligerent attitude”

and their “love of whiskey” (Linneman 29 in Byrne 137). Visually they were depicted as red haired, “rosy cheeked, massive,” and characteristically Paddy had a “face [...] of simian bestiality,” was smoking a clay pipe and wore worn-out clothes (Bourgeois 110) (see fig. 2). Moreover, he talked with a stereotypical Irish “brogue”, which allowed for an immediate recognition and classification by the theatre audience or readership (Byrne 141) and a judgment about the characters’ identity and personality traits.



Fig. 2 James A. Wales. *An Irish Jig*. 1880. *Puck* 8.191. November. *The Construction of Irish Identity in American Literature*. By Christopher Dowd. New York: Routledge, 2011: 13.

4.3. MORALISING IMMIGRANT FICTION

Parallel to the stereotypical depiction of Irish immigrants in American and Irish-American drama in the 19th century, Irish-American prose and the authors’ self-conception of their Irishness developed further. The former satiric and entertaining Irish-American fiction prevalent before the Great Hunger was transformed as a reaction to the trauma and terror the impoverished immigrants had experienced in the disease-ridden and starving Ireland and on their journey into a new life in an unfamiliar cultural and economic environment (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 75). Thus, instead of literary amusements, Irish Americans were now in need of “practical fiction” with a purely instructive and didactic purpose that provided them with suggestions on how to survive and settle down in America’s urban setting (75).

The overall aim of authors dedicating themselves to moralizing fiction was to present “the Irish as humble, obedient laborers and domestics, whose outstanding virtue was their loyalty to the Church” (Connors 4). These writers utilised “moralizing themes,” autostereotypical character representations and “melodramatic conflicts” in sentimental plot formulas to

achieve this purpose (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 75). One of the most famous representatives of this literary tradition of the Famine immigrant generation was the author Mary Anne Sadlier, who was the most productive and most popular writer during that period and also embodied the first significantly influential female voice in Irish-American literature (114). Her nostalgic, sentimental, and didactic novels were based on romantic “stock formulas of plot [and] characterizations” (115) and always revolved around two main assumptions, namely that Irishness and Catholicism share a firmly interwoven connection and that the endurance of “suffering” and sacrifices are part of “God’s plan for his chosen people” (117).

Sadlier’s advice to her Irish immigrant audience was to preserve their Catholic faith in the American Protestant environment and to forsake American values such as economic accomplishments and conformation to the larger society (Donohue 335). If a Catholic adhered to these instructions, the faithful Irish immigrant would be granted success by God in the form of financial blessings after an “act of heroism” that usually occurred by chance or a happy “deathbed scene”, in which the dying Catholic is usually surrounded by his or her loved ones and happily awaits death, often contrasted by an unfaithful character in the story plot that experiences the opposite, namely a horrific, early death of him- or herself or a family member or friend (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 119, 129, 140). The literary theme of the deathbed scene became a crucial constituent of various Irish-American works during the 19th century and also served as an inspiration for James T. Farrell, who later utilised it in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*.

The post-Famine literary generation, which was constituted by many American-born Irish authors, stayed faithful to the sentimental and didactic style of Mary Anne Sadlier and her fellow Irish immigrant writers (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 174). These second-generation authors continued to employ Irish autostereotypes and moralising, nostalgic stock formulas to guide the Irish-American community towards a successful life in an often hostile environment¹⁷ (174). Their understanding of “what constitutes [such] a proper, successful life,” however, had drastically changed (174). The emphasis was now put on the effective Americanization and acculturation of Irish-American literary characters, and “shanty” and “lace curtain” Irish-American lives were compared in various novels (Conners 4). According to these post-famine authors, the Irish Americans’ fundamental goal was now to gain respectability and adhere to the genteel financial, moral, and social values, in order to secure their membership in the American middle-class (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 174). This “literary standard of genteel

¹⁷ This hostile environment was revived especially in the 1890s when the American Protective Association caused anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiments and nativist beliefs to flare up again (Blessing 533).

idealism” (Fanning, *Dunne* 14) implied that a successful life among the respectable middle-class could be achieved by “hard work, sobriety, cleanliness, and propriety,” and the constant devotion to the Catholic faith and its moral values (Messbarger 87); values that shape also multiple characters in Farrell’s works and will be addressed more closely at a later point in this thesis.

4.4. IRISH-AMERICAN REALISM IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

Although Catholic magazines and authors preferred romantic, genteel depictions of Irishness, a contrasting genre emerged in the late 19th century, namely “Irish-American realism” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 176), which allowed for “critical self-assessment” of the Irish self-conception, and a revision and critical analysis of Irish-American auto- and heterostereotypes and prejudices by the general Protestant public (177). This realistic movement was heavily influenced by the works of American realists describing Irish-American life, such as Stephen Crane’s *Maggie*, and they mostly belonged to the genre of “urban local color” and “slum fiction” inspired by the journalistic profession (176).

One of the most famous representatives of Irish-American realism was Finely Peter Dunne. His stories about “Mr. Martin Dooley of Archey Road, Chicago” (Fanning, *Dunne* 13), a bar owner, “crackerbox philosopher” and “wise fool” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 217) who regularly comments on his Bridgeport neighbourhood and its residents, were published in the form of a “weekly newspaper column of 750 words” (Fanning, *Dunne* 15). Furthermore, he also critically commented on the emergence of a genteel middle-class and its values and consequences for the Irish-American people (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 226). Dunne played an integral part in the development of Irish-American realism; he was the first author to create a “solidly realized Irish neighbourhood in American literature,” he affirmed the literary value of common lives by portraying the neighbourhood’s residents in a “sympathetic,” in-depth and often times “heroic” or tragic way, and he pioneered the use of the “vernacular voice” through the medium of Irish dialect and brogue (Fanning, *Dunne* 27). Dunne’s deep impact on the Irish Americans’ understanding of their identity and environment is also reflected in James T. Farrell’s *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* as the columnist is referenced multiple times throughout the work.

4.5. IRISH-AMERICAN AMNESIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

After the turn of the century, according to Fanning, the first decade brought with it a “decline of Irish-American cultural self-consciousness” (*Irish Voice* 238) and only a very limited amount of Irish-American themed fiction was published, mostly in the romantic and didactic traditions (*Irish Voice* 241). This was due to the negative image the Irish-Americans had as a reaction to the Easter Rising in 1916 (238)¹⁸, the second generations’ local, temporal, and cultural distance to Ireland (Dowd 113), and their social state of being an ethnic group being neither completely recognised as, nor being completely distinctive from the American Protestant public (Shannon 132). Thus, Irish Americans during the first three decades of the 20th century either did not regard their Irish heritage as relevant or they shared ambivalent feelings about their hyphenated Irish and American identity, which was also reflected in the literature of that period (Dowd 113). Therefore, an attempted reconciliation of the Irish Americans’ two social identities became the crucial task of the literary generation of the early 20th century (113).

This spirit also dominated the works of F. Scott Fitzgerald, one of the most influential and famous authors of that period who was of Catholic Irish origins and occasionally integrated Irish characters in his stories (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 246). Within his literary works Fitzgerald searched for his fundamental Irish identity, which becomes especially evident in *This Side of Paradise* (1920), in which he follows his main figure Amory Blaine through the story plot, which very much resembles his own biography (Dowd 138). Comparable to Blaine’s inconsistent character development in the story, Fitzgerald’s conception of Irish identity also varied throughout his life, alternating between inflated pride due to Ireland’s rich history and heroic folk tales, and an inferiority complex caused by the embarrassment he felt about his Irish ancestry and community (136-138).

4.6. IRISH-AMERICAN LOCAL REALISTS IN THE 1930S AND 1940S

Following the Irish-American amnesia, during and after the Great Depression authors of Irish heritage needed to rediscover their Irish roots and actively confronted their audiences and themselves with their search for a lost Irishness (Dowd 156). Being Irish had become a matter of choice. Therefore, Irish Americans either decided to integrate their heritage in their works

¹⁸ For further information on the reasons which had caused the early 20th century amnesia of Irish-American self-consciousness consult page 238 to 240 in Fanning’s *The Irish Voice in America: 250 Years of Irish-American Fiction* (2000).

or they did not incorporate any Irish-American themes in their fiction, thereby, including a statement about their self-conception in their literature (154). The first influential author to centre his literary works around his self-perception of an Irish-American identity was James T. Farrell, who, according to Fanning (*Irish Voice* 260), “almost singlehandedly brought the Irish voice into twentieth-century American fiction” with his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* (1932 – 1935). In his literary reviews, Farrell openly criticised genteel and romantic middle-class authors, and in his novels, which contained autobiographical elements, he intended to portray his childhood in the South Side Chicago urban environment in the tradition of realism (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 257). He depicted the constant burden of understanding oneself as Irish and Americanized at the same time, and the alternating feelings of confidence in one’s Irish ancestry and confusion about one’s Irish identity in the present, which defined this new Irish-American generation (Dowd 157-164).

Farrell’s literary criticism and fiction had a strong impact on following writers by raising the awareness about the literary value of Irish Americans’ day-to-day life and experiences (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 292). Therefore, in the 1930s and 1940s the new literary tradition of “local realists” developed, consisting of Irish-American authors from all parts of the United States, who transferred their own, local Irish ethnic experience into (semi-)autobiographical fiction (292). They rendered and re-appropriated various traditional Irish-American themes, such as the political machinery (294), the Catholic clergy (301) and the Irish matriarch (299), and aligned them with their personal reality. Apart from this, Irish-American influence on popular culture expanded as well, and they immensely influenced the film industry and sports, such as baseball and boxing, and in 1936 the first Irish American to receive a Nobel Prize for Literature was the dramatist Eugene O’Neill (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 293).

5. STEPHEN CRANE'S *MAGGIE: A GIRL OF THE STREETS*

5.1. STEPHEN CRANE'S LIFE AND LITERARY WORKS

Stephen Crane, a landmark figure of the American literary mainstream, saw the light of day in Newark, New Jersey, as the last of fourteen siblings on November 1 in 1871 (Colvert 1). He was the child of Jonathan Townley Crane, a Methodist minister, and Mary Helen Crane, who was the daughter to a minister of the same faith and consequently also a strong supporter of the Methodist church and the women's temperance movement of that period (Benfey 34-39). His parents served as literary role models for the young Stephen Crane as writing and the power of language very much defined the family's identity (40). J. T. Crane wrote sermons and "reformist tracts on the dangers of dancing and drinking," Mary H. Crane contributed to religious journals and papers and held lectures to aid the New Jersey Woman's Christian Temperance Union (7). Hence, even Stephen Crane's siblings ventured into the fields of literature: his sister expressed literary ambitions in her comprehensive diary entries and his brother Townley held positions as a reporter for New Jersey and New York papers (40). After his father's death in 1880, Stephen Crane and his remaining family moved from Port Jervis to Asbury Park, New Jersey, in 1883 (Gullason, *Crane's Literary Family* 2; Sorrentino 57). The loss of his father left a deep imprint on 8-year old Stephen's mind and proved to be "crucial to the child's growing sense of his world" (Benfey 7), which was also reflected in his "works [...] notable for their absent fathers [and] their harassed and difficult mothers" (46).

In comparison to other influential American authors, very little is known about Crane's childhood and youth and also the documentation of his life as an adult and the course of the disease that led to his death shows multiple gaps. This lack of information and knowledge is partially rooted in the vivid fantasy of Stephen Crane's first biographer, Thomas Beer, who incorporated more inventive than factual accounts of the author's life in his biography

Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters (1923) (Benfey 8).¹⁹ Additionally, it must be noted that this absence of biographical material might also be ascribed to Crane's own views on the importance of personal recordings. His avoidance and often total neglect of literary mediums such as "diaries, journals, intimate letters, memoirs, [and] autobiographies," which would have allowed for a more thorough insight into his private life and opinions (Benfey 10), might stem from his intention to "go through the world unexplained" (Crane qtd. in Sorrentino 6).

According to his brother Edmund, Stephen Crane's sickliness and fragility during his childhood only allowed him to enter the educational system when he was 7 years of age (Benfey 45). Crane's educational career generally advanced relatively unsteadily. At first, between 1885 and 1887, Crane attended the Pennington Seminary (Wertheim, *Crane Encyclopedia* 263). Soon, however, he transferred to the Claverack College and Hudson River Institute, which specialised on military training, where some of his first recorded sketches were presented in the school's student paper, the *Vidette* (56). During this time, Stephen Crane also began to assist his brother Townley at his summer office in Asbury Park by gathering news and information on summer guests residing at New Jersey's seaside and soon was allowed to write his own short articles about the gossip and events on the New Jersey coast, which were published in the *New York Tribune* (Sorrentino 85).

After his high school education, Crane enrolled at Lafayette College in Pennsylvania in the fall of 1890 to become a mining-engineer (Berryman 19-20). As a consequence of his low attendance, however, Crane failed most of his university courses and decided to leave the College at the end of his first semester, abiding by the faculty's recommendation (20). Immediately after his academic failure at Lafayette, Crane seized another opportunity to receive a university education and inscribed at Syracuse University as a "special student," where he was considered a great enrichment for the university's baseball team, and from which he sent a number of sketches to the *New York Tribune* (Benfey 49, 58). Despite the

¹⁹ Christopher Benfey stresses this fact in his biography *The Double Life of Stephen Crane* (1992). He argues that Thomas Beer not only invented biographical details and anecdotes, especially of Crane's childhood and youth, but even fabricated alleged correspondences between Crane and third parties and forged "some of Crane's most bracing, and most often quoted, literary and philosophical opinions." As a result, many of the following biographers used Beer as a source for their own accounts of the 19th century author and the false, fictitious version of Crane's life further spread among literary scholars. Eventually, however, Paul Sorrentino and Stanley Wertheim, while editing the author's correspondences for their work *The Correspondence of Stephen Crane* (1988), were the first to thoroughly address Thomas Beer's fictional and mis-leading additions to Stephen Crane's life. (see Benfey 7- 9) Therefore, this section is primarily based on authors whose biographical details correspond with each other and, most importantly, with Benfey as he explicitly eschews and criticises Beer's work.

second chance he was given concerning his education, Crane remained loyal to the habits he had acquired at Lafayette College and hardly attended any classes. This behaviour was presumably owed to his general attitude towards formal education, which he expressed in a letter to John Northern Hilliard, which is believed to have been sent in January 1896:

I did little work at school [...]. Not that I disliked books, but the cut-and-dried curriculum of the college did not appeal to me. Humanity was a much more interesting study. When I ought to have been at recitations I was studying faces on the streets. (Crane, *Crane's Letters* 68)

Hence, he decided to leave Syracuse University in 1891 (Benfey 55). This decision, however, should not remain the biggest change in Crane's life that year. Not only did he begin to write first drafts of his novel *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), he was also confronted with his mother's death, and first moved to his brothers in New Jersey and later to New York City in order to advance his career as an author (Benfey 55). In New York, Stephen Crane worked as a freelancing writer sending his sketches and reports to various magazines and papers (60). During that time, he either resided in his brothers' homes outside of New York City or later switched between various shabby studios, confronted with conditions unusual for a young man of his religious and social origin, as he had to share his bed with fellow artists and lead a hand-to-mouth existence due to the little income he made as a journalist (58, 104). During his time in New York, which lasted approximately three years, the young Crane curiously ventured into the slums of New York City, such as the Lower East Side and the Bowery, in order to experience them and their inhabitants first hand (60).

Due to this habit of paying visits to the gloomier, run-down quarters of the city, his interest in the workings of prostitution and other illegal matters – allegedly he even experimented with opium for the sake of research – (Gullason, *Maggie Norton Critical* xii), and the fact that he was considered an exemplary naturalistic writer by various literary scholars over a long period of time, the assumption was made that a large proportion of his first novel *Maggie* was not only inspired by other naturalistic models, but even more based on first- and second-hand experiences he had made and heard of in New York City's underground society (Cunliffe 32). According to later accounts, however, it became evident that Crane had already started to work on *Maggie* at Syracuse University in the spring of 1891, long before he witnessed the horrendous conditions in New York's slums for the first time (Ziff, *Maggie* ix). This circumstance invalidated the interpretation of *Maggie* as a solely mimetic, researched novel and gave room to the interpretation that it was built first and foremost on Crane's imagination

of how he envisioned the city life of the poor immigrant societies in the New York tenements, and only later revised and refined his draft of *Maggie* by incorporating details inspired by his personal, real-life experiences (ix). Another aspect that strongly influenced Crane's writing process of *Maggie* was his familiarity with the works of the social reformer Jacob Riis.

According to Gullason (*Minister* 105-106), one of the main influences at a later point of the novel's development might have been Riis' lecture that Crane attended in the summer of 1892 and his reformist work, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), on the New York slums. Furthermore, Cunliffe stresses that "Crane's sources might lie [...] in the mass of literature produced by the Americans on the evils of slum-life: ill-health, intemperance, immorality and the like" (35). These literary works oftentimes dealt with Irish-American urban life from a nativist perspective (cf. section 4.2.3.). Crane's familiarity with these stereotyped stories about Irish-American urban life would also explain his choice of a, at first sight, plot-wise frequently used stock formula in which the innocent young girl is seduced, abandoned, and eventually dies.

On 19th February 1893, Stephen Crane filed a copyright application for his first novel *Maggie* (Cady 177) and shortly afterwards self-published his work – no publishing house had interest in his shocking, unordinary novel – under the pseudonym Johnston Smith, the "[c]ommonest name [he] could think of" (Crane qtd. in Ziff, *Maggie* x). To his dismay, the little novel did not cause the commotion and furore that Crane had anticipated and mainly remained unnoticed (Benfey 103). Stephen Crane remembered in a letter "[t]o an editor of *Leslie's Weekly*:"

My first great disappointment was in the reception of "Maggie, a Girl of the Streets." I remember how I looked forward to its publication, and pictured the sensation I thought it would make. It fell flat. Nobody seemed to notice it or care for it. (Crane, *Crane's Letters* 67)

Although the desired success had failed to materialise, the publication of *Maggie* brought the young author two important friends and literary admirers: Hamlin Garland and William Dean Howells, the two most influential literary realists of the period (Colvert 51).

During his unsuccessful time as a freelancer in and around New York City, Stephen Crane predominantly relied on the generosity of his friends and brothers, in whose homes he sought shelter from time to time. However, according to Berryman (34), Crane also financially depended on friends and family as he borrowed small amounts of money whenever his

unsteady income would not allow to provide for the expenses of his modest day-to-day life. This period of Crane's life, however, also proved to be one of the most productive ones concerning his literary output. He wrote the three "baby sketches," revolving around a toddler²⁰ and his adventures in the New York slums (Linson 73 qtd. in Benfey 81). After the publication of *Maggie*, Crane also began to work on a follow-up novel called *George's Mother* (1986); another Bowery tale loosely linked to his first novel, but "more conventional in its narrative form" (Ziff, *Maggie* xv). Apart from prose, Crane also ventured into the realms of poetry – not entirely unsuccessfully – and in 1895 a collection of his poems was published by Copeland and Day titled *Black Riders* (Ziff, 1890s 188). During his time in bohemian New York City, Crane also finished and published his most influential and renowned work, namely his war novel *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), which eventually brought him money and fame.

After a short journalistic journey to the American West and Mexico due to *The Red Badge of Courage's* success (Ziff, 1890s 188-189), Crane continued to further explore the tenement lives in New York City's slums, where eventually the infamous Dora Clark incident occurred. An alleged prostitute, Dora Clark, was arrested in Crane's presence by a police officer in New York's Broadway quarter due to the illegality of this profession, and Crane later testified against the police-officer and in favour of the young lady (Ziff, *Maggie* xxiv). Henceforth, Crane was regarded by the New York police department as a "persona non grata," and was pestered and harassed by police officers, and degraded and discredited by police officials in newspapers as immoral whenever the opportunity to do so presented itself (Ziff, *Maggie* xxiv). As a result, Crane embraced the first possible occasion to leave New York City, and was sent to Cuba on behalf of the Bachelier Syndicate to cover the uprising in October 1896 as a war reporter (Benfey 179). On this journey, Crane also met his future partner Cora Taylor, the madam of the Hotel de Dream, at a stopover in Jacksonville, Florida, and was involved in the shipwreck of the filibustering ship *Commodore* on New Year's Eve 1897, which he fortunately survived (187). After the sinking of the *Commodore*, however, Crane did not have the chance to experience real war due to the lack of combat and relative neutrality on the United States' side. Consequently, Crane and his new-found love Cora Taylor, like various other war journalists, decided to concentrate on the Greco-Turkish War instead, and they were both hired by the *New York Journal* in March 1897 to cover the war events in

²⁰ Linson (73 qtd. in Benfey 81) identified the protagonist of these three sketches centring around a toddler as Maggie's little brother, Tommie, who later appears in the first chapters of *Maggie* in a marginal role.

Europe (Benfey 202). After the war's armistice, however, the two lovers did not return to New York, but settled down in England.

Crane and Cora Taylor settled down in England in a suburban villa named Ravensbrook, aided by Crane's friend Harold Frederic, always pretending to be husband and wife, although they never officially married (Benfey 221). Fortunately, Crane's English literary friends such as Henry James, Ford Madox Ford, and Joseph Conrad never really called the exact circumstances of Crane's and Cora's relationship into question (Ziff, *Maggie* xxv). In Ravensbrook, the couple spent their time in a very "domestic" way by hosting various friends and acquaintances (Benfey 222). Despite the mostly trouble-free and restful time in England, the villa itself did not really contribute to Crane's well-being as the damp and dark living conditions harmed his unstable, poor health (222). Furthermore, during this period the Crane's also had the misfortune to be involved in a carriage accident from which they recovered in Ireland, providing Crane with inspirations for a collection of "travel impressions" - the *Irish Notes* (1897), which were first published in consecutive issues of the *Gazette* and later appeared as part of the posthumous collection *Last Words* (1902) (Benfey 226).

This domestic period in England was interrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in the spring of 1898. In his eagerness to write about and experience the commotions of war, Crane decided to join the soldiers on the battle fronts as reporter of Pulitzer's *New York World*, after allegedly failing the "navy's physical examination," in order to participate actively in the war (Colvert 128-129). Crane, however, did not return to his partner Cora immediately after the Treaty of Paris ended the war, but simply vanished from the scene and spent a Havana sojourn from October to December 1898 – remaining still under a journalist contract, now with Hearst's *Journal* – to write about the conditions in the Cuban city (Benfey 253).

Eventually, Crane had to return to his life companion, Cora, and together they took root in Brede Place, an "ancient demesne in Sussex," where Crane spent multiple, very productive hours to create more literary material in order to support himself, his partner (Benfey 257-258) and their frequent houseguests and friends, who simply swung by or even took advantage of the numerous unoccupied rooms in the mansion for longer stretches of time (260). Despite hosting multiple guests, Crane still managed to write numerous works, among them his Irish novel *The O'Ruddy* (1903), of which he managed to finish almost two-thirds

before his death (Colvert 150).²¹ After his return to England, Crane's fragile health deteriorated more and more due to tuberculosis which he had contracted at some unknown point during his life. In late December 1899, he suffered from "a severe haemorrhage of the lungs" from which he never fully recovered (Benfey 271). On 15th June 1900, Crane died in a sanatorium in Germany's Black Forest when he was only 28 years of age due to the severe physical damages the tuberculosis had caused (4). According to Cora Taylor's wish, Crane's corpse was returned to the United States of America and was laid to rest in Hillside Cemetery in Newark, New Jersey (Ziff, *Maggie* xxv). Crane has left a vast collection of literary works: "his voluminous journalistic work, a half-dozen novels, two books of poems, and more than a hundred stories, sketches, and miscellaneous writings" (Colvert xv).

5.2. NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN *MAGGIE: A GIRL OF THE STREETS*²²

Stephen Crane introduced a very unique style of writing at the end of the 19th century, resembling nothing that had been published before. Thereby, he heavily influenced the following authors of the 1920s and Irish-American local realists. In general, his works were realised as "brief, vivid, self-contained unit[s]" (Ziff, *Maggie* vii) written in a radical style unseen until then. Crane's stylistic choices resulted in him being assigned to various literary schools: he "has been described variously as an innovative Impressionist, as the first American naturalist, and as a central figure in the growth of Realism" (Nagel 35). This association of Crane's works with a great variety of literary schools can be explained by the fact that Crane himself never explicitly chose to adhere to one literary mode (Nagel 31). Due to his innovative and diverse style, some authors such as Cady (172) argue that he is "a man of two ages," belonging more to the 20th century than to the 19th century in which he actually lived and worked.

²¹ In 1903, the novel was ultimately finished by Robert Barr, who had to promise days before Crane's death to follow Crane's instructions on how to complete the work (Colvert 161).

²² The analysis in this thesis will primarily refer to the first, unaltered version of *Maggie*, which was published in 1893. After the success of *The Red Badge of Courage* in 1895, the publishing company Appleton decided to republish a revised edition of the original *Maggie* in 1896; now under Stephen Crane's official name (Ziff, *Maggie* xiv). The first scholar who explicitly addressed and conducted a comparison between the two versions was Robert Stallman in 1955 in his article "Stephen Crane's Revision of *Maggie: A Girl of the Street*." Although Crane considered revising a text as "dishonest" (Stallman, *Revision* 531), Stallman identified various alterations and revisions in the second version. In the 1896 edition, grammatical appropriateness and spelling was improved (Stallman, *Revision* 532), Crane dispersed with various "blasphemous epithets and swearing phrases" (532) which characterised the first version of *Maggie*, and key-passages in chapter 17, illustrating Maggie's deterioration as a prostitute and her implied suicide, were rewritten or simply omitted (533).

After the first critics had started to pay attention to Stephen Crane's works in the early 20th century, he was generally categorised as a model naturalist by scholars such as Robert W. Stallman, Richard Chase and Lars Åhnebrink, to mention just a few (Nagel 166). This classification was underpinned by Crane's inscription on a copy of *Maggie* intended for Hamlin Garland stating, that the book "tries to show that environment is a tremendous thing in the world and frequently shapes lives regardless" (*Letters and Inscriptions* 132). Furthermore, various scholars drew parallels between *Maggie* and the most influential naturalist author of the late 19th century, Émile Zola, who was based in Europe, and his *L'Assommoir* (1877) (Cunliffe 34). They justified their categorisation of Crane as naturalist by referring to the exemplary "slum setting and the theme of the overpowering effect of environment on human lives" (Pizer, *Realism & Naturalism in 19th cent. America* 143), and "the degraded characters, the tone of their lives, and the general feeling that life is a hopeless struggle" (Nagel 164). However, Crane's critics have become more cautious with this neat, rigid classification over the decades.

Cunliffe (32), for instance, argues that Crane "has been classified with a fallacious neatness," and the critic and various other scholars presented arguments against categorising *Maggie* as strictly naturalistic. Thomas A. Gullason, for instance, argues that Crane refrains from addressing classical naturalistic elements, and themes such as "hunger and poverty," "crime" and "the cramped, unsanitary, and unsafe tenement quarters" (*Prophetic City* 130), and Pizer stresses that *Maggie* stays morally untouched by her gruesome environment (*Realism & Naturalism 19th cent. America* 143), which usually is supposed to determine the characters' lives in naturalistic literature; instead *Maggie* "blossomed in a mud puddle" (MGS 22). Furthermore, *Maggie*'s fate is not sealed by the cruel, hostile forces of the environment but by "the epistemological problems of perception and interpretation" (Nagel 100) of the characters, and the contradiction between the ideas of morality and the actual behaviour of herself and those who are closest to her. Therefore, Pizer also insists that Crane's *Maggie* needs to be understood beyond its literal meaning of a girl's degeneration in the Bowery slums (*Realism & Naturalism 19th cent. America* 143 - 144).

For these reasons, instead of linking Crane to the naturalistic tradition, critics, such as Nagel, started to associate Crane's style with Impressionism. Crane was very likely aware of the impressionistic style in art and painting due to the contact with his art friends during his bohemian times in New York City (Nagel 16-17), and consequently is assumed to have been influenced by it. Arguments presented in favour of this claim are the episodic,

“discontinuous” form of his texts (Nagel 63) and “[t]he tendency for fragmentary episodes” (162) as is the case in *Maggie*. Another feature which allows for an impressionistic reading of Crane’s works, including *Maggie*, is his use of highlighted “sensory imagery” and sensorial detail when describing the texts’ surroundings in terms of “sight,” “sound,” “smell,” “and feeling” (Nagel 63). Furthermore, his unconventional and extensive use of colour, frequently employed in a more psychological sense than in a mere description of the characters’ environment (Berryman 289) – “lived some red years” (MGS 17), “put up his flame colored fists” (MGS 20), “Maggie’s red mother [...] blasphemed” (MGS 29), “twenty girls of various shades of yellow discontent” (MGS 22) – evokes the comparison with colour use in impressionistic art. Crane’s rapid, hurried writing style might have also been the cause for his many grammatical and spelling mistakes in his works, although it is also argued that he either simply did not care about these formalities (Benfey 120), or he integrated them on purpose for stylistic reasons (Berryman 142).

Another central aspect of Crane’s works assigned to the concept of impressions is his use of irony, as Nagel (62), for instance, calls *Maggie* “Crane’s most important ironic work.” Crane’s ironic devices as applied in *Maggie* range from “single word[s]” to sentences and the overall thematic reading of the book (Brennan 304). The name Mary, for example, which is assigned to Maggie’s mother, serves as a perfectly ironic choice (Cady 173) as the self-righteous, brutal woman does not resemble the Holy Mother Mary and her virtues in the slightest. An ironic passage which is exemplary for the whole ironic tone of the novel is the exchange between Jimmie, Maggie’s brother, and the girl he abandons. In it, his absolute self-delusion is perfectly illustrated. When the girl, Hattie, approaches her former lover Jimmie, he rejects her by answering “Oh, go the hell” to her pleas (MGS 68), matching Pete’s words verbatim when turning down Maggie; an act that Jimmie heartily condemns when the object of rejection is his own sister. The irony is created by contrasting the character’s moral judgment of the novel’s events and the events’ reality as perceived by the reader. Although the two rejections of Maggie and Hattie are clearly similar, which is strongly highlighted by the use of the same phrase in both situations, Jimmie unconsciously views the two incidents and the moral responsibilities involved as utterly different (MGS 165).

Comparable to his other works, Crane employs the point of view of a third-person limited narrator in *Maggie*. In it, he additionally constructs a form of “duality” by switching between a general perception of the Bowery environment and its inhabitants, and a focus on the individual characters’ limited viewpoints (Hurm 116). He does so by beginning multiple

scenes with the exterior description of the scene's setting, and then contrasting the description with an internal and/or external focus on a specific character in the novel and vice versa (Ziff, *Maggie* xii). When in chapter XIV, for instance, the "hilarious hall" with "twenty-eight tables and twenty-eight women and a crowd of smoking men" (MGS 61) is extensively described, the main characters Pete and Maggie only come into focus two paragraphs later and are set into the bigger scene by "enter[ing] the hall and t[aking] chairs at a table near the door" (MGS 62). However, Crane does not only juxtapose a relatively omniscient narrator describing the characters' larger Bowery environment in detail with the participants' limited point of view, but also switches between the characters' individual viewpoints, which all are "roughly similar in their degree of limitation and reliability" (Nagel 70).

Furthermore, in terms of narrative methods, it must be mentioned that in *Maggie* the narrator does not explicitly interfere through commentary and judgments in the story but through "stylistic exuberance" (Walcutt 71). One of the multiple instances of this stylistic exuberance appears in the first scene of the novel in which young Jimmie is prevented from fighting the children of a different neighbourhood by his father, and "felt that it was *degradation* for one who aimed to be some *vague soldier*, or a *man of blood* with a sort of *sublime license*, to be taken home by a father" (MGS 6; emphasis added). These italicised phrases and words cause the reader to become "aware of the writer" and a world that goes beyond the Bowery environment in which the novel is set, due to the conflict between the boy's childlike mind through which the reader experiences the Bowery, and the elaborate language that is used by the narrator to do so. However, not only in his stylistic choices of melodramatic adjectives and adverbs, and swear words²³ Crane tends to exaggerate but also in terms of plot. The constant destruction of kitchen furniture, for instance, evidently exceeds the Johnsons' financial means to purchase replacements after every single violent outbreak of anger on the mother's, father's or Jimmie's side. Hence, the destructive forces at work do not truly correspond with the family's "social reality" (Ziff, 1890s 191), but is a pure exaggeration of the author in order to convey the chaos and violence which dominates the Johnson household.

²³ According to Cady (199), swear words are an integral part in the 1893 version of *Maggie*: 64 "damns" can be found in the novel, and "what teh hell" was used 32 and "go the hell" 15 times.

6. JAMES T. FARRELL'S *STUDS LONIGAN TRILOGY*

6.1. JAMES T. FARRELL'S LIFE AND LITERARY WORKS

James Thomas Farrell was born on 27th February, 1904, as the son of Mary Daly Farrell and James Francis “Big Jim” Farrell, both first-generation Irish Americans, and grew up as the second of six siblings of the family who were lucky enough to survive their childhood years and lived to adulthood (Branch, *Farrell* 16-18).²⁴ His family was situated “near [the] Southwest side of Chicago, slightly west of Wentworth and not many blocks from the Loop²⁵” (Branch, *Farrell* 18). Although Farrell’s mother used to be a domestic servant before marrying (Ebest 27), and his father²⁶ made every effort to earn enough money to support his family as teamster, and later acquired a leading position “in the wagon-dispatch office of the Railway Express Agency,” the family lived in relative poverty (Ebest 15). Therefore, in 1907, Farrell was placed with the Dalys, the maternal side of the family, as a further pregnancy prevented his parents to continue any sufficient support for the boy’s upbringing by themselves (Hricko 151). At a later point, Farrell’s maternal grandparents²⁷ also welcomed his sister Helen into their home for the same reasons (Branch, *Farrell* 18).

This relocation proved to become what Ron Ebest calls “the defining event of his life” (16) as it allowed Farrell to grow up in a striving middle-class environment, which equipped him with the appropriate education and ambitions. The Dalys’ comfortable middle-class status was facilitated by the constant financial support of Mary Farrell’s unmarried grown-up children – Tom, Ella, and Elizabeth – who shared the household with their parents (15-16). Apart from

²⁴ Edgar M. Branch’s multiple bibliographies, biographies, and critical evaluations of Farrell and the author’s numerous literary works serve as foundation for fellow literary critics who dedicate their analyses to this Irish-American writer. Fanning (*Irish Voice* 290) goes even as far as claiming that Branch has “created Farrell criticism and made further work possible,” thereby paving the way for other critics. Hence, this section will set a specific focus on multiple works written by Branch in order to build a thorough fundament for the analysis of the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* in section 8.

²⁵ The so-called Loop is the financial and business centre of downtown Chicago, whose name stems from the cable-car line that encircles the area in the form of a loop. The term came into use in the late 19th century, but only after the Chicago Union Elevated Railway – often referred to as the “El” – had been finished in 1897, the name became popular among the general public. (“*The Loop*” *Britannica Encyclopedia*)

²⁶ Branch (*Farrell*, 17) argues that Farrell saw in his father “a symbol of the striving and sorrows of working people” and quotes a letter written by Farrell to Saul Alinsky in 1942 in which he counts his father among the men who “go forth to the factories, the docks, the railroads, the wagons, the stockyards ... and the work they do forms the basis of our entire civilization. I think of my father, of his fierce love of his family, his determination to keep his head high; there are thousands, millions and millions of men like him” (17-18).

²⁷ Farrell’s maternal grandparents originated from „County Westmeath in the Irish Midlands where” they suffered extreme financial hardships, and therefore emigrated and moved to Chicago, in 1871, after a short stay in Brooklyn where they married (Branch, *Farrell* 16-17).

positive effects, sharing a home with the Daly family also confronted James T. Farrell with a sense of death at a very young age, as his grandfather died when he was six years old, and his beloved “Aunt Bessie” shared the same fate shortly after her father (Branch, *Farrell* 19). Furthermore, being placed with his relatives also meant for Farrell to experience and become involved in their family quarrels, which were often provoked by his aunt Ella’s alcoholism (Hricko 151). Moreover, living with his grandparents also had a strong effect on the relationship with his biological parents: Farrell became emotionally alienated and distant to his parents, but especially to his father, who felt an immense shame about not being able to fully support his family (Ebest 16). The unconventional living situation in which Farrell found himself consequently also led to a general feeling of otherness in his family but also towards the greater Irish-American community as Farrell argues in a letter which he had written to H. L. Mencken in 1946 that he had “recollections [...] of having felt different from others, and outside, outside of what was socially normal for them” (qtd. in Branch, *Farrell* 19).

In September 1911, Farrell started his educational career by attending parochial school at Corpus Christi Grammar School (Branch, *Farrell* 19). In 1915, because of the Dalys’ and James T. Farrell’s move to a neighbourhood further south near Washington Park, which later became the setting for *Studs Lonigan*, Farrell transferred to St. Anselm’s Grammar School (20). An important influence, especially on his identity as a writer, was Sister Magdalena, a nun teaching at St. Anselm’s, who was the first person to actively encourage and reassure him in his creative writing aspirations, and who inspired his intention to pursue a career as a priest (20-21). However, he later abandoned this idea along with his Catholic beliefs (Ebest 141).

Farrell’s urge to write expressed itself in his continuous work on his own prose fiction throughout his high school career at St. Cyril High School, in which he enrolled in 1919 (Ebest 16). In 1921, Farrell’s first short story appeared under the name “Danny’s Uncle” in the *Oriflamme*, St. Cyril’s official high school paper (16), and already featured his famous alter ego character Danny O’Neill, recurring in *Studs Lonigan*, the O’Flaherty-O’Neill pentalogy, and various other short stories (Hricko 152). Like in parochial school, he earned the reputation of a successful sportsman among his peers due to the “athletic abilit[ies]” he demonstrated by “w[inning] seven major letters in football, basketball, and baseball” (Branch, *Farrell* 22). Farrell’s high school years were disrupted by a series of drawbacks as his father began to suffer from multiple strokes, and approximately five months after Farrell had completed his high school education in 1923, he eventually died (Ebest 16). Farrell’s troublesome feelings about his ambiguous relationship with his father and his father’s

looming death might have served as reasons for the “alien ‘difference’” (Branch, *Farrell* 22; original emphasis) that his friends from school felt between themselves and the adolescent Farrell. Hence, despite Farrell’s status as one of the school’s star athletes, he was teased by his classmates about his lack of money and shabby appearance, according to Ron Ebest (169).

In 1923, after Farrell had graduated from high school, which he later considered a form of “MIS-education” due to the schools’ attempt to install in the students a stoutly “anti-Modernist” Catholic perspective²⁸ (Ebest 172), he accepted a full-time position “as a telephone clerk” (Meagher 249). This job allowed him to support his family and relatives, and to matriculate at DePaul University from 1924 onwards (249). There Farrell attended night classes aiming to become a lawyer. However, he soon changed his mind and dropped out (Hricko 159). Meanwhile, he decided to work as “a gas station attendant” in order to save money for his intention to register at the University of Chicago (159).

In 1925, Farrell eventually enrolled at the University of Chicago (Meagher 249). During his time at college, he quit classes thrice and finally left university in 1929 “restless and dissatisfied” (Farrell, *How Studs was Written* 82). Farrell’s university experience, nevertheless, proved to be of immense importance to his personal development. The significance of Farrell’s time at the University of Chicago is stressed by various critics, such as Edgar M. Branch (*Farrell*, 23), Timothy Meagher (249) and Mary Hricko (159-160), who suggest that the liberal, unrestricted atmosphere and the company of fellow intellectuals provided Farrell with the freedom which had been absent in his Irish-American neighbourhood, and with new perspectives to deal with his past and his ambitions as a writer. Like Danny O’Neill in *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, Farrell “*realized that all his education in Catholic schools, all he had heard and absorbed, had been lies*” (YMSL 451; original emphasis). Hricko (159) even goes as far as arguing that “[t]he University of Chicago transformed Farrell’s view of life, literature, and society as a whole,” and Branch (*Farrell*, 23) states that it “gave him what he needed: understanding, purpose, direction.”

In order to “reeducate himself” (Hricko 160), Farrell started to attend writing classes, began to read European and American literature – for example James Joyce, Anton Chekov and Ernest Hemingway – excessively (Branch, *Farrell* 23), and strayed into fields such as psychology, education, and history (Meagher 249). However, the scientific fields in which he showed the

²⁸ Ebest, however, also does not fail to mention that Farrell’s total rejection of his parochial education had reversed in later years. In the last years of his life, Ron Ebest suggests that Farrell had made a full turn (175): he considered the Carmelites’ form of education “morally edifying” (Farrell qtd. in Ebest 178), and thought that it provided the young boys with “a sense of order in the world” (Farrell qtd. in Ebest 177).

most interest were philosophy and, even more so, sociology. At the university's sociological department, Farrell studied authors such as "Frederic Trasher, Robert Park and E. W. Burgess whose body of work examines human ecology and urban development" (165). Although, Farrell displayed a very strong interest in sociology, the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* and his other fictional works were not intended as scientific, sociological manifestos but derived from a personal, passionate inner urge to write. Nevertheless, the sociological topics concerning the urban environment and its human constituents definitely encouraged and helped him to make sense of his past in the Irish-American community in South Side Chicago (Branch, *Farrell* 56). During his university years, he also became engaged in politics as he, for instance, published a letter in the university's paper in order to demonstrate his disapproval of a college policy that prohibited coloured members of the drama club to impersonate roles of their own ethnic background (Lovett 348).

The university course which arguably influenced Farrell's career as an author the most was "Advanced Composition, Narrative" held by "Professor James Webber 'Teddy' Linn" in 1927 (Ebest 226; original emphasis). Linn was the main encouragement behind Farrell's decision to try his luck as a writer in New York City (Hricko 170). Therefore, as soon as Linn's class had ended, Farrell made his journey to New York as a hitchhiker, but returned to Chicago approximately half a year later as the adventure did not bring the desired success (Branch, *Farrell* 24). Farrell processed this New York experience in various works; for instance, in the novel *Bernard Clare* (1946), which is part of his famous *Bernard Carr* trilogy. After Farrell had returned to Chicago, he re-entered the University of Chicago, attended Linn's class once more, and handed in a short story called "Studs" (Hricko 170), which, according to Farrell (*How Studs Was Written* 85), appeared in *This Quarter* for the first time. The short story was inspired by a wake Farrell had recently witnessed honouring the deceased William "Studs" Cunningham; a rough, brutish young man about Farrell's age who he had known from his Washington Park neighbourhood (Hricko 171). This was the short story that he ultimately elaborated to what became the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* (Ebest 226). While still at university, Farrell continued composing fiction, but also wrote reviews and critiques for New York and Chicagoan papers (Branch, *Farrell* 24), and worked for the *Chicago Herald Examiner* (Hricko 170). However, in 1929, as Ron Ebest (226) perfectly puts it, "Farrell determined that he had exhausted the university's potential and dropped out."

After Farrell had left university in 1929 for good, he was unsatisfied with the Depression atmosphere of his Irish-American South Side neighbourhood and the stern naturalistic

conception among the American literary elite, and he decided to depart for the “writers’ cit[y]” Paris in order to be inspired by a more positive and diverse literary environment (Hricko 149). He did so on April 15, 1931, via New York, accompanied by his wife Dorothy Butler, with whom he had become acquainted at university in 1928, and secretly wed in spring 1931 (Branch, *Farrell* 24). During their year in Paris, Farrell experienced substantial support from Ezra Pound, who saw in him “the arrival of a new writer” (Branch, *Farrell* 26), and in terms of writing output the year proved to become a very productive one.

Before Farrell began his sojourn in Paris, he had already written “a substantial proportion of the first two volumes” which were going to be part of the *Studs Lonigan* series (Branch, *Farrell* 37). The trilogy functioned as what Fanning (*Irish Voice*, 259) called an “exorcism.” It allowed Farrell to express his ambiguous and often hostile emotions towards his community, which he experienced during his adolescence, and thereby came to reject and alienate himself from it. Farrell (*How Studs Was Written* 86) did so by not illustrating “what life meant to [him], but” he tried to “re-create a sense of what life meant to Studs Lonigan,” who somewhat represented the exact opposite of Farrell’s ideals, with “the strictest possible objectivity” in mind. He composed the first two novels of the trilogy by putting together single sketches (Hricko 171), which he then expanded, re-structured, and edited multiple times (Farrell, *How Studs Was Written* 86). Finishing all three novels constituting the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* took him six years, starting from 1929. During this time, he published multiple other novels, short stories, articles, and reviews, such as his first novel *Gas House McGinty* (1933), and began to work on other material, for instance, on what would become his famous autobiographic *O’Neill-O’Flaherty* pentalogy²⁹. Farrell’s decision to publish Studs’s story before Danny O’Neill’s was based on his desire to determine whether he was able to become a successful author in general, before telling his own, private story (Branch, *Farrell* 80). Additionally, Farrell wanted to create an objective distance between himself and his Irish-American Catholic past, personified through Studs with whom Farrell partially identified, which then allowed him to be emotionally ready for properly reflecting his own life

²⁹ The *O’Neill-O’Flaherty* pentalogy consists of *A World I Never Made* (1936), *No Star Is Lost* (1938), *Father and Son* (1940), *My Days of Anger* (1943) and *The Face of Time* (1953). The pentalogy was intended “as a complementary study to ‘Studs Lonigan’” in which Danny O’Neill functions as “dialectical opposite[...]” to Studs Lonigan “especially in their destinies – one goes up, the other goes down” (Farrell qtd. in Fanning, *Irish Voice* 261-262). Furthermore, many literary critics, such as Branch (*Farrell* 4), agree that Farrell had shaped the character Danny O’Neill closely after his own biography and ideals, thereby creating a literary self-portrait.

story (80). This, however, was not fully possible in France as, according to Ann Douglas (*Intro ix*) – Farrell’s “subject, pressing on him with a weight and a grandeur almost inconceivable today, was America” – and, therefore, he decided to leave Paris in 1932 and to settle down in New York City, living there until his dying day. Back in America, Farrell continued to write articles and short stories for multiple papers, but more importantly *Young Lonigan* (1932) was published by Vanguard Press a year after he had returned. He then finished the second novel *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* (1934), and right afterwards started writing *Judgement Day* (1935), books which were published by the same company.

Although *Young Lonigan* did not receive the expected attention when it first appeared as an individual novel and the *Lonigan* trilogy sold relatively poorly (Branch, *Farrell* 28; Farrell, *Intro* 1945 xi), the 1930s proved to become his most successful years as *Studs Lonigan* was praised and celebrated by various reviewers (Douglas, *Intro x*). Due to Farrell’s decision to confront the reader “with whores and whorehouses, masturbation, homosexuality and lesbianism, rape, adultery, incestuous longing, venereal disease, and unwanted pregnancy” (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 18) in *Studs Lonigan*, some critics shallowly labelled the trilogy as “dirty book[s]” (18). Therefore, the “Society for the Suppression of Vice” took notice of Farrell’s works and, in 1937, his literary work received unsolicited attention as he had to defend his novel *A World I Never Made* (1936) in a censorship lawsuit, prompted by the mentioned organisation, which he eventually won (Branch, *Farrell* 27).

After the publication of *Studs Lonigan*, Farrell received special praise from the Communist community, who considered it an anti-capitalist work. Although Farrell sympathised with the left and allowed leftist magazines “such as the *New Masses*, the *Anvil*, and even the *Socialist Call*” to feature some of his essays and reviews, he never joined the Communist party, and began to publicly criticise Marxists and Communists for abusing literature as means for their political goals (Douglas, *Intro xii*; Hricko 191). Due to Farrell’s critique, Marxists and Communists “counterattack[ed],” and Farrell became one of their main targets when it came to negative critique and book reviews (Branch, *Farrell* 28). For this reason, Farrell reacted with the publication of *A Note on Literary Criticism* (1936), in which he debates the relationship between Marxism and literature and argues that although “literature must be viewed both as a branch of the fine arts and as an instrument of social influence” (11), it should not be produced solely for propagandistic merits, but for its inherent artistic and aesthetic values.

After the publication of *Studs Lonigan*, Farrell became an essential member of New York's intellectual community and befriended authors and dramatists such as Nathanael West, James Daly, and Josephine Herbst (Branch, *Farrell* 27). As mentioned above, the 1930s proved to be Farrell's most thriving and fruitful decade with the publication of his first novel *Gas House McGinty* (1933), his first literary cycle *Studs Lonigan*, and the first and second novel of the *O'Neill – O'Flaherty* pentalogy. Consequently, he received "[a] Guggenheim Fellowship for 1936-37 and, in January, 1937, a Book of the Month Club Award for *Studs Lonigan*" (Branch, *Farrell* 27; original emphasis). Concerning Farrell's personal life, he had to endure several setbacks as after the divorce from his first wife, Dorothy Butler, he married and split-up with the actress Hortense Alden, and eventually re-married and divorced Dorothy Butler a second time (30). His marriage with Hortense Alden bore him "two sons, Kevin and John," whom he financially provided for predominantly through his career as an author (Branch, *Pamphlets American Writers* 7).

Yet, according to Ann Douglas (*Intro*, ix), between 1940 and 1960 Farrell faded into oblivion among literary critics, and this absence of either positive or critical consideration of his works resulted in "writing itself bec[oming] the primary means of fueling his motivation to write" (x). Farrell's literary neglect, which stretched over several decades, was primarily caused by the widespread argument voiced by various New York-based writers and reviewers that *Studs Lonigan* must be considered a one-book-wonder – an opinion simply adopted by the following decades' literary generation – and that Farrell was simply repetitive in his choice of setting, material, and style; therefore, it was common practice to simply ignore him in an academic setting (Douglas, *Mass Society* 487; Fanning, *Irish Voice* 261). During the last years of his life, in the late 70s, the critical establishment, however, started to direct their attention towards Farrell again. He received "several honorary degrees" – he was awarded with "the Emerson-Thoreau medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences" – "and a number of positive critical reassessments of his work" appeared (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 261), facilitated by critics and biographers such as Edgar Branch³⁰, William Shannon³¹, and Dennis Flynn who founded a vast archive comprised of Farrell's writings and recordings at the University of Pennsylvania (290-291).

³⁰ See Branch's biography and critical assessment of Farrell's works in *James T. Farrell* (1971), and a collection of Farrell's texts in *A Bibliography of James T. Farrell's Writings, 1921-1957* (1959).

³¹ See William Shannon's consideration of Farrell's Irish ethnicity in *The American Irish: A Political and Social Portrait* (1963/1966) on pages 249-258.

Farrell acknowledged his Irish-American identity and heritage throughout his whole life and in his full body of literary works. In a letter addressed to Ezra Pond and dated February 1932, Farrell states that “[a]s to the Irishness of [*Young Lonigan* ,] I generally feel that I’m an Irishman rather than an American” (*Letter Ezra* qtd. in Fanning, *Irish Voice* 257). And in a similar fashion, Farrell argues in an unpublished essay, assumed to have been written during the last years of his life, that “[t]hose who were my ancestors were Irish. They are my people. I am of them and from them. ... I am Chicago born, and American, but I am also an Irishman.” (Farrell qtd. in Fanning, *Irish Voice* 257). This demonstrates his willingness to engage with the history and culture of his hyphenated Irish identity. Moreover, in his piece “The Story of the Irish in America,” which appeared four months prior to his dying day in 1979, Farrell (*Irish in America* 83) confidently states that “I am an Irish-American.”

On 22nd August, 1979, Farrell died at the age of 75. Although he was, and still often is dismissed by various critics, it must be acknowledged that Farrell left a vast corpus of literary works which extensively illustrates and records American and Irish-American life during the first half of the 20th century. According to Ann Douglas (*Intro* ix), Farrell created “over fifty books of stories and novels” in which setting and action ranged from his Irish-American South Side Chicago neighbourhood and New York to locations all over America and even reaching as far as Europe, particularly Paris (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 260). The novels most widely known are probably his four major literary circles: the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, the *O’Neill – O’Flaherty* series comprised of five books and directly reflecting Farrell’s own childhood and youth, the *Bernard Carr* collection³², and his *Universe of Time* series, which Farrell planned to write thirty novels for, but of which only nine had been published before his death. According to Fanning (*Irish Voice* 290-291), there exists even more unpublished material still hidden away that might be presented to Farrell’s readership at some point in time. However, apart from Farrell’s fictional works, he also published various non-fictional short and long pieces such as “news reports, newspaper columns, letters to the editor, book and drama reviews, polemical pieces, articles, commentaries, and critical and personal essays” to earn additional income (Branch, *Farrell* 30).

³² The *Bernard Carr* trilogy is based on Farrell’s personal experience as a writer in New York City and includes: *Bernard Clare* (1946), *The Road Between* (1949), and *Yet Other Waters* (1952). According to Branch (*Farrell* 35), the first three literary cycles written by Farrell illustrate “the organic story of human emergence uniting the lives of Studs Lonigan, Danny O’Neill, and Bernard Carr. It is a story in which Studs represents the mean and ill-fated life that Danny rejects; Bernard, the creative life Danny chooses.”

6.2. NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN THE *STUDS LONIGAN TRILOGY*

With his realistic, innovative style, Farrell broke with the “green-tinged, romantic Irishry” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 241) that was still prevalent among Irish-American writers during the early 20th century, and functioned as a model for the Irish-American literary generation yet to come. Moreover, Farrell is considered the most influential Irish-American author to grant ordinary people with their mundane lives literary attention, and, thereby, proved their value and relevance for the emergence of a new understanding of Irish-American life through literature in the 20th century (Gelfant 226). By presenting his understanding of Irish-American culture to a general American audience, Farrell gave “a voice [to] the inarticulate” (Fanning *Irish Voice*, 276). Farrell’s plain style expresses the characters’ – ranging from Irish immigrants to a second Irish-American generation – own views, fears, and hopes concealed in closemouthed Irish-American communities, which often only focused on economic success and social appearance instead on the individuals’ emotional well-being (277). Hence, Farrell “bridges the gap between immigrant/ethnic family and [educated, highly literate] writer-son” (277).

Furthermore, due to Farrell’s belief that literature must be considered “one of the most powerful means contrived by the human spirit to examine life” (Farrell, *Ideology & Literature* 273), it was Farrell’s intention to write about his Irish-American urban environment realistically, which, according to Fanning (*Irish Voice*, 257), “he had never seen depicted honestly in fiction.” As Farrell’s (*Hearing Out* qtd. in Ebest 227) understanding of realism was based on the assumption that a realistic depiction of the world was founded on an individual’s experience, Branch’s (*Farrell*, 51) suggestion that “Farrell’s objectivity is infused with strong personal emotion” seems plausible. Thus, Farrell oftentimes incorporated characters he had had a personal, emotional relationship with, such as his childhood love Loretta Lonigan, Studs’ sister, whom he had shared one of his first kisses with (49).

However, next to Farrell’s inclusion of personal experiences in order to achieve a realistic depiction of Irish-American life in South-Side Chicago in *Studs Lonigan*, he applied what Peter Carino terms “cartographic accuracy” (qtd. in Dowd 159). Farrell accumulates fact after fact in the trilogy, whereby he places a great focus on detail (Gelfant 184). According to Ann Douglas (*Intro*, xii), the majority of the depicted events, people, and locations correspond with historical facts, or if fictionalised are at least perfectly adapted to the contemporary

circumstances Farrell had experienced.³³ Especially the third novel of the trilogy, *Judgement Day*, depends significantly on the documentation of and intertextual references to outside matters such as newspaper headlines, radio programs, movies, and songs, which significantly influence the characters' development, and set their lives and opinions into perspective (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 17; Ann Douglas, *Intro* xiv).

Concerning Farrell's realistic writing, it must be noted that it is "more phonographic than photographic" (Branch, *Farrell* 38) in character, meaning that it strongly builds upon the characters' conversations and speech patterns instead of through visual descriptions of the Washington Park neighbourhood. Whenever Farrell decides to describe the trilogy's setting, he usually intends to set into perspective a character's state or development in a specific place and time (Branch, *Farrell* 38). In order to add to his realism, Farrell additionally illuminates the emotional state and perspective of other characters besides Studs in the form of, for instance, interior monologues within the narrative stream or in short, supplementary chapters – examples are Danny O'Neill (YMSL 451-453), Patrick Lonigan (Studs' father) (JD 820-850), and an old Irish-American mother lamenting her adult son's fatal illness (225-226) – and every now and then Farrell allows the plot to develop without the protagonist being present at all (Branch, *Farrell* 57).

Despite being frequently considered a naturalist, Farrell, in the same way as Stephen Crane, makes use of irony in his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*. The reader, for instance, is confronted with the "tragic irony" (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 35) that Studs walks through his adolescent life without any sense of purpose and without any insight into the workings of his inner self, and that only after his carelessness, irresponsibility, and failure of understanding his own identity have already set his path towards a tragic death, he finally begins to accept himself, and his strengths and weaknesses, and ultimately finds in himself the determination to do good by trying to support his wife Catherine and their unborn child (24-25, 35). Despite his well-meant intentions, however, Studs' deterioration has developed too far, and he dies in agony.

³³ Farrell's decision to rely on characters and locations inspired by his understanding of real-life people from the community he had grown up in resulted in the anger of the very members of his Irish-Catholic neighbourhood in South Side Chicago that he had described in his trilogy. Quoted in Edgar M. Branch's *Studs Lonigan's Neighborhood and the Making of James T. Farrell* (1996), Farrell argues that "[t]he last place in America where I could go and seek to explain to a people a sense of values which I accept, and which they do not accept, is amongst the Chicago Irish with whom I grew up ... Those persons are convinced that I have written about them, and that my only purpose ... have been one, to make money by lying, and to get them, [sic] [...] On many occasions when I have returned to Chicago, they have met me with suspicion, with condemnation, and in one case, one of them even set out to 'get' me" (85).

Furthermore, Farrell assigns additional, ironical significance to individual scenes by juxtaposition (Gelfant 218). Ordinary, day-to-day affairs are arranged beside one another, and through this direct comparison of the situations illustrated, their irony becomes apparent. Although Robert James Butler (99) argues that this narrative technique prevails especially in *The Young Manhood*, examples of it can be identified in the first and third novel of the trilogy as well. In *Young Lonigan*, for instance, a scene set at the graduation of Studs Lonigan and in which Father Gilhooley, the parish's priest, praises the Irish-American children's exemplary virtues and moral education (YL 24-27), is juxtaposed with exactly those children playing kissing games and telling "dirty jokes" at a post-graduation gathering (YL 41-47) only 20 pages later.

As already mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Farrell's scenes in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* are mostly episodic (Gelfant 207; Branch, *Farrell* 41); in other words, they are mostly individual, self-contained units; however, they are held together through the progress of the story line and, especially in *Judgment Day*, Studs' developing understanding of his own life and identity (Branch, *Farrell* 41). Between these sometimes "discontinuous" episodes, Farrell places "[t]ime gaps" lasting from approximately three years to only a couple of minutes (40). Plot-wise the structure of the *Studs Lonigan* novels directly corresponds to their three-part division. While in *Young Lonigan*, Studs decides to live his life carelessly and hedonistically, *Judgement Day* illustrates the consequences this life-choice entails (Branch, *Farrell* 40). Both, the first and the last novel, each comprise about six months of Studs' life and, therefore, are more condensed concerning the storyline (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 35). The novel placed in the middle, *The Young Manhood*, however, "represents the middle period of his life, the bulk of his experience, the stages of corruption between initial choice and final consequence" (Branch, *Farrell* 41). As *The Young Manhood* covers the largest proportion of Studs' experiences while living an oftentimes reckless life, which is primarily driven by immediate pleasures, the book leads the reader through twelve years of Studs' adolescence and manhood, and only highlights key events in a oftentimes panoramic writing style (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 35).

Due to Farrell's great emphasis on detail, and his aim to illustrate the dullness and repetitiveness of living in an urban environment, his writing style is often very slowly paced (Gelfant 186). Hence, some critics have even characterised his writing as "verbose" (Douglas, *Mass Society* 487), and "repetitive and wordy" (Branch, *Farrell* 169). This is especially the case, when Studs' inner thoughts are at the centre of the narrator's attention. At the same time,

Farrell occasionally applies a rather rapid and fast-moving narrative drive when external events are covered (Branch, *Farrell* 40). Furthermore, Farrell makes use of interchapters in between the narrative line, which set the story into perspective, and allow the reader to view Studs' life and his Irish-American community from additional angles. These interchapters feature a wide variety of characters, ranging from an African-American little boy who is heading towards the same fate as Studs Lonigan (YMSL 487) to Studs' mother, Mary Lonigan, who represents the public behaviour of respectable Irish-American women in her interchapter (YMSL 192-193).

Farrell's central aspiration "to write so that life may speak for itself" (Farrell, *Reflections* 41) is reflected in his intention to refrain from using an explicit authorial voice in the form "of commentary, generalization, and analysis" (Branch, *Farrell* 57). Neither the author's nor the narrator's consciousness interfere in the direct relationship between the characters and the reader. In order to achieve this, Farrell makes use of a third-person "restricted point of view," which reflects the characters' "urban speech patterns," and thereby allows the reader to experience the Irish-American neighbourhood through its individual members' minds (Gelfant 207). Although, Farrell mostly employs Studs' consciousness to lead through the storyline and the urban South Side Chicago environment, he utilises the perspective of other major and minor characters in a third-person narrative style as well, such as Patrick and Martin Lonigan, and the Jewish Davey Cohen among others, and in doing so creates a form of omniscience (207).

Although critics such as Ann Douglas (*Intro*, vii) argue that there is no authorial intrusion to be found in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, Pizer (20th Cent. American Naturalism 26) rightfully mentions that there are specific characters "who seem to be speaking for Farrell in their comments on Studs and his world." One such example is the Greek counterman, named Christy, who calls Studs' Lonigan and his gang "[s]illy boys [who] have no education" and claims that their parents just "want to make money" and "pray like they are sanctimonious sisters," but are actually mere hypocrites (YMSL 423). Through Christy the narrator allows the reader to experience a more critical worldview of the Irish-American community compared to that of Studs Lonigan, who scarcely truly questions the workings of his immediate environment.

In spite of Farrell's use of a third-person narrative style, the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* is also recognised as a stream-of-consciousness narrative by critics such as Ann Douglas (*Mass*

Society, 494). James Joyce is named as a crucial influence by multiple critics (Pizer, 20th Cent. American Naturalism 27; Douglass, *Mass Society* 494; Fanning, *Irish Voice* 259) and also by Farrell himself (Epilogue 860), and is said to have inspired Farrell to develop his own version and style of presenting his characters' stream-of-consciousness. In order to project, for instance, Studs' stream of thoughts, Farrell makes use of "free indirect speech" (Pascal 31), which is also referred to as "free indirect discourse" (Fludernik 293) and "narrated monologue" (D. Cohn 97), and which means "the presentation of a character's thoughts in the third person and the tense of narration" (D. Cohn 109) with "the vivacity of direct speech, evoking the personal tone, the gesture, and often the idiom of the [...] thinker reported" (Pascal 137). This is the case when Studs Lonigan observes his own appearance in a mirror, and the chosen words clearly mimic the boy's language usage instead of the author's as the third person narrative voice – "[h]e was [...] a guy who didn't have mushy feelings! He was a hard-boiled egg that they had left in the pot a couple of hours too long" (YL 9) – very much resembles the contemporary diction of young Irish-American boys. Furthermore, Farrell also makes use of the stream-of-consciousness narrative technique in his "dream-montages" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 259), for instance in Studs' death bed scene which mainly focuses on Studs' fever dreams³⁴ or day dreams, as these mental states are the only means for Farrell's characters to experience true insights in their identity and life, and are the only occasions to allow for sincere self-reflection (278).

³⁴ Farrell originally wrote a longer, more elaborated death bed scene comprising Studs's fever dreams on the verge of death including a wider array of fictitious and real-world characters than in the excerpts he ultimately used. Farrell and his publisher James Henle, however, decided to cut this long and complex scene in the final version of *Judgement Day*. Nevertheless, Farrell always wished to publish the text in some form. Unfortunately, Farrell was never able to put his intention into practise as a fire erupted in his flat in New York City in 1946, and he only "was able to recover some half-burned fragments" of Studs' deathbed scene. (Farrell, Epilogue 860)

7. ANALYSIS OF *MAGGIE: A GIRL OF THE STREETS*

7.1. IRISHNESS IN *MAGGIE*

Although Crane never explicitly states that *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* is set in an Irish-American Bowery neighbourhood, it is generally identified and read as such by both its broader audience (Levenson xxxv) and by literary critics and scholars (Casey, Raymond, and Rhodes 174). Fanning, for instance, mentions the novel *Maggie* in his *The Irish Voice in America: 250 Years of Irish-American Fiction*, an extensive analysis of Irish-American literature over the mentioned period, and its author Stephen Crane to be “the most famous example” of the “use of the Bowery Irish” (177) by an American realistic author. In a similar manner, Stanley Wertheim (*Humanist* 66) also states that Crane primarily wrote about “the Irish section of the East Side” in New York City.

An argument that supports the reading of *Maggie* as an Irish-American story in New York City’s slums is that Crane oftentimes employs hetero-stereotypical depictions of his characters that were primarily associated with Irishness by the general American public during the entire 19th century and had been exploited by anti-immigrant and nativist authors for many decades. Wertheim (*Humanist* 67; original emphasis), for instance, argues that Crane exploited the “hackneyed image of the brawling, drunken, disoriented Irish family [...] in *Maggie*.” Also for Levenson (xxxv-xxvi) “the general characterization of Maggie’s household for its screaming, fighting, and drunkenness” proved to be a depiction familiar to the general readership, and evoked an immediate association with Irish-American characters from popular fiction. Due to the many similarities between these depictions and Crane’s characters, the readers, therefore, clearly identified them as Irish without any explicit mention of the Johnsons’ and their community’s Irish heritage; a fact that Crane might have been aware of.

Moreover, as mentioned in one of the previous chapters, Crane evidently was familiar with the work *How the Other Half Lives*, an examination by Jacob Riis of the New York slums and their inhabitants. Riis considered the Irish to be the most vulnerable to the pressure of tenement life, and the ethnic community most unlikely to be affected by social reform due to their collectively un-American views (164, 249). Consequently, it was plausible for Crane (*Crane’s Letters* 67), whose intention was to shock his audience, and create commotion and excitement with his novel, to choose the ethnic group most resistant to Americanization, and confirmation to general American society and its values.

Another reason why readers immediately identified *Maggie* as a story about Irish Americans was the correlation between the Johnsons' situation and characteristics statistically very common among Irish-American families. As already mentioned before, alcoholism rates among Irish Americans were unparalleled in comparison to any other cultural group in the United States during the late 19th century. In *Maggie*, every single major character drinks alcohol excessively except Maggie, who is only once presented drinking beer, namely in the second dancehall she visits with Pete (MG 54). Furthermore, the death of Maggie's unnamed father coincides with the high male mortality rate among Irish Americans due to alcoholism or work accidents, leaving many a family female-headed. Pete as a bartender³⁵, Jimmie as a truck driver, and Maggie working in a sweatshop also correspond to the standard employment of poor and working-class Irish Americans in the 1890s. Furthermore, the clear hints Crane gives about Mary's disturbed mental health, which will be discussed in connection with her alcohol abuse, might be based on the high percentage of female Irish-American patients in New York City's mental health institutions throughout the 19th century.

7.2. HETEROSTEREOTYPES APPLIED IN MAGGIE

As has been noted above, Stephen Crane's depiction of an Irish-American family and their community situated in the Lower-East Side of New York City, which housed a high percentage of people of Irish-American heritage, corresponds to historical and statistical facts concerning Irish-American life in the United States in the late 19th century in various instances. Regardless of his consideration of facts and adherence to his mentor W. D. Howells' (qtd. in Crane, *Fears Realists Must Wait* 80)³⁶ aim to "picture the daily life in the most exact terms possible," Crane also relies on various heterostereotypes and prejudices about Irish Americans that were prevalent throughout and even before the 19th century. Crane explicitly incorporates the theatrical show of the stage Irishman, makes use of animalism by reducing his Irish-American characters to their animalistic instincts, and employs an adapted version of the contagious Irish person infecting their surroundings with their amorality and savage behaviour. Nevertheless, Crane is able to add a certain degree of individualisation to some of his Irish-American, Bowery characters beside stereotypes.

³⁵ As addressed earlier, Finely Peter Dunne's character, Mr. Dooley, strongly influenced the popular image of Irish Americans among all social and ethnic classes in the United States during the late 19th century. As Mr. Dooley worked behind a bar, it is very likely that many Americans began to associate bartending with Irishness to a certain degree (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 217).

³⁶ Originally published in *New York Times*, October 28, 1894, p. 20.

7.2.1. The “Stage Irishman”

Crane very explicitly employs heterostereotypes about people of Irish heritage in *Maggie*, the most apparent being his description of the performance of a stage Irishman in the first amusement hall Pete frequents with Maggie (MGS 33). Crane’s stage Irishman is primarily depicted as a comical figure “throwing leers, or smiles” (MGS 33) at his audience while dancing enthusiastically to a rapid, wild song. Thereby, the portrayal conforms to the comical versions of the stage Irishman prevalent in the United States since it was adopted from the British Isles in the 18th and 19th centuries (Dowd 18). Although the stage Irishman’s performance does not include a theatrical storyline, it does reflect the general inclusion of songs in the depictions of Irish Americans on stage during the late 19th century.³⁷

Furthermore, the absence of violence during a stage Irishman’s performance became more common during the second half of the 19th century. Hence, Crane also refrains from depicting any violent actions and demeanour in his version of the popular comical figure. The lack of a “belligerent attitude” (Linneman 29 in Byrne 137), however, does not prevent Crane from describing the behaviour of the alleged Irish person in the spotlight as being wild and brutish. He “roars a song,” dances enthusiastically and energetically, does not stand still throughout his show, and “mak[es] his face into fantastic grimaces until he look[s] like a pictured devil on a Japanese kite” (MGS 33). Therefore, it is just to say that Crane depicts the stage Irishman as a wild savage, who is not able to properly control his instincts and behaves in a composed, rational manner. The character’s behaviour serves as simple entertainment for the audience gathered in the amusement hall, and thereby the stereotypical representation of the Irish-American clown-like figure is reinforced not only within the audience in Crane’s plot, but also in the readership of *Maggie*.

Crane’s stage Irishman is painted in immensely exaggerated form, and presented as a mere caricature of many prejudices shared by the general American society during that period about the Irish-Americans culture and appearance. Just like in Maurice Bourgeois’ visual definition of the stage Irishman mentioned in section 4, Crane’s version too wears a “shock of red wig,” is pictured as “a small fat man” (MGS 33). Deviating from Bourgeois’ description, Crane’s

³⁷ According to Mick Moloney (1), Irish-American theatre in the period between the 1870s and 1890s was mainly characterised by the incorporation of music in the stage-performances, ranging from individual songs to the production of entire musicals. These songs became immensely popular among the audience and, therefore, could not only be seen and heard in a professional theatrical setting such as “on the vaudeville and minstrel stage” and in “concert saloons,” but became popular songs repeated in saloons, pubs and homes all over the United States.

stage Irishman additionally has a facial expression which the narrator compares to “a pictured devil” (MGS 33). Only the clay pipe, which usually is an integral component of Irish-American characters, is missing.³⁸ Furthermore, the dancing and singing of this stage Irishman also seems very erratic and unnecessarily energetic as he is not singing, but “shout[s] and roar[s],” and the dancing is described as extremely forceful (MGS 33). The “stamp[ing] back and forth” (MGS 33) as it is described by the narrator, shows great resemblance to a traditional Irish stepdance and, therefore, might be intentionally composed as an exact description of the stage Irishman’s movements in this scene in order to stress Maggie’s unawareness of her own Irish-American heritage.

The analysis of Crane’s depiction of a stage Irishman leads to the conclusion that he definitely was aware of the depiction of Irish Americans on the stage. The use of the stage Irishman in *Maggie* functions as a tool to further characterise Crane’s Irish-American Bowery characters. On the one hand, Crane very likely wants to demonstrate the community’s ignorance and unawareness of authentic Irish traditions exemplified through Maggie’s and the audiences’ clear appreciation of the depiction of Irish American identity in this piece of popular culture as Maggie’s “cheeks were blushing with excitement” and the “audience broke out in excited applause” (MGS 33). On the other hand, the comic, non-violent stage Irishman is used in order to accentuate the violence prevalent among Irish Americans in New York City’s slums by juxtaposing it with the violent behaviour in the Johnson family and on the streets around their tenement building. While Crane refrains from using the cruel and brutal heterostereotypes shared by many nativists in the Irishman’s performance, he turns violence into an elemental principle influencing the Irish-American community in the tenements.

7.2.2. Animalism

As already addressed earlier in this thesis, a judgement made about an ethnic identity based solely on racial and phenotypical aspects is mainly attributed to the ethnic minority by the hierarchically superior, dominating group of a society (Banton in Verkuyten 57). Hence, it does not come as a surprise that Crane, belonging to the dominant Protestant society, applies these racial prejudices onto an impoverished Irish-American minority. In the novel, the author racially dehumanises his ethnic characters by depicting them as savage and wild people, creating a Bowery slum environment “resembl[ing] nothing so much as the world of the jungle” (Fitelson 184), in which uncivilised, uncultured and, therefore, barbaric people and

³⁸ Then again, Jimmie Johnson, Maggie’s brother, and his father are both given a pipe by the author in other chapters of the novel, whereby Crane underpins the Irish-American heritage of the Johnson family (MGS 6, 19).

tribes fight for their survival. This belief manifests itself in various language choices by Crane in *Maggie*. Already in the first scene, in which the children of Rum Alley fight those of Devil's Row, Jimmie, Maggie's brother, is described as resembling "a tiny, insane demon," the fighting boys are "swearing in barbaric trebles," (MGS 3) and the victorious Devil Row gang sings "songs of triumphant savagery" (MGS 4).

Crane, however, goes even one step further and makes use of animalistic imagery stemming from a long tradition of comparing animals to Irish Americans in literature³⁹ when depicting some of his Irish-American characters. Thereby, Crane deprives them of a human identity in these situations. This was already addressed in a review of *Maggie* in *The Nation* by an unknown author as early as 1896 in which Crane was associated with the "animalistic school," meaning

a species of realism which deals with man considered as an animal, capable of hunger, thirst, lust, cruelty, vanity, fear, sloth, predacity, greed, and other passions and appetites that make him kin to the brutes, but which neglects, so far as possible, any higher qualities which distinguish him from his four-footed relatives [...]. (qtd. in Gullason, *Reviews* 1896 150)

Crane's understanding of Irish Americans as having instinctive animal-like traits is demonstrated on various levels in *Maggie*. The visual appearance of Irish-American characters oftentimes mirrors those of animals. Maggie's unnamed father, for instance, is pictured as having a "hairy throat" (MGS 13), reminding the reader of an animal's fur. Furthermore, the "whiskers" of the "stout gentleman" (MGS 76) – the second of the ten men Maggie encounters in chapter XVII on her way from uptown New York to the river in which she eventually dies – trigger not only the image of a beard but also that of a feline.

However, not only visually but also in their behaviour in every-day life Crane compares Irish-American characters to animals. Maggie, for example, "[eats] like a small pursued tigress" (MGS 11) afraid of her food being snatched away from her by someone stronger, and Jimmie enters his home "with the caution of an invader of a panther den" (MGS 14), being scared that his wild parents wake up and wreak havoc. However, Crane also suggests that the Irish-American people in the New York tenements treat each other like animals. When Mary Johnson is thrown out of a saloon due to her state of alcohol intoxication, a group of neighbourhood "urchins" creates a "respectable half circle" around the woman, and the excited, delighted boys tease her like a wild animal in a cage or in a zoo (MGS 39). The boys' dancing and cheering soon provokes their desired reaction, and the intoxicated woman

³⁹ Cf. Thomas Nast's cartoon *The Day We Celebrate* in section 4.

unsuccessfully “dash[es] at” (MGS 39) and “ma[kes] charges on them,” (MGS 40) while the children simply laugh and easily get out of her reach.

A crucial aspect of Crane’s animalisation of his Irish-American protagonists is the form of communication they rely on in specific situations. As language is considered one of “the skill[s] that putatively separate[...] people from other animals” (Roitblat 13) and, according to various scholars, is one of “the defining feature[s] of human cognition” (13), Crane denying his Irish Americans this skill in emotionally and physically disturbing circumstances suggests that he thinks of them as inhuman and instinctive, instead of reasonable and rational. Describing the quality of the sounds the characters make throughout the novel is the most frequently used device of animalisation. Crane’s characters primarily “gibber like an ape” (MGS 63), “roar,” “howl,” and “shriek” like animals, making it impossible to have proper, reasonable conversations and discussions about how they experience their environment, and their own Irish-American identity as tenement dwellers.

Furthermore, Crane frequently applies animalistic imagery in connection with violent behaviour, suggesting that the Irish Americans of New York City’s slums had to fight for their survival. Therefore, *Maggie* has been associated with Darwinism and its doctrine of ‘survival of the fittest’ by authors such as David Fitelson in his essay “Stephen Crane’s ‘Maggie’ and Darwinism.” Due to the characters’ constant struggle to survive the horrific living situation in the slum, there are no cognitive capacities available for morality in terms of behaviour. The fight between Pete, and Jimmie and his friend Billie, which serves as a revenge after Maggie has been ruined by the former, is a perfect example of animal-like behaviour during a fight. After Jimmie and Billie have teased Pete who was tending the bar in a saloon, Pete “disclose[s] his teeth” like an animal preparing to fight (MGS 49), and Jimmie “snarl[s] like a wild animal” (MGS 50). During the actual fight, Pete has “[t]he glare of a panther” in his eyes, the three “bristle[...] like roosters,” on their faces the reader imagines “[t]he bravery of bull-dogs,” and “Jimmie duck[s] his head [...] with the quickness of a cat” (MGS 51). These animalistic instincts during the fight do not allow for rational and moral thinking in this violence-laden situation. Although moral behaviour and actions as such do not have a place in this Irish-American community, it will be argued at a later point in this thesis (section 7.3) that morality nonetheless plays a crucial role in the Irish-American identity and self-understanding on a mere hypocritical level.

Additionally, Crane also makes use of animalistic imagery whenever he wants to stress a character's emotional dependence on someone else, which happens rarely in the novel. The animal associated most commonly with dependence, loyalty, fear of, reliance on, and trust towards human beings is any form of domesticated canine. Jimmie, for instance, considers the red fire engine, the only object he is afraid of and respects, with love equivalent to "a distant dog-like devotion" (MGS 20). The reader is also immediately aware of the strong emotional dependence of Maggie on Pete when she is surrounded by an "air of spaniel-like dependence." This reliance on another individual of the Irish-American community results in Maggie falling back into an animal-like mental state that is characterised by illogical and unreasonable behaviour as her self-understanding is fully determined by Pete and his behaviour towards her. Eventually, this results in Maggie's downfall when her primary tool of self-identification, Pete, abandons her.

7.2.3. Contamination and Corruption

During the period in which Crane wrote *Maggie*, ethnicities regarded as 'the Other' were often considered to be contagious, and believed to contaminate, infect, and corrupt the general American society with their amoral and degenerative traits (Dowd 108). This was also true in the case of Irish Americans. The quotidian anti-Irish heterostereotype, which had already been prevalent for many decades, denounced Irishness to be a disease that would corrupt and infect anyone who was in contact with Irish Americans for a long stretch of time, converting them into amoral, instinct-driven "savages" (Dowd 81). This contamination by Irish Americans could either take place on a local level in specific communities, or at a national level infecting and unstabilising the general Anglo-American society, and its institutions and moral values. Furthermore, as Dowd (81) exemplifies, American authors mainly focused on how the Irish disease affected Protestant Americans who came into contact with them.

Crane, however, specifically attempts to demonstrate to the reader how the Irish-American community infected its own members. The author illustrates how innocent children are affected by the Irish disease with which their parents are already polluted and corrupted. Jimmie, for instance, develops a "sneer [that] became chronic" (MGS 17) while growing up, and even as a man "[h]e never conceived a respect for the world," (17) just like his role model Pete. Ultimately, the adolescent Jimmie is oftentimes in a state of alcohol intoxication – identical to the excessive drinking of his parents – has no real purpose in life, and literally "menace[s] mankind at the intersections of streets" (MGS 18). By adopting these behavioural

traits from fellow Irish Americans, such as his parents and Pete, Jimmie transforms into a threat to the general society's structure and organisation.

Maggie, on the other hand, is presented as immune to the Irish-Americans' infection. She "blossomed in a mud puddle," (MGS 22) and nothing of the contagious virus of Irish Americans and "of the dirt of Rum Alley seemed to be in her veins" (22). However, although the girl at first seems to be immune to the Irish disease, she cannot survive in her environment as an innocent and naïve creature, and therefore becomes especially receptive of corruption by the hand of her community's members. After Maggie has been ruined by Pete, however, she herself is regarded as the contagious element in the community. Mothers, for instance, are scared of physical transmittance of Maggie's immorality when their children touch the girl, and accordingly immediately seize their kids before they are able to touch the infected individual, as in the following two examples: "She rushed forward and grabbed her child [...]. Another woman sprang forward and picked it [the child] up, with a chivalrous air, as if rescuing a human being from an oncoming express train" (MGS 69). When Maggie verbally reaches out for help, even her own brother's "repelling hands express [...] horror of contamination" (MGS 69) as he is afraid of his sister's licentious behaviour being contagious.

7.2.4. Brogue

In contrast to the general tendency of American authors of the 19th century to let their Irish-American characters speak in an over-exaggerated Irish brogue as additional means "to help create derogatory pictures of the alien immigrant hordes" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 216), the language of Crane's Irish Americans was intended to show more resemblance to the lingo of the general New York slum community. Crane's aim was to realistically show the life of Irish Americans in New York's slums, and this entailed a realistic depiction of their day-to-day conversations. According to some of his critics and admirers, Crane succeeds in his aim to do so. Hamlin Garland, for instance, praises that Crane had created "the dialect of the slums as [he has] never before seen it written – crisp, direct, terse" (*Ambitious & Modest*, xii qtd. in Katz 203). Other literary critics and reviewers, however, argued that Crane's tenement dialect completely neglects particularities and special features such as inflections and idioms prevalent in this period, and also overlooks the speakers' talent for humour, wordplays, and verbal self-deception (unknown, *Review Tribune* 2). Instead, Crane reduces the dialect to its

brutality and brutishness and, according to Ziff (1890s 191) “Crane’s characters [are] gabbling on in a lingo which is, like their setting, chosen only for being extreme.”⁴⁰

Thereby, Crane creates an antagonism between the dominant, genteel American society and the Irish-American Bowery inhabitants. While the Uptown New Yorkers express themselves in a religiously sophisticated manner, the tenement people constantly damn and insult each other and do not refrain from using blasphemous phrases. In a conflict between Pete and an Uptown New Yorker, the latter sophisticatedly regards Pete as a contemptible scoundrel. Pete, however, only recalls his opponents answer as “contemp’ble scoun’el, er someting like dat” (MGS 27). When Pete tells his Uptown antagonist to “[g]o teh hell” (MGS 27), and afterwards beats him, Pete’s dialect “becomes a source of violent conflict” (Jones 144). In *Maggie*, the Irish Americans’ Bowery dialect attaches an otherness to its speakers by highlighting their difference to genteel characters in the novel. Additionally, also the readership of the book is immediately able to identify the un-genteel, brutal, and immoral Irish-American Bowery dialect as the direct opposite to their own educated, sophisticated, and romanticised language use (Jones 143-144). Furthermore, from phrases referring to violence, such as “I’ll stamp yer damn brains under me feet” (MGS 40), the reader very likely deduces that the Irish Americans’ behaviour is also characterised by violence and savagery. Therefore, the Irish-American Bowery dialect probably functioned as another aspect that depicted Crane’s Irish-Americans characters as a threat to the genteel, hegemonic American society and instilled fear among Americans that their dominant culture could become corrupted by the immigrants from Ireland.

In reality, however, the assimilation process of Irish immigrants and their descendants in the United States had already crucially advanced by the late 19th century. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that they already had some effect on spoken American English in certain areas and vice versa (Bonfiglio 96). Therefore, authors, Crane definitely among them, attempted to replace the ironic, over-exaggerated Irish brogue with a more serious usage of Irish American slum slang during the second half of the 19th century (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 179). Following this realistic trend in *Maggie*, Crane creates a dialect in which the “Bowery speech and Irish slang are indistinguishable” (Levenson xxxv). A reason for this absolute uniformity of Bowery and Irish-American dialect might be Crane’s position as an outsider and

⁴⁰ Cranes decision to include a variety of blasphemous and profane phrases in the dialect being spoken by his Irish-American Bowery characters was the main reason for being declined by multiple publishing companies (Jones 143).

observer of his literary subjects due to his genteel Protestant origin. Although Crane had acquired a comprehensive academic language knowledge, and a special awareness of different accents and dialects during his high-school and university education, his expertise did not allow him to sufficiently differentiate between and replicate the various dialect nuances deriving from different immigration origins the same way as someone growing up within this assortment of dialects would have been able to do. However, the indistinguishability between the New York tenement slang and the dialect of Irish Americans in Crane's *Maggie* also hints at the opinion that Irish-American immigrants and their descendants had already assimilated to the urban lower-class in New York City to a great extent.

Despite the similarity of Bowery and Irish-American dialect, certain elements chosen for the dialogues between Crane's characters point to their Irish heritage and the Irish brogue. A phonological feature very common in various Irish dialects and easily observable for a non-expert of Irish English such as Crane is the "nondiphthongization" of the pronoun *my* resulting in the pronunciation *me* (Hughes 261). Crane makes use of this pronunciation on many occasions and for various characters. While Mary Johnson bellows at her son, "I ain't givin' a snap of *me* fingers fer yehs" (MGS 41; emphasis added), and Pete worries, "I'll lose *me* job!" (MGS 73; emphasis added), the old woman, Jimmie, and Nellie employ the possessive pronoun in the same manner (MGS 44-45, 62). Additionally, during a cheerful conversation about their eventful, hedonistic shared past, Pete jokingly calls Nellie "Mike" (MGS 63), "a normally anti-Irish pejorative term" (Slotkin 49) to playfully hint at her Irish origin. Lastly, Pete's use of the pronoun *yehs* as a plural (MGS 79), but more importantly as a singular subject of a clause when he quotes his boss saying, "Pete, yehs done 'jes right!" (MGS 24) also suggests that Pete is of Irish descent as "*yehs* [...] does occur as a singular form in some Irish dialect writing" (Slotkin 44; original emphasis). Although, the Bowery dialect has almost become indistinguishable from the Irish-American slum dialect, these phonological, lexical, and grammatical choices Crane attributes to his character - among many in the novel - indicate their Irish heritage.⁴¹

⁴¹ For a further discussion of selected language elements characterising the Irish brogue in its actual use see *The Irish Language and the "Brogue": A Study in Substratum* (1966) by John P. Hughes.

7.3. MORALITY AND RESPECTABILITY

7.3.1. *Maggie as Moralising Fiction*

Crane clearly stated “[p]reaching is fatal to art in literature [...] and if there is any moral or lesson in it [a good writer does] not point it out” (Crane, *Correspondence* 230). Nevertheless, critics have identified moralising and didactic aspects in *Maggie* as Cunliffe (37), for instance, points out that “[t]here is an added ingredient: a moral, didactic motive, a slight preachiness.” Comparable to moralising Famine-generation literature by Irish-American authors in the mid-19th century (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 76), the storyline in Crane’s novel confronts the protagonist Maggie with a challenge, and the girl has to either make the right or wrong decision about how to handle the precarious situation. Although Crane does not explicitly blame Maggie for choosing the wrong path by going with Pete, he sends her to the most horrific parts of New York City, and eventually terminates Maggie’s life by a lonely, tragic suicide⁴². This suicide naturally takes place in the absence of a deathbed scene in which the morally and faithful character usually is surrounded by loving family and friends.

Furthermore, Crane’s subject matter and themes such as alcohol abuse, violence, and abhorrent living conditions somewhat resemble the intention of earlier anti-Irish writers. Their goal was to “expose” the life of Irish Americans in American slums and, therefore, their works “tend to contain sensational portraits of drunken, violent Irish who wreak havoc on their own families and American society at large” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 78) in order to stress the amoral behaviour of the described characters. However, Crane does not merely focus on his Irish-American characters’ amoral behaviour. He also does not simply present Maggie as an evil and unvirtuous creature due to her seduction by Pete. Instead, Crane’s aim is to depict the cause for Maggie’s downfall, and the general problems the Irish-American community in the 1890s’ Bowery environment had to struggle with.

⁴² There has been an ongoing debate whether Maggie’s life was brought to a halt by either suicide or murder in the river that the reader is presented with at the very end of chapter XVII after her journey as “a girl of the painted cohorts of the city” (MGS 76) from uptown New York to the darkest tenement buildings near the waterfront. The version of a self-inflicted death has been commonly accepted by critics and readers due to the general popularity of the stock formula of a young girl who is corrupted on the streets, is ruined, and finally chooses to die. However, a new interpretation of Maggie’s death has gained more supporters, namely that Maggie has been murdered by the “huge fat man in torn and greasy garments” (MGS 77) she meets during her last journey because Crane writes that “their feet” (MGS 78) stood at the edge to the river, suggesting that there are two people in Maggie’s last moments. For a thorough discussion of this controversy see *A Cold Case File Reopened: Was Crane’s Maggie Murdered or a Suicide?* (2009) by Robert M. Dowling and Donald Pizer. This thesis, however, will interpret the end of chapter XVII in its traditional sense; namely as a suicide of Maggie.

7.3.2. The Irish Americans' Struggle for Morality and Respectability

As one main cause for the issues Irish Americans are confronted with, Crane singles out middle-class values prevalent among the members of the neighbourhood, and therefore concentrates on his understanding of how Irish Americans' themselves think about and act out their concept of morality. While during the Famine period the moral guidelines of immigrant guidebooks mainly expected Irish Americans to behave like "humble, obedient laborers and domestics, whose outstanding virtue was their loyalty to the Church" (Connors 4), and who avoid American individualistic temptations like financial prosperity and popular entertainment, the requirements for a morally virtuous life changed for the second generation of Irish Americans like the Johnson family. The ideals of middle-class morality were adopted from the general, Protestant American public, and they began to shape the patterns of Irish-American life on all levels. These middle-class values comprised a new appreciation of prosperity and moderate financial success, which encouraged the Irish Americans in their economic endeavours and created a new Irish-American middle-class. More importantly, however, respectability became the primary goal for Irishmen- and women in the United States. Yet Crane solely focuses on the struggle for respectability and virtuous morality in the representation of his Irish-American characters. Considering their impoverished tenement environment in New York City's Lower East Side, this does not come as a surprise.

As already pointed out in section 7.2.2., Crane's Irish Americans are not able to genuinely uphold moral behaviour because of their constant struggle to survive despite their poverty-stricken circumstances, which demand most of their attention in their day-to-day life. Berryman puts it this way: "It is not that they lack moral ideas but that [...] [they] are simply unable to make headway against their conditions' weight" (*Stephen Crane* 60). Nevertheless, the struggling Irish Americans in *Maggie* still identify with middle-class morals maintained by their lace-curtain Irish-American compatriots, and these morals severely influence the understanding of their own identity as God-loving, righteous human beings. Due to their incapability of effectively translating this self-perception to their behaviour in day-to-day life, Crane creates shanty Irish-American morality more as a mental concept applied to the wrongdoings of other people than a reflective force about oneself and one's actions.

This becomes very apparent in the juxtaposition of Maggie and her mother, Mary. Mary expects her daughter to have a high-moral stand and to behave accordingly. Mary, for instance, scolds Maggie when she arrives at home too late after her work day, and rails at

Maggie, “Why deh hell don’ yeh come home earlier? Been loafin’ ‘round deh streets. Yer getting’ teh be a reg’lar devil” (MGS 29). Mary clearly does not want her daughter to have any unsupervised leisure time outside of the home as this might allow her to succumb to unchaste and unvirtuous temptations on the streets. Mary’s moral expectations of her daughter become even more evident when she casts out her own child, because she suspects her to have an illegitimate relationship with Pete. In Mary’s worldview, morality stands above anything else. Therefore, she never grants her daughter the genuine opportunity to present her side of the story, and yells, “I won’t have sech as yehs in me house!” (MGS 42) – a request that Maggie eventually follows. Although Mary maintains very high demands concerning her daughter’s moral behaviour, she does not seem to apply them to herself in an equal manner. Mary constantly behaves immorally, especially under the influence of alcohol, which is, according to genteel values, in itself indecent and unethical. She acts out violently towards her whole family – the unnamed father even demands of her that she should not “be allus poundin’ a kid” (MGS 9). Due to her repeated arrests for indecent behaviour in public, she “had gradually arisen to that degree of fame that she could bandy words with her acquaintances among the police-justices,” and “[c]ourt-officials called her by her first name” (MGS 23).

The moral guidelines which Maggie is expected to conform to and which Mary constantly ignores in her actual behaviour are reinforced in the Irish-American community also through popular culture. Although Crane incorporates typical, melodramatic plays of that period into his novel, he satirises them in order to highlight how very seriously the audience “of the day (and the viewer like Maggie) took it” (Gullason, *Tragedy & Melodrama* 245). Crane’s theatre audience even regards one play as “transcendental realism” (MGS 37), and they believe “moral victory to come inevitably” (Gullason, *Tragedy & Melodrama* 246). The melodramas Maggie and Pete watch in a variety of dance and amusement halls tend to follow generic plot-formulas. One of the plays the couple witnesses, for instance, features a heroine, who is imprisoned by an evil villain, and later rescued by “the hero with the beautiful sentiments” (MGS 37). These roles are strictly and unmistakably allocated to the actors so “the most subtle [sic] distinctions between right and wrong” (MGS 38) make it possible for the audience to be “immediately aware if the actor meant wickedness, and denounce [...] him accordingly” (38). These ready-made formulas of right and wrong behaviour facilitate the internalisation of these values and moral stances by the individual audience members, who mostly identify with the moral hero or heroine. While watching the play, even

“[u]nmistakably bad men evinced an apparently sincere admiration for virtue” (MGS 38), who, like Mary Johnson, embrace morality as a mental concept, but act absolutely differently in everyday life.

Like morality being displayed on the stage of the popular theatre, Crane generally displays morality of working-class Irish Americans as an idea conceptualised only in front of an audience. Jimmie, for instance, after hitting his sister when they were still little kids, is scolded by their father, who bawls: “Leave yer sister alone on the street” (MGS 8). The father explicitly specifies that he does not tolerate the conflict between the children “on the street” in front of their neighbours. This specification, however, also suggests that a fight between the children very likely would not have been an issue if executed in the private home. Furthermore, whenever Mary Johnson accuses her daughter of engaging in an immodest relationship with Pete, she makes these accusations publicly in front of an audience comprised of members of the Irish-American neighbourhood. Thereby, Mary Johnson actively presents to the community her own moral righteousness which even surpasses the maternal bond between mother and daughter. Crane emphasises this theatrical aspect of morality by applying the appropriate language. When Mary ultimately banishes her daughter, she does this in front of a large gathering formed in front of and in the Johnson’s flat like “the front row at a theatre” (MGS 69). While Mary damns her own daughter, she is explicitly “addressing the doorful eyes, expounding like a glib showman at a museum,” (MGS 69) and is “pointing with dramatic finger [sic]” (69), suggesting that she is aware of an audience witnessing her exaggerated outrage and theatrical lamentations.

Due to the presence of an audience, morality becomes a performance and a façade the Irish-American characters have to uphold in order to be granted “social approbation” and “a gratifying [...] self-justification (Pizer, *Crane & Naturalism* 127). They merely ‘act’ moral as they aspire to “a fulfillment of societal expectations” (Nagel 98). In order to belong to and be accepted by their ethnic community, its members have to conform to the shared middle-class values, which creates a sense of obligation and pressure on the individual as their identity and self-understanding is based on their affirmation by fellow Irish Americans. Crane also presents this pressure from Jimmie’s perspective, who still contemplates welcoming his sister back into the family after her seduction (MGS 58), but soon changes his mind because of the reproaches of his mother, and the neighbourhood inspecting closely how he handles the situation. Giving in to this constant pressure, Jimmie starts to “publicly damn [...] his sister that he might appear on a higher social plane,” (MGS 60) but privately thinks “that his sister

would have been more firmly good had she better known why” (60). This pressure of appearing morally righteous, however, not only influences the outward appearance of people, but reaches even into the Irish Americans’ private minds. As a result, Jimmie develops the honest conviction “that he could not hold such a view” (MGS 60), namely that Maggie essentially is a good person. The Irish Americans’ constant search for superficial respectability culminates in them assigning a higher significance to their respectable moral reputation and social approbation, than to “their moral and personal commitments to one another” (Nagel 98). When Jimmie, for instance, suggests to his mother that they should bring Maggie back home after her liaison with Pete, the mother immediately refuses to do so and even accuses Jimmie of doing the family harm. This occasion is the only time Jimmie shows real concern for another human being as an adult. However, when communicating his inner feeling, he immediately gets rebuked, gives up his idea, and answers frustratedly: “Well, yeh must take me fer a damn fool” (MGS 58). Hence, successful communication on a genuine, meaningful level concerning their daily physical and, more importantly, their emotional needs in a harsh and hostile environment is made impossible. “Crane’s characters,” so Ziff (1890s 191) “communicate not at all when they talk to one another.”

This inability to communicate with others trustingly prevents them from “express[ing] private feeling” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 277). Although Fanning argues that this inability to convey “the heart’s speech” (277) only became apparent in Farrell’s *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, it seems reasonable to argue that Crane had already identified this theme as crucial to his understanding of Irish-American identity decades earlier. His characters simply do not share their inner-most thoughts and feelings with anybody else. Additionally, they are also subconsciously determined to suppress any emotion-laden thoughts by either pure force of will or by making use of an alcohol-intoxicated state of rage and indifference. They simply cannot admit their own emotional vulnerability and faults to themselves as this would certainly damage their self-image as respectable Irish Americans in a world where complete virtuousness comes before anything else; even before other humans’ spiritual and physical suffering.

Crane presents “respectability as the primary moral goal [of Irish Americans’] middle-class ethic” (Pizer, *Crane & Naturalism* 127) throughout the novel. In order to comply with this sense of respectability, Crane’s Irish-American characters – often bound to their instinctive and amoral behaviour, and therefore unable to realise their moral convictions in actual behaviour – establish double-standards as already exemplified earlier by the contrasting the

examples of Maggie and Mary. Crane highlights these double standards through the ironic comparison of another opposing pair, namely Jimmie and Pete. Although Jimmie “had always unconsciously held [the theory], that all sisters, excepting his own, could advisedly be ruined” (MGS 46), he is proven wrong by Pete’s seduction of Mary, and decides to avenge his family’s ruined reputation by confronting the, in his opinion, immoral Pete. By ironically juxtaposing the two men, however, Crane illustrates how Jimmie applies two opposing moral norms to Pete and himself. Despite damning Pete and his own sister for their pre-marital relationship, it is inferred that Jimmie himself has impregnated or slept with at least three women in his youth (MGS 21, 67). Crane highlights the self-delusional mental patterns of Jimmie even further: Jimmie dismisses one of his mistresses with the exact same phrasing Pete uses for sending away Maggie. They both tell their former affairs, “Oh, go teh hell” (MGS 68, 73), and afterwards Pete “return[s], with an air of relief, to his respectability” (MGS 73). This, namely their own self-righteous respectability, is their main concern. Instead of accepting responsibility for their actions, they both blame the women for pursuing them. They ask: “Do yeh wanna git me inteh trouble?” (MGS 73), and only worry about the consequences that might be inflicted onto themselves.

In order to maintain a positive, righteous self-image and identity, the Irish Americans in Crane’s novel need, next to the application of double-standards concerning themselves and others, the ability of “self-delusion” (Nagel 98). They neither reflect on the moral standards they apply, which are more habitual than anything else and often unsuitable in their impoverished environment, nor do they reflect on their own behaviour in connection with these standards. For Jimmie’s self-delusion and “moral blindness” (Nagel 48) Crane uses literary symbols, as he lets Jimmie look through the “blurred glass” of a window, implying a literally as well as symbolically clouded view, while “[i]t occur[s] to [Jimmie] to vaguely wonder, for an instant, if some of the women of his acquaintance had brothers” (MGS 45). Another example of perfectly cultivated self-delusion in the novel is Mary Johnson. The mother simply turns a blind eye on the consequences of her violent, reproachful attitude towards her daughter throughout the whole novel, and ironically forgives the girl’s sins at the very end of the plot (MGS 86). Mary is absolutely unaware of the flawed education she has burdened her children with, and she does not grasp what moral responsibility she has as a parent.

However, Crane also incorporates single minor characters who carry out genuinely moral actions in order to highlight the difference between their subtle good deeds, and the self-

righteous performance of the other Irish Americans. One Bowery inhabitant who altruistically helps a person in need is an unnamed character, only described as a “gnarled and leathery old woman” (MGS 44). Although she is a member of the Irish-American community, and even lives in the same run-down tenement house as the Johnsons, the old woman is an exceptional character in the novel as her behaviour deviates from that of the majority of Crane’s Irish Americans because she helps and interacts with others without a secret self-serving agenda in mind. After Mary has another violent outbreak because of an overreaction about a broken plate, Jimmie flees the flat and the old woman hides him with the words, “Eh, Gawd, child, what is it dis time? Is yer fader beatin’ yer mudder, or ye mudder beatin’ year fadder?” (MGS 11). This suggests that the gnarled woman has done this favour to Jimmie multiple times as she neither wants the boy to return to his violent, barbaric parents while they are raging with anger nor that he is forced to spend the night on the streets. She grants Maggie the same favour several years later after the girl has been banished by her mother from their home. This makes the old woman the only person in the entire novel to support Maggie after her undoing. Through this woman’s sincere moral actions, and her statement that she “ain’ got no moral standin’” (MGS 70), Crane denounces the shanty Irish Americans’ self-righteous pseudo-morality and -respectability.

In essence, the only people whose identity is represented as being defined by genuinely good, moral behaviour actively ignore the imagined and commonly accepted middle-class morality of Irish Americans altogether. Those Irish Americans of the Bowery who identify and aspire to the unachievable moral standards, however, are incapable of quintessential kind and moral practices, and of accepting responsibility for their actions and people who depend on them. This is mainly due to the horrid, impoverished circumstances they live in, which call for a selfish fight to survive and leave no place for genuine moral behaviour and consideration of the well-being of others. Therefore, Crane’s characters are only capable of striving for a façade and performance of respectability and need to delude themselves in order to keep up their understanding of themselves as genuinely good people that are respected by the Irish-American community and have a legitimate claim of belonging to it.

7.4. THE IRISH-AMERICAN HOME IN THE URBAN BOWERY

Another crucial theme Crane incorporated into *Maggie* is the alteration of the Irish symbol of the home. After the confiscation of Irish land in the province of Ulster by the British, its

redistribution to Scottish Presbyterians, and the implementation of restricted ownership laws imposed on the Catholic Irish in the 17th century, homeownership and the home in general became a defining element in Irish, and especially in Irish-American literature. The house served and was presented as a place of retreat and a safe haven, where the Irish immigrants of the Famine period and their descendants could escape from the unknown, strange, and sometimes hostile American environment, and where they were surrounded by familiar culture and customs (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 159). Furthermore, by the late 19th century, Irish Americans had already adopted American middle-class values in which the home also functioned as a central requirement for respectability (159). Therefore, the Irish-American community considered the home a sanctuary, the root of middle-class morals centring around respectability and virtue, and a place of emotional and moral support against the hardships that lured outside on the American streets.

Crane, however, as an American author writing about Irish Americans of the New York Bowery, completely altered the meaning of the Irish-American home as a symbol. His Irish-American characters are clearly aware of the significance of a virtuous, respectable home. After a visit of Pete in the Johnsons' flat, Maggie, for instance, begins to consider her home as an "abomination" (MGS 27) and tries to achieve a sense of respectability through the purchase of a new lambrequin (MGS 28), which again illustrates how Crane considered Irish-American morality and respectability to just revolve around inauthentic appearance and performance. At a later point, however, Mary Johnson, in an alcohol-induced fit, destroys the "blue ribbons" (MGS 29) Maggie had put up to "freshen the appearance of a dingy curtain" (MGS 27), indicating that the mother's behaviour not only physically but also morally wrecks the home as an Irish-American institution.

Instead of creating the home as a refuge and retreat, Crane depicts the Johnsons' tenement house as the complete counterpart to the American and Irish-American middle-class' understanding of the home as the navel of one's morality and respectability. In order to stress the horrific circumstances in the Irish-American tenement house, Crane repeatedly describes the entrance to all houses in the Bowery as "gruesome doorways" (MGS 7, 8, 13, 33, 40) to anticipate the moral darkness that is likely to await within.

The home is characterised by domestic violence. Mother and father both fight each other and their children, and even Maggie's baby brother, Tommie, who dies as a toddler, gets his share. The little boy is "knocked down" (MGS 9) by his own mother. Next to physical violence, the

home is also marked by emotional warfare as mother and father are “damn[ing] each other’s souls with frequency” (MGS 10) with their children bearing witness. Mary looks at her children with “hatred” (MGS 11), and no loving or caring words are ever exchanged between the family members, leading the father to regard his home as “reg’lar livin hell!” (MGS 13). In order to emphasise the violent atmosphere in the Irish-American Bowery home, Crane depicts “the Johnson home more like a battlefield than a domestic retreat” (Nagel 141) by making use of war imagery. In the physical and verbal “battle[s]” (MGS 14) between mother and father only one can emerge as “victor” (MGS 11), the mother throws “her arms about her head as if in combat” (MGS 14), Jimmie and his mother wrestle “like gladiators” (MGS 41), and the commands of mothers directed at their children sound “like a warning trumpet” (MGS 69) used in premodern military battles.

Beside the symbolic rendering of the middle-class home as centre of moral guidance and virtue into a place defined by constant violence and warfare, Crane alters the home in its impoverished Irish-American form even further. While American genteel authors generally created the homes as “refuges of domestic privacy” (Benfey 65), Crane almost entirely eliminates the private space from his Irish-American version of the home. The Irish Americans and individuals of other ethnic heritage who live door to door with the Johnson family frequently bear witness to instances of domestic violence between the individual family members. The overpopulation of New York City’s slum neighbourhoods and tenement buildings denies Irish Americans any form of voluntary domestic seclusion. Hence, they are confronted with an even more demanding struggle for middle-class respectability as neighbours are able and forced to observe the most unethical and immoral incidents of family life, which usually would have been hidden away in the privacy of their home. In the environment of 1890s’ tenement blocks, however, the community’s “curious eyes” (MGS 69) watch the damnation of Maggie by her mother, they utter “oath[s] [...], cat-calls, jeers and bits of facetious advice” (MGS 40) when alcohol-induced Mary wreaks havoc in the hallway of the house – cursing “disappointedly” when the spectacle is over – and regard all those instances positively as some sort of entertainment, diverting their minds from their own struggle for survival in the hostile city surroundings.

At the same time, however, Crane also puts his focus on the depictions of the public parts of the Irish-American Bowery environment. Even though Crane does not extensively and explicitly address Irish-American issues common to urban life during that period, such as malnourishment, lacking hygiene, and mental and non-mental diseases (Meagher 77-78), he

instead lets Maggie “[eat] like a small pursued tigress” (MGS 11), and casually announces that “[t]he babe, Tommie” (MGS 17) and their “father died” (MGS 18), giving no further explanation of potential causes. Nevertheless, Crane generally portrays the Bowery as a chaotic and dirty place characterised by an immensely negative atmosphere due to alcohol addiction and violent behaviour. In doing so, Crane coincides with social reformers of the late 19th century, such as Riis, who partially blamed the tenement slum environment for the problems Irish Americans had to face and caused in New York City. In *Maggie*, the only pure, innocent character, the protagonist herself, is not able to survive within this environment and among her Irish-American family and community. This implies that, in Crane’s opinion, an escape from these horrific circumstances is not possible on one’s own. Maggie’s purity and innocence, at the same time, also leaves room for an interpretation that there is hope for the Bowery Irish Americans, but they need assistance and support in breaking away from their destructive environment.

In order to portray the destructive conditions of Irish-American city dwellers, Crane again makes use of war imagery (Walcutt 67). The account of the battle between the two gangs of children from Rum Alley and Devil’s Row is described with terms like “assault,” “assassins,” and “charged” (MGS 3), and the boys themselves Crane calls “small warriors” (MGS 5). Even as adults, Jimmie, Pete, and Billie, who were all part of the street battle at the beginning of the novel, are still described as fighting in a similar, militant fashion in the brawl intended to revenge Maggie’s ruin set in the saloon where Pete is employed as a bartender. The “warriors” (MGS 52) “edged for positions like frigates contemplating a battle,” and “[t]heir clenched fists moved like eager weapons” (MGS 51). Like the Irish-American home, the streets are controlled by violence and warfare as well, making it impossible to the Irish Americans of the Bowery to escape from this violent aspect that partially defines their identity as a community.

However, despite Crane’s claim to write in the realistic tradition, Hurm, for instance, argues that Crane’s description of the Bowery resembles that of a “stranger giving his impression of confusing street in the Lower East Side” (128), as he simply cannot comprehend and relate to the inner organisation and community of the Bowery. As a result of his Bowery portrayal, it becomes obvious that Crane as a “middle-class observer” presents the reader with a “typical slum image of an outsider” (Hurm 128). Due to this portrayal of the Bowery as a violent, dark, incomprehensible, and chaotic slum, Crane creates the picture of shanty Irish Americans functioning as a threat to Protestant American hegemony, stability, and moral order on both a

local level – as explicitly depicted in the novel – and on a national level, applicable to other urban areas in the United States.

7.5. IRISH-AMERICAN FEMININITY AND THE MATRIARCH

In *Maggie*, certain themes such as self-righteous middle-class morality, self-delusion, and violence define the identities of all Irish Americans belonging to the Bowery community of New York City. However, there are also specific elements that are only associated with either male or female Irish-American self-understanding as Crane portrays it. Corresponding to the middle-class values that shanty Irish Americans had already adopted by the late 19th century from the American Protestant middle-class, one cause that significantly influences Maggie's downfall and ruin is the fact that, in contrast to men, young women who walked the streets on their own were frowned upon. While men and boys frequenting the streets are considered "spectator[s], [...] taking in the passing scene" (Benfey 65), young women who stroll down the tenement streets unaccompanied turn into prey for every passing man. Whenever Maggie is escorted by Pete, passers-by are deceived by their appearance as a legitimate couple. As soon as Maggie is dismissed by Pete and her mother, however, and she is forced to survive on the streets of New York City on her own, "the girl soon discovered that if she walked with such apparent aimlessness, some men looked at her with calculating eyes" (MGS 73-74).

Appearance again plays a crucial role for Crane in how Irish-American men regard young women. They only pay attention to the outward appearance of females, but completely overlook and fail to acknowledge anything beyond. Inner virtues and personal character are completely disregarded by Crane's Irish-American men. Brennan, for instance, argues that "Pete cannot even discern, much less value, the real virtues of Maggie's nature" (313), but instead he displays her like a trophy in dancehalls all over New York, is "proud" when other men take notice of her beauty, and is complimenting her with the unaffectionate phrase, "Mag, yer a bloomin' good-looker" (MGS 55). Jimmie behaves similarly. Most of his youth he spent "on street-corners and watch[ed] the world go by, dreaming blood-red dreams at the passing of pretty women" (MGS18), and also the respectability and fates of the women he later ruins are entirely insignificant to him after he has exploited their beauty for his own pleasure.

Although Irish-American women appear to have a hard lot in their tenement homes, mutual support and assistance between women of the community is almost entirely inexistent. Rather

than helping each other with navigating through the chaotic and oftentimes hostile Bowery environment, in Crane's impoverished parts of New York mothers damn and abandon their daughters, and gossiping about other members of the community seems to be women's favourite pastime activity. They chatter away about Maggie's alleged ruin before it even has happened, indifferent about the fact that Jimmie walks by in near proximity and is able to overhear their conversation (MGS 46-47). Additionally, they spread further derogatory rumours about the girl, arguing that "deh shameless t'ing tried teh ketch [her daughter's] feller" (MGS 46). The Irish-American women in the Bowery are simply unable to empathise with Maggie's situation, and are delighted that they can blab about another girl's misfortune with malicious glee and with the intention to boast about their own respectability and virtue.

Through his protagonist Maggie, Crane presents a very specific type of Irish-American femininity. She is characterised by an innocence all other women of the Bowery lack as "[n]one of the dirt of Rum Alley seemed to be in her veins" (MGS 22). At the same time, however, Maggie's innocence is accompanied by a naivete and "romantically distorted sensibility" (Brennan 313) that cause her "vulnerability" (Nagel 64), and prove to become destructive forces in her life. Her naïve and innocent world view is shaped to a certain extent by the genteel moral values of the middle-class, but also by melodramatic, romantic popular culture prevalent during this period. Maggie perceives Pete as a "knight" (MGS 27), who is supposed to save her from her miserable, dull, and horrific family life in the Bowery, in the same fashion the "hero with the beautiful sentiments" (MGS 37) is successful in freeing and rescuing the heroine of her shackles in a play she watches, and whose characters she regards as "very accurately drawn" (MGS 37). Although Maggie is aware of the social gap between herself and the heroines depicted in the various plays she attends, she nevertheless strongly identifies with the female protagonist, "wonder[ing] if the culture and refinement she had seen imitated, perhaps grotesquely, by the heroine on the stage, could be acquired by a girl who lived in a tenement house and worked in a shirt factory" (MGS 38). This makes her the only Irish-American character in Crane's novel, next to Nellie, who tries to rise above her circumstances and escape them in the only way familiar to her: being rescued by a man.

As mentioned earlier in section 7.3., the Irish-American slum community values outward appearances above anything else. This is also true for the innocent and naïve female character represented by Maggie. However, instead of constantly boasting about and reinforcing her own appearance among the various members of the Irish-American community, Maggie's self-confidence and self-understanding tends to diminish whenever she draws comparisons

between herself and others. While Maggie regards Pete as a “formidable man” (MGS 27), and notices that “he had different suits on each time” (27) she saw him – a fact that easily impresses the innocent and entrapped girl – she immediately starts to reflect on her life, and eventually despises aspects such as the Johnsons’ home, her job in a “collar and cuff factory” (MGS 27), and her clothes, (MGS 35) and looks as she fears to “appear small and mouse-colored” (MGS 27) in Pete’s glamorous world. In other young women Maggie only notices their best attributes and the features she, in her opinion, lacks. The smiles of various girls and women she happens to pass on the streets, for instance, suggest to her that they are marked by the “serenity” of those who are “forever cherished and watched over by those they love” (MGS 35). Maggie perceives the lives of these women as absolute oppositions to her own social situation.

Through Maggie’s constant negative self-assessments whenever she is juxtaposed with male and female characters whom she admires, it becomes evident that the naïve, innocent girl creates her own identity only through comparison with or appreciation by other community members. Therefore, the absence of any close friends, the incapability of “her family and her lover [...] to recognize her identity” (Solomon 41), and the ultimate rejection by her mother and Pete, rob Maggie of any identity and possibility of self-understanding and self-reflection. Hence, she again draws on the stereotypical story-line development of popular culture and resorts to the only role obtainable for a girl in her situation (Solomon 41-42), namely that of “[a] girl of the painted cohorts of the city” (MGS 76). This expression referring to a prostitute used by Crane in chapter XVII and the absence of any reference to Maggie’s name, indicates that Maggie’s identity is now inexistent, and that the girl lacks any sense of individuality due to her absolute anonymity as a sex-worker in the Bowery. Furthermore, it indicates how Crane most likely deliberately creates Maggie as a type representing the fate of many other fallen women in the Irish-American Bowery environment than the destiny of an individual. Thereby, he attempts to present how an innocent female character untouched by and unassimilated to the Bowery circumstances is unable to successfully survive in an environment characterised by terrible living conditions, but even more so by unachievable middle-class moral standards and the irrefutable self-righteousness of its community members.

This self-righteousness is perfectly exemplified through the other female type, the mother. Mary Johnson embodies the role of the Irish-American matriarch, one of the most influential aspects of Irish-American family life. Brennan even calls the mother “the chief symbol of the

novel” (312). The typical Irish-American mother used to function “as spiritual guide, custodian of the family's emotional life, and ruler of the home as kingdom and microcosm” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 159) in Irish-American literature of the 19th century. In his American novel about Irish-American slum life, Crane subverts the idealistic depiction of the Irish-American mother as domestic and spiritual centre of the home and family, but additionally also alters the stereotypical American portrait of the Irish-American ‘Bridget.’ In contrast to the maternal roles in American literature, drama, and comics of the 19th century, which were predominantly characterised as “unsociable, even quarrelsome,” but also good-natured because of their “concern for [their] children and [their] determined effort to hold the family together” (Connors 2), Crane denies Mary Johnson any honest, genuine motherly feelings. Whenever she enforces any didactic and emotional responsibilities as a mother, these instances become a staged spectacle for her neighbours in order to uphold the family’s respectability despite Maggie’s misguided fate. Mary’s identity as an Irish-American mother deeply caring for her offspring, therefore, becomes a mere façade in order to self-righteously maintain her own respectability.

Despite Mary Johnson’s deviation from the stereotypical Bridget, she remains the controlling force of the family and its centre of power just like it is the case in Irish-American depictions of the saintly mother. However, whereas the Irish-American matriarch exhibits authority and control on a subtler level, for instance, by deliberately “withholding emotions” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 281) as it is the case in Farrell’s *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, Mary Johnson simply does not direct any loving or caring words, gestures and feelings towards her children within the whole novel, but instead keeps her authority within the family through plain physical and psychological violence and abuse. Mary stares at her children “with sudden hatred” (MGS 11) if they make accidental mistakes; she executes her duties as mother with physical force. When the mother attempts to wash her reluctant son, she does so by “grasping the urchin [Jimmie] by the neck and shoulder [shaking] him until he rattled” (MGS 9). Moreover, she constantly physically and verbally fights her husband, and her physical superiority by winning against the father even further demonstrates the mother’s immense power over the family (MGS 10). Even within Jimmie, an adolescent who claims to be “afraid of neither the devil nor the leader of society” (MGS 18) and who even dares to kick his own father (MGS 13), the mother stirs “extreme and curious terror” (Brennan 311). As a boy he flees “shrieking like a monk in an earthquake” (MGS 11) when Mary is about to have one of her violent outbursts.

In order to maintain her dominant, formative grip on her family and especially over her children, Mary frequently laments about her sufferings and hardships as a mother with the aim to instil a feeling of guilt and obligation within them. The theme of suffering has already become part of Irish-American culture and literature in mid-19th century (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 117-118) after the misery Irish immigrants had had to endure due to the Great Famine. Crane picks up and incorporates this idea of the ‘suffering Irish American’ in his matriarchal character. Yet, Mary’s suffering transforms into a form of self-pity which aims at upholding her power over her family and self-serving advantages. Even the easiest housekeeping duties seemingly exhaust her, and by “crooning miserably to the two children about their ‘poor mother’ and” their terrible father she pressures Maggie into cleaning the table despite her young age (MGS 11). Mary also uses her ability to establish guilt in her children to preserve her own respectability. When Jimmie suggests that he intends to bring Maggie back home after her ruin, Mary instantly starts to lash out at her son. Mary complains, “Shame on yehs, Jimmie Johnson, fer sayin’ such a t’ing teh yer own mudder [...] Little did I think when yehs was a babby [sic] playin’ about me feet dat ye’d grow up teh say sech a t’ing teh yer mudder – yer own mudder” (MGS 58). This immediately brings about Mary’s desired effect. Jimmie refrains from his idea, and the family’s respectability is not further harmed.

Mrs. Johnson’s self-righteous pursuit of respectability not only instils guilt in her children forcing them to adhere to her wishes, but also makes her unaware of the complex, complicated mother-daughter relationship and “blind to her role in the events leading to Maggie’s suicide” (Nagel 65). Instead of reflecting on her own behaviour, Mary Johnson foolishly wonders how “such a bad girl could grow up in our family” (MGS 46) “wid [...] a mudder like [her]” (MGS 58), and with “all her bringin’ up an’ what [she] tol’ her and talked wid her” (MGS 46). Ironically, in Mrs. Johnson’s self-righteous, culminating gesture on the last page of the novel she forgives her daughter without any intention to acknowledge her own physically violent and psychologically abusive behaviour as the reason for Maggie’s urge “to escape from the judgemental dominance of her mother” (Nagel 130) and her Irish-American slum environment.

7.6. IRISH-AMERICAN MASCULINITY

Crane’s Irish-American male characters apparently share one main concern: the fear of not being perceived as ‘real’ men. Therefore, their main motivation for specific behaviour is to

achieve what they perceive as real Irish-American masculinity within their community. Jimmie, for instance, who gets slightly hurt in the opening fight between Rum Alley and Devil's Row, refuses any help of his sister Maggie, a girl, and brushes her away by promising that "when [he] catch[es] dat Riley kid [he]'ll break 'is face!" (MGS 10) after his pride has been hurt by exiting the fight on the losing party. The Irish-American men as depicted by Crane heavily depend on the approval and recognition of their masculinity by different members of their community. Pete not only miserably asks some girlfriends of Nellie on a drinking spree, "I'm a goo' f'ler, ain' I, girlsh?" their answer being, "Sure," and "Yer spends yer money like a man" (MGS 81), but also brags about his masculinity in front of his peers. In one instance the recipient of this bragging is Jimmie, who is forced to listen to Pete's extensive, repetitive recollection of how he fought and won against a wealthy man in Uptown New York City (26-27).

Although Crane's Irish-American men generally attempt to publicly stress their emotional independence, it certainly becomes evident that they define their masculine identity through and in front of other community members. Thus, like Irish-American respectability, masculinity becomes a performance. Pete's clothing style, which is closely observed by Maggie at the very beginning of their courtship and successfully serves its purpose of captivating women, and his "chronic sneer of an ideal manhood" (MGS 4), function as further visual aids to actively demonstrate his masculinity in front of others. Equally important to these visual appearance markers, however, is the public perception of male identities as the staged performances of masculine values and behaviour. These values only take a limited number of shapes in Crane's impoverished Irish-American community.

Despite the general obligation to comply with genteel middle-class respectability, Crane's understanding of Irish-American slum masculinity proves to be an exception to this doctrine. Similarly to the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, Irish-American masculinity in Crane's depiction is strongly related to the "physical body and public behaviour," and "stands in opposition to Anglo gentility" (Dowd 161) marked as 'other.' The ethnically marked Jimmie, therefore, unsurprisingly creates heterostereotypes about the dominant part of society, and upholds the generalised opinion that "fine raiment was allied to weakness, and all good coats covered faint hearts" (MGS 18).⁴³ Consequently, the exact opposite of weakness becomes the leading

⁴³ Jimmie's aversion to the richer individuals of New York City's Uptown might be influenced by the initial commotion of Irish Americans during the 1863 Draft Riots. Irish Americans were bitter about the wealthier New York inhabitants' ability to buy their way out of the Civil War, while the generally poorer Irish-American men were forcefully drafted to participate (Stanca 59-60). Therefore, the weakness Jimmie suspects beneath each

standard and principle of his life, namely strength. This creation of heterostereotypes is somewhat mirrored by the genteel, wealthy character who calls himself Freddie. After Pete brazenly flirts with Nellie, who is supposed to be Freddie's date for the night, the young Uptown man wonders "whether it would be part of a man to pick a quarrel with Pete" (MGS 64) presumably influenced by his assumptions about how an Irish-American Bowery person would resolve the humiliating situation.

Therefore, it must be assumed that resilience, roughness, and especially strength in the form of violent behaviour function as leading principles in Irish-American male characters as Crane perceives them. Jimmie, who eventually becomes a belligerent truck driver after "liv[ing] some red years without" (MGS 17) employment, "only respects force" (Hurm 117). This force presents itself in the form of the powerful, destructive red fire engine, which is able to destroy his wagon, and in the form of his violent, raging mother. Hence, to gain the same respect for his own masculine identity Jimmie needs to exhibit force and strength equal to his mother's and the fire engine's.

In order for the physical force to be justified, to gain moral significance, and to prevent it from simply descending to mere violence, Jimmie alters in an unreflective and self-righteous manner his perception of reality very typical of Crane's portrait of Irish Americans. To his violent behaviour he attaches the idea of chivalric, noble honour, reminding the reader of medieval knights and kings. Jimmie clearly perceives "himself in heroic terms" (Nagel 64) while he fights "for the honor of Rum Alley" (MGS 3) in the opening battle as a child. He later "continually storm[s] at [pedestrians] from his throne" (MGS 20) of his truck, and fearlessly duels his sister's seducer despite denying Maggie any help in her forlorn state as a ruined woman.

While the physical body crucially influences the understanding of Irish-American masculine identity, the mind has no part in it at all. Whereas there are certain instances when Jimmie reflects how "[d]eh moon looks like hell" (MGS 21), and Pete is "feel[ing] a trifle entangled" (MGS 71), reflective thinking is otherwise simply non-existent among male members of Crane's Irish-American community. Instead of regarding thinking as something sissy and female, it is absolutely absent from the male Irish-American world, and Crane's characters

fancy coat could correspond to the Irish-American memory of the richer people uncourageously refusing to fight, while Irish Americans had to stand their ground and prove themselves in war.

drop any reflective thoughts immediately. Instead, they return to their regular business of worrying about their own respectability and masculinity.

Due to this mental behaviour, Irish-American male characters become associated with nihilism, indifference, and passivity in their lives as long as their perceived masculinity and respectability is not directly threatened. Then they react violently and viciously. The fittingly unnamed father of the Johnson family, for instance, plays no real part in the education of his children except when he is left alone with them, indifferently smokes his pipe, (MGS 9) leaves for the pub whenever the turmoil within the family home becomes too exhausting, and Crane eventually lets him die. Thereby, Crane stresses the father's insignificance and impassiveness. However, if the father's respectability is publicly threatened by the behaviour of his children on the streets, he starts to kick Jimmie, and later wonders why he "can never beat any sense into [his son's] damned wooden head" (MGS 8). Jimmie, after he has "take[n] the vague position of head of the family" (MGS 22), begins to mirror his father's behaviour by revenging his sister publicly, but ignoring the opportunity to prevent Maggie from leaving with Pete (MGS 42). Even after his sister's death, Jimmie leaves the mother alone in her theatrical, staged wailings (MGS 85), unwilling to become part of the whole spectacle.

The general nihilistic understanding of the world can be also observed in the younger Irish-American characters. Jimmie as an adolescent "[becomes] so sharp that he believe[s] in nothing" (MGS 19), and Pete behaves like a man "who dismisses religion and philosophy," and "has seen everything [...] declar[ing] that it amounted to nothing" (MGS 23). This passivity and indifference towards their human environment results in a self-righteous unawareness and distortion of the responsibility human beings are usually required to take for their actions. In spite of having ruined two women and fathered their children in his adolescence, Jimmie refuses to acknowledge his role and accountability in the affair, and feels no obligation to support the girls (MGS 21). He also dismisses another mistress in a confrontation by telling her to "go teh hell," fleeing the situation and "laugh[ing] with an air of relief" (MGS 68) as soon as he is out of her sight. Pete behaves in a similar fashion in his use of Maggie. However, he makes his decision to accept no form of accountability even more deliberately than Jimmie. Pete is unwilling to risk his respectability by talking to Maggie in the bar where he is employed, and self-delusionally regards Maggie's dependence on him as "a direct attempt to give him some responsibility in a matter that did not concern him" (MGS 73) rather than a given reality due to the social roles of men and women attributed to them by their Irish-American middle-class values.

This immoral act of refusing any form of responsibility is oftentimes not a deliberate decision or result of criminal instincts, but the “trouble [they cause] is more often the result of ignorance” (Dowd 19). The passivity and indifference defining the understanding of their masculine role and identity in their community is mostly not an active choice but mirrored by the younger generation, as has been demonstrated, as something given. Nevertheless, this absolute, self-righteous un-reflectiveness and ignorance that characterises Crane’s Irish-American men in the Bowery community present them as a threat to the established order and hegemony of the general American society.

7.7. ALCOHOL AND VIOLENCE

Crane, being a realist, intended to depict Irish-American Bowery life as it actually existed during that period. Dealing with the slums of New York City, this certainly required the incorporation of naturalistic topics such as violence and alcohol. The author’s selection of the street names, “Devil’s Row” and “Rum Alley” (MGS 3), which are presented to the reader on the first page of the novel, immediately foreshadows the dreadful circumstances of the Bowery, which are marked by immorality and alcohol consumption. Although his inclusion of these two themes corresponded to facts and statistics concerning the Bowery life of this period, it also allowed Crane to work with a ready-made, commonly shared, and stereotypical association of Irish Americans with vices such as alcoholism and belligerent, violent behaviour. While in American popular culture these associations were usually presented in a humorous light and the stereotypical Irish-American character Paddy was charmingly presented as a “carefree, happy, comic, singing drunk” (Greeley 174), Crane leaves this positive comical depiction aside, and attempts to show how a climate dominated by violence and alcohol can result in terrible consequences such as mental illness, alcoholism, broken families, and suicide.

In portraying the role of violence in Irish-American Bowery life which Crane, as an outsider of the community observes, he seems to attribute a hetero-stereotypical ethnic “essence” (Verkuyten 48) to his Irish-American subjects. Crane creates Irish Americans whose lives’ “fundamental condition is violence” (Fitelson 184), and especially Pete and Jimmie learn to respect and idolise it by being raised within the Irish-American society (Nagel 95). Even Maggie shows signs of violent behaviour in her childhood by clutching her baby brother’s arm and relentlessly tearing him after her (MGS 7). Maggie, however, develops differently

than the rest of her family. She starts to detest her own identity group and intends to escape the constant threat of violence with the help of Pete. Her brother Jimmie, on the other hand, begins to mirror his parents' brutal, destructive behaviour as he lacks Maggie's imagination. The only non-violent, healthy relationship, which might lead Jimmie to develop into a different direction, is taken away from him. His friendship with the old, gnarled woman, who frequently offers Jimmie refuge when his parents rage in the family home, is destroyed by his father, who steals the beer Jimmie is supposed to buy for the unnamed woman (MGS 13). Afterwards Jimmie only dares to carefully and secretly sneak past the old woman's apartment, afraid to face her after being robbed of her drink, and his only hiding place from the chaos prevalent in his home is lost (MGS 14).

Another aspect that speaks for Crane's view that violence is the guiding principle of the Irish-American identity is the general acceptance of it in every aspect of life; violent behaviour and incidents are part of family life, and are welcomed as an entertaining distraction on the streets. Seemingly unable to deal on a cognitive and intellectual level with conflicts and problems that occur due to their non-existent reflectiveness already addressed earlier in this thesis, Crane's Irish-American characters often apply brutal force to solve issues. In order to uphold a positive self-image despite the morally negative association with violence prevalent in genteel middle-class values, the Irish Americans begin to link it with the idea of heroic, knight-like strength (cf. Crane's view on Irish-American masculinity), and accept it as reasonable means to unravel problems. Jimmie's violent attack on Pete after Maggie's seduction, for instance, serves as a feasible solution to restore the Johnsons' respectability. Furthermore, violence is accepted as a legitimate educational tool and, therefore, the father attempts to prevent Jimmie's violent behaviour with even more violence, and ironically wonders why he "can never beat any sense into [his son's] damned wooden head" (MGS 8).

To the violence prevalent among the Irish-American Bowery community, Crane closely links the consumption of alcohol. Mary Johnson, for instance, becomes most vicious and brutal when "her brain burn[s] in drunken heat" (MGS 11). The constant presence of alcohol is also visually evident when Crane describes the Bowery environment, and casually mentions the great number of bottles which can be found "[i]n all unhandy places" (MGS 7). Furthermore, Crane presents alcohol as an aspect of life with which Irish Americans are confronted with from a very young age, as Jimmie simply receives a can of beer from a barman for the old, gnarled woman despite him being underaged (MGS 13).

In *Maggie*, alcohol functions both as a cause and an escape from unhappiness. The frustrated Irish-American characters numb themselves with drink and use it as a distraction from their gruesome reality either at home or in the various saloons to be found in the New York City Bowery. Already in Ireland, so Margaret Hallissy (29), the pub presents itself as a possible refuge from the exhaustion caused by troublesome domestic life, especially for men, and the same appears to be true across the Atlantic for Crane's Irish Americans. "Why do I come an' drin' whisk' here thish way? 'Cause home reg'lar livin' hell!" (MGS 13) the Johnson father drunkenly exclaims in the saloon in which he spends his pastime. Likewise, the mother drinks regularly. In contrast to the men's affinity to liquor, however, Crane never explicitly addresses the reason for Mary's reasons to drink, but her addiction creates even more problems than she tries to escape from; the relationship with her children is almost inexistent, she leads a completely separated life from her husband due to their frequent, oftentimes violent fights, and it prevents her from carrying out household duties that belong to her female, private spheres. This creates a vicious circle of alcohol distracting from and even more so causing the issues the family has to face in the horrific, impoverished slum environment.

This vicious circle results in Mary's alcohol consumption spiralling out of control, and eventually leads to a full-blown alcohol addiction characterised by illogical, eccentric, and erratic behaviour. Eventually, however, not only her behaviour, but also Mrs. Johnson's "physical appearance suggests insanity" (Nagel 96) caused by her alcoholism. Crane explicitly describes the woman in these terms: "Her hair straggled, giving her crimson features a look of insanity. Her great fists quivered as she shook them madly in the air" (MGS 40). In terms of Mary's behaviour, there are also various examples depicting the woman's unstable mental state. She is not only thrown out of saloons, arrested for public disturbances (MGS 23, 39), and pawns the family's belongings (MGS 36), but in her drunken state she is even unable to grasp that Maggie has not yet been ruined by Pete, and hence falsely casts her out of the family home (MGS 42-43) and seals Maggie's terrible fate. From then onwards, alcohol again functions as a pretended escape from the reality of the family's damaged situation, and Mary begins to use "the story of her daughter's downfall with telling effect upon to police justices" as an excuse whenever "arrested for drunkenness" (MGS 59).

In essence, Crane reduces his Irish-American parental figures to eruptions of violence and their alcohol addictions, their behaviour mirrored by those belonging to the following Irish-American generation, with only Maggie as exception. Thereby, the author denies them any

depth, intellect, and individuality. They become mere types, which serve as a representation of the majority of Irish-America urban slum dwellers. The lives of Crane's violent, alcoholic Irish Americans reinforce the opinion of the American public that the Irish Americans' passion for alcohol can be identified "as the root of social and family failure in America" (Stanca 61). This perceived incapability of forming functional family structures, and the chaos and destruction caused by the brutal, belligerent, violent, and intoxicated Irish-American creatures as presented in *Maggie*, contributes to the further spreading of the nativist belief that the Irish would not only "wreak havoc on their own family [but on] American society at large" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 78).

7.8. RELIGION

Concerning religion, Crane did not explicitly include references to Catholicism in *Maggie*. However, in general, Crane "was markedly anti-clerical in sentiment" (Cunliffe 40). Crane hints at his critical view of religion in *Maggie* by satirising the Johnsons' contact with Christianity: Jimmie "happen[ed] hilariously in at a mission church where a man composed his sermons of 'yous.' Once a philosopher asked this man why he did not say 'we' instead of 'you.' The man replied, 'What?'" (Crane, *Maggie Norton Critical* 13)⁴⁴ By ironically depicting the unreflective, self-righteous side of Christian clergymen, Crane intended to show "conventional Christianity's disconnection from the world he and his characters inhabited" (Ziff, *Maggie* xv).

Crane's intention also manifests itself in his choice of religious expressions when describing his Irish Americans in non-religious situations. He uses "religious figures for various characters in a very ironic manner as their religious meaning is oftentimes not applicable to the specific scene and the characters' behaviour in general (Nagel 141). Pete and Jimmie are compared to "priests" (MGS 52, 82), Jimmie "shriek[s] like a monk in an earthquake" (MGS 11), and the mother is portrayed as "a fat monk in a picture" (MGS 84).

Despite relating characters to religious figures, especially the younger Irish-American generation in *Maggie* is aware of religious customs to some extent, but they seem to have no profound understanding of religion, let alone of any specific Christian church branch. Maggie, for instance, only "had heard of the Grace of God" (MGS 74), but certainly dreams of paradise in a biblical sense (MGS 25). While Pete completely "dismisses religion and

⁴⁴ Crane added the second sentence to the 1896 version of *Maggie*.

philosophy” (MGS 23), Jimmie, although he adheres to the middle-class values inspired by religious doctrines and respectability, shows no respect for Christian rituals and figures. When he and a friend enter a mission church just for the fun of it, they both behave unmannerly and disrespectful by getting drunk, and ultimately even mistake the priest for Jesus (MGS 18). Jimmie even outright “despise[s] obvious Christians” (MGS 18) who boast about their righteous moral behaviour as their virtuousness and deliberate display of religiosity potentially threatens Jimmie’s self-image and identity as he, in the slum environment, is unable to truly and genuinely adhere to this moral code.

Comparable to the Irish Americans’ struggle for respectability and middle-class morals, Crane also appears to consider the church itself as a theatrical stage that “ignore[s] the essential nature of itself and its audience” (Pizer, *Crane & Naturalism* 129). Instead of acknowledging and assisting the impoverished Irish Americans in their spiritual and daily needs, the church and its clerics exclusively value and protect their own respectability and perceived moral superiority. When Maggie approaches a priest after being rejected by Pete and her family, the priest, whose “chubby face was a picture of benevolence and kind-heartedness” (MGS 74), is unwilling to help the lost girl and “save[s] his respectability by a vigorous side-step” as he “[does] not risk it to save a soul” (MGS 74). The priest avoids the risk of jeopardising his own moral outward appearance by aiding a fallen woman physically and spiritually. Thereby, he deliberately ignores some of the most crucial moral guidelines such as Christian charity, benevolence, generosity, and kindness.

Neglecting community members’ needs in favour of upholding one’s own religious respectability seems to occur on a systematic level on the side of the church as there are multiple other instances in *Maggie*. While the preacher in the mission church stands on a high ground by damning the people in church as sinners, he does not reflect on how they are more eager to receive their soup-tickets than to listen to his condemnations. The cleric is unable and unwilling to relate to the tenement people’s perspective on life and to reflect on his own self-righteous self-awareness of being superior to this class of people. As a result, he deliberately overlooks the genuine needs of his fellow church members, namely physical survival, and how to spiritually deal with the constant issues they face in the slum environment such as violence, families being torn apart, and the constant pressure to conform to middle-class respectability.

So instead of providing the Irish-American slum community with sufficient means to spiritually and individually cope with day-to-day problems, they instead force a set of behaviour onto them in order to conform to a Christian value system that very much depends on the middle-class morals. In the last chapter, when Mary mourns her daughter, this becomes especially apparent. After having received the message of her daughter's death, Mary begins to noisily lament Maggie's fate, and many of the neighbours and Irish-American community members join her and make a communal affair out of it. They even begin to tidy up and clean the Johnson home in order to uphold a respectable family appearance. More importantly, however, "a woman in a black gown" (MGS 84) appears, who starts to lead the present mourners and applies a pre-established mourning ritual inspired by Christian churches. The woman makes use of empty phrases, such as, "Ah what a ter'ble affliction is a disobed'ent chile" (MGS 84), that completely misinterpret the specific situation the Johnsons are in. These phrases are comprised of "vocabulary [...] derived from mission churches" (MGS 84). Through her superficial, vehement mourning behaviour, the woman in black animates the present women even further. "Like a choir at a funeral" (MGS 86) the whole party chants after the woman's religious verbal formulas that she has adopted from her mission church. Eventually, the woman in black even achieves her final Christian goal, namely forgiveness. Mary, in the end, is convinced by the woman's hollow phrases to forgive her child, instead of sincerely reflecting upon her role in her daughter's fate.

7.9. HETEROSTEREOTYPES ABOUT OTHER ETHNICITIES

Despite including other ethnicities, such as Germans, Jews, and Chinese, in *Maggie*, Crane does not portray them from an Irish-American perspective. Although the Irish-American Bowery community certainly had developed counterstereotypes about other ethnicities by the late 19th century as a tool to prove themselves to the general American public, who regarded them with hostile sentiments, and also as a means allowing them to preserve a positive collective self-confidence about their Irish-American identity. This might be due to Crane's position as an outsider of the Irish-American tenement dwellers in New York City. Ethnic competition for jobs, living space, etc. in the Bowery did not concern Crane as an American who merely ventured the streets of the slums as an observer.

Crane, who experiences the Bowery as a newcomer in his own life, is oftentimes unaware of its inner-workings, which is reflected in Maggie's entrance into the public world of her

neighbourhood. Maggie, who at first is confined to the private sphere of the home and later is only allowed to be on the streets on her way to work and back due to moral reasons, is granted her first impressions of the hedonistic side of the Bowery (zoos, museums, dancehalls, etc.) in the company of Pete. Similarly, Crane, the well protected son of a minister, also experiences the Bowery and its entertainment facilities for the first time while working on *Maggie*. Therefore, it is no surprise that the scenes of the dancehalls are rather written from a critical, but certainly native-born American perspective. The description of the performances in the first hall Pete and Maggie frequent in chapter VII, however, do not fully resemble Maggie's naive view of the world, who innocently asks her companion about the puppets of a ventriloquist: "Do dose little men talk?" (MGS 32). Instead, Crane provides a restricted amount of background information that would certainly exceed Maggie's knowledge about things beyond her immediate environment.

By confronting Maggie in this dancehall scene with the depiction of various nationalities and ethnicities, Crane also may attempt to show how heterostereotypes are reinforced by popular culture and how the depiction of ethnicities dominated the theatre and music genres. During their visit, Pete and Maggie get to listen to "a negro melody," hear a ventriloquist piece in which he is talking "about geography and Ireland," (MGS 32) and see the enthusiastic show of an exemplary stage Irishman (MGS 33). Yet, Crane includes even more stereotypical portraits of other ethnicities in non-theatrical scenes as well. Maggie, for instance, considers the owner of the sweatshops in which she is employed "a detestable creature" (MGS 36). Because of his pronunciation and his position as the proprietor of "the collar and cuff establishment" (MGS 35), Crane implies that the man is a German Jewish immigrant.⁴⁵ Maggie experiences him as a greedy individual, who worries more about the money he earns than the well-being of his employees. This stereotypical depiction of Jewish immigrants is further enforced when Crane mentions that Mary Johnson brings their family's belongings to a pawnshop, "where Hebrews chained them with the chain of interest" (MGS 36). These stereotypes about other ethnicities in *Maggie* say more about the heterostereotypes Crane attributes to Irish Americans from the outside than about which counter-stereotypes Irish Americans had actually created as a defence mechanism against nativist attacks directed at their own ethnic identity.

⁴⁵ In the late 19th century, one stereotypical depiction of Jewish Americans prevalent in American popular culture was the greedy sweatshop owner, who "was demonized for undermining craftsmen and bastardizing honest labor" by exploiting the vast numbers of unskilled Southern and Eastern European immigrants arriving on American shores during that period (Mendelsohn 92).

7.10. SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND ASSIMILATION

During the late 19th century, many nativists questioned the loyalty of Irish Americans directed towards their new home country because a large proportion of Irish Americans still were interested and engaged in Irish politics. Although many Irish Americans still were passionate about issues such as Irish nationalism, they were expected by the general American public to concentrate on their new life in the United States. Therefore, in works about Irish immigrants and their descendants, American authors often incorporated their opinions about how successfully their Irish-American subjects had already Americanized, and how their hyphenated identities could integrate in the general American society. While Crane does not dedicate a lot of attention to these themes explicitly, certain views can be deduced while reading *Maggie*.

As Crane himself is an American author, it does not come as a surprise that he mainly regards the Irish hyphenated self from an American perspective. Their violent behaviour and their ignorance about the incompatibility of their middle-class morals and impoverished living conditions – as already mentioned earlier in this thesis – seem to function as a destructive force that might corrupt the general American public. At the same time, however, Crane does not question his characters' belonging to the United States but already considers them being American. By replacing the Irish brogue with a general Bowery slang, and determining American middle-class values as the guiding principle of Irish-American slum life, Crane acknowledges their advanced process of Americanization. Despite their status as Americans, however, Crane still highlights the differences between Irish Americans and the Protestant hegemonic American society. Thereby he labels his characters as different kinds of Americans. In some instances, Crane even presents Protestant gentility and Irish-American masculinity as complete opposites. This suggests that he still perceives Irish Americans as 'other' when focusing on individual aspects of their identity.

Concerning explicitly Irish themes, Crane very seldomly incorporates references in *Maggie*, suggesting that Crane considered the hyphenated Irish Americans becoming less loyal to and unaware of their own Irish heritage. Specific Irish historical facts, and Irish folk and legendary elements, which would have certainly influenced Irish-American life during the late 19th century, are completely absent in Crane's novel. As an outsider to the ethnic community, he is unaware of these topics and themes, and, therefore, only relies on phenomena he came to know through popular culture prevalent during this period, such as negative stereotypes,

popular literary themes like the American matriarch, theatrical portraits of Irishness, and Irish nationalism.

Although Crane mainly examines his characters' hyphenated selves from his American perspective, occasionally he also considers Irish-American self-identification. However, Crane's restricted knowledge of Irish-American customs and cultural heritage again crucially influences this process and mainly confines it to the experience of popular culture. In the first theatre hall that Maggie and Pete visit, popular associations with the 'old country' are made and set into relation with the audience's reaction to them. A ventriloquist, for instance, "made [his dolls] [...] say funny things about geography and Ireland" (MGS 32), and Maggie reacts in a very uninformed fashion to it. Furthermore, as Irish-Americans loyalties were oftentimes questioned during the 19th century, Crane also includes the issues of Irish nationalism in a song sung "by a woman of debatable age" (MGS 32). In accordance with his view that the Irish had already become Americans, Crane lets the two countries work together in their goals and thereby implies a strong bond and common interest between the two. The song "described a vision of Britain being annihilated by America, and Ireland bursting her bonds" (MGS 33) is clearly directed to those who feel loyalty towards both countries. Even more remarkable, however, is the finale of the woman's presentation when she finishes with yelling "The star-spangled banner" (MGS 33) as her last line. The reaction of the audience, which let out "a great cheer" and whose "[e]yes gleamed with sudden fire, and calloused hands waved frantically in the air" (MGS 33) demonstrates that Crane was convinced that Irish Americans considered themselves even more American than Irish.

Furthermore, the Irish Americans in Crane's novel do not create counterstereotypes directed against the American hegemonic society in general. Instead of rejecting all American-born inhabitants of New York City, Crane's characters only despise those who are wealthier and richer than themselves. Jimmie, for instance, "maintained a belligerent attitude toward all well-dressed men" (MGS 18), and by constructing counterstereotypes begins to consider all of them weaklings and cowards. This could stem from the general assumption that Irish Americans regarded their employers and financially more fortunate people as greedy, selfish humans "more deserving of resentment and reprisal than emulation or respect" (K. Miller 327) due to their traditional peasant and working-class views. However, it is also likely that Crane simply lacks the insight into the Irish-American community and their counterstereotypes specifically directed against an oftentimes hostile hegemonic Protestant American society.

Yet, some of Crane's Irish-American characters occasionally mock other Irish Americans because of their descent or use their heritage to encourage them in crucial situations. Pete, for instance, cordially calls Nellie "Mike" (MGS 63). Thereby, he reinforces their relationship through mockingly referring to her Irish heritage and their common origin. Furthermore, during the fight-scene in Pete's bar, Billie calls his friend Jimmie "Mike" (MGS 50) to boost Jimmie's self-confidence as a strong, brutal fighter, commonly associated with Irishness. Then again, similar terms referring to an Irish-American heritage are used with a more negative and hostile connotation. When Jimmie fights the children of the Devil's Row in the first chapter, he tries to insult the other gang by crying that "dese micks can't make me run" (MGS 1). Although Jimmie himself is of Irish descent, as a child he re-appropriates this derogatory term usually used by hostile nativists in order to insult his rivals. Presumably, he had become familiar with the term on the streets of the Bowery. Furthermore, Crane also implies that American-born Irish Americans of the second or third generation consider themselves superior to those who have just made their journey from Ireland across the Atlantic. Pete, for instance, kicks out some of the guests of his bar and refers to them as "farmer[s]" (MGS 24). According to Gullason, the term means "greenhorn" (*Maggie Norton Critical* 18), and alludes to the people's new-arrival and unfamiliarity of how to behave according to the customs prevalent in the American urban environment at this period.

Nonetheless, in his novel, Crane also incorporates certain autostereotypical beliefs in Irish-American supremacy concerning the community's respectability and moral values in comparison to that of others. Jimmie differentiates between women belonging to other ethnic communities and the general American society, "[thinking] he had a great idea of women's frailty," and between those belonging to his own ethnic identity group, completely oblivious of "why any of his kin should be victims" (MGS 59). While it seems obvious to Jimmie that women of other origins than his own easily succumb to seductions, those women and girls who share an identical history and culture are immune to any vices due to their moral superiority. At the same time, the self-delusional confidence in their moral superiority becomes scrutinised during the course of the novel. Maggie's ruin results in her mother calling her "a disgrace to yer people" (MGS 42), meaning that in Mrs. Johnson's opinion she did not only harm her family, but also humiliated those of common origin, namely her Irish-American community. Maggie, on the other hand, does not fully identify with 'her people.' Maggie is scared of meeting the same fate like "the grizzled women" (MGS 35) she works with in the sweatshop, and, combined with a general resentment of the Irish-American

middle-class values and admiration of strength, she attempts to escape her world and community in order to find her way in another, more glamorous and less horrific world.

8. ANALYSIS OF THE *STUDS LONIGAN TRILOGY*

James T. Farrell's second-generation Irish Americans are all characterised by insecurities and confusion about how to constitute their identity in respect to their Irish ethnic heritage. Unaware of the larger and more global workings and implications of Irishness in America, they are forced to primarily rely on the most accessible displays of Irishness in order to abstract their ethnicity's meaning for their own self-image. Therefore, Irish-American identity becomes a "local phenomenon" (Dowd 164) in which Farrell's characters are predominantly shaped by their Catholic Irish-American community situated in Chicago's South Side in the Washington Park area, and its institutions, prevalent middle-class values, predefined gender roles, and auto- and heterostereotypes about their own and other ethnicities.

This uncertainty about one's own Irish-American ethnic heritage which Farrell characterises in his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* is not merely restricted to the South Side in Chicago. To emphasise this, Farrell stresses in the trilogy's Epilogue (859) that he had come to the conclusion that "[i]n revealing Studs's life day by day, [he] realized that his life itself was not so unusual; that the most unusual thing about him was his early death." Therefore, Studs and his fellow Irish-American community members function as "representative[s]" (Branch, *Farrell* 58) for the millions of Irish Americans spread all across the United States who had to deal with the same identity struggles. Nevertheless, Farrell also creates his characters as "individual[s]" (58). They all have their very own character traits inherent only to them, and their own fates and ways on how to deal with the issues they are confronted with in day-to-day life in Great Depression America.

8.1. COMMUNITY AND CONFORMITY IN AN IRISH-AMERICAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

The Irish-American community in *Studs Lonigan* functions as the main motivation behind its members' struggle for a stable self-perception as an ethnically marked part of America's general society. As Verkyuten argues, the formation of communities based on an imagined common understanding of one's shared origin and identity is often motivated by a general urge of "belonging" (68), which is intended to neutralize "feelings of dislocation and uprooting" (118). Therefore, it is not surprising that Farrell addresses these emotions, which are closely linked to ethnic communities. Studs, for instance, is constantly haunted by "[h]is old not-belonging feeling" (YL 31) throughout his life, which already manifests itself during

the boy's childhood. In order to overcome feelings of insecurity derived from the fear of not belonging to those people most familiar to the characters due to their shared heritage, Farrell's Irish Americans develop a fixation on how they are perceived by their peers. In recurrent scenes centring around Studs' reflection in mirrors, which are employed throughout the whole *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, the boy's obsession with the community's opinion and perception of him are highlighted. At the day of his graduation from St. Patrick's Grammar School, for example, Studs looks at himself in the mirror and tries out different facial expressions and gestures in order to become aware of how fellow community members see him. Only after he is finally pleased with his appearance while having a cigarette in his mouth, he "studied himself with satisfaction" because he "looked like Studs Lonigan was supposed to look" (YL 9). By Studs referring to himself in the 3rd person in multiple scenes – one example being when he tries to push his own self-confidence when "[h]e told himself that Studs Lonigan was one pretty Goddamn good physical specimen" (YL 54) – it becomes even more evident how Studs' understanding of his identity does not come from within his self, but is primarily shaped by his environment which is constituted by the Irish-American community.

This fixation of individuals on the public image they present to others, and how this image is regarded by these other Irish Americans, is not only stimulated by an inner desire to belong, but even more so by the community itself. The Irish-American neighbourhood "forces upon its children, at a crucial point near adulthood, an absolute submission to its assumptions about the world" (O'Connell 54). These assumptions are mediated through public cultural, social, and religious practices and customs to which the Irish Americans of the Washington Park neighbourhood are expected to conform. Although especially the male adolescents of the community try to defy these expectations from time to time, they are still governed by them in their behaviour, and they only dare to stray from the dictated path to a small degree. Although Farrell's male characters indulge in vices like premarital sexual activity and alcohol consumption, practices which are often turned a blind eye to by the community, they do show conformity in their general public behaviour by joining Catholic festivities of the St. Patrick's parish, by attempting to find a stable employment, and by marrying another Catholic person, preferably of Irish descent.

The community's demand of its members to absolutely conform to its values, and the social rejection of those who actively challenge these values or simply are unable to meet them are perfectly exemplified by the social hierarchy Farrell establishes in the trilogy. While the Catholic middle-class Irish Americans collectively determine the community's expectations,

those positioned on higher or lower social and financial levels are frowned upon. The Gorman family, who displays wealth through elegant clothes and sophisticated language, and refuse Mary Lonigan's invitation after their children's grammar school graduation (YL 36-38), are labelled "high-brow, lace-curtain Irish" (YL 47) by the Lonigan family. As the middle-class Irish Americans unconsciously regard themselves inferior to the Gormans because of their economic success, their self-image as respectable, successful community members is threatened. Hence, the behaviour of these "high-hat" (JD 552) or "steam-heat" (YMSL 383) Irish, and their "nonconformity associated with snobbery" (O'Connell 63) entail an immediate denunciation as traitors who abandon the community in favour of their own, individual interests. Even the youngest community members have already adopted this autostereotypical understanding of Irish Americans who attempt to differentiate themselves from the Irish-American middle-class. The most noteworthy example in the trilogy is the previously mentioned Gorman family of which the father eventually becomes an important judge and the "master-of-ceremonies" in the Order of Christopher (JD 603). Consequently, he is perceived by middle-class Irish Americans as regarding himself and his family as superior to the rest of the community. Studs, for instance, eagerly tells his father as a young boy that all his friends call Mr. Gorman "High Collars!" (YL 48). Furthermore, comparable to Jimmie's labelling of wealthier American citizens as weaklings in *Maggie*, Mr. Gorman is also called "a mollycoddle who ought to be wearing corsets" (YL 63). Thereby, female qualities are attributed to lace-curtain Irish Americans, and a connection between them and a lack of masculine strength and courage is established.

Farrell's Irish-American community does not only expect its members to publicly adhere to its customs, but "also demands conformity of the mind" (Dowd 161). In order for that to happen, children are required to attend Catholic schools because "public schools ain't no place for Catholic children" (YL 39) as they do not drill the Catholic Irish Americans' values into their minds from a very young age onwards. Although generally education, and the entailed development of critical and free thought are frowned upon in the community, the Irish Americans share the opinion that "an education could never hurt you as long as you were right-thinking" (YL 49); right-thinking, of course, equals holding the same beliefs as the rest of the Catholic Irish-American neighbourhood. Beside promoting values such as hard work, the participation in Catholic rituals, and the honouring of the family and the home, the Catholic schools' approach to sexuality is the most drastic and radical. Even after he has quit high school, Studs remembers that "[a]t school, he'd been taught [premarital sex] was the

terriblest sin you could commit” (YL 147). Hence, Studs is not only consumed by a feeling of guilt when he actually has intercourse with girls and women he is not married to, but goes so far as to even censor his own thoughts and mind. During the momentous scene in Washington Park, where Lucy and Studs kiss each other for the first time outside a game setting, Studs reacts to his “thought of feeling her up” by restricting this fantasy, and actively tells himself that “he was a bastard for having such thoughts” (YL 89).

The grave impact the community has on its members is also highlighted in scenes where Studs is partially unconscious and only guided by his sub-consciousness. When Studs suffers from painful fever dreams at the end of *Judgement Day*, Farrell stresses the crucial influence of the community on its members’ minds (JD 801-803). During this sequence, community members appear in Studs’ fever dream, and bizarrely remind him of the values that he was supposed to adhere to during his life; Father Gilhooley, the former St. Patrick’s parish’s priest, for instance, demands that one should “[c]ontribute to the support of your pastor,” and his mother, while standing in front of his former teacher Sister Berta, scolds “[n]o one loves you like your mother” (JD 802).

The assumption that Farrell’s characters depend on the community in order to establish any stability concerning their Irish identity, is further supported by the fact that many Irish Americans cannot comprehend global developments without setting it into relation with their immediate environment. For this reason, Dowd (162) claims that “Studs’ imagination never extends beyond his immediate context.” This is exemplified by Farrell’s choice of how he has his Irish-American adolescents react to the United States’ declaration to enter World War I. Although Studs and his friends are eager to patriotically support their country by joining the military and fighting in Europe, a continent absolutely unfamiliar to them except for the prejudices American newspapers include in their coverage of the war, they lack the imagination to picture the war realistically and comprehend the consequences their participation would have on their lives. Instead, they set their expectations in direct connection to their environment as they are unable to conceptualise a world outside the strong grasp of their Irish-American neighbourhood community. Therefore, they share the unrealistic idea that they “[will] have a company from Fifty-eighth Street” (YL 165) constituted of all their friends. Furthermore, Studs and his friends try to underline their self-worth as a community member by imagining how others would react to their return as heroic soldiers; “how they would come home in glory and victory, marching down Michigan Boulevard” (YL 165), and how Studs as a hero of the country “would make everybody and Lucy envy him and

be proud of him” (YL 163). This shows that in Studs entrapped mind even the slightest attempt of leaving the community is merely rooted in the urge to win the community’s respect and acceptance in the long term.

Although most of Farrell’s Irish Americans comply with the community’s values mentally and in their behaviour, there are some individuals who defy the complete submission that is expected from them. Instead of unreflectively adopting the views of the Catholic Irish-American neighbourhood, they question them and oftentimes strive for something more in life, in order to express their individuality and identity apart from a collective Irish-Americanness. Studs, like those characters breaking away from the community, feels “like he wanted something more in life” (YMSL 264), but never actively acts on this impulse and remains in the grasp of the community as he is only able to imagine success within it. Those characters who adopt different ideologies or embrace “free thought and creativity,” qualities strongly disapproved by the Irish-American neighbourhood (Dowd 161), are either cast out or willingly leave the environment that prevents them from developing and flourishing beyond it. Furthermore, views which Farrell himself seemed to sympathise with, and which do not conform with the community’s ideals, are expressed by a small number of characters. Examples are a Greek waiter named Christy, who argues that the Catholics are all “hypocrites,” and “have a God of fear” (YMSL 423), the “Red,” Socialist protesters Patrick Lonigan encounters in his childhood neighbourhood (JD 832-844), and the speakers of the Bug Club⁴⁶, represented especially through John Connolly who offers to his audience the explanations “the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago” had for urban development, migration within the city, and the entailing “race prejudice” (YMSL 407).⁴⁷

The most prominent example to break away from the Irish-America society that restricts him is Danny O’Neill, who appears multiple times during the trilogy and later becomes the main character in Farrell’s autobiographical *O’Neill – Flaherty* series. Already as a child Danny is labelled “a goof” (YL 83) as he enjoys playing all by himself (YL 83), and behaves and talks slightly different from the rest of the Washington Park neighbourhood boys. Furthermore, he is confronted with negative stereotypes the Irish Americans apply to those who attempt to

⁴⁶ The “Bug Club” (YMSL 403) in Washington Park, which Studs Lonigan and his Fifty-eighth gang visit in *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, was a location where large numbers of people gathered to exchange and listen to mostly political, social, and religious opinions of the period. It closely resembled the “Speaker’s Corner in London’s Hyde Park” as anyone could simply step on a box, deliver speeches, and present one’s opinions and ideas to a large audience. Although members of a broad political spectrum were represented among the speakers, the Left provided some of the most liked and famous orators. (Halpern 111)

⁴⁷ See Farrell’s strong interest in the University of Chicago’s Sociology program in section 6.

widen their horizon through high-school and university education. Those who decide to go to the University of Chicago are considered lawless atheists and Socialists (JD 569), and, therefore, regarded as traitors “who think they are too good for the human race [sic] like Young O’Neill” (YMSL 446). This negative stereotyping even further motivates Danny O’Neill in his striving to establish his own self rooted outside the community, and results in him despising his own identity group; a common reaction of those confronted with the mental stress triggered by negative stereotypes according to Gordon Allport (qtd. in Siapera 114-115). Danny comes to the conclusion that the Irish-American community is shaped by “a downright hatred of truth and honesty,” and “[h]e conceived the world, the environment he had known all his life, as lies” (YMSL 451). This insight allows him to finally feel a sense of “freedom” (YMSL 451) that allows him to establish his Irish-American identity beyond his former community by becoming an author allowing him “to purge himself completely of the world he knew, the world of Fifty-eighth Street, with its God, its life, its lies, the frustrations he had known in it, the hates it had welled up in him” (YSML 452).

8.2. MIDDLE-CLASS MORALITY, RESPECTABILITY, APPEARANCES

As has been mentioned earlier in sections 7.3. and 7.4., Farrell’s Irish-American community adheres to a Catholic middle-class morality and expects its members to behave accordingly. This middle-class morality is constituted out of number of values oftentimes dictated by the Catholic Church promoting sexual abstinence before marriage, the observance of God’s commandments, the financial contribution to one’s parish, the participation in religious rituals, and many more summarised in Father Shannon’s sermon in *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* (435-445). Furthermore, traditional Irish values such as hard work (YL 40) and being good parents, measured by successfully raising one’s children to become respected members of the community (YL19), are crucial to the Irish Americans’ self-image as morally good people. Adhering to all of these values results in the Irish Americans’ highest goal: the individual’s or the family’s respectability, which is judged and awarded to them by fellow community members.

This constant striving for respectability by abiding by the commonly accepted Irish-American middle-class morality and the surveillance by fellow community members entail the formation of a distorted understanding of moral behaviour. Instead of performing moral acts and displaying virtuous behaviour for the sake of developing into a good, righteous, and

honourable person, morality becomes a mere tool, facilitating one's way towards the highest goal, namely respectability. In order to be regarded as such, Farrell's Irish Americans become obsessed with their appearance and simply neglect private inner beliefs and emotions. They resort to publicly performing their respectability like a theatre act in order to delude the rest of the community. For Studs' and Frances' graduation, for instance, the parents dress their children elegantly until the family look "like Sunday, or as if they had just walked out of a dusty family album" (YL 29), and parents "smile [...] with satisfaction" (YL 23) when they notice that they draw attention to the family, by making a positive, respectable impression through their appearance. Whenever the parents' respectable self-image is threatened by their children's misbehaviour, usually by the actions of their two sons, Studs and Martin, the parents and sisters feel humiliated. When Paddy and Maggie Lonigan find out that Studs has been skipping high school classes for several months, the mother reacts by hysterically lamenting "that they were disgraced, and that she'd never again be able to hold her head up, and that they'd have to move out of the neighborhood, because she could never again face the neighbors and parishioners" (YMSL 175). Rather than worrying about her son's future and personal happiness, the family is just unsettled and anxious about what their fellow Irish-American community members might think of them.

Various incidents comparable to Studs' dropping out of high school emphasise that especially "the older generation [is] clinging to respectability" (Branch, *Symbolism* 194), while a considerable number of mostly male adolescents rebel against the middle-class values of the community in an act of defiance. Although Studs shows "good impulses," driven by the Catholic middle-class aspiration of his community, he gives in to his hedonistic urges, and succumbs to "the widespread corruptions of his streetworld" (Branch, *Farrell* 49). These corruptions are characterised by stereotypical concepts of masculinity⁴⁸, and are acted out in visits to brothels, binge drinking sprees, and violence. Eventually, however, the majority of the young men are overwhelmed by guilt and the pressure exerted by the community's expectations. Hence, they seek ways to better themselves, which they are bound to find in the community's institutions and organisations. Studs, for instance, joins the Order of

⁴⁸ The specific manifestations of stereotypical masculine behaviour of the younger Irish-American generation will be extensively addressed in sub-section 8.6.

Christopher⁴⁹ so he can not only take advantage of its charitableness in the form of an insurance, but also benefit from its positive communal spirit that encourages its members to support and guard the Catholic organisation by upholding its respectability through morally righteous behaviour (JD 577). The sense of community that Studs experiences by becoming part of an organisation “so closely connected with the Church” (JD 595), does not only foster his ethnic, Catholic pride and self-image on a collective level, but also appeals to him on a personal level, motivating him to adjust according to the guidelines of the Irish-American Catholic community.

Although Farrell’s Irish Americans are confronted with their peers’ failure and degeneration in relation to their morality on many occasions throughout the trilogy, they still clutch to an autostereotypical belief in Irish-American moral superiority. This act of self-delusion allows them to uphold their collective self-confidence. Studs and his childhood friends, for instance, regard “some girls, especially Catholic ones, [as] different” (YL 146) in their virtue and morality than those belonging to other ethnicities and the general American Protestant public. Despite witnessing cases of female Irish-American degeneration, they maintain the conviction that “the finest and most decent girls are Irish Catholic girls” (YMSL 421). Yet, this self-righteous, delusional idea of Irish-American superiority is exposed in *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* as a prostitute with whom Studs’ gang consorts in a brothel argues that she is “sick of these guys coming here and telling me I’m a whore and not as good as their goddamn wives, and sisters, and sweet-hearts” (YMSL 304), possibly reflecting Farrell’s own view of Irish-American moral hypocrisy.

Farrell’s opinion about morality is also evident in his rendering of Studs’ deathbed scene, an element which was frequently used in Irish-American moralising fiction during the 19th century. While the 19th-century deathbed scene usually described a character’s tranquil and peaceful death while spending his or her last hours in the company of loved ones and family members, even receiving the extreme unction by a priest, as reward of a morally righteous life, Farrell appropriates this traditional theme and transforms it according to his view of the Irish-American sense of self (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 76-77). Studs breached many of the moral middle-class guidelines during his life. Yet, he dies surrounded by family and is even seen by

⁴⁹ According to Fanning (*Irish Voice*, 264), the Order of Christopher was inspired by the real-world organisation the Knights of Columbus. This Catholic organisation, which was founded in 1882 in New Haven, Connecticut, and which exists to this day, was based on values such as Catholic masculine fraternity and charity (Hearn “*Knights of Columbus*”). Furthermore, families were provided with a form of financial life insurance issued to them in the case of a member’s death (Hearn “*Knights of Columbus*”).

a priest for his final Catholic rites. Despite the fact that Studs is dying in an environment that, according to the Irish-American writing tradition, is supposed to guarantee a peaceful transition into the afterlife, Farrell lets Studs suffer physically from a burning fever that seems to consume his whole body, and mentally from an erratic fever dream in which he is haunted by characters of Irish-American popular culture and his past. These characters explicitly remind him of all the moral values he was expected to adhere to during his young life. Examples are the Catholic Pope, who questions him about his Church attendance and reception of the church's sacraments, and Lucy, who blatantly orders him to "[b]e a man" (JD 802-803). Furthermore, the family, which is supposed to support Studs in his darkest hour, instead only focuses on themselves during the tragic occasion. The women fight about the fate of Studs' sweetheart Catherine and how to sufficiently uphold the family's reputation (JD 851-852), and the men drown their inability to deal with Studs' nearing death in alcohol (JD 854-855). By rendering the Irish-American deathbed scene, Farrell clearly criticises the romanticised idea that moral behaviour conforming to Irish-American Catholic middle-class values must be regarded as the only means for a happy and successful life. Even though the external circumstances might appear in absolute conformance with Catholic, middle-class ideas, Irish Americans are still mentally haunted and tortured by the community's pressure put on its individual members to strive for respectability by adhering to its moral values. Hence, they are gravely damaged in their ability to establish a stable Irish-American identity separated from their immediate environment.

8.3. THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The institution most drastically influencing the Irish-American community's value system is the Catholic parish of the neighbourhood. The Catholic Church functions as an all-determining force in the Irish-American life and almost regulates its every aspect: the home, the family, gender roles, education, and the Irish Americans' most inner thoughts and ideas. Nevertheless, according to Ron Ebest (36), Farrell "was aware of the importance of the Church for Irish Americans as a source of [...] comfort in the face of various sorts of nativist discrimination" that Americans still had to experience in the 1920s and 30s. In *Judgement Day*⁵⁰, the Catholic Irish Americans are still discriminated against by the general Protestant

⁵⁰ The title that Farrell chose for his last book of the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* also symbolises the grave impact the Catholic Church had on the majority of Irish Americans, including Farrell himself. The term *Judgement Day* refers to the general judgment by God "prophesied to follow the end of the world as we know it" when "the

American society as suggested by a job advertisement that Studs encounters during his search for employment in order to support his prospective wife and child. The employment ad says: “MAINTENANCE MAN – MUST BE EXPERIENCED. [...] American. Protestant.” (JD 766; original emphasis), and thereby the advertisement implicitly excludes any Catholics applicants.

As a reaction to this still persisting discrimination, Farrell’s characters seek refuge within the Catholic Church as it boasts their pride in their ethnicity and religion on a social level. It allows them to belong to an organisation bigger than themselves with a greater good in mind. This is illustrated in the scene of Studs entering the Order of Christopher, when he is overwhelmed by the feeling “that the Church was One, Holy, Catholic, [...] and that it would last until Judgement Day” (JD 595). Furthermore, the Catholic Church provides the Irish Americans with a preconceived template of how to behave, and what is good and bad in life (Hricko 162), which allows them to disregard any negative stereotypes attributed to them, since those uttering these negative prejudices are categorically considered unvirtuous people as they do not conform to the Catholic Church’s instructions. Non-Catholics are simply not born “on the right side of the fence” (JD 595), in contrast to Studs and his fellow Catholic Irish Americans. Thus, they are treated with hostility by Farrell’s characters out of a defence-mechanism protecting their own Irish-American identity and pride.

However, this pride in belonging to the Catholic Church does not only manifest itself on a global level regarding the Church as a religious organisation influencing its members all over the world, but also on a communal level. Those Catholics in the neighbourhood “who had rented pews” at the very front of the church during mass “march [...] proudly to their reserved places” (YMSL 310) while being observed by all the other members of the parish. This presents them with the opportunity to publicly perform their religiosity, and to flaunt the amount of money they are able to spend for their parish. As Gelfant argues, Farrell’s Irish Americans “have lost hold of the essence of their religion” (195) to the end that the Catholic Church, and especially its communal parishes, become a mere tool for Farrell’s characters which allows them to illustrate their virtuousness, morality, and respectability in front of an audience. Mary Lonigan, for instance, even though her son lies on his deathbed, is still able to

former corporeal condition of man will be spiritualized, i.e., men will arise in some transformation [...] be judged and their eternal reward or punishment fixed.” (*Judgement, General*” *The Catholic Concise Encyclopedia*)

draw pride from the public Catholic rituals Studs participated in as a child due to the sense of respectability and confidence she felt in these moments (JD 853).

This performance of one's religiosity and respectability, however, is not only restricted to the common Irish-American parishioner, but the egoistic urge to present oneself in front of fellow Catholics does not leave clergymen and priests unspoiled. Father Gilhooley serves as a perfect example. During Studs' graduation he merely performs his sermon by walking "forward on the crowded little stage, pausing to create a dramatic effect" (YL 24), and also his attempt to fund and build a new church is more a public affair that is only supposed to result in the admiration and respect by his parishioners. Clearly, Farrell's Irish Americans are more concerned with the advantages they as individuals are able to gain from being an Irish-American Catholic. Their preoccupation with "worldly" issues entails the total neglect of "spiritual" aspects of their religion (Gelfant 194-195).

In this secularised religious environment, the spiritual guidance of the Irish-American children becomes an empty, hollowed-out practise (Hricko 162-163). Irish-American Catholicism predominantly focuses on rules that need to be followed to become a successful member of the Irish-American neighbourhood community, but at the same time lacks explanations for these guidelines and a consideration of the personal and mental development of the youngest community members. The Catholic schools seem to their students more like "jailhouse that might just as well have had barred windows" (YL 5). And instead of providing its students with justifications for its moral expectations, they are simply forced to behave accordingly through punishments meant to enforce discipline characterised by violence – the "Sisters of Providence" used various instruments "which hurt like anything when a guy got hit over the head with one" (YL 5) – and public humiliation – misbehaving male students have "to go in Sisters Bernadette's room and sit with all the girls and let them laugh at him" (YL 7). This strict and uncritical acceptance of the Catholic middle-class values by most of the children, results in a "spiritual poverty" that, according to Farrell (*How Studs Was Written* 86), shapes the whole Irish-American neighbourhood.

Furthermore, the Catholic teachings of St. Patrick's grammar and of Irish-American parents shows an inability to address topics which are considered unvirtuous in a critical and explanatory manner. The adolescents' sexuality, a topic shaping Studs' thought throughout his whole life, is such an example. According to the Catholic values system that is commonly accepted by the Irish-American Washington Park community, masturbation must be

considered a sin. Studs' father, Patrick Lonigan, therefore, attempts to advise Studs to refrain from it by merely stating in a very awkward conversation that "such things are against nature, and they make a person weak and his mind weak and are liable to even make him crazy, and they are a sin against God" (YL 126). The father's instruction, however, does not result in a healthy reflection of the topic by Studs, but instead he immediately is "ashamed of his body" and "tried his shutter trick to get rid of the thoughts" (YL 127) that his whole Catholic community is unable to explicitly address.

Additionally, Farrell also differentiates between the Catholic Church's effects on the two Irish-American generations and also on single individuals depicted in the trilogy. The second-generation Irish-American women, such as Mary Lonigan and Mrs. Reilley, are depicted as "self-righteous Catholic[s] in the 'holier than thou' mold" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 263), who gain their pride and sense of respectability predominantly through the moral and religious failures of others, and are under constant pressure to publicly perform their and their family's adherence to the Catholic Church's values and commandments. These women's religiosity develops more into an act than a deep, spiritual conviction. When the Lonigan family listens to the sermon of Studs' and Frances' graduation, for instance, the mother's body posture suggests her attempt "to devour every syllable that dropped from the tongue of the noble priest" (YL 27). When her children begin to whisper to each other, she immediately grasps the opportunity to publicly display her respect for the Church by loudly scolding her children and telling them to show "respect for the priest and the people listening to him" thereby "ma[king] more disturbance than her" children (YL 27) in order to reinforce her appearance as a religious, strict mother who deeply cares for her Catholic priest and parish.

The second-generation Irish-American men's attitude towards the Catholic Church is exemplified through a description of the Lonigan father in the same scene. While the mother listens attentively to every word the priest utters, "Patrick Lonigan sat back listening, as comfortable as he could possibly be seated on a camp chair" (YL 27). Instead of fully embracing every aspect of the Church, Patrick Lonigan seems perfectly content with having fulfilled his Catholic duties as a father and church member by sending his kids to Catholic schools, have them participate in all the Catholic rituals (YL 19), and give financial contributions to his parish on regular intervals, such as his regular provision of "a turkey on Thanksgivin' and Christmas" (YL 33) for the nuns of St. Patrick's grammar school. Therefore, one can agree with Fanning in his characterisation of second-generation Irish-American men as "unquestioning but no more than nominal Catholics" (*Irish Voice* 264).

Studs' generation, on the other hand, reacts in different ways to the Catholic education and the strong influence the Catholic belief system exerts upon the community. Studs, for instance, remains a "conventional Catholic" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 264), and wholeheartedly and unreflectively adopts Catholic world views. Although Studs is oftentimes influenced by the hedonistic street-life that somewhat works as a counterpoint to the Catholic Church's teachings and seduces him to drink, to have premarital sex, and to act violently, his religion remains to have a strong impact on his life. Farrell clearly shows the reader Studs' Catholic convictions that he develops as a child and upholds until the last day of his life. Already as a boy, Studs is ridden by guilt because of his first sexual encounter and, therefore, fears to go to hell, which he imagines as "a sea of dirty, mean, purple flames" in which "all the heads of the damned kept bobbing up, bobbing up" (YL 147). In similar fashion, he is haunted on his deathbed by fever dreams which scare Studs with "the fires of Hell burning with terrific heat" (Epilogue 862), and with his fear of being damned because of all the sins he has committed during his life. To Studs, the Catholic faith has become a religion and a "God of fear" (YMSL 423) as Christy, a Greek atheist and Socialist, fittingly puts it.

Other male reactions to the Catholic Church depicted in the trilogy are represented by the Greek waiter Christy and some of the Bug Club speakers, who allow Farrell to integrate an anti-Catholic stance into the trilogy. Although it is known that Farrell's negative attitude towards the Catholic Church has transformed throughout his life into a more positive consideration, the Irish-American character Danny O'Neill probably resembles Farrell's own opinion while writing the trilogy most closely. Due to Danny O'Neill's autobiographical quality, the character serves as the main carrier of Farrell's religious opinions. In the book Danny O'Neill first appears as a little schoolboy who roots for Studs during his fight with Weary Reilley (YL 65), and pops up as a side character every now and then (JD 838). However, the most crucial turning point in the trilogy can be found in the inter-chapter in which Danny finally completely rejects his Catholicism and neighbourhood, and Farrell reveals the hypocrisy and self-delusion that characterises his depiction of the Catholic Church. Although it used to be "the center of everything in his life" (YMSL 451), an incident with Father Shannon has opened Danny's eyes to the self-righteous and selfish behaviour of Catholics. While Father Shannon preaches in a sermon in St. Patrick's church he mentions that he has supported university students who struggled with upholding their faith against atheistic and scientific academic teachings (YMSL 439). Revealing his hypocritical self, the said priest simply ignores Danny arguing that "*he was, for the present, very busy*" when the

boy approaches him with the question “if he could talk with him about the faith, because he was a University student who had lost his religion” (YMSL 451; original emphasis). This incident reveals to Danny that even clergymen, the role models of all the Catholics, do not truly care for their fellow Church members, just as Maggie is rejected by the priest in her search for moral guidance after her downfall in Stephen Crane’s novel. Instead of adhering to the values they preach, such as charity and benevolence, and providing their followers with spiritual guidance, they are unwilling to directly associate with those who are led astray from the Catholic path due to their fear of damaging their own respectability. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the indifferent comment of Father Shannon to Danny’s plea has resulted in a realisation that the Catholic Church is pervaded by “not merely ignorance and superstition [...] and a vested interest” but by a “downright hatred of truth and honesty” (YMSL 451) that spreads throughout the value system of the whole Irish-American neighbourhood.

8.4. THE IRISH-AMERICAN FAMILY AND HOME

Another central institution of the Irish-American community represented in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* is the private home. Due to the “American equation of middle-class respectability with the private dwelling on its plot of land” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 159), Farrell’s Irish Americans, driven by their constant search for adhering to middle-class values, strongly define themselves through their living situation. Those owning an apartment or, even preferably, a whole apartment complex rank higher in the community’s social hierarchy than those who only have the financial resources to rent a flat.

An aspect concerning the Irish-American home that especially relates to the parental generation of Farrell’s Irish Americans is the role landownership used to play in Ireland. The Catholic Irish attached great value to homeownership, of which they had been robbed by the plantation of Scottish Presbyterians on Irish land by the English, and the accordingly restrictive laws concerning Catholic landownership in Ireland. The memories about this injustice, vividly held alive in the collective Irish-Americans consciousness, and the feeling of being dislocated from their old home country to an unfamiliar new environment strongly contributed to the Irish-American fixation on homeownership. Patrick Lonigan, for instance, evaluates his success as an Irish American in the new country through the possession of multiple apartment houses throughout the trilogy. However, when, in 1928, he feels forced to move from the St. Patrick’s neighbourhood to the South Shore due to an influx of African

Americans in the area, he laments that the Washington Park “neighborhood was kind of like home,” and that he and his wife “sort of felt about it the same way I feel about Ireland, where I was born” (YMSL 454). Thereby, Patrick Lonigan sees this Irish-American middle-class issues through the familiar “filter of Anglo-Irish relations” (Dowd 171). He draws parallels between his “white flight”⁵¹ (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 267), which is based on the pursuit of middle-class respectability, and the displacement from Ireland, which was presumably a matter of survival. Moreover, when Patrick eventually loses his apartment building due to the failing of his painting business and financial losses caused by the Great Depression, he is also robbed of the last source providing him with stability in his Irish-American identity. As a result, he questions his whole life when the bank is “taking the sweat of years of hard working” (JD 849). In his understanding of the world, Patrick Lonigan is convinced that he does not deserve such a thing to happen to him because he has been “[a]n honest man all [his] life” (JD 849).

During the 19th century, Fanning (*Irish Voice*, 159) argues, the home also functioned “as a place of refuge from the new society's strangeness and dangers.” It served as a retreat and safe haven, where the Irish immigrants could dwell in familiar customs and traditions which were frowned upon by the general American public. Farrell, however, completely reverses the meaning of this typical Irish-American literary symbol in his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*. The home itself becomes an epicentre of “[g]enerational warfare” (O’Connell 63), family quarrels, and is shaped by the constant pressure executed by the parents’ expectations of their children to conform to the community’s values. The Lonigans’ family dinners usually culminate in arguments between different family members, oftentimes provoked by the parents’ and sometimes the sisters’ aspirations to turn their brothers into more respectable community members. Frances’ attempt to persuade her brother Studs to join the December formal dance of her sorority ends in her furiously leaving the dinner table. The girl is absolutely dissatisfied because Studs neither behaves according to her wishes, nor does he show any intention to conform to the middle-class expectations of appropriate conversational conduct (YMSL 269). The constant obsession of the parents and sisters with the brothers’ contribution to the family’s honourable, virtuous appearance exerts a force that instead of cultivating and strengthening the ties within the traditional institution of the family home, only drives Studs

⁵¹ The issue of the white flight, meaning the migration of white Americans out of their neighbourhoods further South within Chicago due to an influx of African Americans originally from the black belt, will be further addressed in section 8.8.

and Martin away from the home and onto the streets. There, they can escape the surveillance of the self-righteous family members, and live at least a certain amount of freedom.

The constant pressure enforced through the mutual expectations the Lonigans have of each other have a further effect on Irish-American family life in Farrell's trilogy. In the parents' constant struggle for respectability, they absolutely neglect their children's wishes and opinions as "little children should [...] be seen and not heard" (YL 124). When Studs expresses the desire to work for his father's painting business after graduation, the idea is simply brushed aside by the parents because they are only worried about the family's appearance in the Irish-American community and "what the neighbors would think, because it would look like they were too cheap, or else couldn't afford to send their boy to high school" (YL 49). Together with Frances, who shares her mother's and father's view, the parents come to the conclusion that Studs should attend Loyola high school while he only "tried to dissent, but he was inarticulate" (YL 49). The regular occurrence of similar situations results in a general inarticulateness of the children, who become unable to express any wishes and views to their parents anymore as they have been conditioned to assume that they will simply be ignored and not taken seriously.

The inarticulateness within Irish-American families is also reflected in the inexistent emotional relationships between family members. Farrell's Irish Americans "live extraordinarily lonely lives" (O'Connell 61) as they conceal their true feelings and emotions even from their closest relatives and, therefore, fail to support each other emotionally and spiritually in their search for a stable identity. They are simply unable to rely on each other in times of trouble and refrain from freely sharing financial, sentimental, and health-related problems they encounter during their lives. As O'Connell correctly puts it, the "parents and children commonly share only the enforced intimacies of living together" (61). They only live side by side, but never establish a deep bond or relationship between each other as one would expect family members to do. Farrell illustrates these impersonal living condition through Studs' thoughts about the individual family members. About the youngest sister, Loretta, for instance, he marvels how she "really thought of him," and admits to himself that "[h]e didn't really know her" (YMSL 359); she is a "stranger to him" (JD 574). And also his parents Studs perceives as living separate lives despite their marriage. Therefore, he contemplates how seldom they share their feelings with one another, and how they "would so often sit home in the evening, and not have a word to say [...] to each other" (JD 495).

Despite the emotionally separated lives Farrell's Irish-American families live, the family as a middle-class institution still occupies a central position within the community, as Irish-American parents still predominantly define their identity through their children's success or failure. Studs and Frances graduation ceremony at the beginning of *Young Lonigan*, for example, does not merely serve as a milestone and turning point for the lives of the Irish-American youth, but even more so, as Father Gilhooley does not fail to mention, as "an especially sacred and hallowed memory to [those] who are the fathers and mothers of the boys and girls in St. Patrick's banner class of 1916" (YL 25). The graduation serves as an occasion where parents can proudly parade their perfectly conforming children. Ironically, however, Farrell juxtaposes the laudation for the graduating Irish-American children, whom Father Gilhooley considers the finest and most "stalwarts graduation class" (YL 25) of Chicago, and their parents bragging about how virtuous and well-behaved their offspring is, with the children's behaviour and conversations after the graduation. There, they play "kiss-the-pillow," call each other names, and tell "dirty jokes" (YL 44-45). This juxtaposition illustrates the self-righteous delusions the parents unconsciously employ to uphold their image as successful Irish-American parents who raise their children in the right spirit.

However, they do not always unconsciously turn a blind eye to the imperfect nature of their children, but deliberately distort reality to appear as respectable parents. Mrs. Lonigan and Mrs. Reilley, for instance, assure each other on a walk back home after Sunday mass how well-behaved and God-abiding their sons were. Instead of telling Mrs. Reilley the truth – namely that Studs has dropped out of high school because he skipped most of his lessons – Mrs. Lonigan wrongfully claims that she and her husband have come to the conclusion that despite Studs' success in high school it would serve their son even better to join his father's painting business. By prevaricating the truth, Mary Lonigan attempts to save her appearance and identity as a respectable, successful Irish-American parent whose children's lives blossom within the community.

The parents' obsession with their children's conformity to the community that shapes Irish-American family life as portrayed in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* can be also related to the parental generations' belief in their descendants' debt and duty. As Verkuyten states, members of ethnic identity groups oftentimes develop "a sense of commitment and obligation towards" (83) one's ancestors and descendants. In Farrell's depiction of Irish-American community life, this remains true for the older generation, who are convinced that their children are indebted to them, and therefore forced to adhere to their rules and views in life,

and obliged to support them in old age. Father Gilhooley's graduation sermon exemplifies this. He mentions the parents' sacrifice of leaving their home country and crossing the Atlantic, and how they "have suffered and worried and fretted, sacrificed, stinted [themselves] luxuries, in order" (YL 25) for their children to have better chances in life in the United States. Hence, so the parents agree, the children are indebted to them due to the huge sacrifice they had made for their offspring. Mr. Lonigan, for instance, argues that "a father had some right to expect something in return when he did so much for his children" (YL 40), that "[h]e and the mother both had some right to demand gratitude and respect" (YL 124) for all the hard work they have put into their children's education, and that the children "owe" (YMSL 200) them to behave in a way that gives the parents "the right to be justifiably proud of" (YMSL 201) their offspring. The younger generation, however, does not share this sense of obligation and indebtedness in the same way as their forbearers. In his childhood years, Studs does not feel obliged to aid his mother with household chores (YL 55) and also as a young man he sternly believes that "I'm my own boss!" (YMSL 201).

8.5. FEMININITY AND THE MATRIARCH

Concerning the expectations Farrell's Irish-American community has of its members, it must be noted that he differentiates between genders. While women are generally expected to adhere more closely to the middle-class morality of the neighbourhood and any slip is frowned upon or even met with a condemnation of the unfaithful girl or woman, men's hedonistic behaviour on the streets is oftentimes turned a blind eye to as long as it occurs during their adolescent years. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that Farrell depicts his Irish-American girls and women to cherish the community's ideals more eagerly than men. Frances Lonigan, for instance, unquestioningly adheres to the self-righteous world views of her mother and even adopts the same mannerism and expressions. After Studs returns home intoxicated on Christmas day after a night of heavy drinking, Frances practises the same melodramatic exaggeration concerning the severity of the situation by furiously exclaiming that she will refuse to acknowledge Studs as her brother ever again, and uses the same wording her mother has applied on multiple occasions before, namely that she is "[s]hamed and disgraced before" (YMSL 308) other people because of Studs' alcoholic transgressions.

This becomes also evident during the kissing game the graduates of St. Patrick's Grammar School participate in after the ceremony. The girls scold the boys for their cheeky and bold

language use and “giggle[...] modestly after stating that the [...] language was not exactly nice” (YL 43), while the boys crack “dirty jokes” (YL 44) to impress their peers. However, the girls’ conformity to the chaste and virtuous expectations of the community serves more as performance and act to uphold their respectability in front of the group. Although the girls are “acting prim and reserved” (YL 41), they consider it “thrilling” (YL 42) when the boys talk inappropriately, and eagerly join the different kissing games. This absolute concealment of their true excitement about opportunities allowing them to deviate from the community’s expectations is predominantly caused by the extra pressure put onto the female members of the community. Community members think of these Catholic Irish-American girls as “different and purer” (YL 84) than others. The young Studs, for instance, is startled when his love interest Lucy talks about bearing children and having a husband, “because girls like Lucy weren’t supposed to think about such things” (YL 87).

Young men, on the other hand, frequently have pre-marital encounters with girls. While the boys’ escapades are quietly swept under the carpet as long as no real damage is done, these encounters often result in the ruin of girls and young women or at least in their loss of a respectable reputation. Studs and his friends, for instance, call those girls who are willing to have sexual intercourse with them “dirty” (YL 146), and toss them aside after they have gotten from them what they wanted. Furthermore, the double-standard concerning moral expectations of the different genders by the community culminates in the opinion that it is primarily the woman’s duty to fend off any sexual advances by male admirers. In his grand sermon in St. Patrick’s church, Father Shannon argues that a girl’s “most precious treasure” and “finest possession” is “her virtue, her honor, her chastity” (YMSL 442) which she must defend by all means.

Beside the rigorous conformity of Irish-American women to the community’s value system as an integral part of their identity, Farrell also highlights the superficiality generally attributed to their selves. Whilst men engage in deep, complex conversation about politics, social developments, and their work (YL 36-37; JD 578), women are frequently reduced to shallow human beings who are only interested in their appearance enhanced by diets and fashion choices, (JD 516) the furnishing of their homes (JD 572), and their role as mothers. When lace-curtain Irish Dennis P. Gorman and Patrick Lonigan extensively discuss the future of American politics and the upcoming elections, Mary Lonigan’s and Mrs. Gorman’s conversation is reduced to the description as “mothers’ talk” (YL 36). Strictly female topics,

so Studs, “should be taken care of by the wife, and she shouldn’t bother the guy about it” (YMSL 220).

Furthermore, female characters in the trilogy many a time just enter the plot line as tools for male comfort and satisfaction. Although Studs on some occasions hopes that the right girl “might help him find out the thing that was always bothering him without his even knowing what it was” (YMSL 197), he, at the same time, regards women in possessive terms. When Studs sees his friend Paulie’s wife for the first time he is stricken by jealousy because having a wife would mean that “everybody could see she was yours and gave it to you whenever you wanted” (YMSL 219). This sentiment continues even after Studs’ eventually has found his fiancé Catherine. He looks forward to Catherine becoming “Studs Lonigan’s woman,” showing her off around town (JD 516), and plant a feeling of envy in his friends. Another aspect of married life that Studs is excited about is that “he was grabbing himself off a girl who could cook” (JD 649), thereby highlighting that in his opinion a woman’s sphere is the private area of the household.

As demonstrated above, Irish-American women are confronted with more biased preconceptions and expectations: they are treated as objects and superficial creatures by the male half of the Irish-American community, and they have to endure extra pressure concerning their conformity to Catholic middle-class values. Nevertheless, Farrell’s Irish-American female characters lack any sort of moral support system between each other. Instead of standing behind and encouraging each other, Farrell’s Irish-American women and girls indulge in gossip and judging other members of the community. Mrs. Lonigan and her daughter Frances, for instance, enjoy chattering about the recent Irish immigrant Mrs. Reilley and her brogue, “awfully bad grammar,” (YL 47) commonness, and status as a greenhorn. Farrell’s Irish-American women revel in the failure and misery of other women as it strengthens their own self-confidence and allows them to feel superior to the others.

The most influential female character in the trilogy, next to Studs’ love interest Lucy Scanlan, is Studs’ mother Mary Lonigan. In his depiction of the central mother figure, Farrell creates “the first sustained negative characterization of an Irish-American matriarch” (Farrell, *Irish Voice* 271) in Irish-American literature. Like Maggie’s mother Mary Johnson, Studs’ mother also defines herself through religious posturing, and empty religious rituals and practices to stress her adherence to Catholic ideals. Whenever Mary Lonigan is confronted with issues like the public misbehaviour of her children or private family quarrels, she is unable of

mentally sustaining herself, and is forced to resort to “whispering her rosary” (YMSL 307). Yet, Mary Lonigan “is no more a Christian than is the mother whose self-dramatizing howl of sham forgiveness for her dead, wayward daughter ends Stephen Crane's *Maggie*” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 275). The Irish-American mothers’ self-righteous, façade religiousness just serves their own interests, but lacks benevolence and kindness that is supposed to be a crucial aspect of true Christianity. When Studs is on the brink of death due to his pneumonia, which he caught on his job search in order to provide for his fiancé Catherine and their unborn child, Mary at first engages in the religious rituals of the last rite by praying that “[b]lessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered” (JD 812). Ultimately, she reveals her true self-righteous, sanctimonious nature, and blames Catherine for her son’s looming death, shamelessly accuses her of being a “[c]hippy” and “[w]hore!” (JD 807) who is “possessed by the devil” (JD 852), and she even “enjoy[s] seeing Catherine suffer” (JD 807). Furthermore, Mary Lonigan frequently urges Studs to pray in order to find out if he was given the call to become a priest by “almighty God” (YL 125). However, this obsession on Studs’ divine call is not religiously motivated, but rather inspired by her fixation on gaining even more respectability among the community. During Studs’ last moments, she imagines Studs “celebrat[ing] his first mass” (JD 854). Instead of contemplating on how such an official position in the Catholic Church could have benefitted her son’s faith and life choices in any way, the mother just fantasises about “herself giving a reception to friends and relatives, after his first night,” and the “blessing” it would be for “her and her family!” (JD 854) concerning their status as admired, respected Catholic community members.

Like Mary Johnson in *Maggie*, Mary Lonigan also exerts the main control over her family. While Maggie’s mother also makes use of a mixture of extreme physical and mental violence to maintain her role as an Irish-American matriarch, Mrs. Lonigan enforces her role as head of the family only through melodramatic suffering that is supposed to instil a sense of guilt in her husband and children. Thereby, she attempts to pressure her children into the respectable public conduct she expects of them. When Studs, on Christmas morning, returns home in an intoxicated state, Mary tries to create a feeling of guilt within the family members present. By screaming “[a]fter all I’ve done for my children, and suffered!” (YMSL 308), Mary reminds her family of the tremendous efforts she has made while raising her children. This reminder is then supposed to instil guilt and feelings of obligation towards her, which should prevent another shameful incident from taking place. Another example can be found in a scene at the very end of the trilogy. Mrs. Lonigan and her daughters discuss Studs’ and Catherine’s

potential deathbed marriage, and the mother attempts to impel them to agree to her plan to denounce Catherine in public – although they hold the opposite opinion – by crying out how “[her] own daughter [can be] saying such a thing” (JD 851).

Mary Lonigan’s matriarchal dominance over the family is also reflected in the “powerful, distorting grip of the mother on her child[ren]” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 273). The matriarchal figure in the trilogy is not only obsessed with her constant preoccupation with respectability, but even more so by her internal urge to possess her children. When her husband mentions that their children are in the process of growing up, Mary stubbornly argues that “[t]hey’re my children, my baby blue-eyed boy and my girl,” and that [t]hey can’t be taken from me, either” (YL 48). In her effort to keep her children close, she partially succeeds. Although the Irish-American mothers’ constant bickering about their sons’ unrespectable behaviour drives a large number of boys of the community out onto the streets, a subliminal understanding of the mother as a sacred, saintly figure remains.

The unique, strong, underlying relationship between mother and son becomes even more apparent in times of trouble. In a delirium after catching pneumonia while searching for an occupation in the Loop, Studs drags himself home to his mother, and collapses in front of her with the words, “Mom, I’m sick. Put me to bed” (JD 797). Mary Lonigan’s obsession with possessing her children becomes also apparent in “her jealousy” of Studs fiancée, which “persisted like a cancer” (JD 807). She envies Catherine because “she had known her own flesh, her own son in a way that she herself never could have known him” (JD 807). Furthermore, her predominant role in her son’s frenzied death fantasy also proves that she has maintained a tight, deep-rooted grip on Studs’ mind over all the years. Farrell’s first version of the scene depicting Studs’ dream on his deathbed, involves various important figures in his life and from popular culture, but predominantly features ghastly, distorted representations of his mother and the world view she represents. In the dream sequence, she sternly utters phrases like “No one loves you like your mother,” and “God punishes a son who dishonors his mother” (Epilogue 873). Additionally, the second version of the death fantasy ends with a verse representing the portrayal of the mother in the trilogy as desired by Farrell’s Irish-American mothers:

M is the million things she did for you.
 O means only that she's growing older
 T is for the tears she shed to save you.
 H is for her heart of purest gold
 E is for her eyes with lovelight shining
 R is right and right she'll always be.
 P ut them all together, they spell Mother
 A word that means the world to me. (Epilogue 874)

8.6. MASCULINITY, PERFORMANCE, POPULAR CULTURE

While Irish-American middle-class mothers of the first immigrant generation oftentimes assume a leading role within the family, Farrell's fathers are mainly forced to a subordinate position, and some of them Farrell even presents as "henpecked husband[s]" (YL 29). These first-generation Irish-American men define their masculinity predominantly through their role as financial providers for their family, their homeownership, their membership and financial support of a Catholic parish, and through childhood and adolescent memories of a glorious, wild, and adventurous past. Fanning (*Irish Voice* 268), for instance, also argues that Patrick "Lonigan's happiness" derives from his position as "a Catholic family man and a supporter of his parish institutions," and his "identity [is] embodied in his position and property in St. Patrick's parish, Washington Park." However, Paddy Lonigan's confidence growing out of his conviction that "he has been a good Catholic, and a good American, a good father, and a good husband" (YL 16) who was able to provide his family with a respectable roof over their head and a proper Catholic education is further intensified by his feeling "that he had earned the[se] good things he had" (YL 19) through his own hard work in a country that confronted him with many an obstacle. Beside these masculine values of hard work and respectability through homeownership and the success of one's children, the reader of the trilogy also is presented with Patrick Lonigan's pride in his wild side as an adolescent. When Studs returns home drunk after his drinking spree on Christmas Eve the next morning, Mr. Lonigan "quickly precipitate[s] into nostalgic memories of how he had gone on benders in his own day," but at the same time expects Studs to "[d]o not as I do, but do as I say" (YMSL 309).

The masculine ideals that Patrick Lonigan adopted as a young man and child have remained very similar to those defining the lives of Studs and his male friends. The masculine street

values demand these boys and young men to “be masculine, ‘hard,’ ‘tough,’ and never ‘soft’” (Douglas, *Intro* vii), or otherwise be marginalised by those dominating the street-corner society, and doomed “goofy” (YL 83), “fruity,” “a sissy,” and “a loogin” (YL 41). In order to prove themselves as ‘real men,’ they need to publicly display their toughness through violent confrontations again and again, which results in “Studs associate[ing] his Irishness with his physical body and public behavior” (Dowd 161). When Studs decides to confront Weary Reilly “as a way of defending Helen Shire’s honor” (Butler 94) at the beginning of *Young Lonigan*, it is not only this chivalrous motivation that leads him to enter the aggressive, violent conflict, but more so the opportunity to dominate over his nemesis⁵² in a showdown that his friends had anticipated “ever since Weary had come to St. Patrick’s in the third grade” (YL 7), and to demonstrate his strength and masculinity on the streets and in front of an audience that “had a swell time, shifting, shouting, yelling” (YL 65), enjoying violence as an entertainment. Ultimately, Studs’ victory over Weary earns him the reputation as “the champ fighter of the block” (YL 70). It instils in him a sense of pride in his own Irish-American masculine identity, which sustains him, despite his physical deterioration, until Weary’s day of revenge on New Year’s Eve when he beats up the drunken and senseless Studs.

In opposition to violence and toughness, which function as the main guiding principle in the boys’ and men’s struggle for an Irish-American masculine identity, the mind and emotions are presented as entities associated with femininity. Furthermore, similarly to the representation in Crane’s *Maggie*, Irish masculinity, which is based on physical strength, is understood as contrary to “Anglo gentility” (Dowd 161) represented by the lace-curtain Irish, who aim to achieve their goals outside their immediate Irish-American community with the help of free thought and education. Hence, whenever Studs starts to perceive and reflect on his emotions and on his environment in a more lyrical and creative way, “the tough outside part of Studs [tells] the tender inside part of him that nobody really knew, that he had better forget all that bull” (YL 108). Studs “becomes a censor of his own mind” (Dowd 161), and even develops a mental technique to actively shut out any feelings and emotions that deviate from his ideal masculine self: “He imagined that his head was a compartment with many shutters in it, like a

⁵² Shortly after the arrival of Weary Reilly at St. Patrick’s Grammar School in third grade, Studs hits the new student with a snowball, and Studs only escapes a fight by arguing that it has been an accident (YL 7). From that moment onwards, the two boys constantly attempt to prove their masculinity, courage, and strength to each other, and Studs begins to “hate[...] Weary” (YL 7): they become archenemies. This tension results in a physical fight between the two of them, which Studs wins, and for which he is celebrated by his peers (YL 65). Weary’s frustration and anger about his defeat simmer within him throughout the first two novels, and culminate in another physical conflict, in which Weary Reilly brutally beats up the drunken, half-unconscious Studs at the end of their New Year’s Eve party (YMSL 483484).

locker room. He just watched the shutters close on the queer, fruity thoughts, and they were gone” (YL 32). This process facilitates the prevention of “sissified” behaviour such as “to listen or pay attention to such things as bird singing; it was crazy like being a guy who studied music, or read too many books, or wrote poems and painted pictures” (YL 89).

Instead of engaging in these activities regarded inappropriate for a male Irish American, Farrell’s adolescents instead “demonstrate hardness and manliness” through “gambling, drinking, and whoring” (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 23). Additionally, Farrell also incorporates the consumption of alcohol as an integral part of Irish-American manliness. The stereotypical association, prevalent since they had first arrived on the American continent, Farrell re-appropriates as an autostereotype adopted by Irish Americans themselves, which results in a self-fulfilling prophecy within the trilogy. The general American society in the novels still link drunkenness to Irishness as exemplified in the following sentence uttered at a wake: “I thought I came to a wake, but seeing all you flannel-mouth Irish here, I guess it’s a saloon or a poolroom” (YMSL 332) suggesting that they are in premises offering alcoholic beverages. Furthermore, Farrell’s Irish Americans also associate their ethnic tradition with drinking alcohol because “whisky is an Irishman’s best friend” (JD 847). Therefore, it is not surprising that, just as in a self-fulfilling prophecy, Studs “felt proud of having been drunk, and sorry, and rotten” (YMSL 216) after his first time drinking a large amount of alcohol, and he and his friends proudly call their 58th-Street gang “The Alky Squad” (YMSL 278). Similarly to Crane’s *Maggie*, Farrell’s Irish-American men consider the poolroom as a refuge. However, they do not flee from a home defined by violence-ridden conflicts between family members such as the Johnsons’, but they want to escape from a family life that is shaped by inarticulateness, estrangement, and constant pressure to conform. Some of the men’s wives even show up at the poolroom “almost in tears, looking for [them]” (YMSL 214). In contrast to *Maggie*, however, excessive alcohol consumption and horrific states of intoxication are reserved only for the male half of the community. The trilogy includes only very few scenes in which women drink alcohol, and if so they merely consume a small amount so that they remain in control of their moral decisions. Irish-American men, on the other hand, drink in order to enjoy themselves, but also to escape from their obstacle-ridden life during the Great Depression. Paddy Lonigan, for example, decides “to drown his sorrows in drink” caused by the failing of his business and the anticipated death of his first-born son. Many of the drinking Irish-American men, however, are forced to suffer the consequences of their excessive alcohol consumption. The “rotgut” (YMSL 343), a form of adulterated alcohol, which was

illegally consumed during the American Prohibition Era, had grave implications concerning the physical and mental health of its consumers. Although Farrell's Irish Americans are aware of the risks, during the course of the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, a large number of Irish-American men die before even reaching their thirties.

Another aspect of Irish-American masculinity as presented by Farrell that results in severe health issues is the boys' and men's constant urge of sexual conquest. The untreated venereal disease Paulie Haggerty is infected with after he has had sexual intercourse with a "pickup" (YL 150), who he does not even know, is a major contributor to his early death. Although Studs and his friends are aware of the health implications unprotected sexual encounters with multiple partners entail, they are willing to take this risk as "you ain't a man till you got it [a dose]" (YMSL 476). In order to prove their masculinity, many adolescents of the Irish-American community ignore its moral and religious ideals, and indulge in the hedonistic sexual culture that shapes the men's lives on the street. Their imagination is haunted by day dreams in which "one's importance and self-respect depend upon the quality of one's conquest" (O'Connell 58). The obsession with their own masculine sexuality pushes them to extreme behaviour. They do not refrain from paying prostitutes in order "to get it" (YMSL 323), and Studs, in his eagerness to lose his virginity as a boy, even participates in a "gang shag" (YL 144) with a girl named Iris and many of his Washington Park friends. The Irish-American males' sexuality, however, remains within the heterosexual boundaries advocated by the Catholic Church and their middle-class morality. Although Studs once "[is] tempted to take a chance out of curiosity" when two passing "fairies" greet him, his mental censorship immediately triggers a feeling of "self-disgust" (YMSL 465).

These aspects of an ideal masculine identity – toughness, physical strength, withholding of emotions, consumption of alcohol, and sexual conquest of females – expected from the young men by their peers, oftentimes derive from the representations of Irish-American masculinity in popular culture. Dowd (163), for instance, stresses that Studs frequently "borrow[s] identities from popular culture" to gain some understanding of his masculine self. Studs regularly compares himself to famous boxing and baseball legends, both sports which were dominated by successful Irish-American athletes over a long stretch of time during the late 19th century, but also to football players. Studs, for instance, is taught by Mr. O'Brien, the father of one of his friends, that, especially during the man's youth, most boxers "were real Irish, lads who'd bless themselves before they fought; they weren't fake Irish like most of the present-day dagoes and wops and sheenies who took Hibernian names" (YL 78). This

comparison to Irish-American athletes, admired for their strength by all of the United States' society, allows Studs to boost his self-perception as a strong, tough man who conforms to the ideals of masculinity shared by his Irish-American community.

Furthermore, Farrell also illustrates the deep impact popular movies have on Irish-Americans adolescents' understanding of masculinity in the Washington Park community. Farrell even dedicates a whole sub-chapter (JD Section 1 *Chapter Three* III) to the mental connection Studs establishes with the Irish-American protagonist of a gangster movie called *Doomed Victory*⁵³ (JD 538-546) he watches in Michigan Theater. The movie centres around Joey Gallagher, who leaves behind his family and a morally-righteous path in life in favour of a career as gangster and gang leader, which eventually leads to his death in a climactic showdown with the local police force. Joey Gallagher embodies and reinforces all of Studs' beliefs in a tough, strong, fearless Irish-American street masculinity. Therefore, Studs strongly identifies with Irish-American Gallagher (Douglas, *Mass Society* 496), and imagines "he was going to like this picture. It was going to be more like his own life than almost any picture he'd ever seen" (JD 540). Studs incorporates the popular gangster movie and its protagonist so far into his own masculine identity that he perceives Joey's death in the movie "[l]ike a part of himself dying" (JD 546). This full integration of Joey Gallagher's Irish-American masculinity into Studs' identity gives reason to argue that Studs' mind is "a collage of accepted clichés" (Douglas, *Mass Society* 494), and that he simply switches between associating with "simply, ready-made identities" (Dowd 163) he derives from popular culture and the environment surrounding him.

Although self-critical reflections and emotions are considered unmanly in Farrell's depiction of masculine Irish-American life in the Chicagoan South during the early 20th century, Studs ironically undergoes a positive transformation in his mental capacities while his body deteriorates (Pizer, *20th Cent. American Naturalism* 35). Occasionally, he reaches insights into the workings of his community around him and the impact this has on his own public behaviour and self-perception. He realises that "[h]is thoughts and feelings were padlocked, completely padlocked in his mind, and when he talked, most of the time, instead of expressing

⁵³ According to Ann Douglas, *Doomed Victory* incorporates features of "Mervyn LeRoy's *Little Caesar* (1930), William Wellman's *Public Enemy* (1931), and Howard Hawks' *Scarface* (1932)" (Douglas, *Mass Society* 496), and thereby makes use of the most successful movies of the beginning of the 1930s. The protagonist of *Doomed Victory*, Joey Gallagher, most closely resembles the immigrated Tommy Powers of *Public Enemy* as depicted by James Cagney, "that archetypal gangster of the early 1930s" (Douglas, *Mass Society* 496), whose characters' identities are predominately constructed by their immediate environment and "are recyclings" of the "[e]vents and emotions" (Douglas, *Mass Society* 497) surrounding them.

them he was using words to prevent himself from letting them out, fooling people by putting into their minds a picture of himself that was not at all Studs Lonigan” (JD 755-756). During the early 20th century, “masculinity was increasingly an act, a form of public display” and “men felt themselves on display at virtually all times [...]” (Kimmel 100). This pressure in the general American society reinforced and further strengthened the pressure on Farrell’s Irish-American boys and men to publicly perform their masculinity within the community at all times. In *Judgement Day*, Studs comes to the conclusion that, instead of sharing true emotions and opinions, Irish-American men merely present to their peers and fellow Irish Americans a version of themselves that does not truly reflect their identity, but only reinforces their position as an Irish American who conforms to the masculine ideals of the community and Irish-American popular culture.

8.7. AMERICANIZATION AND THE HYPHENATED SELF

Farrell’s representation of urban Irish Americans in the first half of the 20th century also addresses the issue of Americanization and how they perceived their hyphenated identity as ethnic minority. Farrell, being of Irish origin himself and living in an Irish-American community during that period, was aware of the remaining significance the Irish heritage held for those American citizens and their communities. Especially to the members of older generations, such as Patrick Lonigan who crossed the Atlantic as a young boy, their country of origin continued to carry a significant weight in their day-to-day life and in their perception of their American environment, and they still strongly identified with their Irishness.

In the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, references to Ireland and Irish customs are made on multiple occasions in the Irish Americans’ everyday life, but more frequently correlate with major life events and traditional customs. During the graduation sermon at the beginning of *Young Lonigan*, for instance, Father Gilhooley hints at specifically Irish aspects of Catholicism. The priest compares the journey which the Irish immigrants had to undertake while migrating to the United States with the Irish-American school children’s lives, which he calls “voyage on the sea” (YL 25). In his sermon, Father Gilhooley also explicitly mentions the patron saint of Ireland, St. Patrick, “who had driven the snakes out of Ireland, converting it to the true faith so that it had become the Isle of Saints and Scholars” (YL 30). The move from the Washington Park neighbourhood further south as a major life event also reflects how the generation of Patrick Lonigan perceives its immediate environment through an Irish

perspective (Dowd 171). Paddy draws parallels between Ireland and his current situation, lamenting that he and his wife hold similar feelings for the neighbourhood they are about to leave and for Ireland (YMSL 454). Moreover, it is the Lonigan parents' greatest wish to visit their country of origin, where they plan to "take a trip in the old sod and see where John McCormack was born, take a squint at the Lakes of Killarney, kiss the blarney stone, and look up all his relatives" (YL 17). Furthermore, Farrell incorporates various traditional Irish songs in the lives of his Irish-American characters.

However, also the second generation of Irish Americans consider their Irishness as an essential part of their identity, and Irish customs and traditions find their way into their day-to-day lives. As children, for instance, Studs and his friend play a game called "pull-the-peg" (YL 136) which presumably travelled from the British Isles across the Atlantic with the Irish immigrants⁵⁴, and in St. Patrick's Grammar School the students are able to acquire "green-bowed Irish history diplomas" (YL 24). An essential part of the younger generation's Irish identity is also the belief in their ethnic superiority that has already been addressed in the subsection dedicated to middle-class morality. Despite these "belie[f]s in [one's] essential Irishness" (Dowd 172), Studs and his fellow second-generation Irish Americans are unable to fully comprehend the implications of their ethnic heritage. Despite being raised in an environment that values Irish tradition and customs, their upbringing in the United States denies them the possibility to properly relate to their country of origin, and they do not comprehend the motivations and nostalgia that lie behind the traditions which their parents so eagerly attempt to maintain. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that Studs is forced to rely on the Irish-American role models that are presented to him by popular culture (cf. section 8.6).

Lacking their parents' sentimentality, Ireland remains an unfamiliar and abstract concept to those young Irish Americans. Therefore, they do not share the same insights into the realities of this far-away country as the immigrant generation, and do not develop any interest in the topics and issues by which Ireland is riddled during the early 20th century. Studs, for instance, "is ignorant" about those who are "discussing politics and Ireland's independence" (Dowd 164) as Studs understands his identity as being more related to the present ethnic Irish-American environment than his Irish past. When "[a] monkey-faced mick blubbered tears,

⁵⁴ Pull-the-peg, which is also called "[m]umblety-peg," and centres around the successful performance of prescribed knife tricks by all contestants, "was played as early as the 17th century in the British Isles," and includes as a punishment for the loser to "pull the peg out" of the ground "with his teeth." ("*Mumblety-Peg*" *Encyclopædia Britannica*)

whining that Padraic Pearse was dead” during Armistice Day celebrations, Studs has no idea who this important figure of Irish nationalism and Home Rule is, and dismisses the man’s lamentations by referring to Pearse as “whoever that guy was” (YMSL 183).⁵⁵ Due to the combination of the young Irish Americans’ belief in Irishness being an integral part of their identity with a simultaneous absence of true sympathy and passion for Ireland due to temporal and local distance, Farrell’s Irish Americans, such as Studs, “know [...] almost nothing about Irish history and culture other than what [they] learn [...] from movies and popular songs, and [...] largely remain [...] unaware of Irish-American life beyond 58th Street” (Dowd 163), and are forced to revert to “empty ethnic posturing” (164).

As a result of the Irish Americans’ persistent consideration of their Irishness as a distinctive, superior ethnic determinant of their identity, Farrell’s characters remain confronted with anti-Irish and anti-Catholic views by the general American public, questioning their loyalty as American citizens. The hyphenated identity through which Irish Americans define themselves keeps a negative connotation during the early 20th century. Davey Cohen, a Jewish boy of the neighbourhood, after being dismissed by Iris, who is willing to have sex with all his Irish-American friends but not him, resorts to applying various stereotypes about the Irish immigrants prevalent during the 19th century in his anger about the rejection. He regards “the micks, the lousy Irish” as “dumb” – the reason “why they always had to fight with their fists” (YL 139) – and as “beer guzzl[ing]” alcoholics, and perceives “the Irish race personified in the face of Studs Lonigan” (YL 140). Additionally, Farrell incorporates the lingering discrimination of Irish Americans on the employment market (JD 766) and the American Protestant Association’s “anti-Catholic” sentiments (JD 821) into the negative treatment of Catholic Irish Americans by the Protestant hegemonic society of the United States in his three novels. Furthermore, frequent references to Woodrow Wilson, who argued that “Irish-American[s]” are required to become fully American by directing all their loyalty and attention towards the United States (Wilson 30) only two years before “Young Lonigan” takes place, also suggest that the question of hyphenated loyalties remained a profound issue for the self-perception of Irish Americans in Farrell’s work.

As a response to Wilson questioning the Irish Americans’ loyalty to the United States, Farrell’s characters attempt to pledge this very loyalty whenever an opportunity arises and

⁵⁵ Patrick Pearse, born in Ireland in 1879, was an author, “poet and dramatist” who functioned as a leading figure in Ireland’s struggle for absolute independence from England. Due to his prominent role in the Easter Rising of 1916 he “was executed in Kilmainham Gaol on 3 May” of the same year by the British government. (Pierce 260)

develop what Dowd (166) terms “hyper-Americanism.” The pressure exerted by the critical, sometimes even hostile general American public induces in Irish Americans a constant inner urge to prove their successful assimilation to their fellow citizens “in fervent proclamations of patriotism” (O’Connell 62). In *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, the United States’ entry into World War I in 1917 presented itself as the perfect circumstances for Farrell’s Irish-American community to prove their allegiance to and patriotism for their country in a public manner. The young boys of the neighbourhood “have an imitation war” (YMSL 174) on the streets, digging trenches, throwing cans instead of grenades, and most importantly arguing about which team is allowed to embody the American army as “if you guys was patriots you’d want to be the Germans anyway because you’re getting licked” (YMSL 175-176). The patriotic posturing also shapes the public behaviour of the Irish-American adolescents. Studs and two of his friends attempt to smuggle themselves into the American army by eating a large number of bananas in order to gain weight and disguise their real age as they are still too young to sign up for the war, but get mockingly rejected by a recruiting sergeant (YMSL 167-173).

In a similar fashion, Farrell’s Irish Americans also adopt this excessive patriotism on a mental level and they consider their identity simultaneously American and Irish. During Studs’ fever dream right before his death, the influential figures of his life which appear during this sequence also comprise all-American characters such as president Wilson and George Washington (JD 802). Another example are Studs’ thoughts about his role in World War I as he is willing to give to the United States the greatest sacrifice a human being is able to offer. Studs “was prepared to fight, and, if necessary, die for his country,” and he solidifies this decision by privately “pledg[ing] allegiance to the flag” (YMSL 162). Likewise, during the Armistice celebrations in Chicago’s city centre, Studs’ reinforces his enthusiastic patriotism by “proudly” thinking that “I’m an American” (YMSL 186).

However, not only the younger Irish-American generations strive for acceptance and assimilation in the United States, but also Irish immigrants and first-generation Irish Americans try to Americanize and prove that they belong and are rightful citizens. Patrick Lonigan, for instance, has adopted a firm belief in “the American capitalist ethos of individual effort” (Douglas, *Intro* xiii), the so-called ‘American Dream.’ “I pulled myself up by my own bootstraps” (JD 820) is a frequent statement that Patrick Lonigan utters, hinting at his parents’ low financial and social standing in the United States, and his rise out of these circumstances into a successful career as business man. However, when he realises that he is about to lose

his business and apartment house due to the Great Depression, his whole world view is shattered as his organising principle of hard work does not protect him from the financial crisis. This belief in the American Dream and hard work as a guarantee for financial and social success is inherited by Studs. He is convinced that “[a] man could have anything in this life that he wanted if he had the guts to go after it, and the faith and belief that he could succeed” (JD 526).

The well-advanced assimilation process of Irish Americans is also exemplified through the fact that although the older generations tend to mention Ireland frequently, they do so in a very mystified, stereotypical, and romanticised manner while they remember their life in the United States far more realistically and factually. While Patrick Lonigan mentions Ireland just in relation with stereotypical associations derived from popular culture, such as famous landmarks and tales he had acquired from fellow Irish Americans (YL 17), he “think[s] more often of his American origins in Shantytown than his pre-American past in Ireland” (Douglas, *Intro* xiii). At the end of the trilogy, Patrick Lonigan is subconsciously drawn to one of his old neighbourhoods in times of unrest and sorrow. His urge “to look at old places where he had lived and played as a shaver” (JD 828-829) is supposed to distract him from his current hardships, his failing business, and his son’s life-threatening illness, by reminding him of better times in his childhood. Similarly, at the beginning of the trilogy, he nostalgically remembers his childhood in America “around Blue Island, and Archer Avenue” and “Canaryville” where he played with his friends and tricked and mocked other Irish Americans, such as Padney Flaherty, “calling him names, pigpen Irish, shanty Irish, Padney, aren’t you the kind of an Irishman that slept with the pigs back in the old country” (YL 13).

These insults directed at Padney Flaherty and used by Patrick Lonigan and his fellow Irish-American friends highlight another aspect of the Irish Americans’ understanding of their assimilation and Americanization process. While they cherish their Irish heritage and hyphenated identities in a very romanticised and proud way, they also criticise ethnic community members who still display mannerisms, traditions, and language marked as characteristically Irish instead of Irish-American. Farrell’s Irish-American community expects its members to assimilate and immediately adopt the Irish-American middle-class values and language characteristics in order to fully belong to the neighbourhood. Mrs. Reilley, for instance, is considered a “greenhorn” (YL 47) as she is not able to fully live up to the middle-class standards prevalent among the community. Therefore, Frances Lonigan considers her

“ignorant,” and Mary Lonigan thinks of her as “common” and is affronted by her use of “awfully bad grammar” (YL 47).

Hence, it can be concluded that Farrell’s Irish Americans of the 1920s and 30s are aware of their ethnic otherness and hyphenated identities. While they fully embrace their Irishness on a spiritual and romanticised level marked by influences of popular culture and traditions inherited from earlier generations, they also attempt to highlight their Americanness. They understand themselves as rightful citizens and society members of the United States, and strive for a public display of this Americanness through over-exaggerated displays of patriotism and the condemnation of those Irish Americans who are unable or unwilling to conform to American middle-class values. Furthermore, the idea of the American Dream is an integral part of their identity and organising principle of their immediate environment. Farrell’s Irish Americans consider their Irish ethnicity as an established, fixed component of their Americanness and just one legitimate version of being American.

8.8. OTHER ETHNICITIES AND IRISH-AMERICAN RACISM

In order to justify their Americanness and rightful citizenship to those Americans who endorse the nativist sentiments still “persist[ing] in 1920s Chicago” (Dowd 167), they utilise not only extensive public displays of patriotism, but also revert to racism against other ethnic Americans. By differentiating themselves from other ethnicities and “emphasizing the undesirability of African Americans and other minority groups” (169), Farrell’s Irish-American characters attempt to present themselves as “more desirable to [the] dominant American culture” (169). In order to prove that Americanness is an integral part of the collective Irish-American identity, they also create generalised prejudices about the negative traits of every other ethnic identity group. As Irish Americans believe in the homogeneity of the ethnic community they develop heterostereotypes about, they assume that every individual member possesses the same negative characteristics or essence that is asserted to the entire group. Studs, for instance, is convinced that members of one ethnic minority “nearly all looked alike, as if they were the same person” (YMSL 461).

A crucial role in the Irish Americans’ racist belief system is given to African Americans, a minority group the Irish immigrants have been closely associated with during the 19th century. Hence, the Irish-American Washington Park community “detests an abstract, amorphous sense of blackness” (Dowd 170), and stress their whiteness in contrast to African-American

blackness. Comparable to the conflicts between Irish immigrants and African Americans during the 19th century, Irish Americans still make use of biological heterostereotypes and are convinced that African Americans must be “dirty,” stinking” (YMSL 463), and an “inferior race” (YMSL 402). Ironically, the Irish Americans also appropriate negative stereotypes that have been associated with their own ancestors only decades earlier. Similar to Crane’s depiction of his Irish-American characters as a danger to the stability, purity, and order of the general American public, Farrell’s Irish Americans view the African Americans in the same way. The Irish Americans’ conviction that black Americans pose a threat to the community’s safety because all African Americans are considered potential rapists of innocent Irish-American Catholic girls is a recurring theme in the trilogy (YL 18). Ironically, however, the only rape crime relating to Studs’ immediate environment is committed by a fellow Irish American community member: Weary Reilley rapes and beats a young woman on New Year’s Eve (YMSL 484-485). Moreover, comparably to Crane’s depiction of Irish Americans in the context of animalisation, Farrell’s Irish-Americans now “almost think that niggers haven’t got a soul” (YMSL 456), depriving them of one of the most important indicators of being human and not an animal.

Furthermore, the growing influx of African Americans into the Irish-American Washington neighbourhood, and the consequential transformation of the neighbourhood’s demography induces in Farrell’s Irish-American characters the fear of “their community [being] constantly endangered” (O’Connell 62) by outsiders of any kind, but especially African Americans. To this perceived threat to the community’s safety and stability the Irish Americans react not only with the application of stereotypes as mentioned earlier but also with violence and physical strength; two of the main pillars Irish-American masculine identity is based on. They dismiss any scientific explanations by the University of Chicago’s Sociology department for urban development that ironically is presented to Studs and his friends in one of the speeches at the Bug Club as “radical” ideas (YMSL 407-408). Instead they handle the situations as they see fit. Studs and his friends not only frequently verbally assault “niggers,” “dinges” (YMSL 196), “shines,” and “jigg[s]” (JD 788) – all derogatory terms they use referring to African Americans – and eagerly join the Race Riots in 1919 as in their opinion every African American in the city should be hanged “to the telephone poles” (YMSL 217) in order to revenge the death of one Irish American, Clackey Marton. Instead of participating in the

extremely violent clashes of the Race Riots in the black belt⁵⁶, however, the group of adolescents merely come across “a ten-year-old Negro boy” in the area around “Wabash Avenue and State Street” (YMSL 217) whom they undress, “urinate[...] on,” torture with “lighted matches,” and eventually let go (YMSL 218).

Another violent defence strategy that white Americans employed and which Farrell also incorporates into his *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* is the bombing of African-American homes in so-called white neighbourhoods and of homes belonging to real-estate agents selling properties to them. In sub-chapter XI in *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, Farrell addresses the bombing of Abraham Clarkson’s home, “the leading coloured banker of Chicago,” so he would “sell his property and cease living in a white man’s neighbourhood” (YMSL 294). The crowd witnessing the crime scene reacts with the secret hope that Abraham “had been killed,” while the Catholics scattered among the crowd “wished only that it had wounded him, un-mortally, for didn’t he always give Father Gilhooley a hundred dollars in the annual Easter and Christmas collection” (YMSL 294).

Ultimately all the violent defence measures the Irish Americans apply do not succeed, and they feel forced to move in to a more respectable neighbourhood without any African-American residents. Although they hold the opinion that “[n]iggers didn’t have any right in a white man’s” (YMSL 196) area, they give into the perceived middle-class pressure that only allows them to live in a respectable neighbourhood, meaning a neighbourhood without any African Americans. This is already foreshadowed at the very beginning of *Young Lonigan* when Patrick Lonigan reminisces that “Wabash Avenue had been a nice, decent, respectable street for a self-respecting man to live with his family,” but that they “would have to be moving soon” (YL 17) because “the niggers and kikes were getting in” (YL 18). At first, the Lonigan family only moves some streets further south to Michigan Avenue (YMSL 243), but in 1928 they eventually feel the need to completely leave their Irish-American neighbourhood community and settle down in the South Shore neighbourhood. Ironically, Patrick Lonigan sells his home to an African-American buyer. The Irish theme of forced displacement by stronger powers and their “quest for safe shelter become[...] [a] racist flight from a new, black migration to the city” (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 267) commonly known as “white flight”

⁵⁶ The *Chicago Race Riots of 1919* erupted on 27th July and lasted several days. The violent confrontations between black and white Chicagoans were triggered by multiple rumours about a fatal crime committed by a white man against a black child or vice versa, depending on which group was spreading the story. Ultimately, the violent confrontations between African Americans and white Americans involving house burnings, stone throwing, and even gun violence resulted in the deaths of 31 people of both sides and 500 people were injured. (Pavlu, *Chicago Race Riots of 1919* 103-104)

(Ebest 232). They draw parallels between their involuntary but necessary migration from Ireland, and their voluntary move within Chicago due to their fear of being considered unrespectable by their fellow middle-class Irish Americans. Farrell's characters consider themselves as part of "a new urban Irish diaspora" (Dowd 171).

However, not only African Americans are stereotyped and considered an inferior race by Farrell's Irish Americans, but also various other ethnicities are confronted with marginalisation and harassments at the hands of the Irish-American Catholic community. Because of the expansion of Eastern and Southern Europeans immigration in the late 19th century, "the Irish increasingly began to assert themselves as 'white' rather than Irish, thereby distancing themselves from African Americans and other immigrant groups, such as Jews, Eastern Europeans, and Italians" (Roediger, *First Word* 134 qtd. in Hricko 174). In order to strengthen their collective self-pride and prove their inherent whiteness to the general American public, Farrell's Irish Americans adopt counterstereotypes about Jews, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Hungarians, and multiple other ethnic Americans. They want to stress their superiority and Americanness in contrast to "hebe[s]" (YL 73), "sheenies" (YL 78), "noodle-soup-drinker[s]" (YL 137), and "kikes" (Jews), "Polacks" (Polish Americans) (YL 110), "dagoes" (YL 78) (people of South European or Latin American origin)⁵⁷, "[h]unk[ies]" (Hungarian Americans) (YMSL 171), and various other ethnicities as they become aware of the ethnic competition in terms of settlement structures, politics, and employment. If the Irish Americans do not unite behind the Democratic party, so the opinion of one of Studs' political active friends, "the Jews and Polacks will be stepping all over them" (YMSL 235). They are convinced that "pretty soon a man will be afraid to wear a shamrock on St. Patrick's day, because there are so many noodle-soup drinkers around" (YL 79), are worried that other ethnicities "gonna overrun the south side," and ask themselves "where ull [sic] a white man go to?" (YL 110).

Hence, Irish Americans in the trilogy frequently mentally and verbally reinforce their racist prejudices in conversations with fellow Irish Americans, but also in isolated instances of direct confrontations with other ethnicities to defend their imagined supremacy and put the other minority in their place. In order to instil a feeling of superiority of one's own Americanness and ethnicity, however, these situations are usually unfair in terms of manpower. A large group of Irish-American adolescents tends to confront single individuals

⁵⁷ The *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines the term *dago* as an "offensive" term for a person "from Spain, Portugal, Italy, or South America."

just as they treat the single African-American boy during the Race Riots of 1919, and two Jewish boys whom they beat up in a back alley (YL 134-135). Thereby the Irish American men gain an unfair advantage that allows them to self-delusionally conclude that they are stronger and more powerful than any other ethnicity.

Another ethnic minority targeted that experiences harassment and stereotypisation comparable to that of African Americans are the Jews. In the Irish Americans' opinion, "[t]here never was a white Jew" (YL 79). Thereby, they deny them their Americanness. In order to clearly differentiate themselves from these 'un-American' Jews, Farrell's Catholic Irish Americans adopt various well-known prejudices and heterostereotypes that have been propagated for centuries all around the globe. They consider Jews as greedy, cunning, deceitful, self-serving, and unfair. Studs and Weary, for instance, compare Father Gilhooley to a "kike" because "[h]e's always asking for the shekels" (YL 35) during mass, and also later on they remain convinced that for Jews friends come only second but "business first" (YMSL 415). Due to these ascribed character traits, Irish Americans imagine them as opposites of their own masculine values. While Irish Americans predominantly value their physical body, courage, and strength, the more intellectual attributes associated with Jews let the Irish Americans' conclude that everyone of Jewish belief must be "yellow," meaning cowardly and afraid of physical confrontations. When Studs and a group of his friends challenge two Jewish boys in a back alley, they utilise this stereotype in order to encourage violent actions. Red Kelly, one of Studs' friends, provokes the two victims "if you two sons of Abraham ain't yellow like the rest of your race, fight" (YL 134). Furthermore, the Irish-American men believe that Jews compensate their physical weakness with unfair fighting techniques such as using knives in fist fights, and think that their friends "maybe get slashed with a razor" because "they're going to a goddamn shine cabaret" (YMSL 341).

Moreover, due to the integral role Catholicism plays as a constituent of Irish-American identity in the trilogy, they naturally also refer to anti-Semitic arguments derived from Christianity's point of view. In the violent encounter of Studs' and his friend with the two Jewish adolescents, they insult one by calling him "Christ Killer" (YL 134), referring to the biblical interpretation that Jesus Christ was sentenced to crucifixion by Pontius Pilate at the request of the high priest and his people, and also the older generation upholds these prejudiced opinions, arguing that "kikes ain't square" because "they even killed their own God" (YL 79). Correspondingly, the Lonigan parents do not accept Phil Rolfe, a Jewish man courting Loretta Lonigan, due to his religion and the harm such a relationship would do to

their family's respectable reputation. After he has converted to Catholicism in order to earn the family's approval, however, the parents embrace him and the father is "finally [...] convinced that he's one white Jew, if there ever was one. And accepting the faith [...] [they] oughtn't call him a Jew any more. He's on [their] side of the fence" (YMSL 45) now. Although Phil Rolfe's determination to convert was motivated by his romantic dedication to Loretta, "the other members in the family see the conversion as fact that it's better to be a Catholic than a Jew" (Hricko 174).

Additionally, Farrell's Irish Americans blame many of their failings and imperfections on Jewish Americans. This self-delusional behaviour allows them to uphold their ethnic and individual pride as they dismiss any accountability for their own failures and defeats, but can identify a responsible party at the same time. Studs, for instance, associates any flaws in his outward appearance with Jewish physical traits and considers "[h]is long nose [which] was too large for his other features" to be "almost a sheeny's nose" (YL 5). Moreover, if someone steals and is therefore considered greedy and corrupt, it is agreed by the Irish Americans that "[h]e should have been a nigger or a hebe instead of Irish" (YL 73). Moreover, any displays of physical weakness or fear result in a comparison to what the Irish-American community considers Jewish cowardice and physical weakness.

Most importantly, however, they are blamed as conspirators behind the influx of African Americans in the Irish-American neighbourhood and more globally for the Great Depression. Irish-American adults in the trilogy frequently complain about Jews, who are buying themselves into the Irish-American neighbourhood just to sell their properties to African Americans at a profit. They think that "those kike real-estate bastards are getting in [...] to sell to niggers" (YMSL 375). Ironically, however, it is Patrick Lonigan himself who sells his home to an African American in order to move into what he considers a more respectable neighbourhood. When the repercussions of the Great Depression begin to influence more and more Catholic Irish Americans, many of them eventually adopt more radical anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. Patrick Lonigan, inspired by "radio priest, Father Moylan from the Shrine of The Little Rose of Jesus Christ" (JD 825)⁵⁸, believes that president "Hoover [is] only a tool of the Jew international bankers" (JD 550). As a consequence, Patrick Lonigan is convinced, that the Jewish strive for "greedy profit," and that "the trickery of the Jew bankers was

⁵⁸ According to Hricko (179), the character Father Moylan is inspired by a popular anti-Semitic Catholic radio priest called Charles Coughlin "who spoke out against the Communist Party in Chicago," and criticised the hedonist mentality of the jazz age as harming morality in the 1930s.

causing the depression and ruining him” (JD 825). To Patrick Lonigan, the Jewish minority serves as the perfect scapegoat for the country’s and his own hardships.

These racist and prejudiced tendencies pervade Farrell’s whole Irish-American community. Those who deviate from this racist understanding of other ethnicities as un-American and inferior to Irish Americans “are expelled by one means or another from the Irish-Catholic Chicago community” (Douglas, *Mass Society* 492). Danny O’Neill leaves the community as a disillusioned outcast due to his university education, his intellectual aspirations, and his hope that in the future African Americans will have a proper chance at success in the United States (YMSL 452). Any scientific and logical explanations for the increase of other ethnicities in their neighbourhood, the Irish Americans simply dismiss in their self-delusional understanding of the workings of their environment. Thereby, Farrell illustrates the limits to the community’s mental and cultural ability to stray from the community’s prescribed values and views. He presents “[e]thnic prejudice compris[ing] the very identity of Studs and his neighbors; because they don’t know who they are, they cling to their pride in what they are not” (Douglas, *Mass Society* 492). Farrell portrays racism as one of the most fundamental constituents of the Irish-American identity as it allows them to publicly differentiate themselves from other American minorities. Thereby, they attempt to reinforce their own Americanness and whiteness. Ironically, however, Farrell introduces an “inward, self-absorbed” black boy in a sub-chapter at the very end of *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, who now lives in Studs’ old neighbourhood around “Fifty-eighth and Prairie” and is worried about the same issues Studs’ was preoccupied with as a boy (YMSL 487). Although Studs imagines his identity to be superior and essentially different from African Americans, Farrell foreshadows this African-American boy’s life as closely resembling that of his Irish-American protagonist, Studs Lonigan.

9. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Farrell in the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* as well as Crane in *Maggie* both aim to reveal the processes that constitute Irish-American identities in urban communities. They focus on communities in which they have lived at least some time during their life. Irish-American Farrell spent his whole childhood and adolescent years in Irish-American neighbourhoods in the Chicago South Side among fellow ethnic community members, which makes him an insider. Although Farrell reflects upon his characters from a certain mental distance that allows him to question the community's social mechanism, he still portrays the individual characters' confusions about their identity as Irish and American in great depth. He completely immerses himself in the personal struggles of individual characters. At the same time, however, Farrell perceives his Irish American community as typical of Irish-American neighbourhoods all across the United States. Studs, as has been noted earlier, functions as a representative for his whole ethnicity, but is still conceptualised by Farrell as an individual with his very own troubles, thoughts, and character traits.

Crane, on the other hand, had lived in the lower East Side for a couple of years as a young man, but only experienced the Bowery life as an observer. Despite his excessive research when he "was studying the faces on the streets" (Crane, *Crane's Letters* 68), he simply lacks the insights into the customs and typical social interactions of an ethnic community which Farrell as an Irish American is so very familiar with. Therefore, Crane, who also claims that he wants to show the Bowery life as it actually is, portrays the Irish-American tenement life as "an outsider, a stranger, a temporary sojourner" (Benfey 141). His characters are mere types. Even the protagonists do not show the same complexity as Farrell's characters. Except for Maggie, all of Crane's Irish Americans are depicted as showing only selfish and immoral behaviour. The specific personal motivations behind these actions, however, are never addressed in genuine depth as Crane only presents a collective reason for their erratic, egoistic behaviour; namely the incompatibility of Irish-American hereditary traits and their impoverished environment. This enormous contrast between the two authors, namely that one writes as an ethnic insider while the other is a judging observer, also strongly influences how they approach certain topics and themes.

The use of stereotypes is clearly one such aspect that Crane and Farrell incorporate in two very oppositional ways. Crane, for instance, characterises his Irish Americans through a variety of commonly accepted and even nativist heterostereotypes prevalent among members

of the hegemonic Protestant American society during that period. He presents to his readers ignorant, violent, alcoholic, and animalistic Irish-American slum dwellers and, for an ironic effect, he even once incorporates one of the most prominent Irish-American figures into *Maggie*: the comical stage Irishman. Despite the ironic effect of the stage Irishman, Crane contributes with his employment of the frequently used stereotypes of wide-spread alcoholism, violence, and ‘bestiality’ among the Irish to the reinforcement of these negative prejudices among the general American public. However, Farrell does not refrain from incorporating stereotypical representations. Yet, in contrast to Crane, Farrell re-appropriates these stereotypes as autostereotypes. While Crane authoritatively presents alcohol consumption as pure evil that damages the Johnsons’ family life in any aspect, Farrell exposes the complexity that lies behind the drinking culture of the Irish-American Washington Park community. Furthermore, Farrell’s characters also establish counterstereotypes about other ethnicities in order to protect themselves from those who have the same concept of Irishness as presented in *Maggie*. Farrell’s Irish Americans want to prove their whiteness to the general American public, who still questioned their loyalty during that period. This attempt, however, culminates in the emergence of a racist belief system directed against African Americans, Jews, Greeks, and many more. To Farrell, racism becomes an integral part of Irish-American identity.

Some aspects of Irish-American urban life are treated similarly by Crane and Farrell. In both, *Maggie* and the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, for instance, the Irish-American characters cannot imagine a world beyond their immediate environment. In Crane’s novel, nobody attempts to fully break away from their community. The only exception is Maggie herself because she is pure and innocent, and therefore incapable of living within the Bowery community shaped by violence, alcohol, and a selfish pursuit of respectability incompatible with the actual economic realities. Yet in exile the girl, who “blossomed in a mud puddle” (MGS 22), is also unable to survive, and she tragically commits suicide. Nevertheless, the only pure character in *Maggie* seems to imply that Crane is convinced that social reform is possible if someone sincerely supports those who want to escape the Bowery tenements. Farrell, however, is convinced that breaking away from one’s Irish-American community definitely leads his Irish-American characters to a more authentic and freer life; this is hardly surprising given the overlap between the subsidiary character Danny O’Neill’s life and Farrell’s own biography. The “goofy” (YL 83) and highly intelligent boy tries to improve his chances in life by enrolling at the University at Chicago, and is rejected by his fellow Irish Americans as a

traitor to the ethnic community because he is taught non-Catholic ideas at this secular institution. As a compensation for the absolute repudiation by the community, however, Farrell lets the semi-autobiographical figure in the trilogy become aware of the social hypocrisy that determines the social system in the Irish-American parish. Unlike Danny, who is able to burst the chains his Irish-American community has bound him with, the majority of Farrell's characters are trapped by a community which demands absolute conformity of the body and the mind.

This absolute conformity of the mind also greatly influences the Irish Americans' "private inarticulateness" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 277) in the Washington Park community. The community expects them to conform to middle-class Catholic respectability in any aspect of their mind, and they become afraid of actively speaking their voice and expressing their private opinions and feelings as those might diverge from the commonly accepted values. This constant fear and pressure reaches deep into the Irish-American self, and Farrell's characters even censor their mind in order to repress any deviating thoughts. This is especially true for Irish-American males and their preoccupation with sexuality, which they attempt to suppress when they grow older in favour of more sincere and respectable relationships. Crane also incorporates the theme of Irish-American inarticulateness in *Maggie*. Yet, he ascribes his Irish-American characters' inability to properly talk to each other and express themselves to their wild Irish, animalistic side. Instead of disclosing any psychological or emotional reasons for their ineffective communication, Crane implies that their inarticulateness can be explained through their biological, inherent essence. Like animals, they only interact with howls, roars, and shrieks.

Another traditional Irish-American theme is rendered by both authors. The home and the family as a welcoming, familiar refuge from hostile forces on the streets is transformed by Farrell as well as Crane. In *Maggie*, the tenement home and the family interactions are predominantly shaped by physical and mental violence between the different family members, and a climate of constant fear and warfare is created. In Farrell's Irish-American Lonigan family, conflicts only very rarely culminate in physical violence, and if so this is purely restricted to the men. Nevertheless, Farrell also denies the Irish-American home the role of a safe haven as the constant pressure of parents and sisters, who expect all family members to adhere to Catholic middle-class respectability, only generates tension. Especially the overbearing role of the Irish-American matriarch contributes to that unpleasant atmosphere.

To gain at least a degree of personal freedom, they boys escape onto the streets where they indulge in a hedonistic lifestyle characterised by alcohol, sexuality, and masculine toughness.

Concerning the role of religion, the two authors clearly exhibit easily perceptible differences. While Crane as well as Farrell perceive Catholic Christianity as a hypocritical means that only serves to self-delusionally reinforce one's feeling of superiority and to gain personal advantages in terms of a respectable appearance, the extent to which the two writers engage in the description of the different religious practices greatly varies. Crane, unaware of Catholic customs such as the collective mourning for another woman's child, does not describe the Johnsons' religiosity in great detail. Farrell, on the other hand, establishes the Catholic belief system and the Irish-American parish as one of the main moral guiding principles of the Irish-American community, and describes it in great detail.

A guiding principle going hand in hand with Farrell's depiction of Irish-American Catholicism is the struggle for middle-class respectability. Although Crane does not address the Catholic Church in his novel due to his status as an outsider, he also regards middle-class morality as an integral constituent of the Irish-American identity. Moreover, they both share the belief that it is this preoccupation with middle-class respectability that drives their protagonists into their respective tragic fates. In *Maggie*, the expectation to adhere to these values proves itself to be incompatible with the impoverished living situation of the Irish-American Bowery people, who have to fight for their survival every day. Therefore, respectability becomes a mere façade; a situation that Maggie is not able to adapt to. In Farrell's *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, the adherence to Catholic middle-class values is also, if not a façade, at least a possibility to perform one's moral superiority in front of fellow community members. If someone fails to conform to these ideals, it becomes an entertainment for the fellow Irish Americans, but more importantly, an opportunity to reinforce their perceived belief in their personal supremacy.

Yet, the most remarkable difference in Crane's and Farrell's representation of Irish-American identity is their treatment of the Irish-American hyphenated self. Crane, as an observer of the urban Irish-American Lower East Side communities, is not able to elaborate on the issue of self-identification with both Ireland and America. In his position as a member of the general American society, however, he feels empowered to pass judgement about the success of the Irish Americans' assimilation process. Crane does consider American citizens of Irish heritage as Americans who are loyal to their new home country, but at the same time still

implies that their Irish customs of alcohol consumption and chaotic, violent behaviour pose a threat to the stability of the United States' society.

In contrast to this American viewpoint, Farrell's Irish-American life often revolves around the issues associated with split loyalties and a hyphenated ethnic identity. Studs, for instance, constantly tries to prove his Americanness by conforming to the country's middle-class values. Additionally, he also attempts to actively promote the Irish Americans' whiteness – and Americanness – through excessive and exaggerated patriotic posturing as an adolescent, and through the belief in the American Dream through hard work as an adult. At the same time, the protagonist also struggles with his understanding of his Irishness as part of his identity. Although all Irish Americans believe in their ethnic superiority and show immense pride in their heritage, especially the younger generation has no concrete knowledge about Irishness, and feels disconnected from their country of origin because of the temporal and local distance that divides them. Hence, they are forced to borrow from the only portraits of Irishness that are available to them, from the representation of Irish Americans in popular culture, and from their immediate Irish-American environment.

10. CONCLUSION

As shown in this thesis, Stephen Crane attempts to depict his Irish-American Bowery community realistically. The author is able to add more depth to his representation of Irish-American identity than many of his American literary and artistic forerunners who exclusively drew from the stereotypical portrayals of Irishness on the stage or in nativist cartoons. Yet, Crane fails to thoroughly consider the Irish Americans' own understanding of their identity and self, but instead their identity is only attributed to them from the outside. The stereotypical description of the Irish Americans' in New York's tenements strongly corresponds with the prevalent image the dominating American host society had about Irishness. The "ironic distance" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 213), Crane creates in *Maggie*, results in the novel rather becoming a simple representation of an ethnic minority than a thorough, in-depth examination of Irish-American identity.

In the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, James T. Farrell does not only recreate his old Washington Park neighbourhood and the according institutions – the Catholic parish, the family and home, and the streets – in order to illustrate the Irish Americans' day-to-day life, but he also deeply engages into the inner struggles of these Irish Americans from South Side Chicago. In his novels, Farrell traces how his Irish-American characters construct their ethnic identity themselves within the community. Furthermore, the multitude of individual characters are not considered to be an ethnic group with only one inherent essence that absolutely determines their personal character and behaviour, but instead Farrell illuminates the varying self-concepts of those belonging to the Irish-American community depending on their age, gender, and current social situation. Farrell also places special emphasis on the importance of self-identification with one's ethnic heritage, which presents Irish Americanness as an identity choice instead of a fixed constituent of one's self-concept that is attributed to the individual from outside.

Stephen Crane's *Maggie* and James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* had a strong impact on the readership of their period. Crane, as a member of the general American society and himself familiar with the prevalent nativist prejudices and "ethnic truisms" (Dowd 2) of the period, utilised a variety of heterostereotypes about Irish Americans in his novel. Thereby, "Crane contributed to and shares responsibility for the prevailing ethos of diacritic and social bigotry in his own time" (Wertheim, *Unraveling Humanist* 65). Nevertheless, it must also be mentioned that he intended to depict the Bowery realistically, and his style in doing so

inspired multiple Irish-American realists. Equally important for the construction of Irish-American representations in literature is the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*. Farrell's works instilled a new interest in Irish-American literature after the generation before him refrained from addressing their Irish heritage in their literary works. Therefore, Charles Fanning (*Irish Voice* 260) even claims that "[w]ith this body of work, Farrell almost singlehandedly brought the Irish voice into twentieth-century American fiction."

Setting the thesis' findings about the two literary works in relation to their socio-historical background allows the reader to trace the formation of ethnic identities as based in literature. Thus, the ways in which members of the dominant society make use of stereotypical depictions of immigrant groups in order to reinforce their own superiority or out of fear of a destabilisation of the general society by the unfamiliar newcomers can be reconstructed. Simultaneously, literary works also allow one to observe how members and descendants of those immigrant communities attempt to establish and re-evaluate their own identities within a new, unfamiliar environment. Hence, in this "[a]ge of migration" (Castles, Haas, and Millers 5), these insights into the importance of literature as a potent medium that facilitates analysing the representation and construction of immigrant identity groups should not only concern literary critics, but should also be comprehended by today's general public in order to critically reflect on the representations of immigrant minorities in public discourse, popular culture, and literature in our globalised world.

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APPENDIX

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the representation of Irish-American identity in American and Irish-American literature of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in selected novels of the realistic tradition. It closely analyses the novel *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) by American author Stephen Crane and the *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* (*Young Lonigan* 1932; *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* 1934; *Judgment Day* 1935) by Irish-American author James T. Farrell. Both works are set in an urban environment – the first in the New York City Bowery and the second in Chicago’s South Side – gravely impacted by Irish immigrants and their descendants. Because of this setting and the authors’ aspiration to depict their characters and their environment realistically, the two texts serve as suitable samples of how Irish Americans were perceived during this period. Drawing from the socio-psychological concepts of identity, ethnicity, stereotypisation, and hyphenated identities, and taking into account the socio-historical and literary background of Irish immigrants in the United States, the two works are individually studied in terms of the authors’ use of auto- and hetero-stereotypes, typical Irish-American literary and cultural themes, and the hyphenated identification with both Ireland, their country of origin, and the United States of America, their new home. The following comparative analysis suggests that Crane, in contrast to Farrell, makes use of negative heterostereotypes about Irishness prevalent among the general American society in the 19th century, and refrains from thoroughly addressing the issue of the Irish-American hyphenated identity. Furthermore, both Crane and Farrell identify the Irish-American striving for middle-class values and respectability adopted from the host society as crucial force in the characters’ lives, which eventually contributes to the mental and physical degeneration of the two protagonists, Maggie and Studs. However, while Crane as an American outsider is only able to present a mere representation of Irish Americans in his novel, Farrell’s ethnic status allows him to achieve an in-depth examination of Irish-American identity in his trilogy. Farrell focuses on the Irish Americans’ creation of auto- and heterostereotypes about their own ethnic identity group and other ethnicities, and on the inner workings of Irish-American institutions – the Catholic Church, the Irish-American community, and the neighbourhood streets – and their impact on the Irish-American individuals’ self-identification with the traditional values broadcasted by these institutions and by popular culture. His consideration of Irish-American identity clearly positions Farrell as a reflective insider of the Irish American community in the United States.

KEYWORDS

Irish immigrants; Irish Americans; Irish-American literature; Irish-American stereotypes; hyphenated self; identity; ethnicity; Stephen Crane; *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*; New York Bowery; James T. Farrell; *Studs Lonigan Trilogy*; Chicagoan South Side

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN ARBEIT

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit befasst sich mit der Darstellung von irisch-amerikanischer Identität in amerikanischer und irisch-amerikanischer Literatur des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Zur Analyse wurden die Werke *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) von dem amerikanischen Autor Stephen Crane und die *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* (*Young Lonigan* 1932; *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* 1934; *Judgment Day* 1935) des irisch-amerikanischen Autors James T. Farrell herangezogen, da sich beide Autoren der realistischen literarischen Schule verschrieben haben und beide in urbanen, irisch-dominierten amerikanischen Metropolen spielen; ersteres in der New York Bowery und zweiteres in Chicagos South Side. Aufgrund dieser Schauplätze und aufgrund des Anspruchs der beiden Autoren, an sich selbst ihre Charaktere und deren Umwelt so realistisch als möglich darzustellen, erlauben sowohl *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, als auch die *Studs Lonigan Trilogy* eine genaue Analyse der Wahrnehmung von irischen Amerikanern in dieser Periode.

Basierend auf sozialpsychologischen Theorien der Identitäts-, Ethnizitäts- und Stereotypenbildung, des Konzepts der Doppel-Selbstidentifikation und unter Bezugnahme des irisch-amerikanischen soziohistorischen und kulturellen Hintergrunds, werden die beiden Werke zuallererst individuell untersucht. Dabei wird besonderer Wert auf die unterschiedlichen Verwendungen von Auto- und Heterostereotypen, die typische irisch-amerikanisch literarischen und kulturellen Themen und die doppelte Selbstidentifikation sowohl mit dem Herkunftsland Irland und ihrer neuen Heimat, den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, gelegt. Die darauffolgende vergleichende Analyse zeigt, dass Crane, im Gegensatz zu Farrell, negative stereotype Darstellungen von ‚Irishness‘, welche schon im 19. Jahrhundert unter der allgemeinen amerikanischen Bevölkerung weit verbreitet waren, verwendet und dass er weiters davon absieht, die Frage der irisch-amerikanischen gespaltenen Identität zu behandeln. Außerdem erkennen sowohl Crane als auch Farrell das irisch-amerikanische Streben nach Mittelstandswerten und -respektabilität als leitende Kraft des irisch-amerikanischen Verhaltens und letztlich auch als Grund für den mentalen und physischen Verfall der beiden Protagonisten Maggie und Studs. Dennoch ist es Crane als amerikanischer, ethnischer Außenstehender nur eine reine Repräsentation nach eigener Vorstellung möglich. Im Gegensatz dazu erreicht Farrell in seiner Trilogie eine eingehende Auseinandersetzung mit irisch-amerikanischer Identität, da er sich auf typische irische Themen, die Entstehung von Auto- und Heterostereotypen über die eigene aber auch andere ethnische Gruppen und die inneren Prozesse in irisch-amerikanischen Institutionen – der

katholischen Kirche, der irisch-amerikanischen Nachbarschaftsgemeinschaft und den männlichen Straßengemeinschaften – konzentriert. Weiters nimmt er besonderen Bezug auf die persönliche gleichzeitige Selbstidentifikation der Charaktere mit traditionellen irischen Werten, welche von den irisch-amerikanischen Institutionen und Popkultur verbreitet werden. Farrells Darstellung von irisch-amerikanischer Identität positioniert den Autor unmissverständlich als einen distanziert-reflektierenden Insider und Zuhörigen zu irischen Amerikanern in den Vereinten Staaten von Amerika.