

# *Irish Rural Culture and the Bergen Hill Riots: Immigrant Workers and Industrial Protest in the Mid-1800s*

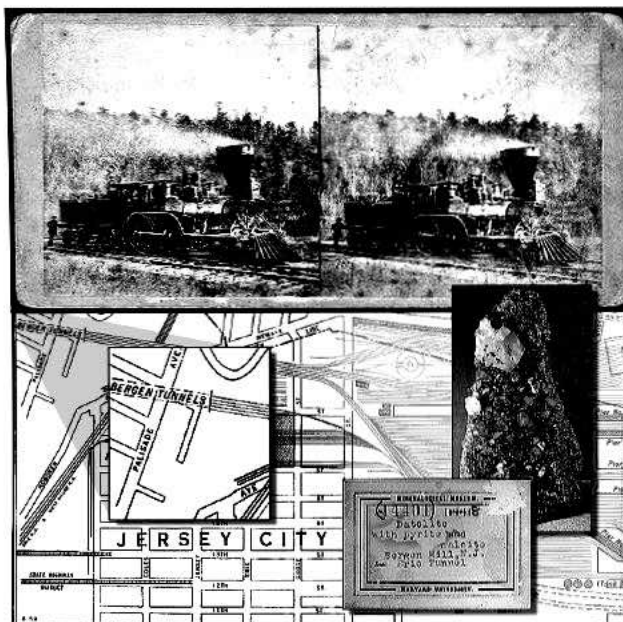
BY HUGH E. O'ROURKE

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Irish immigrants to New York and beyond provided much of the labor for the large American construction projects of the era. The infrastructure building projects, which provided the country with its railroads, canals, roads, and aqueducts, were completed to a large extent by Irish workers. The history of these projects is filled with accounts of collective violence. Immigrant Irish workers were quick to resort to violence in a host of situations. An illustrative local case was the long series of riots that occurred during the building of the railroad and tunnel in Hudson County, New Jersey. The area under construction, now a part of Jersey City, was referred to as Bergen Hill. Many of the issues and problems present at other construction disorders were involved at Bergen Hill.

## EARLY IRISH LABOR EXPERIENCE

Irish immigrants in the 1800s arrived with few industrial skills. However, they were strong and willing workers. Without education or skills, most were absorbed into the construction industry, where over half the employees were foreign-born and half of this number were from Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Irish immigrant laborers were exploited by the construction industry that required their services. While Irish immigrant laborers recruited in gangs completed many of the large canal and railroad systems, the work sites were in rural locations, and frequent movement was often required as sections of the work were completed. Most laborers lived in temporary housing without wives, families, friends, or the spiritual consolation of the clergy. Alcohol abuse, inadequate wages, and violence were constant features in the lives of the laborers. Other employment opportunities in major cities also tended to offer back-breaking labor at very low wages.



Although some labor historians view workers in the first half of the nineteenth century as belonging to a distinctive working class that was in conflict with capitalism, this position does not seem true in the case of the unskilled Famine immigrants.<sup>2</sup> The early Famine immigrants had no history of industrial activity. English immigrants who were influenced by the Chartist movement that had started in Britain during the 1830s formed many of the earliest unions in New York. The unskilled and poverty-stricken Irish of the 1840s and 1850s were usually not prepared to organize unions until they began to gain a foothold in industry. The rioting, drinking, and interpersonal violence of the Irish canal and railroad laborers were not evidence of a class struggle. Rather than developing a distinctive working-class culture, as did other more skilled American laborers, the Irish working-class culture initially tended to reflect the agrarian Irish rural culture. This robust rural culture was highlighted by alcohol, vigorous

*Illustration: An Erie-Lackawanna map indicating the Bergen Hill area, a stereoview of an Erie steam locomotive from the 1850s, and a rock sample from the Bergen Tunnel excavation.*

*Dr. Hugh O'Rourke is Chair of the Criminal Justice Program at Westchester Community College. A retired New York City Police Captain, he is a Roundtable member and frequently invited speaker on the history of the Irish in the New York area.*

*©2000. Published with the permission of Hugh E. O'Rourke.*

play, and faction fights, which continued in their new surroundings.

Irish rural culture was marked by agricultural violence and by faction fighting, which can in part be explained as recreational fighting. By the early nineteenth century, rural protests became a deep-seated tradition in Ireland. Protestors created secret societies that included semi-military organization, special dress, rituals, secret passwords, codes of behavior, and rituals of intimidation and punishment.<sup>3</sup>

In the United States in the mid-1800s, Irish immigrants were noted for their clannishness, which was a result of the disadvantages they had faced in Ireland. Antagonisms turned Irish loyalties inward and created an intense local patriotism that centered on regionalism, religion, and family ties.<sup>4</sup> The English traveler Frederick Marryat, in notes taken during his trip to the United States in 1837 to 1838, commented on the Irish immigrants: "It would be supposed that, having emigrated to America and obtained the rights of citizens, they would have amalgamated and fraternized to a certain degree with the people; but such is not the case; *they hold themselves completely apart and distinct, living with their families in the same quarter of the city and adhering to their own manners and customs. They are just as little pleased with the institutions of the United States as they are with the government at home.*"<sup>5</sup> (italics added)

The Irish in the United States found that they faced injustices similar to those in Ireland. During the 1860s and 1870s, Irish laborers were in the process of organizing a working-class subculture and were on the verge of establishing unions to represent their cause. However, many of their tactics had roots in Irish rural culture. Thus, the organization of coal miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania used the faction-fighting and secret-society format that was familiar to the downtrodden Irish workers.

When the coal miners were unable to achieve satisfactory representation by the fledgling Workingman's Benevolent Association (WBA), founded in 1868, they reverted to the secret-society and faction-fight model. The Irish workers had the Ancient Order of Hibernians in their communities. The AOH provided an organization for a primitive union that would be used to formulate attacks against the mine operators. The

workers adopted the name "Molly Maguires" to safeguard the WBA and the AOH. (The Molly Maguires were a secret faction in Ireland that attacked its enemies during agrarian strife.) The Molly Maguires used a style of agrarian violence that originated in north central Ireland between 1760 and 1850. Employing "retributive justice," the Irish struck back at their oppressors in rural Ireland and in industrial America. In Ireland, landlords, their agents, policemen, magistrates, and other farmers were subject to assault, arson attacks, cattle maiming, and murder. Many of the same tactics were used in Pennsylvania against mine owners, policemen, municipal officials, and mine superintendents. The Molly Maguires also found that their enemies appeared to be the same English and Protestant antagonists who caused them so many problems in Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

Historian Charles Tilly (1969) classified collective violence as *primitive*, *reactionary*, or *modern*.<sup>7</sup> Primitive violence is most often associated with local people dissociated from a central power. The violence is usually directed against members of rival groups and includes feuds, brawls, and religious rivalries. However, the notion of traditional enemies can be only a pretext for the collective violence. Much of this violence is for "the fun of it," or recreational, and is often present at fairs, funerals, feasts, and other events that bring together local antagonists. It also serves to reinforce group solidarity. Primitive violence is usually nonpolitical and intensely local in objectives and motives. Recreational battling can be considered as a form of team sports in an era before organized athletics. Membership in the group could achieve the goals of physical activity, danger, and excitement.<sup>8</sup>

While looking for deeper meaning for human activities, more obvious explanations may be the most persuasive. Conley (1999) explained faction fighting as a response to the monotony of rural Irish life. As the legal system tended to turn a blind eye to the activities of the Irish peasantry, faction fighting and recreational brawling flourished.<sup>9</sup> Conley would generally be in agreement with Jack Katz, who examined the relationship between fun, pleasure, and criminal activity. Katz uses the term *seductions of crime* to describe the situational inducements that lead to violence. Fighting is exciting and fulfills personal needs.<sup>10</sup>

Rural Irish peasants, without exciting recreational outlets such as sports, used collective violence as a socially sanctioned recreational source.

In contrast to primitive violence, *reactionary collective violence* involves small groups in conflict with representatives of the powerful.

Anticonscription, antitax, anti-land enclosure movements, and Luddite actions are a few of the reactionary and backward-looking forms of violence associated with people attempting to hold onto rights that they fear are in jeopardy. Reactionary collective violence is often directed against the central power or the elites in society. It is political in the broad sense in that it attempts to influence powerful elements in society to allow the less powerful to continue in their traditional manner without interference. Nineteenth-century Ireland experienced a great deal of agrarian violence that was based on attempts to regain or control land as a matter of rights or tradition.

*Modern collective violence* is usually the most well organized and has the most obvious political or economic purposes. Modern collective violence involves strikes and political demonstrations, which attempt to achieve new rights or powers. Labor issues, temperance, and suffrage movements are typical causes that have resulted in modern collective violence. Many of these demonstrations are mainly shows of force, but they can result in violence, especially when governmental authorities overreact to them.<sup>11</sup>

#### CRITICISMS OF IMMIGRANT VIOLENCE

*The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States*, first published in 1849, was an early guide for Irish immigrants. Rev. John O'Hanlon, a pre-Famine immigrant, wrote it as a handbook for the tens of thousands who were fleeing Ireland. Rev. O'Hanlon instructed the immigrant on practical issues such as travel arrangements and employment opportunities. He advised readers to avoid public-works projects and warned them not to involve themselves in factional fighting with men from other parts of Ireland. Apparently, Rev. O'Hanlon had become familiar with a great deal of this behavior in his years in the United States. He cautioned immigrants to avoid associating with provincial factions and to avoid strong alcohol, which led to violence. He was aware of the rivalry that was associated with immigrants

from the various provinces and counties, and of the resultant mindless violence.<sup>12</sup>

The editor of the *Irish American*, P. Lynch, was ever the supporter of the Famine immigrants' cause. In 1850, Joseph Brennan, a correspondent for the *Nation* in Dublin, wrote an article criticizing the behavior of the newly arrived immigrants and their quick resort to violence as a problem-solving technique. Brennan stated that he assumed that the Irish immigrants would have left behind their age-old antagonisms

and would have improved their behavior as they no longer faced the same stresses. However, he found that "religious bigotry and party feuds have crossed the Atlantic with our people. Our nature has not changed with the clime. We are the same under the 'star-spangled banner' as under the 'union jack.'" In answering Brennan, Lynch attempted to explain the behavior of the new immigrants: "We do not possess that 'adaptability' which Thierry attributes to the Danes. We everywhere retain our characteristic manners, virtues, and I regret to add, vices."<sup>13</sup>

The New York press was filled with accounts of strange fights involving the immigrants. Fights could occur over trivial disputes. The *New York Times* in September 1853 reported a Brooklyn fight between a gang of Irish laborers over who was the best street paver.<sup>14</sup>

Andrew Leary O'Brien left one of the few immigrant journals from the pre-Famine immigration era. O'Brien was the son of a wealthy farmer in Moileragh, Kanturk, County Cork. He was well educated, and his ambition was to be ordained a Catholic priest. He emigrated in 1837 and enrolled in Chambly College, a seminary near Montreal. However, he did not complete his studies, and he began traveling around the United States. He proved to be a competent mason and found work on the many construction projects then under way.



*Illustration: John "Blackjack" Kehoe, the Schuylkill County, PA delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, also known as "The King of the Mollies." Kehoe was executed in 1877.*

# Times

PRICE TWO CENTS.

manufacturers' and doing business in of Muscogee, in the hundred and of a piece of whom they sole or current demand the one person to significance institution demanded, residing, instance of a ree Mexican this person, as not then demands— to exhibit, ulation, &c.,

William's a headst A William y would al unknown, this sign, verdancy, o the writer no people of waive lawfal people of who shall report hold- k bill—and count, they a director of Georgia upon Hous since slide, OF State, the Govern- King shall e York to dumber, in forgia, he state of th a very re and out- and Meatin Georgia has long time set remon- cruce dep- use Will robot—will denotable life.

ance Bill ditee, n was re- lative to hills on the section, re- a mystery lisent- ly or inst- the side of a beverage, and upon he first of y impres- saps, and for by a time of not, not how seem to be ery, Levera, drinks may be place in not offence shall be the he may be the cause of he act; but used against ury, and the call apply to person of the article, Mar- complaint be- provento to he knows or of a violation U receive far- lars; and for viction, thro- a ticket for paid by the overed; and out, must or upon him by mid-measure, pointed, for is reentry jali set exceeding out offence

at the preti- tians against be compelled a magistrate, me manner as es, upon being pear, he shall ured this act a poor in the ick they were f any fine in- person liable nity jail, and and shall be ore enforcing il be specially adictment all I hereafter to be prevention passed April first day of

tured to his pen accompanied by his bids, and taken rooms at the Hotel Cubens. We had a splendid military treat on Sunday last, and a great sham battle near Fort Principe, in which, fortunately, there were very few grave casualties to our countrymen. The Opera Company closed last night—unless they should conclude to give one more "last." MAX MARRETT has done well—gone to New-Orleans for a trial of strength with his French Opera in that city. The steamship Philadelphia is expected this morning. Anxiety is felt for her safety, being out of time. Preparation for combat with Mexico continues, but war will not be the result. The bark *Mercury* was foundered at sea—crew and officers saved and brought to this port by the brig *Sultan*, and sent home by the United States Consul. Brig *Sultan* lost mate overboard, JOHN RODGE. The brig *Godet* lost one man overboard in bad weather; same not given.

Chancellor, Friday, Feb. 18. The steamship *Isabel*, with Key West and Havana cargo to the 15th inst., has arrived at this port. The news is that she is laden with gold. Among her passengers are MAX MARRETT and his opera troupe. The British ship *Orion* had gone to pieces. A telegraph company had been formed in Havana to lay a cable to Key West. Dr. Kane's health had much improved. Carthage's correspondence says that the British would not carry into effect the blockade until the middle of Congress's session. The *Republic* City arrived at Havana on the 4th inst. Sugar was active and molasses dull, with small receipts.

PAUGET-A-BATTLE! An Irish Riot in Hudson City, N. J. A Free Fight 'twixt Corkonians and Fardowns. One Dead, Several Fatally Wounded, and about Fifty taken Prisoners. THE NEW-JERSEY MILITIA CALLED OUT. Word having reached us Saturday evening that a terrible riot was raging at the Erie Railroad Improvements in Hudson City, (about two miles from the Byll's Cave in Hoboken,) we dispatched several of our reporters to the spot, who found, indeed, that it was a terrible riot. It took no little time in the confusion that prevailed to get at its origin,—every man, woman and child having a different story to tell, and it is a burlesque so much increased by the excitement that the more they said the less was understood.

In his journal, O'Brien discussed working on a canal project near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in May 1838. He worked for a masonry contractor in a crew of fellow immigrants from Cork. O'Brien described the deadly rivalry between the Irish workers, who were divided into factions based on geographical regions.

Ireland was, of course, divided into four provinces—Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught—and was further divided into thirty-two counties. Workers tended to associate with individuals from their native county or province. Recurring battles occurred between immigrant factions from these various regions. This fact was well known to the contractors, who usually hired entire crews from one of the factions to avoid violence.

In his journal, O'Brien described the hatred between "Fardowns" and "Corkonians" on his construction project. Corkonians were immigrants from Cork. O'Brien incorrectly identified Fardowns as immigrants from County Kerry and other counties in the southern part of Ireland. In fact, the term *Fardown*, from the Irish *donn* ("dark man"), was used to refer to persons from the northern counties of Ulster. It is apparent that the animosities between the two groups were so great that O'Brien had little contact with Fardowns.

O'Brien was candid in admitting that "the cause of this [hatred] I could not satisfactorily discover. I never knew or heard of it till I got on the canal. One of the opposite party dare not seek employment on a contract where the other party were in employ." O'Brien described instances where one faction would attack a worker from another faction and kill him without any cause, other than that he was a member of an opposing faction. These attacks were daily occurrences, and the huts and tents of the workers required an armed watch at night to prevent attack. The large number of single men on the site and the availability of alcohol, which was dispensed by the contractor, exacerbated the problems. Violence against laborers from other regions was common in rural Ireland. *Spalpeens*, which is what wandering laborers were called, often faced violence when they arrived in an area at harvest-time. The local laboring population greatly resented the competition, and these seasonal laborers were often attacked.

O'Brien left the canal job after five months. He believed that the violence was the result of the Irish laborers themselves. He intended to "never more live where I would be obligated to deal so largely with the lower class of the Irish in this country on public works, where liquor could be had by them at command for I take it, this is their ruin, this is the cause of all their misfortunate proceedings."

**BERGEN HILL VIOLENCE IN THE FACTION-FIGHTING TRADITION**  
A series of riots occurred between factions of Irish workers at the Bergen Hill railroad project. The project was undertaken by the Long Dock Company in 1856 and was completed in 1861. The work was the most extensive tunnel undertaking of the time. The tunnel was 4,300 feet long and passed through solid rock. A riot between two factions of laborers on Saturday, February 14, 1857, resulted in one death and several serious injuries. At the time, the workers were constructing track about two miles from Hoboken, New Jersey. The violence started in the afternoon of the monthly payday. The twelve hundred Irish workers were reportedly drinking and celebrating payday. Corkonian and Connaught

workers were immigrants from County Kerry and other counties in the southern part of Ireland. In fact, the term *Fardown*, from the Irish *donn* ("dark man"), was used to refer to persons from the northern counties of Ulster. It is apparent that the animosities between the two groups were so great that O'Brien had little contact with Fardowns.

to, free... truck, James severe era, I and the day eve In the Kenly pluses with a the rig the k herom made the ric while d A lit on Bet than ab Jane partion on sate Berpen Amm way, with he injuries ciptant the ra prison, nished Who gnosse Every imd ad for sec were be neeprn emerge vity, house, as t the store closed at an the soldiery peared like a and the dist the shantie sionally er During children C looked to day by the more cl meal. At pital street, the all the ir that he, to the b at T o'ole Contemnt ground, follow, us were deta peace. At since had o The follo renty and v or participo Thomas C Paul, Thom James McJ Michlen C nolly, Mike Reynolds, Y Holton, Fran Morrie the martin, Th Shover, Ad ly, Joseph lin, Pat, Mc Sullivan, Thomas Y Many of the time shots, and were seis dence ag An in Hudson This r nary to the turn the affe their pl The C were in urday ni hot and sel thro is being c tic up o These I post in tl this wort, work, he in sio force. S and others keep the ol are live in s of men fro called, ad, naught nu the new their shan ois the c pay-day, a ky in circ simulated, thought spe as about i e number The weapo some of th lege by all considerab body, and from thei after day one doo

factions began fighting, and the disorders spread to shanties surrounding the work site. The factions were armed with pistols, rifles, and a variety of crude weapons. Faction fighters entered the shanties of the opposing faction and beat men, women, and children. Several shanties were burned or pulled to the ground.

The sheriff of Hudson County, Henry B. Beatty, responded but he was unable to restore order. Militia units from Hoboken, Jersey City, and Bergen were called to assist the sheriff. Forty-five arrests were made. Eventually, the riot died out, and the sheriff and militia took control. The next day, Sunday, found several thousand visitors to the area who expected to witness another battle. They were not disappointed.

An issue in the conflict was the location of shanties. The Corkonians and the Connaught factions had their temporary dwellings in separate locations. The Corkonians encroached on the Connaught area, and after a period of post-payday drinking early on Sunday, the Connaught men attacked and attempted to drive off the Corkonians. The battle raged from about 1 P.M. to midnight. The *New York Times* suggested that the riot would have been worse if half of the workers had not been at work in the tunnel. The contractor prevented those at work from entering the affray by drawing up ladders and keeping them in the tunnel.<sup>20</sup>

Sporadic violence continued among the tunnel workers. Some months after the Bergen Hill riot, on Sunday, August 16, 1857, a large party of intoxicated Irish workers began fighting in Jersey City. The police attempted to stop the battle, but were attacked when the Irish united and turned on them. The police made two arrests.<sup>21</sup>

#### BERGEN HILL VIOLENCE AND INDUSTRIAL PROTEST

The panic of 1857 caused financial difficulties for the contractor supervising the tunnel project. Monday, September 14, was payday for the twelve hundred tunnel workers. Unfortunately, due to the financial disorders in the money markets, the contractor was able to raise only \$35,000. In addition, the disputes between the Corkonians and Connaught factions continued, and threats of renewed violence were real. The mayor of Hudson City (later part of Jersey City)

met with the contractor and a Catholic priest in an attempt to prevent violence. The president of the New York and Erie Railroad Companies also addressed the workers and explained the problems in the money markets. Drinking by the unemployed workers exacerbated the problem. The *New York Times* suggested that "if liquor could be kept away from them, there is little fear of any outbreak occurring."<sup>22</sup>



The financial problems in the United States increased and prevented the adequate financing of the Bergen Hill tunnel. Work was suspended on the project in late September when the contractor could not pay his employees. After having missed a month's wages, more than four hundred of the workers gathered to tear up the railroad tracks of the main line. The treasurer of Hudson City, Jacob Miller, addressed the crowd and promised to help them get their back pay, which amounted to about \$15,000. With that pledge, the workers left the area.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the workers left the project and found work elsewhere. The Brooklyn Water Works was at the time constructing the Ridgewood Reservoir. The workers were Irish, and a riot broke out when the company hired some of the laborers from the troubled Bergen Hill Tunnel. The *New York Times* reported that the project manager hired Fardowns from the tunnel project. The *Times* may have been inaccurate, however, as the Fardown faction had not been mentioned in the previous Bergen Hill

*Illustration: The Bergen Tunnel, N.J. East, c1890. Courtesy of the Library of Congress*

*Illustration: (Left) The New York Times for February 16, 1857 reported an "Irish riot" between factions at the Bergen Tunnel work-site where, according to the newspaper, "Whiskey flowed freely...and a 'ruction' was soon raised."*



collieries in England coming out of the mines." The workers were paid one dollar a day. If the workers missed any time at work or if the contractor could not pay them, the workers had little reserve to fall back on for relief.<sup>26</sup>

This inadequate wage was common for unskilled Irish immigrant labor. The great numbers of immigrants pouring into New York City depressed the wages of both skilled and unskilled labor. The *New York Times* reported that it would require an annual wage of \$600 for a family of four to live moderately in New York City. However, few workers could earn the \$11.54 weekly wage that would provide this moderate level of comfort. Most laborers and factory workers in New York City earned less than \$5 a week, and few worked without periods of unemployment during the year.<sup>27</sup>

Newspaper accounts reported other injustices that the workers endured. The contractor established a company store where the workers bought their food and paid for it through a stoppage of wages. The workers complained of poor quality and exorbitant prices. Another problem was the payment of liquor bills out of wages. The boardinghouse keepers provided alcohol to their tenants, payment for which was deducted from the tenants' monthly wages. This practice was stopped by the contractor, who blamed the poverty of the workers on their abuse of alcohol. The workers, liquor dealers, and boardinghouse operators opposed this action.<sup>28</sup>

The problem of the company store and the sale of alcohol to the laborers by contractors was widespread. Unscrupulous contractors provided food and supplies at exorbitant

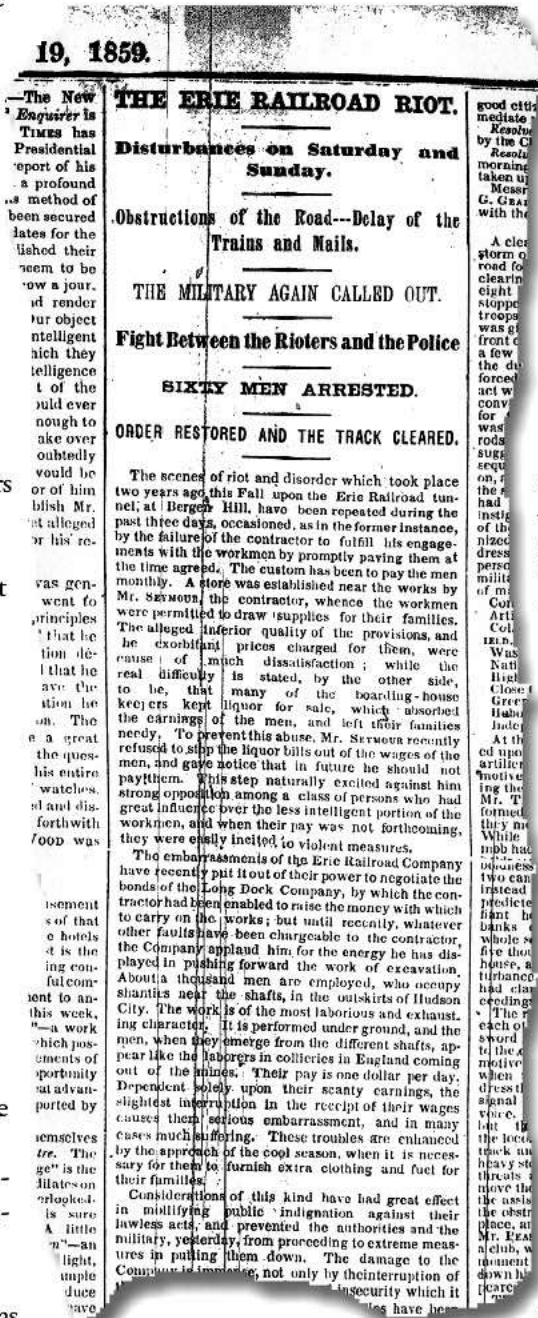
prices. Wages were then paid in goods and in alcohol, which were quickly consumed.

A committee of prominent citizens assembled

in Hoboken and adopted a resolution that was supportive of the Bergen Hill strikers. None of the names of committee members appeared to be Irish. The plight of the workers had struck a chord among some of the prominent, non-Irish community leaders.

Mayor Collard of Hudson City, which with Bergen Hill was incorporated into Jersey City in 1870; various government and railroad officials; a Catholic priest, Rev. Vanetta; and local police officers went to the barricades and unsuccessfully attempted to get the workers to desist. The mayor read the riot act, but the workers shouted him down. Eventually, the militia moved against the striking rioters, and after a brief battle, they arrested 45 strikers. Further arrests increased the total to 72. Most were arrested on little evidence, and 39 were quickly dismissed in court.<sup>29</sup>

No mention is made of factionalism among the workers. Corkonian, Fardown, and Connaught rivalries were now less relevant, as the industrializing Irish immigrants were confronting a new reality, that of exploited laborers. Casting aside regional differences, the traditional violent



*Illustration: On September 19, 1859, the New York Times reported the use of militia and the police against rioters at Bergen Hill, with no mention of factions. Following a large number of arrests, barricaded tracks were cleared and, the paper stated, order was restored.*

response formerly used against agricultural opponents was now the choice of behavior against industrial employers.

The Irish immigrant of the period initially acted according to a cultural tradition that accepted collective violence as both a problem-solving technique and a recreational activity. Collective violence in New York City and the surrounding counties was a continuation of traditional behaviors that were common in pre-Famine Ireland. As the Irish immigrants and their American-born offspring adjusted to life in the city and to the requirements necessary for success in an industrial setting, their traditional behaviors changed. They dropped or modified those behaviors, including recreational rioting, that were incompatible with life in an industrial society. However, some traces of the tradition would continue when confronting modern opponents in the industrial world of the United States.

## Notes

1. Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p. 73–74.
2. P. Way, "Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers." *Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (1993), p. 1397–1424.
3. Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr., *Irish Peasant Violence and Political Unrest: 1780–1914*. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 25–26.
4. Robert Ernst, p. 104–105.
5. Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America with Remarks on Its Institutions*. (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 393.
6. Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 1–12.
7. Charles Tilly, "Collective Violence in European Perspective." In H. D. Graham & T. R. Gurr (Eds.), *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Bantam, 1969).
8. M. Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 76–78.
9. C. Conley, "The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1999), p. 57–72.
10. Larry Siegel, *Criminology*, 5th ed. (St. Paul, MN: West, 1995), p. 115.
11. Charles Tilly, p. 13–29.
12. Edward J. Maguire, *Reverend John O'Hanlon's The Irish Emigrant's Guide for the United States: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*. (New York: Arno, 1976), p. 110–112.
13. *Irish American*, January 6, 1850, p. 2.
14. *New York Times*, September 27, 1853, p. 6.
15. Robert Ernst, p. 105.
16. A. McD. Suarez (Ed.), *The Journal of Andrew Leary O'Brien*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1946), p. 30.
17. Samuel Clark and Edward J. Donnelly, p. 32.
18. A. McD. Suarez, p. 30.
19. W. H. Shaw, *History of Essex and Hudson Counties*. (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1884), p. 199.
20. *New York Times*, February 16, 1857, p. 1, and February 17, 1857, p. 5.
21. *New York Times*, August 18, 1857, p. 5.
22. *New York Times*, September 16, 1857, p. 5.
23. *New York Times*, October 10, 1857, p. 5.
24. *New York Times*, November 12, p. 1.
25. *New York Times*, September 17, 1859, p. 8, and September 19, 1859, p. 4.
26. *New York Times*, September 19, 1859, p. 4.
27. In comparison to skilled construction workers, these workers were poorly paid. A Bergen Hill Tunnel worker earning \$1 a day would have at best a weekly wage of \$6. The weekly wages of skilled construction workers in June 1854 were: bricklayer \$14 to \$15, mason \$10, carpenter \$15, plumber \$15, and painter \$15. *New York Times*, June 20, 1854, p. 4.
28. *New York Times*, September 19, 1859, p. 4.
29. *New York Times*, September 21, 1859, p. 1.