Deborah L. Rotman

# The Fighting Irish: Historical Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Catholic Immigrant Experiences in South Bend, Indiana

ABSTRACT

Father Edward Sorin purchased land south of the University of Notre Dame in north central Indiana in the 1850s and created a residential neighborhood for Catholic immigrants, many of whom were Irish. The university's 2007 archaeological field school began investigating the homelots that comprised this immigrant enclave, known as Sorinsville. Specifically, this study seeks to understand how affiliation with the university shaped use of the spatial and material worlds of late-19th- and early-20th-century Irish immigrants to the city. The archaeological and historical evidence from South Bend illuminates a complex picture that suggests Irish immigrants experienced both alienation from, and incorporation into their new social and cultural milieus. For the immigrants south of Notre Dame's campus, being Catholic was as important to their identities and lived experiences as being Irish.

## Introduction

Archaeological and historical investigations of a late-19th- and early-20th-century Irish immigrant neighborhood in South Bend, Indiana associated with the University of Notre Dame began in 2006. Of interest in this study is how Roman Catholic *and* Irish identities as well as affiliation with the university shaped the ways in which Irish immigrants created new lives for themselves in South Bend.

The archival and material data from South Bend suggest that Irish immigrants to the city experienced both alienation *and* incorporation as they adapted to their new social surroundings. That is, their affiliation with Catholic entities such as the University of Notre Dame, St. Joseph parish, and the Sorinsville neighborhood gave them access to resources, including employment and education, as well as provided a cultural and spiritual community that facilitated their incorporation into local society. These associations also set Irish immigrants apart, however, and led to a degree of alienation from the larger social world of South Bend.

This paper provides a brief historical context for Irish immigration to the United States and the Midwest. Particular attention is paid to the social and cultural landscapes of South Bend into which immigrants were introduced, and where they negotiated their places as Irish Catholics. The documentary and archaeological investigation of the residential homelot of a 19th-century Irish immigrant family is summarized, and a preliminary interpretation of the data recovered during the 2007 excavation is presented.

## Father Sorin, the University of Notre Dame, and Catholic Immigrants to South Bend

Reverend Edward Sorin was an instrumental figure in the early history of north central Indiana. A French priest, Fr. Sorin came to South Bend in 1844 with a small group of brothers from the Congregation of the Holy Cross to establish a Catholic educational institution (Schlereth 1977:3). Fr. Sorin's imagination and entrepreneurial spirit significantly shaped the landscape and the social worlds of this young community and the surrounding area, including the lives of late-19th-century Irish immigrants.

Fr. Sorin purchased a 120 ac. tract of land south of the Notre Dame campus in 1855 (Schlereth 1977:25). The northern boundary of this new community was situated just two blocks south of the main entrance to campus, spanning six blocks east–west and five blocks north–south (Figure 1). Fr. Sorin sold parcels in the "Sorinsville" neighborhood for $25 down, with the balance repaid through barter, trade, or long-term credit agreement (Schlereth 1977:14). He specifically targeted Catholic immigrants, including those of Irish and German heritage, many of whom worked as bricklayers, carpenters, and in other capacities for the university (Giffen 1996:257; McNeill 2008a). Sorinsville was on the east side of the St. Joseph River, part of South Bend's Fourth Ward, and situated around St. Joseph parish (originally known as St. Alexis), which was two blocks south of the southern boundary of the neighborhood. Fr. Sorin

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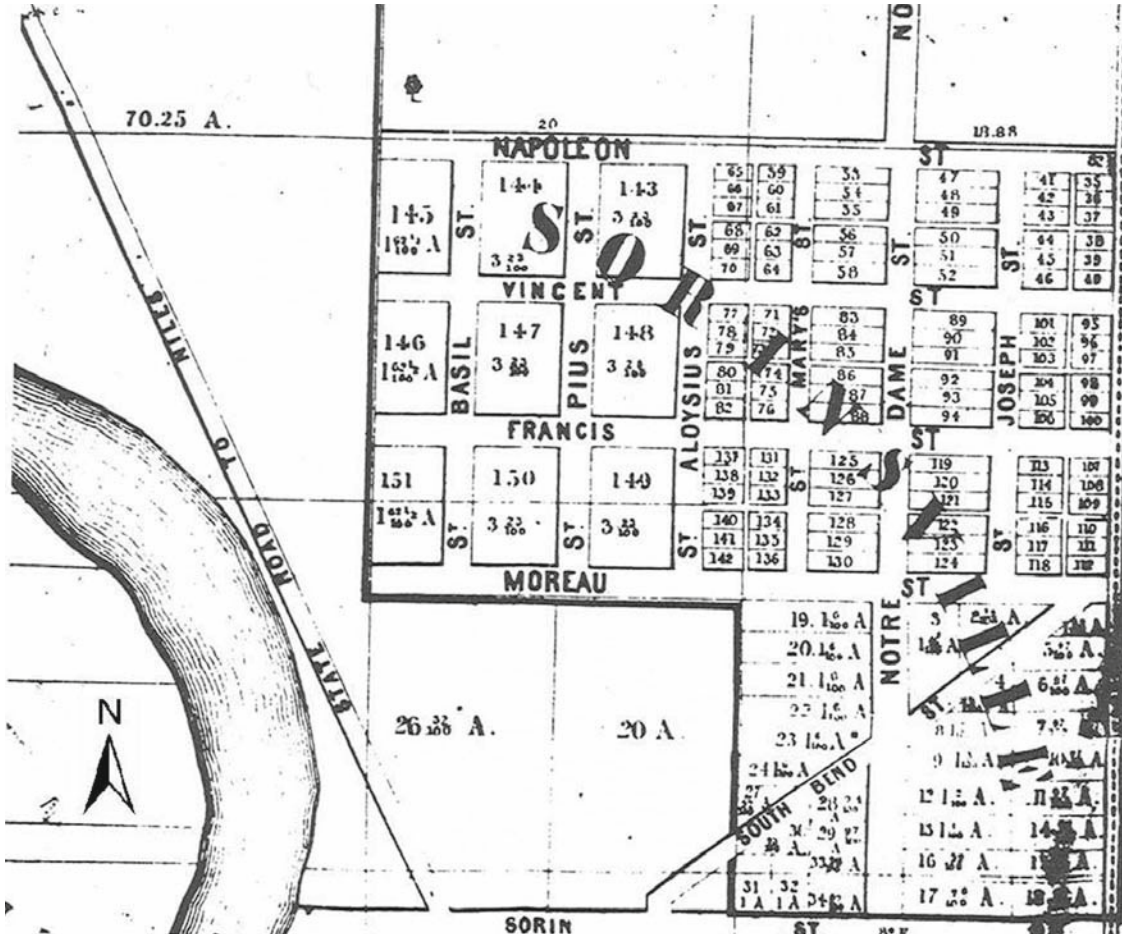


FIGURE 1. Plat of the Sorinsville neighborhood, 1873. No scale. (Courtesy of the University of Notre Dame archives.)

founded the parish in 1853 as a mission of Notre Dame (Dooley [2001]:23).

Churches such as St. Joseph parish were literally and figuratively the centers of many activities which served to isolate the Irish, at least in part, from other facets of social and civic life in South Bend (Dooley [2001]:24). McCaffrey (1997:71) observed that "Irish neighborhoods, focused around the Catholic parish, served as psychological havens, preserving faith, tradition, and values, perpetuating a sense of community." A Catholic identity was particularly important for the residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood for whom Fr. Sorin, the University of Notre Dame, and St. Joseph parish and school were important faith-based entities they encountered nearly daily.

Immigrants to South Bend often lived near their work places, and the residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood were no exception (Esslinger 1975:49; Giffen 1996:257–258). Decisions regarding where to live were largely shaped by a lack of public transportation in the city (Dooley [2001]:23), which necessitated being within walking distance of their places of employment. Living close together also provided individuals and families with religious, social, and financial support (Dooley [2001]:23). Sorinsville was physically located between the Golden Dome of the University of Notre Dame to the north and the spires of St. Joseph parish to the south. Residents were within walking distance of work, school, and worship, while other material needs were satisfied via local shops and businesses within the neighborhood.

Importantly, the relationship between the university and the Catholic immigrants created

substantial residential stability for the Irish in the Fourth Ward. Fr. Sorin may have been motivated to create Sorinsville in order to stabilize the workforce for the university, as much as to help these immigrants create new lives for themselves in South Bend. He once remarked that "The [Irish] are by nature full of faith, respect, religious inclinations, and are sensible and devoted; but a great defect often paralyzes in them all their good qualities: that is, their lack of stability" (Sorin 1992:16; Tucker 2004:epigraph). Underwriting mortgages for Irish-Catholic immigrants and employing them at Notre Dame may have helped to alleviate that particular problem.

Since the Fourth Ward was comprised of four different districts in the federal census enumerations, it was possible to discern some differences between residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood (District 128) and their neighbors. In 1900, for example, enumerators did not gather values of real and personal estate, but they did inquire as to whether families rented or owned their homes (United States Bureau of the Census 1900). If they were owners, it was also documented whether they owned the property free and clear or had a mortgage. Sorinsville had the lowest proportion of renters and the greatest proportion of homeowners, albeit many with mortgages that were likely underwritten by Fr. Sorin and the University of Notre Dame (Table 1). For Irish immigrants, "owning a house was a symbol of freedom and dignity to people who had been landless in Ireland" (McCaffrey 1997:83). Consequently, the arrangement with the university to purchase homes may have been a particularly attractive feature of this immigrant neighborhood—an angle that was stressed in promotional materials of the era. The 1865 *Guide to Notre Dame/Saint Mary's College* stated "Laborers desiring to secure steady work, ground of their own, good education for their children, and benefit of church services daily or weekly must feel how advantageous it would be for them to purchase a lot in this nascent town. … Those already settled here are beginning to display an air of order, neatness, economy, and prosperity" (McNeill 2008a:2).

In addition, as part of what Schlereth (1977:134) called Fr. Sorin's "imperial plans to make Notre Dame a center for all types of Catholic education," the brothers also established a manual labor school on Notre Dame's campus which some of the young boys from the Sorinsville neighborhood attended (McNeill 2008b). The mission of the labor school was to provide "boys of moderate means and sound morals an opportunity to learn some useful trade" (Schlereth 1977:136). Apprentices learned "printing, blacksmithing, carpentering, cabinetmaking, bricklaying, tailoring, shoemaking, and farming" (Schlereth 1977:137). The shoes, tools, furniture, and clothing produced by the students added to "the University's self-sufficiency [and] for a brief time the apprentice shops even brought in a limited revenue when saleable items were marketed in local South Bend stores" (Schlereth 1977:138).

As residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood, Irish and other Catholic immigrants had access to mortgages and homeownership, employment with the university, and skills training for their sons, among other things. Access to these varied resources was granted not because they were

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF RENTERS AND OWNERS IN THE FOURTH WARD, SOUTH BEND, BY DISTRICT

| | Own Free | | Own Mortgage | | Rent | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | Total |
| District 128—Sorinsville | 45 | 20.45% | 68 | 30.91% | 107 | 48.64% | 220 |
| District 127—Precinct 3 | 70 | 27.56% | 35 | 13.78% | 149 | 58.66% | 254 |
| District 126—Precinct 1 | 59 | 27.57% | 18 | 8.41% | 137 | 64.02% | 214 |
| District 126—Precinct 2 | 40 | 19.61% | 19 | 9.31% | 145 | 71.08% | 204 |

Irish, but because they were Catholic. Fr. Sorin's paternalism, therefore, shaped the lives of these immigrants in unique ways. Irish Catholics were incorporated into the Sorinsville neighborhood, the university, and their parish communities—experiences that were both similar to and different from those of Irish immigrants elsewhere in the United States.

## Brief Historical Background of the Irish in America and the Midwest

The history of Irish immigration to the U.S. has been well researched and well documented elsewhere (Adams 1967; O'Grady 1973; Gallagher 1982; Diner 1983; Miller 1985; Kinealy 1995; O'Connor 1995; Donnelly 2001; Meagher 2001). The specific histories of Irish immigrants who settled beyond the eastern seaboard of North America, however, is less well understood, although exceptions include Emmons (1989) and Smith (2004).

Between 1815 and the Civil War, five million people immigrated to the United States; 40% of these—nearly two million—were from Ireland (Bodnar 1996:2). Irish immigrants in America "constituted the strongest current in the stream of foreign immigration" during the second half of the 19th century (Dawley 1976:137). Prior to 1845, experiences of Irish immigrants varied widely according to place of origin, family circumstances, and other factors. After 1845, however, the lives of Irish immigrants were united by the commonalities of (1) the Great Famine and general agricultural decline in their homeland, (2) the changed power of Catholicism in America with the significant influx of Irish Catholics, (3) an emerging Irish nationalist ideology and communal identity, and (4) the concentration of immigrants in American urban and industrial landscapes (Doyle 2006:213).

Historical accounts of immigration tend to homogenize individual experiences; thus, the incredible variation of immigrant stories both in Ireland and in the U.S. is often veiled in anonymous tellings of emigration and resettlement (Brighton 2005, 2007; Rotman 2008a, 2008b). Stereotypes of Irish immigrants were often based upon expatriates in the densely occupied tenements of unskilled laborers in large urban centers on the East Coast, but life in these ethnic enclaves was not wholly representative of the Irish experiences in America (Doyle 2006:219). Those who settled in less urban and less industrial places—such as the smaller towns of the Midwest—were afforded, for better or worse, different opportunities than their counterparts in the East (Doyle 2006:230).

Irish immigrants were limited to some degree by their low social position (Holland 1995:161). Those who were unable to move away from coastal cities and their points of debarkation were usually those who stayed on the lowest rungs of the social and occupational ladder (Dooley [2001]:24). Notably, "newly arrived immigrants to the Midwest were more likely to succeed than third- or fourth-generation Irish Catholics in Boston" (McCaffrey 1997:84).

Irish immigrants began arriving in Indiana about 1815 (Giffen 1996:246). The peak of their immigration to the state was between 1860 and 1920, which was also the time of their greatest visibility as a cultural group (Giffen 1996:244). The majority of Indiana's Irish immigrants came from rural and agricultural backgrounds and lacked the manufacturing skills that were critical for success in America's rapidly urbanizing and industrializing landscape (Giffen 1996:248; McCaffrey 1997:67). Many of them found work in the state on the canals, railroads, and the National Road (Giffen 1996:248,251,254).

Irish immigrants began arriving in South Bend as early as the 1830s (Giffen 1996:247), but they did not appear in significant numbers until 1850 (Dooley [2001]:23). Overall, this immigrant group represented a relatively small proportion of South Bend's population. In 1850, there were actually more Germans, British, and Canadians in the city (Table 2). Other ethnic groups were also present, including Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Swedes, Belgians, and Italians (Tucker 2004:41–42).

An estimated one-half to two-thirds of Irish workers in the city were employed as laborers (Giffen 1996:256). Emerging industrial firms attracted these unskilled factory workers to the city, particularly the Studebaker Manufacturing Company and the Oliver Chilled Plow Works (Dooley [2001]:24). Studebaker, which was founded by a German immigrant family, offered "the promise of a new life and 17 cents an hour" (Tucker 2004:40–41).

There has historically been a longstanding bias against the Irish (Orser 2001:10). The sheer volume of arriving immigrants, along with their

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF THE ETHNIC ORIGINS OF RESIDENTS IN SOUTH BEND, INDIANA BY COUNTRY

| Census Year | Total Population | Germany | Ireland | Great Britain | Canada | France | Switzerland | Belgium | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 1,652 | 40% | 11% | 20% | 20% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| 1860 | 3, 832 | 50% | 24% | 5% | 12% | 5% | 2% | 1% | 1% |
| 1870 | 7,206 | 55% | 18% | 6% | 12% | 3% | 2% | 0% | 4% |
| 1880 | 13,280 | 70% | 9% | 4% | 8% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 4% |

Source: Esslinger (1975).

frequent state of destitution and anxiety resulted in poor public perception (Doyle 2006:216). Nativists worried that newly arrived immigrants would "outbreed, outvote, and overwhelm the 'old' native stock" (Bailey and Kennedy 1983:300). There were fears that the Irish would replace Yankee workers in mills (Kulik 1988:400), a justifiable concern as increasingly cheap foreign labor displaced native-born help (Gross 1988:529).

The fear of losing jobs was particularly acute in Indiana. The Know-Nothing Party was a nativist political movement with a strong presence in the state (Tucker 2004:32). When Irish and German workers came to the Midwest to build canals in the 19th century, many citizens joined the Know-Nothing organization and denounced these immigrant laborers (Bodnar 1996:9). In the face of this opposition, Fr. Sorin banned St. Patrick's Day celebrations on campus in order to emphasize "Americanness" rather than "Irishness" (Tucker 2004:32).

Early waves of Irish immigration to the U.S. were predominantly Protestant, particularly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Later arrivals were largely Catholic, including those to Chicago after the mid-19th century (McCaffrey 1976). South Bend may have held a natural attraction for these later Irish immigrants, with its unique Catholic character and the city's affiliation with the university. The proximity of South Bend to Chicago and direct links via the railroad facilitated movement between these urban centers.

There were divisions between Protestants and Catholics in the Midwest and elsewhere in the United States that were intimately linked to the nativist/nonnativist dialogue (Giffen 1996:248). The presence of the Roman Catholic Church in America was significantly changed by the tide of immigration in the 19th century. There were 1.1 million Catholics in United States in 1845 and 3.1 million in 1860—about half of this increase can be attributed to Irish-Catholic immigrants during that time (Doyle 2006: 240). The numbers of congregants continued to grow in the subsequent decades to 6.3 million in 1880 (Doyle 2006:241). This changing demographic was met with unease in South Bend. In 1872, the Know-Nothings burned St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church in the Sorinsville neighborhood (Esslinger 1975:24), and the Ku Klux Klan engaged in a riot with Notre Dame students in May of 1924 (Tucker 2004:19).

Irish Catholics were further discriminated against as they were often associated with racially marginalized African Americans (Mullins 2001:163). The Irish developed a monopoly on unskilled labor in construction work and factory employment, which put them in rather fierce competition with American blacks (Wolf 1982:364). Being "white" for the Irish meant engaging in dominant institutions of society, from which they had largely been excluded in colonized Ireland (Paynter 2001:136).

After the Civil War, inequality and lack of economic opportunity continued in the North, particularly for those who refused to lose their nationalities and integrate socially and culturally (Holland 1995:161). Residential and ethnic segregation in South Bend increased between 1870 and 1880; indeed, the Fourth Ward that included the Sorinsville neighborhood was nicknamed "Dublin" (Giffen 1996:260). Busteed and Hodgson (1996:145) asserted that for the Irish who were settling in Manchester, England at about the same time, "One response to this hostile

human environment was to fall back on the resource of communal solidarity, as expressed in residential segregation." They asserted that "Initially, churches tended to follow the location of the Catholic population, but once established they tended to conform and reinforce it. Aside from spiritual comfort, the church provided facilities for parish-based education, and social and even political activities" (Busteed and Hodsgon 1996:148). Consequently, the Catholic Church became a recognizable landmark of cultural identity.

Economic conditions in the Midwest and elsewhere in the United States improved in the waning decades of the 19th century. By 1880, only one in four Irish immigrants was in the lowest occupational level; many showed upward mobility by becoming skilled craftspersons or small businessmen (Dooley [2001]:24). An influx of Eastern European immigrants to fill the labor needs of large-scale manufacturers such as Studebaker and Oliver changed the local demographic composition and created a new "foreign other" within the city (Esslinger 1975:68).

The Irish Catholic immigrants who were early residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood in the 1850s and 1860s were able to take advantage of Fr. Sorin's paternalism and resources offered through the university—employment, mortgages, and education. These individuals and families were incorporated into the Catholic enclave of Notre Dame and St. Joseph parish, while simultaneously experiencing anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic discrimination beyond the boundaries of the Sorinsville neighborhood. By the time of Fr. Sorin's death in 1893, hostility toward the Irish in South Bend was waning as anti-immigrant sentiments were refocused on the new arrivals from Eastern Europe. In addition, second-generation, native-born Catholics gained some level of acceptance in the community and began to assume positions of leadership within the city (Esslinger 1975:109).

Movement out of South Bend began in 1915 (Giffen 1996:263), with the Irish having even less visibility after 1920. The dispersal of segregated neighborhoods was nearly complete following an exodus out of the city after World War I. Assimilation and loss of identity were even further facilitated after World War II as Irish immigrants rapidly advanced into the middle and upper classes (Giffen 1996:267).

## Archaeology of the Irish Diaspora in America

Archaeological explorations of the Irish Diaspora in America remain relatively uncommon in the scholarly literature, as Irish immigrants have not often been the focus of such investigations (Foner 1978; DeCunzo 1983; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989; Mayne and Murray 2002; Brighton 2004; Reckner 2004). A particularly well-known study of Irish immigrants is that of the Five Points neighborhood in New York City (Yamin 2001).

Five Points was a multiracial, multiethnic district in 19th-century New York. It was home to a large population of African American families and newly arrived immigrants, including Germans and Irish who worked in the city's garment industries. It has often been characterized as a "slum" and working-class neighborhood (Yamin 2001). The results of excavation at several tenements from this area provided valuable insights into the material correlates of Irish immigrant experiences in America.

The Irish in Five Points, along with Germans, Jews, and Italians, often found employment in the garment manufacturing or needle trades (LaRoche and McGowan 2001:69). A steady trickle into the city of immigrants from Ireland and elsewhere provided a source of labor that was both cheap and plentiful for the rapidly expanding ready-to-wear industry of the 1840s and 1850s. Textile fragments recovered from Irish households included a mix of homemade and commercially made garments. These immigrants saw their employment in the needle trades as a means out of poverty, but in reality the low wages were barely enough to sustain a family.

In addition, more than half of the women living in Five Points were widows or unmarried (Griggs 2001:83). This unique demography was attributed to high mortality rates of men, late marriage rates for women, and the high proportion of Irish women to men, which made finding an Irish husband in New York particularly challenging. These women often participated in "rag picking" to supplement the household income—that is, scavenging cloth scraps from the garment industry and other commercial venues to make rugs for sale.

Stephen Brighton (2001:21) analyzed the ceramic assemblages from adjacent urban households of Irish immigrant families. Importantly, he

observed that ceramic tea and tablewares were used to "communicate Irish cultural traditions and middle-class Victorian values." Protestant missionaries in the city strongly encouraged newly arrived Irish immigrants to assimilate into American culture and emulate the behaviors of Victoriana. Consequently, the material assemblages associated with their households often contained matched sets and iconographic Gothic-paneled white ironstone. Interestingly, their use of these fancy ceramics did indeed create the outward appearance of gentility but were not necessarily assigned the same symbolic meanings given by other middle-class families. Rather, these Irish immigrants "adopted elements of Victorianism and fused them with their own concepts of morality" (Brighton 2005:25). Some of the ceramics were clearly designed for children and would have been important instruments in training boys and girls for their culturally prescribed roles in society. It is interesting to note too, that despite the poverty in which many families in the Five Points neighborhood lived, CC indices for ceramic assemblages associated with Irish immigrants were comparable to the lower end of the middle-class spectrum. Brighton (2001:18) attributed this relatively high index value to the easy access of consumer goods in metropolitan New York.

Bonasera and Raymer (2001) analyzed evidence from Five Points to understand medicinal practices in Irish immigrant households. Patent medicines were widely available for treatment of rheumatism, sprains, and similar ailments. It is not surprising, therefore, that empty bottles from these remedies were found in association with households of manual laborers, such as those of Irish immigrants (Bonasera and Raymer 2001:59). Irish Americans appeared to prefer inexpensive remedies, notably soda and mineral waters. These tonics could be ingested or used for soaking aching joints. Bonasera and Raymer (2001:60) asserted that the relatively high representation of medicinal vessels in assemblages associated with Irish immigrants may indicate that (1) Irish immigrants had more health problems due to diet, living conditions, dangerous occupational hazards, or other factors; or (2) perhaps using patent and other medicines was a customary practice and/or was essential given that many Irish immigrants, as newcomers, were generally in poor health.

It cannot be overstated that the communities in which Irish immigrants settled were instrumental in assuring that their physical needs were met (food, shelter, clothing) and central to the formation of group identity. In Five Points, this was often linked to the family's parish, trade unions, and common political causes. Consequently, material symbols were a critical data set that included imagery on tobacco smoking pipes, such as the crest of the local volunteer fire department, or those embossed with the slogan "Home Rule," a reference to the Irish nationalist movement (Reckner 2001:106,111).

## The Irish American Experience in South Bend

The historical and archaeological data from South Bend suggests a complex picture of lived experience for Irish Catholics in the city. Early immigrants of the 1850s and 1860s were incorporated into the local Catholic community of the University of Notre Dame, St. Joseph parish, and the Sorinsville neighborhood. Yet, simultaneously, these newcomers also experienced some degree of alienation from the larger social and cultural milieu as they encountered anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments. Their lived experiences, however, were not a matter of *either* incorporation *or* alienation; rather, Irish Catholics had to navigate the multifaceted social landscapes of their neighborhood, their places of employment, their parishes, and the city.

Peter Kivisto (2004:155) observed that assimilation of cultural groups into new surroundings is a process, one that means both "to make like" as well as "to take up and incorporate." Rather than a straight line of one group becoming like another, it is a series of complex negotiations in which some ethnic traditions may continue, individual choices and adaptations may be made (Greenwood and Slawson 2008:77), and cultural norms may be rejected or subverted (Joseph 2004:19). Murray (2006:6) describes this process as that of *becoming* or *devenir*: "Becoming never stops yet occasionally changes its direction, or ripples in turbulent flows, forever following its course towards a new identity." Importantly, Orser (1996:201) noted that material culture can be "a conscious social strategy intended only to give the appearance of assimilation."

A transnational perspective is imperative for understanding continuity and change in Irish immigrant experiences. Mullins (2008:155)

observed that "Processes of dispersion were historically and socially distinctive for captive Africans, Irish migrants, and the Overseas Chinese, but scholarship on all these diasporas centers around the articulate, constructed, and unrecognized connections displaced peoples have with their origins." Murray (2006:16) also noted that "social networks consist of the local and Ireland" and that "it is important to understand that their *Ireland* (not the geographical but the one in their minds) has been relocated" to their new communities (emphasis in the original). Therefore, in seeking to understand the process by which Irish Catholics formed new identities in South Bend, the scholar must be mindful of the tensions inherent in their experiences—the structural mechanism that either facilitated or obstructed their efforts to create new lives for themselves—as well as the ideological frameworks that Irish immigrants brought with them from Ireland to America.

Brighton (2005) noted two material trends that were particularly relevant to interpreting the archaeological data from South Bend. First, a predominance of proprietary (i.e., patent medicines) rather than ethical (i.e., from a doctor) medicines illustrated a degree of alienation of New York Irish from formal health care systems, and a need to self-medicate (Brighton 2005:249). Irish immigrants were often discriminated against by American doctors who deemed them unworthy of receiving proper medical attention (Brighton 2005:251). Second, increased vessel complexity, such as the incorporation of serving vessels into Victorian table disciplines represented the acceptance of new eating styles and behaviors (Brighton 2005:163). Along with increased vessel complexity came an increased number of white granite vessels in Irish immigrant assemblages, as formal dining became an increasingly important tool for social reproduction. Collectively, Brighton asserts that these material trends in the Five Points in New York illustrate an increasing incorporation into some of the social ideals popular in American society and culture.

The 2007 archaeological field school focused on the residential homelot of the Edward Fogarty family at the southern boundary of Fr. Sorin's housing development. Their engagement with the University of Notre Dame, St. Joseph parish, their neighborhood, and larger community were illustrative of daily life for many Irish-Catholic residents. As Murray (2006:15) asserted for the "*Irlandés*" in Argentina, "Even if it is not valid to extrapolate the values represented ... to the universe of Irish emigrants to Argentina and their families, it is possible to imagine them behaving within the extensive array of intercultural relations of the community in which they lived." The same is likely true for the Fogarty family of Sorinsville in South Bend, Indiana.

## The Fogarty Family and the Sorinsville Neighborhood

Edward and Rose Fogarty came to South Bend from Chicago and purchased the homelot at 602 North Notre Dame Avenue in 1865, which was occupied by their descendants for four generations (Figure 2). The parcel was situated along the southernmost boundary of the Sorinsville neighborhood at the intersection of Notre Dame Avenue and Sorin Street (Figure 1). The history of the Fogarty family illustrates some key features of life for the Irish immigrants in the city.

Edward was born in Dublin on 25 March 1827 (*South Bend Tribune* [*SBT*] 1902) and emigrated as a young boy with his family in 1832 (United

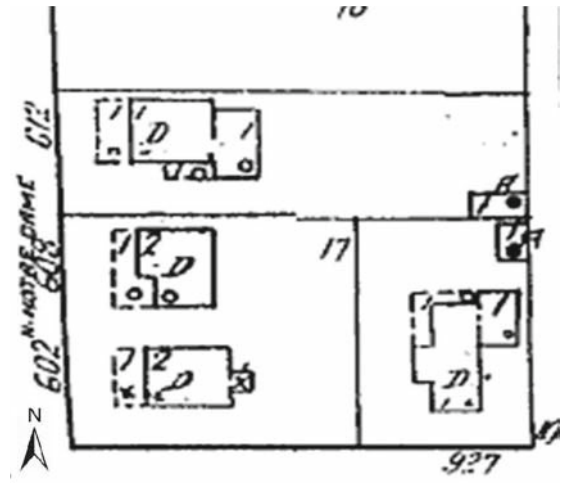


FIGURE 2. The 1949 Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map showing the Fogarty parcel. Edward and Rose Fogarty lived at 602 North Notre Dame Avenue, Edward F. (grandson) and Grace Keller at 608, and daughter Catherine and Charles Keller at 612. The rental house appears in the lower right corner of the image, numbered 927 East Sorin Street. The block is 145 ft. wide from east to west. (Copyright EDR Sanborn, reproduced with permission.)

States Bureau of the Census 1900). His obituary indicated that "He was educated in Ireland and came to America when quite a young man. He resided in Chicago for some time and in 1865 removed to South Bend, where he had since made his home" (*SBT* 1902). He worked as a brick mason (United States Bureau of the Census 1870) and was deemed "one of South Bend's best Irish citizens" (*SBT* 1902).

Unfortunately, we know very little about Rose. She was born ca. 1829 and lived to be 62 years old (United States Bureau of the Census 1870; *SBT* 1891). She "had long been an invalid," but the nature of her ailment is unknown (*SBT* 1891). Rose's obituary also indicated that "[s]he was a native of Ireland, and during her long residence made a great many friends who esteemed her highly for her many noble traits of character" (*SBT* 1891).

The Fogartys had two daughters—Catherine and Anna—and shortly after their arrival in South Bend had two sons, Edward Jr. and John. Catherine married Charles Keller in 1884 (*SBT* 1885). Charles was a member of the city police department (*SBT* 1932). The newlyweds had built a house at 612 North Notre Dame Avenue, which at the time would have been right next door to her parents. The couple had two children, Edward and Margaret. Charles "had been ill for several years with dropsy" and died in December 1932 (*SBT* 1932). Catherine passed away in January 1935 (*SBT* 1935).

Edward and Rose's eldest son, Edward Jr., originally was a brick layer like his father, but he was elected mayor of South Bend from 1902 to 1910 (*SBT* 1929c). Many Irish immigrants sought employment in public service which offered job permanence and pensions as well as access to political and economic power (McCaffrey 1997:86,106). After completing two terms as mayor, Edward Jr. became the warden of the Michigan City prison (1911–1925) and was nationally renowned for prison reform (*SBT* 1929d). In September of 1926 he was appointed warden of the Cook County jail in Chicago (*SBT* 1929a). Three years later, following some political upheaval at the jail, Edward Jr. appears to have suffered a nervous breakdown. He returned to South Bend to be with family, and in June of 1929 took his own life in the home of his nephew (*SBT* 1929b).

Little documentary information was found for Catherine and Edward Jr.'s siblings, Anna and John Fogarty. City directories and census enumerations showed Anna living with her father and then Edward Jr. (Polk 1901–1910; United States Bureau of the Census 1900). At the time of the 1910 census enumeration, she was still listed as unmarried and did not appear in the 1920 census for South Bend (United States Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920). She would have been a relatively young woman yet (only 55 years old in 1920) and may have moved back to Chicago, where the family had retained ties. John Fogarty moved to Kalamazoo, Michigan, as indicated in his mother's obituary (*SBT* 1891), but he could not be located in the census enumerations, and no additional information could be found about him.

In 1912, a small house was built to the rear of the original parcel owned by Edward and Rose Fogarty at 927 East Sorin Street (Figure 2). This property appears to have always have been a rental unit. When Catherine and Charles Keller's eldest son Edward married his wife Grace in 1924, they built a house at 608 North Notre Dame Avenue, between his parents' and grandparents' homes. Edward Keller followed his paternal grandfather Lew Keller (Deputy Marshall), uncle Edward Fogarty, Jr. (mayor), and father Charles Keller (police officer) into public service. He was the South Bend City treasurer (United States Bureau of the Census 1920) and then St. Joseph County recorder (Polk 1929–1935).

This study seeks to understand daily life for this and other Irish families in South Bend with particular interest in how Irish and other Catholic immigrants in the Sorinsville neighborhood fared relative to their non-Catholic, non-Irish neighbors. For the Irish immigrants south of Notre Dame's campus, being Catholic shaped their lived experiences in both positive and negative ways.

## Archaeological Investigation of the Fogarty Homelot

The excavation at the Fogarty site (12SJ438) was preceded by remote sensing. The field school team used the results of electrical resistivity to guide the placement of test units in the yard and completed seven 1 × 1 m units—sampling the sheet midden and excavating one feature.

In the side yard between the rental house and the houses along North Notre Dame Avenue, the team encountered a very large feature which may be the cellar from the original house. The feature

contained alternating layers of ash and culturally sterile fill (Figure 3). Artifacts recovered included a variety of bottles and other container glass; personal items such as tobacco pipes, buttons, and beads; and an astonishing number of tin cans.


FIGURE 3. South wall profile of Unit 6, 12SJ438, showing the fill layers of Feature 1. (Photo by author, 2007.)

The artifact assemblage was associated with two periods of occupation at the site. The first represented the Fogartys as a young nuclear family, dating from ca. 1865—the year they purchased the homelot from Fr. Sorin—to ca. 1885. The later occupation dated from ca. 1885—shortly after eldest daughter Catherine Fogarty married Charlie Keller and built the house next door—to ca. 1914. This later assemblage likely included artifacts from the original house on the lot and Catherine's family who lived next door. It is believed that the two households may have operated communally, particularly given that Catherine's father was in his 60s and her mother Rose was an invalid (*SBT* 1891).

During these investigations, the field school team examined consumption patterns as an indicator of the Fogarty family's engagement with the larger social and cultural milieu of South Bend. Using Brighton's (2005) study as a point of entry, investigation focused on two particular material classes from the site: glass medicine bottles and refined earthenwares.

## Glass Medicine Bottles and Health Care in South Bend

There were a variety of health care options in 19th-century South Bend. Patients could seek care from "regular" (allopathic) physicians, homeopathic physicians, and even "clairvoyant physicians" (Marlatt 2000; Feil 2007a). Following the guidelines established by Indiana Medical Law, regular physicians charged 75¢ for an office call and 50¢ to $1 for prescriptions (Western Publishing Company 1904; Bickel 1970). Individuals could also choose to self-medicate with herbs or patent medicines (Feil 2007b). An individual's or family's understanding of health and wellness also shaped the choices made in regard to the treatment of illness (Rotman and Holcomb 2008).

The germ theory of disease did not emerge until the second half of the 19th century and was slow in gaining support. Indeed, Dr. H. T. Montgomery, a prominent South Bend physician, wrote a paper in 1892 rejecting the theory (Bickel 1970). Treatment by regular physicians like Montgomery often included bleeding and purging (Marlatt 2000).

The first hospital in Indiana, the Central State Hospital in Indianapolis, was founded in 1848 for the care of mental patients. The Indianapolis City Hospital was constructed in 1854 and transferred to the federal government for troops during the Civil War. It reverted back to the city for use as a charity hospital in 1866 (Bickel 1970; McDonnell 1994). South Bend's first hospital, St. Joseph Hospital, was founded in 1882 by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, the convent associated with Notre Dame. Its first patients came primarily from the county farm and jail (Bickel 1970). The hospital was so desperate for more patients that it put out advertisements in local newspapers. At the time, people were generally reluctant to go to hospitals, as the care provided was crude and rarely beneficial. Groups that were already targets of discrimination—

including Irish immigrants, blacks, and others on the social margins—were particularly reluctant to utilize available health services.

Sixteen medicine bottles were found at the Fogarty residence (Table 3) (Rotman and Holcomb 2008). Only one bottle was definitively associated with the earliest deposit at the site, a Simmons Liver Regulator patent medicine vessel. Eleven bottles were associated with the later deposit. There was one ethical medicine (that is, a doctor-prescribed medicine) container, which was a graduated bottle made by the W. B. M. Co. (the full name of this company could not be determined). Ten proprietary/patent medicine bottles were also recovered, including Simmons Liver Regulator, Foley's Kidney and Bladder Cure, Bromo Seltzer, Dr. M. M. Fenner's Kidney and Backache Cure, and an unidentified medicine manufactured by Wyeth & Brothers in Philadelphia. Five additional bottles were associated with the later occupation at the site. These bottles were fragmentary and did not possess sufficient embossing to determine the medicine they had contained. Nevertheless, based on their characteristic shape, these vessels were counted as patent medicines from the late occupation of the site.

The remaining four bottles—two ethical and two proprietary/patent medicines—were recovered from deposits that could not be definitively associated with a single period of occupation at the site, but could be associated with the Fogarty family (ca. 1865–ca. 1914). One of the ethical medicines was from "M. Myer/Druggest [sic]/ South Bend, Indiana" (Western Publishing Company 1867) and the second was an unidentified graduated vessel. The proprietary/patent medicines from this subset of the assemblage included Foley's Kidney and Bladder Cure and Veronica Medicinal Spring Tonic Water.

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF MEDICINAL BOTTLES RECOVERED FROM THE FOGARTY SITE (12SJ438)

| | Early Deposit ca. 1865 to ca. 1885 | Later Deposit ca. 1885 to ca. 1914 | Spanning Both ca. 1865 to ca. 1914 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ethical Medicine (Doctor Prescribed) | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Proprietary/ Patent Medicine | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| Probable Patent Medicine | 0 | 5 | 0 |

The medicine bottles recovered were consistent with what we know about the health of the Fogarty family. The Simmon's Liver Regulator from the earliest occupation of the site could have easily been used for mundane ailments that do not necessarily require a physician's intervention, such "fever, headache, constipation, dyspepsia, and 'all bilious infections'" (Israel 1968). Similarly, three of the patent medicines from the later occupation included Simmons Liver Regulator, Foley's Kidney and Bladder Cure, and Dr. M. M. Fenner's Kidney and Backache Cure; all of which treated the same class of ailment. It is known that Charlie Keller, Catherine Fogarty's husband, suffered for some time from dropsy (or edema), which can be a symptom of kidney disease. These vessels may be representative of treatment for that chronic condition. The remaining patent medicine, Bromo Seltzer, would have been used for minor stomach illnesses that could also have been easily treated at home.

This high proportion of proprietary/patent medicines at the Fogarty site (13 of 16, or 81.3%) is consistent with that observed at Five Points in New York. Brighton (2005, 2008) proposed that reliance on patent medicines rather than physician-prescribed ones was indicative of the families at Five Points being alienated from their larger cultural milieus. The Fogarty family would have had access to St. Joseph Hospital, located across the street from the nearby St. Joseph parish and literally two blocks away from the Fogarty residence. Founded by the convent of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, St. Joseph Hospital would not likely have discriminated against Irish Catholics. Nevertheless, the unique history of this particular institution—that is, a provider of care for primarily the destitute and convicts—may have made this an undesirable option for health care for the family.

Although the persistent use of proprietary/patent medicines is identical for 19th-century Irish immigrants on the East Coast and in South Bend, the factors shaping those uses were very different. Irish immigrants who came inland may have fared better than their counterparts on the East Coast, particularly in the fledgling urban and economic centers of the Midwest such as South Bend

(McCaffrey 1997:84). The Irish in the Sorinsville neighborhood, for example, had concrete social support from St. Joseph parish as well as employment opportunities and access to mortgages through the university. In addition, residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood may have had a better standard of living given that the social, political, and economic configurations within the city were still relatively fluid during the second half of the 19th century—particularly in comparison to large, long-established urban centers on the East Coast. Esslinger (1975:29) noted that

> South Bend offered the foreign-born opportunities that could not be had in the isolated life along the farming frontier or in the overcrowded cities of the eastern seaboard. Here the immigrant might hope to find a community whose social and economic structure was not already fixed by long tradition. Here the newcomer could avoid the anonymity of the ethnic ghetto and participate in the formulation of a new urban community. Perhaps unaware of his role in the social and economic movements of the time, the immigrant could at least sense the optimism and enthusiasm of this adolescent midwestern city.

This characterization of South Bend is a rather romanticized view of social relations in the city, particularly for Irish immigrants for whom the discrimination and harassment by the Know-Nothings and Ku Klux Klan were very real. Nevertheless, Esslinger's point that the social and political structures of South Bend were not as rigidly fixed in the late 19th century as they were in urban places along the eastern seaboard is valid. South Bend did indeed result in different, though not necessarily better, opportunities for immigrants to the city.

The patent medicines recovered from the Fogarty site would have treated ailments that did not necessarily require a doctor's attention. In addition, there were at least two members of the family who had chronic health concerns—Rose Fogarty was an "invalid" and Charlie Keller had dropsy. Rose and Charlie may have chosen to self-medicate rather than visit a physician regularly. As such, treating chronic versus acute illnesses may have also influenced the family's uses of primarily patent medicines as part of their health care. Furthermore, as the matriarch of the household, Rose's use of patent medicines and probable pattern of self-medication may have become the customary practice, one that her children followed later simply out of habit.

## Refined Earthenwares and Cultural Incorporation

Another material class—refined earthenwares—provided additional information about the Fogartys' daily lives in the city. As with the glass medicine-bottle data, the results of the analyses were consistent with findings in New York, but seemingly at odds with the understanding of the complex social landscape of South Bend.

The ceramic assemblage from the Fogarty household yielded no clear matched sets for either occupation of the site (ca. 1865–ca. 1885 and ca. 1885–ca. 1914). Indeed, the ceramics were a mix of ironstone/white granite and whiteware vessels—in an assortment of plain, embossed, and hand-painted designs (Table 4). Only two sherds—representing two different vessels—were transfer printed, neither of which had a discernable pattern. All of the decorations on the refined earthenwares were relatively plain, such as scalloped rims with embossed dots or hand-painted polychrome flowers. There was no observable increase in the number of white granite vessels that might indicate a shift toward late Victorian table disciplines (Brighton 2005:163,229). In this way, the patterns on refined earthenwares from the Fogarty site do not parallel the consumption trends observed elsewhere.

For the early period, tablewares ($n$=8) outnumbered tea wares ($n$=5), but the relationship was reversed for the later period—with tea wares

TABLE 4
VESSEL AND DECORATION SUMMARY OF CERAMIC TEA- AND TABLEWARE VESSELS BY OCCUPATION

| | Early Occupation ca. 1865 to ca. 1885 | | Later Occupation ca. 1885 to ca. 1914 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tableware | Tea Ware | Tableware | Tea Ware |
| Plain or Molded | 7 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| Floral Hand Painted | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Floral Decal | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Flow Blue Floral | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Copper Luster Tea Leaf | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Gilt Banding | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Note: Following Wall (1991, 1999, 2000).

TABLE 5
SUMMARY OF CERAMIC TEA- AND TABLEWARE VESSELS BY OCCUPATION PERIOD, WITH CORRESPONDING CC INDEX VALUES

| | Early Occupation ca. 1865 to ca. 1885 | | Later Occupation ca. 1885 to ca. 1914 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | CC Index | No. | CC Index |
| Tablewares | 8 | 2.05 | 6 | 1.71 |
| Tea Wares | 5 | 1.65 | 8 | 2.43 |

TABLE 6
SUMMARY OF VESSEL FORMS BY OCCUPATION

| | Early Occupation ca. 1865 to ca. 1885 | | Later Occupation ca. 1885 to ca. 1914 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Table-ware | Tea Ware | Table-ware | Tea Ware |
| Platter | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dinner Plate | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Other Plate | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Bowl | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Sugar Bowl (?) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Cup | 0 | 4 | 0 | 7 |

(*n*=8) outnumbering tablewares (*n*=6) (Table 5). It is interesting to also note that the CC indices were highest for tablewares in the earlier period, but highest for tea wares in the later period—although admittedly, CC indexing for occupations that postdate the 1880s may not be valid because indices for this late date have not yet been fully developed (Miller 1991). Only one serving vessel, an undecorated platter, was recovered from the assemblage and associated with the earliest occupation of the site (ca. 1865–ca. 1885) (Table 6).

The increase in both CC values and the overall numbers of tea wares in the later period of occupation suggest an increasing importance of tea drinking at the site beginning about 1885. This stands in marked contrast to the larger cultural milieu in which a shift *away from* social tea drinking *to* social dining activities had begun a quarter of century earlier, in the 1860s (Brighton 2005:236). Since tea drinking was a customary practice in Ireland, this may have been the social ritual that was most familiar and most comfortable for the family (Shakour et al. 2010).

It may also reflect the family's incorporation into their Catholic community of the university, neighborhood, and parish. Wall (1991, 2000) observed that differences in ceramic assemblages from New York City indicated disparate meanings for afternoon tea. For wealthy families, this social ritual exhibited family status and the dishes were used as part of a competitive display by the mistress of the house "designed to impress her friends and acquaintances with the refined gentility of her family" (Wall 1991:79). For poorer families, however, only those equated with family and community would have been invited for tea. Thus, competition in this arena was unnecessary.

Similar social processes may have been at work for the Fogarty family. Edward Sr. was an employee of Notre Dame. The family was actively involved with St. Joseph parish and residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood. They were well incorporated into their Catholic community and were among friends at work and worship. Their status was asserted through their engagement and affiliation with these entities and may not have needed to be asserted materially (Rotman and Staicer 2002; Rotman and Clay 2008).

The refined earthenwares from the Fogarty site present a complex picture of household consumption of ceramic goods. Brighton (2005:225) observed that the lack of matched sets in New York likely reflected the piecemeal acquisition of refined earthenwares, a common practice in Ireland, particularly in rural areas (Brighton and Levon-White 2007). Since no matched sets were recovered, the Fogarty family may have also acquired ceramic vessels as need dictated and resources allowed. The family consistently purchased tea wares and tablewares with floral patterns, however, which would have created a complementary and somewhat unified appearance on the Fogarty table (Fitts 1999, 2001).

The ceramic tea and tablewares from the Fogarty site appear to reflect an inward orientation, an emphasis primarily on the family rather than outward concern for social reproduction in the larger community. The family matriarch, Rose, died in 1891. Consequently, the ceramic assemblage from the latter period of occupation at the site represented a time when the eldest daughter Catherine served as the female head of a complex extended family unit that consisted of two

households—one containing her widower father and unmarried siblings (Edward Jr. and Anna), and the other her own young nuclear family. Such inward orientation may be attributable to the unique life cycle of the family at the time.

The dishes from the Fogarty table appear to embody all of the complexities of their social worlds—the unique point of the family life history in the wake of the mother's recent death, the need to solidify family or close family-like social bonds through meal sharing and teatime, and traditional practices from their homeland. As such, the ceramics reinforce the assertion that consumer choices were not reducible to a simple binary assessment of alienation or incorporation, but rather illustrate the family members' navigation through, and negotiation of the complex social landscapes in which they lived.

The archaeological evidence also reiterates the importance of domestic households as loci of social reproduction (Ludlow Collective 2001:95). In her study of the Presidio in California, Voss (2008:209) observed that "the home was thus an important locale where institutional policies and practices interfaced with small-scale interpersonal relationships." The same was undoubtedly true for the Fogarty family. While clearly part of the local Catholic community—the ideals of which were reinforced daily through the workplace, neighborhood, and parish—their home was the place in which the larger social and cultural worlds were negotiated, strategically accepted or rejected (either in whole or in part), and a meaningful family life created.

The archaeological evidence from South Bend included glass medicine bottles and refined earthenwares. The quantities and frequencies of these objects were consistent with that which was observed on the East Coast, but represented a curious contradiction for the social world of South Bend. The historical data suggests that the Fogartys were an upwardly mobile, well-respected Catholic family. They owned their own home with the assistance of a mortgage that was presumably underwritten by the university. Edward Fogarty, Sr., was a bricklayer for Notre Dame, but Edward Jr. went on to become mayor of South Bend in 1902 (Rotman and Holcomb 2008). Nevertheless, their material assemblage does not suggest the utilization of available formalized health care or an embrace of matched tablewares and social dining common for elite Victorian families in the city.

The lives of the Fogarty family and other Catholic immigrants in the Sorinsville neighborhood were profoundly shaped by their affiliation with the university. Their status as Catholics gave them access to employment, education, and mortgages, among other material resources. Despite these benefits, however, the neighborhood's location between the highly visible landmarks of the Golden Dome and the parish spires demarcated their insular enclave, making them targets for anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant discrimination, creating a space in which Sorinsville residents were simultaneously incorporated *and* alienated from the social worlds of South Bend.

## Conclusions

Although the archaeological assemblage at the Fogarty homelot is strikingly similar to that from the residences of Irish immigrants on the East Coast, the social, cultural, and political contexts of these urban places were very different. Thus, interpretations of archaeological data associated with 19th-century Irish immigrants must reflect their unique cultural environments.

The persistent use of patent medicines by the Fogartys in South Bend, for example, was not simply a manifestation of being alienated from the local health care system and the larger cultural milieu. The Fogarty family appeared to have been fully incorporated into their Catholic community of the Sorinsville neighborhood, University of Notre Dame, and St. Joseph parish. Their pattern of medicinal use instead reflected the poorly developed nature of formalized health care in South Bend, which made self-medication preferable to visiting the local hospital. In addition, the family was treating chronic rather than acute illnesses, from which emerged customary family practices of the use of patent rather than proprietary medicines (Rotman and Holcomb 2008).

Similarly, the conservative uses of refined earthenwares at the Fogarty site likely reflect that the family did not see a need to assert its position in its parish or political world through social dining. Those whom the Fogartys entertained in their home were either family or perceived as family (Wall 1999, 2000). In addition, tea drinking was a common social ritual

in Ireland, one with which the family would have been familiar and comfortable (Shakour et al. 2010). The Fogartys' material consumption was directed toward the social world of the family rather than social reproduction beyond the household (Fitts 1999). The customary practice in Ireland of piecemeal ceramic acquisition may also have been reproduced in the consumer behavior of the family in South Bend.

More comparative data is needed to understand where the Fogartys were positioned within the continuum of material possibilities of South Bend's Irish community. Understanding the diverse and varied experiences of the immigrants in South Bend, as well as how unique local conditions presented different opportunities to other Irish immigrants in the United States are also central foci of this project. Importantly, this study of Irish immigrants in South Bend illustrates that the experiences of Irish in America were not monolithic. Catholicism "provided a focus for unity in Irish ghettos, creating an Irish American community out of a people who arrived in America with diverse loyalties to parish, townland, and country" (McCaffrey 1976:8). Significantly, however, their experiences as Catholics were also influenced by the particulars of their local circumstances. As residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood, the Fogartys and other immigrant families had access to a variety of resources through the University of Notre Dame and Fr. Sorin—mortgages and homeownership, employment and skills training, among other things. These resources were available specifically because they were Catholic, and represent opportunities that may or may not be similar to those available to other populations of Irish Catholics in other urban places.

For scholars building an analytical discourse on Irish American identities, it is imperative to be mindful of the diverse and varied experiences of Catholic immigrants and seek to understand how each community into which Irish immigrants arrived presented different opportunities for them. In addition, future archaeological field schools will continue to investigate the Sorinsville neighborhood and seek to understand what it meant to be Irish *and* Catholic in South Bend, and how those intersecting identities shaped consumer choices, social relations, and other aspects of lived experiences.

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Deborah L. Rotman
Department of Anthropology
University of Notre Dame
622 Flanner Hall
Notre Dame, IN 46556